

**THE REPRESENTATION OF NELSON MANDELA IN
SELECTED GRADE 12 HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

BY

ADRIAN LIONEL VAN NIEKERK

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Masters in Education (History Education)**

At the

University of KwaZulu-Natal

2013

DECLARATION

I Adrian Lionel van Niekerk (213570470) declare that

(i) The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.

(ii) This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

(iii) This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

(iv) This dissertation does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

a) their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;

b) where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks, and referenced.

(v) This dissertation does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the dissertation and in the References sections.

Signed:

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

As the candidate's supervisor, I agree to the submission of this dissertation.

Prof Johan Wassermann

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank God for all His mercy that He showed me and the strength that He gave me whilst completing this dissertation.

I would sincerely like to thank my supervisor, Professor Johan Wassermann for being an outstanding mentor to me. I am grateful for all your words of advice and the dedication you showed in guiding me along the path of doing my research. Without you I would never have succeeded in grasping all the concepts related to this study. Thank you for making this dissertation a truly enjoyable venture.

To my wife Susan, I would like to thank you for all the love and support that you gave me throughout the year, and for all the printing and proofing that you did for me.

To my mother-in-law, Margaret Andersen, thank you for the encouragement you gave me and for allowing me to work in the quiet of your home.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this Masters in Education dissertation to my late friend,
Richard John Clarke (1966-2013)

ABSTRACT

Nelson Mandela is South Africa's most well-known and celebrated historical figure. He is represented ubiquitously throughout South Africa. This study has analysed the representation of Nelson Mandela in selected Grade 12 history textbooks.

This study is situated in the interpretivist paradigm. I employed content analysis as my methodology in order to understand how Mandela is represented in the textbook sample.

There were various representations that emerged from the analysis. All representations constructed a wholly positive image of Mandela. He was represented as a prisoner, a celebrity, a martyr, a leader, an intellectual, an activist, a sage, a negotiator, a peacemaker, a saviour, and a reconciler. He was also represented as having a strong personal attributes such as being principled, firm, determined, unselfish, uncompromising, compassionate and forgiving. He was closely associated with the concept of freedom and the idea of a prototypical South African. Finally, this study showed that all these representations can be gathered into one overarching representation that being Mandela as a messiah.

Mandela's representation as a messiah fulfils the social need of uniting a post-conflict society which is still in the process of constructing a new national identity. The goal of nation building is embedded in the curriculum which informs the content of the textbook. In pursuit of this goal, textbooks are a powerful medium in achieving such ends. Textbook producers are keen to please the authorities and thus regard Mandela as sacrosanct. In addition, by representing Mandela as a messiah, the textbook producers are giving South Africa what the public wants, a myth that will make South Africans feel good about themselves. In this study I concluded that the representation of Mandela in the textbook sample is an extension of the powerful mythology that surrounds him. Whilst post-1994 South African textbooks do not contain the old apartheid myths, new myths have since come to the fore.

Key words: Mandela, history textbooks, myth, political myth, nation building

ACRONYMS

AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement
ANC	African National Congress
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DoBET	Department of Basic Education and Training
GNU	Government of National Unity
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NEC	National Executive Committee
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Committee

CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	i
SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACRONYMS.....	v
CONTENTS.....	vi
CHAPTER 1 PORTAL TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Political leadership context to my study.....	2
1.3 Textbooks and curriculum development in South Africa.....	6
1.4 Rationale and motivation for the study.....	10
1.5 Purpose and focus of the study.....	11
1.6 Conceptual and theoretical framework.....	12
1.7 Research design and methodology.....	13
1.8 Outline of the dissertation.....	15
1.9 Conclusion.....	17
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	18
2.1 Introduction.....	18
2.2 The nature of textbooks.....	20
2.3 The power of textbooks.....	23
2.4 The importance of history textbooks.....	25
2.5 South African history textbooks.....	29
2.6 The historiography of Nelson Mandela.....	36
2.7 Conclusion.....	55
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.....	56
3.1 Introduction.....	56
3.2 Research design.....	57
3.2.1 Interpretivist paradigm.....	57
3.2.2 Qualitative research.....	58
3.2.3 Ontological and epistemological assumptions.....	61
3.3 Research methodology.....	62
3.3.1 Content analysis.....	62
3.3.2 Sampling.....	67
Table 3.1 The Research Sample	68
3.3.3 Ethical issues.....	69
Table 3.2	69
3.3.4 Issues of trustworthiness.....	70
3.3.5 Methodological limitations.....	71
3.4 Conclusion.....	71
CHAPTER 4 DATA ANALYSIS.....	73
4.1 Introduction.....	73
4.2 The representation of Mandela's character.....	73
4.2.1 Mandela's strong characteristics.....	74
4.2.2 Mandela's saintly characteristics.....	76

4.2.3 Mandela's demeanour.....	78
4.3 The roles ascribed to Nelson Mandela.....	79
4.3.1 Mandela as messiah.....	80
4.3.2 Mandela as saviour.....	81
4.3.3 Mandela's leadership roles.....	82
4.3.4 Mandela as a political prisoner.....	85
4.3.5 Mandela as martyr.....	86
4.3.6 Mandela as a celebrity.....	86
4.3.7 Mandela as a negotiator.....	86
4.3.8 Mandela as a reconciler.....	89
4.3.9 Mandela as a man of peace.....	92
4.3.10 Mandela as a liberator.....	94
4.3.11 Mandela as an authoritative voice.....	97
4.3.12 Mandela's release a watershed.....	99
4.4 Symbolism attached to Mandela.....	101
4.4.1 Mandela as an icon.....	102
4.4.2 Mandela as symbolising freedom.....	106
4.5 Conclusion.....	107
 CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION.....	 109
5.1 Introduction.....	109
5.2 The evaluation of the context of the textbooks.....	110
5.2.1 The meeting of the academic works and the textbooks.....	110
5.2.2 Inaccuracies found in the textbooks.....	114
5.2.3 Silences surrounding the representation of Mandela in the.. textbooks.....	119
5.3 Why Mandela is represented the way he is.....	128
5.3.1 Political context of South Africa.....	128
5.3.2 The nature of school curriculum and textbooks.....	132
5.3.3 The nature of the textbook industry.....	140
5.3.4 Explaining Mandela as 'messiah'.....	142
5.3.5 The theory and function of myth.....	144
5.4 Conclusion.....	151
 CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION.....	 154
6.1 Introduction.....	154
6.2 Review of the study.....	154
6.3 Summary of the findings.....	159
6.4 Contribution of my study to research.....	165
6.5 Limitations.....	166
6.6 Implications for future research.....	167
6.7 Personal and professional growth.....	167
6.8 Conclusion.....	168
 References.....	 170
Appendix A: Ethical approval.....	181
Appendix B: Turnitin Certificate.....	182

CHAPTER 1

PORTAL TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

I had been teaching for 23 years before I was forced to take a sabbatical in order to replenish my energy levels. Taking a break from education allowed me to reflect on my teaching and take a different perspective as to how I approached teaching history. The frenetic working environment of a South African school offers one very little time for critical thinking. For the most part, I seldom questioned what was being taught through the textbooks. I have always been aware of how the apartheid-era textbooks were used to transmit ideology, but I assumed that the post-1994 textbooks were ideology free. What I realise now is that I actively engaged in using history as a medium for nation building and to promote the democratic values that were prescribed to us by the curriculum documents. There were certain sacrosanct topics and ideas that were not to be questioned or criticised. In fact certain questions one dared not to ask. Questions such as to what benefits did apartheid/colonialism/Hitler bring were to be avoided at all costs. Why did apartheid happen is another question that was never asked. I was told to develop critical thinking in the learners but I kept a tight rein on what topics were to be discussed critically. There are certain sacred cows that are not to be touched, such as Steve Biko the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, Beyers Naudé who was an anti-apartheid cleric and Chris Hani who was the leader of Umkhonto weSizwe in the 1990's, and Nelson Mandela the first fully democratically elected president of South Africa. This all amounted to self-censorship for as a South African teacher I had much leeway in terms of encouraging critical thought and asking questions. After all this is declared as a key purpose of the history lesson in the history Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) document (p.6).

My thinking concerning textbooks and sacrosanct topics was challenged when I was forced to step back during my sabbatical. I now had the time and energy to sit back and reflect. In deciding on my research area, I read articles and books related to

textbooks. This caused me to question my assumption of the current textbooks as being neutral. As a result, I became aware that I too told learners that they must learn what is in the textbook and that the content of the textbook is not to be questioned. Textbooks are a powerful genre for dispensing myths and shaping ideas. I asked myself if there were any myths in these textbooks that I so willingly endorsed. As a result, I started researching myths and came to understand that I had, as a teacher, been very active in creating myths around key figures in history and also around concepts such as nation building. Thus I decided that it would be very important to conduct research into how a powerful iconic figure such as Nelson Mandela is represented in the latest generation of South African history textbooks.

In this chapter I will place my study in the context of the issues of political leadership in South Africa. Issues surrounding textbooks and the development of curriculum in South Africa will then be interrogated. The rationale and motivation of my study will then be explained. The purpose and focus of my study will also be addressed. I will then outline the conceptual and theoretical framework of my study. An overview of the research design and the methodology adopted for my study will then be presented. Finally, a route map of my study as a whole will be outlined chapter by chapter.

1.2 Political leadership context to my study

South Africa, I would like to argue, must be seen as a post-conflict society that is struggling to overcome the impact that the policies of apartheid have had on its development. A key problem facing the country's leaders is the construction of a new unified national identity to replace the old fragmented one created by apartheid. The country is still, after 20 years since the end of apartheid, in the process of building a new nation. Apart from the difficulties of creating a new national identity that will unite all South Africans, the country is currently in the grip of a socio-economic crisis which will be elaborated on lower down. Such challenges which South Africa is facing require strong visionary leaders. Gumede (2013) argues that in comparison to the African National Congress (ANC) leaders of Mandela's generation, the current crop of South African leaders are corrupt, dishonest, anti-intellectual, rigid and lack in

quality leadership skills. He maintains that South Africa needs another Mandela. As a result many South Africans are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the country's leaders (Bosch, 2011).

These leaders have been described as being part of the ruling political elite (Mbeki, 2009). What draws a fair amount of criticism, in some circles, of such a ruling elite is that they are more concerned with self-enrichment than addressing the issue of poverty and human suffering in the country. The ANC's political elite, headed by President Jacob Zuma, wooed the poor in the 2009 elections promising them a better deal than what they received under former president Thabo Mbeki. By 2013, it appeared to many that these were merely empty promises. Zuma has become an embarrassment for many, including his one-time ally Julius Malema, the former ANC youth leader (Moloto, 2013). Zuma has been married six times and has four wives (Kabizowakhe, 2013) and his infidelities have shamed many of his supporters. What some perceive as an example of his opulence is the construction of a housing compound, built for him and his wives in full view of the poor who live near Nkandla. In addition, recent upgrades of this compound has cost an estimated R200 million (de Vos, 2013). Under his leadership, Shabir Shaik, an associate of President Zuma, who was jailed for corruption, was set free on 'medical parole' (SAPA, 2009). Corruption charges against Zuma were dropped weeks before the 2009 general elections ("NPA drops corruption charges against Zuma", 2009). South Africa's political leaders are seen to lack the leadership skills which are required in order to meet the major challenges facing the country (Naudé, 2012; Gumede, 2013). Poverty levels have always been a cause for concern. According to Statistics South Africa, throughout the period September 2008 to August 2009, approximately 26.3% of South Africa's population was living below the food poverty line (Stats SA, 2012). Education is still in dire straits with 80% of schools being dysfunctional (Still dysfunctional: Standards leave a lot to be desired, 2012). Protests have become common place in reaction to service delivery problems, with over 3000 protests occurring since 2009 (Saba & van der Merwe, 2013). There is increased industrial strife as new trade unions challenge the hegemony of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which in some cases has led to the loss of life as in the instance of the Marikana shootings of 2012 (Bell, 2013). As a result, much criticism has been placed at the door of certain leaders of the ANC.

It is not only ANC leaders that have drawn some criticism for lacking strong leadership qualities. Trade union leaders have been equally accused of earning high salaries and losing touch with their people on the ground (Bell, 2013). Furthermore, these leaders have been unable to quell the violence between rival unions. The lack of leadership is also present in opposition politics. The Democratic Alliance (DA) has been generally unable to identify with the needs of the majority of South Africans, being branded by some as the party of the rich (Makhele, 2013). After twenty years of its existence, the DA has yet to appoint a black person as party leader. Another opposition party, the Congress of the People (COPE), has been torn by internal strife concerning the leadership of the party (Makinana, 2013).

This leadership crisis plays itself out against the failing health of a leader who arguably commands more respect than any other South African leader ever did.¹ With every trip Nelson Mandela made to the Intensive Care Unit of a Pretoria hospital, many South Africans feared the passing of an era. South Africans in general are reluctant to let go of him. They yearn for a leader of the calibre of Nelson Mandela, as comparisons with the current leadership are inevitable. He represents everything that one could possibly hope for in a leader. Mandela has become a template or a yardstick for measuring leadership and with his death the country yearns for a leader of his ilk. There are two very different worlds here, one which has problems rooted in a leadership crisis and the other the ideal world of Mandela. Malema, the ANC Youth League leader who was expelled from the ANC, is one of many who laments the absence of a Mandela. He claims that "... under Nelson Mandela, the ANC did not reject its children, but corrected them" (Moloto, 2012). In my view, it seems that if South Africa could find another Mandela, many believe that everything will be alright. At the moment South Africans only have the residual remnants of Mandela's legacy, in the form of films, museums, monuments and so forth to nostalgically reminisce.

In addition to longing for a leader like Mandela, some South Africans view their country's destiny as being inextricably linked to his well-being. What happens when

¹ Nelson Mandela died on 5 December 2013, the day the final draft of this thesis was submitted to my supervisor. It was subsequently reworked to reflect his passing.

Mandela dies was a question that was on the minds of many South Africans – a question that will be grappled with from now. For some right wing extremists, his death should have been a harbinger for a racial war (Ajam, 2013). For others, his death would have brought about xenophobic attacks (Mapimhidze, 2013). It seemed that while Mandela was still alive the country would have remained stable and its citizens would have behaved themselves. One needs to ponder the question as to why Mandela has this effect on so many South Africans.

“I am not a saint, unless you think of a saint as a sinner who keeps on trying.”

— Nelson Mandela (goodreads.com, 2013)

In the above quotation Mandela elucidates a troubling phenomenon that he had to face once he was released from prison in 1990, namely the way people would represent him. The representation that concerns Mandela here is the view that he is a saint. Mandela has been unsuccessful in dispelling this myth. Before the time of his release, many accolades were bestowed upon him and many more would be added in the years that followed his release. Biographies would be written about him. His own autobiography would be the bestselling book by a South African author (Limb, 2008). In his lifetime Mandela received more than 250 awards. He has been given the keys to a number of cities, Glasgow being one of them, and was awarded the Nobel peace prize in 1993. There are statues of Mandela around the world. There is one in Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, and another in London's Parliament Square. There are also roads and bridges, stadia, schools and universities, bursaries and scholarships, artworks, fauna and flora named in Mandela's honour, and his face adorns postage stamps and currency. In South Africa there is a bay named after him. There is the Nelson Mandela museum near his home of Qunu. Outside Howick, in KwaZulu-Natal, one will find the Nelson Mandela capture site with a museum that displays a large sculpture of Mandela's face. There is the Nelson Mandela Children's fund which supports children in South Africa. There is also the Nelson Mandela Foundation which is a large organisation which strives to build a just society. From 2003 Mandela has held the 46664 concerts, named after the prisoner number given to him by the apartheid government, to fund HIV/AIDS victims and research (nelsonmandelas.com, 2013; nelsonmandela.org, 2013). There is the internationally recognised Mandela day, the 18th of July, when people around the

world give up 67 minutes of their time to serve the community (mandeladay.org, 2013). In lieu of all these accomplishments, it is inevitable that Mandela would be viewed as a modern day saint, and if not a saint, then something much more – a global icon.

1.3 Textbooks and curriculum development in South Africa

Given the fact that Nelson Mandela is seen by many as a global icon, and as explained above has special meaning to South Africa how would the new CAPS compliant grade 12 history textbooks represent him? Textbooks have been a contentious matter in South Africa as in the past they were used to disseminate apartheid ideology. The Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, articulated that “textbooks are going to be used as an effective tool to ensure consistency, coverage, appropriate pacing and better quality in terms of instruction and content” (Motshekga, 2009). Thus, textbooks are going to be central, not only to what teachers teach, but also what learners learn. Consequently, when textbooks were dumped in the Limpopo province by education officials, it caused a Ministerial investigation (Sapa, 2012). Whilst textbooks have retained their primacy of place in the classroom, the curriculum has undergone several changes since 1994.

The current CAPS curriculum in itself has been borne out of a long process of curriculum revision. In the immediate years after 1994, curriculum revision was very much part of political developments (Van Eeden, 2010). In 1994, the Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bhengu, authorised the development of an interim revision of the history syllabus. This revision took place under the National Education and Training Forum (NEFT) which did not include any academics. The sole aim of this revision was to remove errors and contentious issues such as racism and sexism. However, no new textbooks were prescribed so history teachers still had to use apartheid era textbooks. At the end of the day the absence of new textbooks and the interim syllabus pleased few (Engelbrecht, 2008). It was clear that the syllabus would have to be revised again and that there was a desperate need for textbook revision and production.

Towards the end of 1996 work began on a new curriculum which would be known as Curriculum 2005. Curriculum 2005 represented an ideological shift in that it introduced Outcomes Based Education (OBE) which placed the focus on outcomes or skills rather than content. OBE was introduced in response to the market's demand for skills (Pulakow-Suranski, 2002). Curriculum 2005 was launched under the tenure of Bhengu in 1997 (Van Eeden, 2008). However, Curriculum 2005 was linked to poor learner results due to the approaches it advocated which focused on process and common knowledge thus neglecting content knowledge. Furthermore, it was increasingly becoming evident that a revision of Curriculum 2005 was needed as its implementation was not going on nearly as well as it was intended to (Stolten, 2003; Van Eeden, 2008).

In 1999, Kader Asmal was appointed Minister of Education and he would oversee further revisions of the curriculum. Importantly for history as a subject, Asmal, a former history teacher, took special interest in trying to restore it to a central place in the curriculum. In order to improve the quality of teaching and learning, Asmal appointed a history/archaeological panel (Engelbrecht, 2008). After consulting the Department of Education (DoE), Kader Asmal appointed a committee to review Curriculum 2005 in February 2000. The result was a simplified Curriculum 2005, the Draft Revised National Curriculum Statement, which was widely consulted on in its development (Stolten, 2003).

However, the revision of the curriculum did not end with the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RCNS), which came to be called the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) in 2003, also encountered problems in its implementation (Bertram, 2012). The problems that were identified were overworked teachers who felt confused and stressed, and as well as learner underperformance. The process of reviewing the NCS was begun under the tenure of the Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor and was continued under her successor, Angie Motshekga (Motshekga, 2009). The result was Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) 2011 in which the history curriculum was overhauled (Kallaway, 2012). Thus the history textbooks that I will be investigating are CAPS compliant. It is important to reflect on how the CAPS document impacts on the nature of the content in the textbook sample so as to understand what theories and ideologies underpin the production of textbooks. Such

theories and ideologies could affect the representation of Mandela in the textbook sample and give insight into why he has been represented the way he was.

It is important to be aware of the CAPS curriculum's context within which the selected textbooks are expected to be compliant. Firstly, the textbooks need to reflect the aims and objectives of the CAPS history document. The CAPS history document finds itself reflecting the political objectives of the country, key of which are nation building and democratisation as envisaged in the Constitution of South Africa. The aim of nation building is to unite South Africans of all ethnicities after being divided by the racist policies of apartheid. A new South African identity needs to be forged in order to create a secure nation state. Democracy is the ideology of the new nation state with particular emphasis on human rights. Education and the curriculum have been earmarked as being vital to achieving these political objectives. Evidence of this is found in the forward to the CAPS history document which states that:

The Preamble to the Constitution states that the aims of the Constitution are to:

- heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person;
- lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; and
- build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

Education and the curriculum have an important role to play in realising these aims (DBE, 2011, p.(i)).

From the above extract it is clear to see that the curriculum will be used to further the aims of the Constitution. Nation building as an objective can be ascertained by references to the need to “heal divisions” and to “build a united and democratic South Africa”. The goal of democratising South Africa is clearly evident in the references to “democratic values” and “a democratic and open society” (DBE, 2011, p.(i)).

The importance of the Constitution is further emphasised later in the CAPS document when it states that:

“The study of history also supports citizenship within a democracy by:
Upholding the values of the South African Constitution and helping people to understand those values; ...” (DBE, 2011, p.8)

Thus aside from encouraging the values of the Constitution, the history is also to be a vehicle for citizenship. Therefore there is a strong sense that the subject involves a fair degree of political education entailing the inculcation of the values of the Constitution which includes nation building. The textbooks under study would therefore have to be compliant with the ideological expectations of the curriculum and any representation of Mandela found in CAPS compliant textbooks needs to be analysed with this in mind. In other words any representation of Mandela that is found in history textbooks cannot be seen in a vacuum, but needs to be viewed in relation to the political ends that CAPS compliant textbooks are expected to encourage.

Having observed that the curriculum has ideological implications for which the textbooks have to be compliant, I will briefly turn to the content that is expected on Mandela in order to be CAPS acquiescent. The context within which one will find data on Mandela in the textbooks come chiefly from the section entitled “The coming of democracy in South Africa and coming to terms with the past”. This section I have argued has become the new ‘Great Trek’ of school history which seems destined to be present in school curricula for many years to come.² Within the CAPS history document, there are three areas that the textbooks would be obliged to cover concerning Mandela namely the “release Mandela campaign” (p.29), “negotiations with Mandela” (p.30) and the “release of Mandela” (p.30). From this section I obtained most of the data concerning Mandela. It is important to note the emphasis that is placed on Mandela in that few historical figures are mentioned more than once in the CAPS curriculum for grade 12 history. The curriculum thus is in itself

² Under apartheid South Africa the “Great Trek” was pivotal to the justification of white domination. The section was taught regularly and contained many of the apartheid myths, such as the contention that the trekkers moved onto empty land.

placing Mandela on a pedestal afforded to no other historical figure and this would influence how he is represented in the textbooks.

1.4 Rationale and motivation for the study

My main motivation for this study was primarily to obtain a Masters degree in history education which would make me more marketable as an educator. I had taken a sabbatical from teaching and felt that by doing a Masters dissertation I would be honing my research skills and would be adding to my knowledge of history. Thus it is mainly for professional reasons that I have undertaken this study.

From a personal point of view, the issue of history textbooks and the representations of historical figures within them has recently become an interest of mine. Having been through Christian National Education (CNE), I have become aware of how history textbooks affect your world view. CNE used a combination of misinformation and myths to foster a belief in the tenants of apartheid. I had had to spend quite some time unlearning the tainted version of history that was imposed upon us as we memorised whole chapters of National Party (NP) doctrine. Once apartheid came to an end and a more representative history was introduced, I assumed that there was an absence of misinformation and myths. As I mentioned in the introduction, as an educator I had never challenged the textbooks representation of key people and events. On reading that no textbooks are neutral, as I presumed the post-1994 textbooks to be, I began to reflect on the possibility of researching South African history textbooks. What I felt would be fascinating to investigate is whether there happens to be new misrepresentations of the past in contemporary history textbooks.

Having decided that I would choose history textbooks as a field of study, I needed to narrow my topic down to a manageable task. With this in mind I have chosen to trace the representation of Nelson Mandela in grade 12 textbooks. My rationale for choosing Mandela is that he is probably the most well known and most widely respected South African. Mandela has also been in the news lately due to his ill health and subsequent death and so a study on how Mandela is represented, and

perhaps will be remembered, is highly topical. In the previous section I have given a brief description as to how many different awards and honours that Nelson Mandela has received in his lifetime. If such adulation is heaped upon him throughout the world, it beckons that a study be done on how he is represented in grade 12 textbooks. Another motivation for my choosing Mandela as the subject of my study is purely scholastic. No scholar has conducted a study of his representation in any textbooks. By doing so my study would fill a gap that exists in academic research and I feel that I will be making a contribution as a scholar. Thus the rationale and motivation for my choosing Mandela as the subject of my study is that he is a high profile South African and that such a study involving his representation in textbooks would fill a niche in academia.

Having explained why I chose Mandela as the subject of this study, I need to explain the rationale behind my choosing grade 12 history textbooks as the focus of the study. I have chosen to draw data from grade 12 textbooks for two reasons. Firstly, there happens to be rich data on Mandela in the grade 12 textbooks. Secondly, as the learners have to learn the content well for the grade 12 exams and this would leave a lasting impression on them. According to the CAPS document the grade 12 history learners have to write two class tests, two source based tests, two mid-year exams, two preliminary exams and two final exams. The learners would thus have to learn the content for the sections containing references to Mandela no fewer than five times, including the preliminary exams and the final exams. As these exams carry enormous weight in the final assessment mark of the learner, greater attention will be given to these exams thus inculcating any representation of Mandela deep into their memory. Therefore the representation of Mandela in grade 12 textbooks carries much more sway than in the textbooks from any other grade. Given this, I felt that the representation of Mandela in grade 12 textbooks was a vital area for textbook research in South Africa.

1.5 Purpose and focus of the study

The purpose of this study is firstly to understand the representation of Mandela in grade 12 history textbooks. It is not my intention to criticise Mandela, but to understand the representation of Mandela within the textbook sample. It is important

to know how Mandela is represented in grade 12 history textbooks as textbooks are powerful mediums which are able to influence the youth of today. The image of Mandela that is created in the minds of the learners will most probably last their whole lives long, as in most cases the history textbook will be the only history book that they will read. Secondly, by doing so the study aims to add to the research on textbooks in South Africa and in general. Thirdly, the study aims specifically to fill the gap in research concerning Nelson Mandela's representation in South African literature. Given the fact that the aim of this study is to understand the representation of Mandela in a sample of grade 12 textbooks, the focus of the study is on grade 12 textbooks and how Mandela has been represented in them.

In lieu of this, the study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. How is Nelson Mandela represented in grade 12 textbooks?
2. Why has Nelson Mandela been represented in the manner that he has been?

Therefore, through an analysis of three selected grade 12 CAPS compliant history textbooks, I firstly endeavoured to obtain an understanding as to the how Mandela has been represented in the textbooks under study. Secondly, having established how Mandela has been represented in the textbook sample, I put forward a philosophical and theoretical argument that would explain why he has been represented in such a manner.

1.6 Conceptual and theoretical framework

The key concepts that I have researched in this study are Nelson Mandela and textbooks. The theoretical framework for the study was social constructivism. In the first place, textbooks themselves are socially constructed. Furthermore, any representation of Mandela that can be found in the textbooks would be a social construction. Such constructions are present to perform a specific social function. One of the functions that the representation of Mandela could fulfil would be one of a myth. As it can be argued that history is a mythical construction (Friedman cited in Bottici, 2007), it follows that any representation of Mandela could be argued to be mythical. As there is a powerful mythology surrounding Mandela making it difficult to

separate the man from the myth (Martin, 2006), it would be difficult for any textbook author to represent Mandela free of any mythical qualities. Therefore, aside from using the theories surrounding textbooks in order to understand the representation of Mandela in the textbooks under study, I have ultimately used extant theories around myth and political myth so as to develop a theoretical and conceptual framework within which to come to a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

1.7 Research design and methodology

In this section I will give an overview of the research design and methodology which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The research design is basically a plan of how I proposed to answer the questions posed in 1.6. In terms of the research approach I have employed a qualitative approach to this study as it was my aim to understand the representation of Mandela in selected grade 12 textbooks. The qualitative approach involves the search for meaning and understanding (Merriam, 2002) and was thus an appropriate approach for my study. Qualitative research usually entails a researcher interpreting meaning from data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The purpose of this study required that I interpreted the data within the textbooks and not that I quantified the data. Hence the qualitative approach was more applicable (Creswell, 2002).

Having decided on a qualitative approach, I then decided on a paradigm that would fit snugly into this approach. Hence this study was located within the interpretivist paradigm as it was my aim to interpret data and produce a rich descriptive analysis of the representation of Mandela in textbooks. Furthermore, the knowledge claims of interpretivism are perfectly suited for this study. Interpretivism views reality as socially constructed (Mertens cited in Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006) and as any representation of Mandela would have been a social construct, as are textbooks, my study fitted neatly into this paradigm. Furthermore, I did not start with a theory but developed one as the research progressed. This in itself is another feature of the interpretivist paradigm (Creswell, 2002).

My research sample was both purposive and convenient. According to Teddlie and Yu (2007), purposive sampling is mainly associated with qualitative studies and may be described as choosing units (textbooks in the case of this study) based on the specific purpose of being best suited to answer a research study's questions. In this regard, the chosen textbooks all had rich data concerning Mandela. In other words I chose the textbooks that had the most references to Mandela. Convenience sampling entails choosing samples that are easily accessible (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The textbooks that I used in this study either came from my wife's school or from my supervisor. Thus the textbooks were chosen on the basis of their accessibility and also on the basis that they have rich data content. By using such sampling methods I was able to better understand the phenomenon under investigation.

Content analysis was the basis of my research. I employed conventional content analysis in that I aimed is to describe the phenomenon under investigation. In addition I did not have any preconceived categories to start with instead I allowed the categories names to emerge from the data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols or any other communicated messages (Mouton, 2001). However, in this study I only interpreted words found in the text. I did not include any pictures or symbols in my analysis as this would lead to undue complications. By analysing pictures or symbols, the dissertation would become far too lengthy for a Masters degree, and also it would take much longer to complete as a result. The advantage of content analysis is that it aims to preserve the benefits of quantitative content analysis for a more qualitative text interpretation in that step by step rules of analysis are applied and that categories are identified within the process of analysis. By employing content analysis, the researcher analyses both the manifest content of the textbook and the context that the content is situated within (Mayring, 2000).

Thus the methodology that I used was content analysis, while the method that I employed in the analysing of the data in the textbooks was open coding. Open coding is the method of categorising the data into distinct units of meaning (Goulding as cited in Moghaddam, 2006). By employing open coding it meant that I had to read and reread the data so as to identify a series of codes or themes which will eventually be grouped together under various categories. Each category was a

particular representation of Mandela. An example of a category that I identified was Mandela as a reconciler. Under open coding I was free to change the codes or categories as I saw fit which I found added flexibility to the study. I coded line by line as this allowed me to verify categories as well as produce rich data content for each category (Glaser & Holton 2004). As many categories were identified, it was necessary to group the categories according to themes which formed higher order categories. Consequently I was able to reduce the number of categories by creating higher order categories until saturation was reached. Ultimately the higher order categories were consolidated into an overarching category related to the portrayal of Mandela.

The findings of the open-coding process thus produced various representations of Mandela. Thus I was able to answer the question of how Mandela was represented in the textbook sample. On completion of such a comparison I was able to theorise as to why Mandela was represented in the textbooks in the way he was by referring to the literature on Mandela, textbooks and myths.

1.8 Outline of the dissertation

The structure of this study encompassed six chapters:

Chapter 1

In this chapter I outlined the study as a whole. I placed the study in its context by reviewing the contemporary importance of Mandela, the issue of textbooks in South Africa and the curriculum developments that resulted in CAPS. The rationale and the motivation of the study were discussed. The purpose and focus of the study was then delineated and the research questions were introduced. The methodology adopted in this study was conversed as well. Thus the crux of this chapter was for me to give a synopsis of my reasons for conducting the study and how the answering of the research questions posed would be approached.

Chapter 2

This chapter of the study is a literature review comprising three main themes. The first theme that I focused on was the literature related to global textbook issues. Here

I addressed what scholars opined concerning the nature and power of textbooks. The second theme reviewed the literature relating to South African History textbooks in particular. The third theme honed in on the historiography surrounding Mandela in order to identify how Mandela has been represented in scholarly works. I adopted a thematic approach to the various representations of Mandela by linking the representations to the roles that he played in his life. Knowing how Mandela is represented in literature will be essential in any comparison with his representation in the textbooks. In this chapter I also identified the niche in which my study fits with regard to the gap in the literature.

Chapter 3

Here I explained the research design and the research methodology used in detail. The meaning and implications of an interpretive paradigm, which formed the framework of my study, was discussed. An explanation of the consequences of the qualitative approach was then addressed. Then the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study were laid down. Content analysis was the chosen research methodology of the study. In this chapter I clarified the content analysis method of data analysis that I employed in great detail. The method of sampling issues was then elaborated on and the textbook sample was tabled. I then considered issues such as validity or trustworthiness as well as limitations and ethical considerations ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods were thoroughly interrogated.

Chapter 4

In this chapter I presented the results of the data analysis. The results of the data analysis were used to answer the research question of how Mandela is represented in the textbook sample. The various representations that I found to be present in the textbook sample were analysed. I firstly addressed the character traits attributed to Nelson Mandela in the textbook sample. Secondly, the various roles that were ascribed to Mandela in the textbook sample were then analysed. Finally I identified the symbolic values attributed to Mandela. Throughout the chapter I integrated these aspects together so as to consolidate the various representations of Mandela into a whole.

Chapter 5

In this chapter I tackled the question as to why Mandela has been represented the way that he has been in the textbook sample. In order to understand why Mandela was represented the way he has been, I first placed the study within the context of nation building and the role that Mandela has played in creating a new national identity. I then proceeded to refer to what the literature opines concerning the nature of the curriculum, textbooks and history textbooks in particular in order to further explain why Mandela has been represented the way he has been in the textbook sample. Finally, I referred to selected theories of myth and political myth in order to further comprehend why Mandela has been represented the way he has been.

Chapter 6

In this chapter I presented an overview of my study, with an aim to round off the study. I then provided a summary of the findings and the conclusions that I have made in this study with regards to the research questions. The contribution that this study has made towards academic research was pointed out as well. The limitations of this study were also addressed in this chapter and I also outlined the implications this study has for future research. Finally, I deliberated on my personal growth as an academic as a result of doing the research that was required for this study.

1.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the context under which this study was researched. It also outlined the rationale and motivation for the study, the purpose and focus of the study, and the research design and methodology of the research study. It produced an overview of the research study by providing a preview of the chapters to follow. So, in this chapter I gave an overview of the study that I conducted. In the next chapter, a comprehensive review of literature on textbooks and the literature on Nelson Mandela has been undertaken.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A literature review serves the purpose of placing a study in the context of other related scholarly works. It is described as a “scholarship review” (Mouton, 2001, p.87) as it outlines what has been done within the field that the study locates itself. A thorough knowledge of what has preceded a study is essential in producing good research which “advances our collective understanding” making the literature review central to any dissertation (Boot & Biele, 2005, p.3). It is appropriate to note that as a researcher you ‘stand on the shoulders of giants’ as you build on and learn from what research has preceded yours. No study therefore occurs in isolation. A further motivation for doing a thorough literature review is to make sure that you are not duplicating another study (Mouton, 2001). In regard to this point, I have as yet not come across an academic work on the representation of Mandela in South African history textbooks. Thus my literature review has shown that there is a gap in research concerning representations of Mandela in textbooks, which is the niche that my study will fill. Finally, the literature review has three main objectives: firstly to outline the broad context of the study, secondly to place the literature in a wider scholarly and historical context, and finally to critically discuss the findings of extant research (Boote & Biele, 2005).

A literature review was vital to this study as the literature relating to textbooks and particularly history textbooks needed to be understood. For the purpose of this study, I needed to cultivate an awareness of developments in the field of textbook research. Furthermore, an understanding of how Nelson Mandela is represented in literature was crucial as it would be valuable to the study to compare the representations of Mandela in the textbooks to those in other forms of literature. In addition, reviewing the literature pertaining to history textbooks and Mandela would be invaluable in understanding why Mandela is represented the way he is in the textbook sample.

In researching my study I first began by reading academic literature on and surrounding Nelson Mandela so as to get an idea of how he has been represented. I found a fair amount of literature on Mandela but I was struck by the dearth of critical literature. This should be noted when considering the representation of Mandela in textbooks. I then began researching the issues surrounding textbooks both globally and in South Africa. I found that there was a strong body of research on issues surrounding textbooks. Textbook research is a well-established field of research which boasts, not only, numerous researchers but also the George Eckhart Institute for International textbook research which focuses solely on textbook research. I obtained the literature through a variety of sources. The main source of my literature came via the internet through Google Scholar. In addition, I obtained a large body of literature from the various libraries of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). I also obtained literature from my supervisor and consulted literature that I had in my possession.

In the remainder of this chapter I will review the literature that proved to be helpful to my study. It would be impossible to review all the literature that I have read so I have only included the literature that is relevant to the thematic approach that I have chosen for the literature review. This I plan to do by reviewing the literature according to three main themes. The first theme that I will address focuses on the literature surrounding global textbook issues. As part of this theme I will review what scholars have to say concerning the nature of textbooks and what power history textbooks have in particular. Whilst my study involves the representation of Mandela in South African textbooks, I felt it was first necessary to develop an awareness of issues surrounding textbooks globally. Then, in the second section, I will review the literature addressing issues relating to South African textbooks. These two themes, when combined, should give the study a solid foundation with which to approach my findings concerning the textbooks and their representation of Mandela. The final theme will examine the historiography surrounding Nelson Mandela. Any study on the representation of Mandela in South African textbooks must take into account what the histories of Mandela say about him. Knowing how Mandela is represented in literature will be essential in any comparison with his representation in the textbooks later on in the study.

2.2 The nature of textbooks

Before discussing the nature of textbooks I believe it is important to review what scholars opine concerning the nature of curriculum development as the curriculum informs the content of the textbook. The curriculum is a socially constructed plan or program of what is to be taught and textbooks have to adhere to such a program.

Education is not neutral simply because the curriculum that controls what is taught is not neutral itself (Apple, 1990; 1993). The curriculum is someone's or some interest group's choice, their 'legitimated knowledge' (official knowledge). Given the supremacy in education that the curriculum enjoys, it is often a battleground where interest groups fight to determine whose knowledge is most valuable and thus included as 'official knowledge' (Apple, 1993).

The curriculum is a battleground simply because schools are seen as an agent for social control in that students are, in sociological terms, socialised. Schools and society in general, in Gramscian terms, are saturated by the cultural and political hegemony of the dominant class. Knowledge that is taught in schools is hand picked out of a much larger body of knowledge by the dominant class or dominant interest group. Who determines what is taught and what content should be in the textbooks determines how political and cultural domination is achieved in schools and consequently wider society (Apple, 1993). Thus, the first step to achieving such hegemony would be to control the school curriculum which dictates what knowledge is present in textbooks and what is taught in schools. Therefore, the curriculum cannot be seen as neutral, but rather the object of contention among interests groups who hope to achieve cultural and political hegemony in a society.

In a country that is undergoing, or has underwent social upheaval, as in the case of South Africa, the content of the curriculum and textbooks becomes very contentious. Groups such as women, and minoritised ethnic groups, whose histories have been previously ignored, fight to be represented in the curriculum. One can see this in the United States of America (USA) which was impacted on by the women's movement and Civil Rights Movement. Here women and black people are now represented in their history curriculum (Apple, 1992). In South Africa, where black people were once on the periphery of the history curriculum, now as a result of the end of apartheid, we

see that the history of black people has taken the central position in the history curriculum (Engelbrecht, 2008). Thus, in societies like South Africa that have undergone drastic political change, the curriculum is revised to include groups that have previously been ignored.

As stated previously, the curriculum determines the content and form of the textbook. As it is now apparent that the curriculum is a product of socio-political battles, it must follow that the textbook is likewise such a product. As the curriculum is not neutral, neither are the textbooks. Textbooks are “conceived and designed by real people with real interests” (Apple, 1992, p.4). The content in textbooks is not the result of an arbitrary process but there is real intent behind choices made in deciding on content. It follows that any representation found in textbooks, whether it be gender representations or the representation of Mandela in the case of this study, has motives behind it (McKinney, 2005). Textbook authors, who are themselves a product of their own social environment, cannot be disinterested parties. Textbook content therefore is not neutral but contains the knowledge that is carefully and purposefully selected by people with their own agendas.

The textbook carries strong cultural messages (Foster & Crawford, 2006). In the textbook, which is an instrument of socialisation, there exists the fundamental cultural knowledge which learners are likely to embrace (Crawford, 2000). According to Fitzgerald, cited in Foster and Crawford (2006), the function of the textbook is to “tell the children what their elders want them to know” (p.4). Here the ‘elders’ refer to those in the dominant cultural group. Textbooks play an important role in defining whose culture is taught (Apple, 1992). In other words, textbooks generally reflect the culture of the dominant group. Textbooks are therefore cultural artefacts that contain the values of dominant cultural and social groups (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Thus the textbook can be used as a medium for cultural domination.

In addition to being cultural artefacts, textbooks are key components in the process of assembling ‘appropriate’ ideologies and are a likeness of the knowledge and values thought important by dominant groups in a society. The values that are contained in textbooks in general support the political values and the ideological thought of the dominant group within that society (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983).

This is important to note for this study, as the representation of Mandela in textbooks is likely to support the values of the African National Congress (ANC) as the dominant political group. In lieu of the inherent power of the textbook, which will be discussed in the next section, textbook content is the result of competition between powerful groups who fully understand its centrality to the furtherance of their political goals and disseminating their ideology (Crawford, 2003). Thus, textbooks often carry overt political messages.

It is not only interest groups that determine the content of textbooks but also the nature of textbook production and market forces. Textbooks are also a commodity that is sold in a competitive capitalist driven market. Finance and costing are the all important factors considered by publishers in the publishing of textbooks. The industry, like any other industry, is profit driven (Crawford & Foster, 2006; Apple 1991). According to Apple (1991), the textbook market in the USA is a profitable industry. In 1980 textbook sales in the USA was worth 1.5 billion dollars (p.28). Given this statistic, one can see why it is the bottom line and not content that is many a time the most important. Publishers in general will not place ideological concerns above their profit margins. If, as in South Africa, there is an approved textbook list, publishers will do their utmost to have their book on it. Getting your book on the approved list makes a textbook more profitable. Thus, publishers avoid the inclusion of controversial content (Apple, 1991). Finally, textbook publishers are aware that their product must be in line with whatever the national exams of the country the product is aimed at require (Crawford & Foster, 2006). In this way, the textbook publishing industry ensures that 'official knowledge' is adhered to and by doing so the textbook remains subservient to the dominant cultural, social and political interest groups. Thus the textbook publishers themselves ensure that official knowledge is adhered to in their pursuit of profits.

Another aspect of textbook production that impacts on the content of the textbook is the editorial process. For Crawford and Foster (2006), textbooks are 'designed' by editors in the main as opposed to being written by the authors themselves. The authors of textbooks normally find that their work has been altered, with editors sometimes rewriting the vast majority of the submission. This editing occurs for a variety of reasons; to maintain the form and shape of a series of textbooks, to make

it more accessible to the reader or to reduce the content to a marketable size. School textbooks are thus not the work of the authors only but also represent the work of editors. In this manner textbook content becomes diluted. Thus textbook content has been vetted by editors to make their product more appealing.

As far as the nature of textbooks is concerned, it has been shown that textbook content is not neutral and its content reflects the official knowledge of dominant interest groups within a society. The nature of the textbook publishing industry further entrenches official knowledge within the textbooks. The implication of this for my study is that any representation of Mandela found in the textbooks has been determined by various interest groups and their version of official knowledge.

2.3 The power of textbooks.

Having shown that for various interest groups the textbook represents a battleground for social and cultural hegemony in a society, and its content is *perceived* to have substantial power, one still has to ask the question, 'what power does the textbook in itself *actually* have?' For the purposes of this study the question can be altered to read: 'What power does the representation of Mandela in the textbooks actually have?' To answer this question one can start by looking at the connotations that the word textbook carries. The use of the term 'textbook' in English indicates that the textbook has considerable power. One talks of a textbook operation, a textbook shot in cricket or a textbook procedure. From this one gets the impression that a textbook is something that one must not deviate from, that it is an example of the desired result perfect in every way (Crawford, 2003). If a student ascribes to this notion, the textbook, with all its cultural and political underpinnings, holds incredible power in shaping his/her world. For many students and teachers textbooks are comprised of the "canons of truthfulness" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p.4) which gives the textbook a sacred quality. This is illustrated by Olsen, cited in Crawford (2006), who adds that "textbooks, like religious ritual, are devices for putting ideas and beliefs above suspicion" (p.56). Therefore, it is in the belief that textbooks embodies truths or even contains a road map to perfection that one can find the power of the textbook, that is the power to socialise students.

In addition to containing 'truths', textbooks play a dominant role in a student's academic life. In practice we find that a textbook is used "75% of time in class and 90% of time on homework" (Apple, 1991, p.24). Thus the textbook is central to the education of students and students spend a lot of time consuming its content. Furthermore, textbooks dominate what students learn in preparation for tests and exams, and as a result have tremendous power in that 'official knowledge' could be stored in the long term memory of future generations (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). If the pedagogy entails rote learning then textbook content has stronger implications in terms of political and social control. Thus, in addition to the belief in the authority of the textbook, the amount of time spent by students with textbooks and the fact that students have to sit exams based on textbook knowledge gives the textbook considerable social power.

On the other hand, one must take cognisance of the fact that the text is open to multiple meanings and that what is taught is not necessarily learnt (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). In terms of the meaning of the text, McKinney (2005) claims that "meaning is created in the process of interaction between the text and the reader rather than merely residing in the text" (p.49). Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) argue that there are three responses to a text: Dominated, where the text is accepted at face value; Negotiated, where the reader will dispute a claim, but overall will accept the text, and Oppositional, where the reader rejects dominant tendencies and interpretations of the text. Students don't approach a text *tabula rasa*, but are influenced not only by their social context, but also by their own 'unofficial knowledge' which has been imparted to them perhaps by their parents or the media. One must also, in especially the South African context, note the difficulty second language learners would have in obtaining meaning from a text that is pitched at first language level. Thus one cannot state that textbook content is correctly interpreted or accepted by all students. In order to ascertain the power of the text within itself, one would have to conduct a study on what proportion of students accept a text, either wholly or partially, as opposed to those who completely reject the text. Such a study would almost be impossible. Thus the power of the textbook can be limited by the manner in which students approach the text.

Moreover, one must not ignore the role the teacher plays in the interpretation of the text. We cannot assume that the author's intention behind the text is actually taught. This point is emphasised by Hues (2011) in his observations at two Afrikaans schools in South Africa. Here teachers introduced their own 'hidden curriculum' by either contradicting the text or glossing over events depicted in the textbooks. In this case, one of the teachers concerned represented Mandela as a terrorist which was in contradiction of the text concerned. Any textbooks representation of Mandela can be openly disputed by a teacher. One can also presume that teachers can further limit the power of the textbook in that they may also make their own classroom notes and only use the textbook occasionally for, for example, homework purposes. Thus the 'official knowledge' that is in the textbooks can be superseded by the teachers 'unofficial knowledge'.

Therefore, the textbook has tremendous power in forming young people's minds. For the most part, the textbook is seen as infallible and needs to be adhered to. Students spend much time with the textbook and have to learn its content. However, one must not overestimate the power of the text as it is open to multiple readings by students and teachers alike.

2.4 The importance of history textbooks

Having established the nature and power of textbooks in general, one needs to evaluate the importance of the history textbook in particular and the power that it has within a society. In this section I intend to illustrate why governments and interest groups within a society place so much store in the content of history textbooks. I will then focus on why governments throughout the world pay careful attention to their history textbooks. To demonstrate this point, I will refer to four case studies involving the USA, China, Japan, and Georgia.

The importance of the history textbook is clearly demonstrated by the keen interest that governments, politicians and other interest groups take in its content. The very nature of the history textbook, which contains the agreed upon collective national memory of a society, lends itself to ideological uses. The history textbook therefore is

considered to be exceptionally potent in disseminating ideology. Ruling elites see the importance of history textbooks as an ideal vehicle with which to instill in fledgling minds a shared set of values, a national ethos, and a sense of political correctness. History textbooks contain the 'national historical narrative', a narrative that defines the conceptions of nationhood (Foster & Crawford, 2006). In this regard, it is important to note that the textbook is probably the only history book most people will read (Morgan, 2012). Vinterek (2009) notes that if students do get to read text it is more likely to be in a history class. Therefore, few will be exposed to alternative histories while the majority will cling to the official knowledge that they encountered at school. Thus, the importance of the history textbook lies in its ideological uses and the durability of its content in the minds of the students.

The content of history textbooks is fashioned by opposing ideological and cultural forces within a country and is a result of compromises. Political and cultural interest groups, that wish to gain hegemony within a society, do their utmost to influence what knowledge gets selected and placed within history textbooks. Governments are well aware of the importance of history in creating a national narrative, a collective memory, which consolidates their notion of nationhood and national identity (Weldon, 2003; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Torsti, 2007). The very existence of the state is dependent on a unified sense of nationhood, thus the history textbook has pride of place in the creation of a national narrative. The national narrative is usually based upon a combination of myth, memory and official knowledge. It is not in the interest of the nation state to tell the whole truth about itself, but rather to craft a single, simplistic and unifying historical narrative. In order to create such a narrative, it is necessary to silence all dissenting voices and contradictions. Such a narrative must represent what they choose to remember so as to gain the support of the populace. An idealized national narrative can come in very useful for a government when the time comes to send its citizens to, for example, war in that one can invoke the memory of past heroes who unselfishly lay down their lives in service of the nation (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Thus the history textbook is considered important as it contains the national narrative of a state.

In lieu of the importance of textbooks as political and ideological tools, it is not surprising that their content is closely monitored by governments throughout the

world. The political role played by textbooks in authoritarian countries is most evident. For the Chinese government, the writing of textbooks is of paramount importance in maintaining the ideological status quo. The content of textbooks is carefully controlled and often a spin is placed on 'sensitive' events such as the Tiananmen square uprising. Higgins has observed that one Chinese text quotes Tiananmen student demonstrators as a sign of solidarity with the Chinese Communist Party, suggesting a shared dislike for corruption between the demonstrators and the government (Higgins cited in Crawford, 2000). Here one is reminded of what Griffen and Marciano opined, that "the omission of crucial facts and viewpoints limits profoundly the ways in which students came to view historical events" (Griffen & Marciano cited in Foster & Crawford, 2006, p.4). Thus by carefully doctoring historical facts, authoritarian governments not only try to erase embarrassing moments from public memory but use them to further enhance their standing amongst the populace.

It is not only in authoritarian governments that one sees government interference in the content of textbooks but also in democratic countries. Japan is a case in point, where the Japanese government monitors and standardises textbook content. Textbooks are vetted and approved by a textbook screening committee (Crawford, 2006). Here a textbook, *New Japanese History*, was rejected because it contained too many negative illustrations of Japan's experience of World War II. After a legal battle spanning 35 years, the textbooks author, Lenaga, finally won the right to have his textbook on the official list of prescribed history textbooks (Ogawa & Field, 2006). This illustrates the power textbooks have in that the Japanese government was determined to erase from public memory the painful experiences of World War II by controlling the content of textbooks.

In addition to internal disputes over textbook content, Japan's textbook policy would also cause a regional controversy. In 1981, the Japanese government issued a directive ordering textbook publishers to sanitise portrayals of Japanese colonial rule in Korea and Taiwan, the Nanjing massacre and the use of Korean 'comfort' women by Japanese soldiers in World War II. Additionally, the government specifically ordered the use of the word 'aggression' to be changed to 'advancement'. This elicited a strong reaction from both China and South Korea who, in a rare moment of

solidarity, lodged an official protest against the Japanese government. Taken by surprise the Japanese government apologized to China and South Korea and consequently ensured that textbooks did not gloss over Japanese atrocities in World War II (Ogawa & Field, 2006). This example clearly demonstrates the power that history textbooks have in that textbook content can have international consequences.

If one were to postulate as to how myths are created in history textbooks, one would do well to note Lowen's (1995) observations. Lowen identified a process of heroification in which textbooks in the United States have created heroes out of historical figures such as Woodrow Wilson, their president during World War I, and Helen Keller, the blind poet. Here myths were created around Wilson and Keller by keeping silent about their less 'savoury' aspects of their lives. Wilson had strong segregationist tendencies whilst Keller was an active radical socialist. Including these aspects of their lives in a textbook would make history 'messy' by giving heroes views that run contrary to the dominant political culture. Alridge (2006) notes that Martin Luther King has also singled out for such a heroic representation with more controversial aspects of his life left out. Thus a "Disney version of history" is created, a history that is complete with unblemished heroes, which is viewed as being more appropriate for consumption (Lowen, 1995, p.35). By emphasising only the positive aspects of a historical figure one creates a mythical representation of that figure. The purpose behind creating such unblemished heroes is the hope that the students will emulate them. Lowen's work is particularly important to my study in that one could explain silences surrounding Mandela in lieu of a process of heroification. Therefore by keeping silent about controversial issues surrounding historical figures, countries can make unblemished heroes out of them.

In the case of emerging democracies, such as South Africa, the role of history is vital to the development of a new national identity (Pulakow-Suranski, 2002). History textbooks have particular power in developing a sense of nationhood. One must be aware of this need to develop a sense of nationhood in South Africa's context. Important for this study is to identify how Mandela is represented in the textbooks within the context of nation building. In the case of countries that previously were part of the Soviet Union, history textbooks are seen as a means to create a national

identity apart from Russia. This is evident in the case of Georgia which, as a whole, resented being included in the Soviet Union. During the Stalinist phase of Soviet rule, all Georgian history textbooks, required the personal approval of Stalin who incidentally hailed from that region. Nowadays, Georgian textbooks reflect their new found independence from Russia. Georgian academics have revised the histories of Georgian-Russian relations, with their textbooks giving the false impression that Russia forced Georgia to accept Russian rule. Russia is now viewed as the historical enemy of Georgia. Apart from such Russophobia, embedded in Georgian history textbooks is the belief of Georgia's overall superiority over Russia (Medvedev, et al. 2006). Thus the power of the textbook, in this case, is the perceived ability it has to unite a country by introducing a shared common enemy. The use of history textbooks to unite a country by introducing a shared common enemy also supports the hypothesis of Dean, Hartmann and Katzen (1983) that textbook representations of a foreign country are predisposed to historical relations with that country. In the case of South Africa there may not be a common external enemy but rather an internal social-political enemy in the form of apartheid and racism. It remains to be seen if Mandela is represented as a uniting force opposed to such an internal common enemy.

By way of conclusion the history textbook is unique in that governments see its content as vitally important. In it one will find the national narrative and what is considered ideologically important for the government. The case studies of China, Japan, USA and Georgia all demonstrate the importance of the history textbook in the eyes of governments. It is therefore important to this study that one is aware of the possibility of Mandela being used by the government as a means of nation building. One also needs to ask the question; where does Mandela fit into the national narrative?

2.5 South African history textbooks

Having discussed the role of the history textbook internationally, I will now focus on history textbook issues within South Africa. Firstly one needs to examine the issues that surrounded apartheid history textbooks. An understanding of the nature of apartheid textbooks is crucial to comprehending the textbook revision that has taken

place since 1994. It follows that one should then trace the development of history textbooks since apartheid and identify the interest groups that contributed to such development. Finally, it is imperative to ask whose knowledge is considered to be the legitimate knowledge that is found in the revised history textbooks. This is important as it could help answer the question of why Mandela is represented the way he is in South African grade 12 history textbooks.

The South African history curriculum, and in particular the textbooks that have developed out of the curriculum, have always been politicised. In fact for historian Charles van Onselen, the South African history textbook debate is "a playground for ideologues and politicians" (Van Onselen cited in Van Eeden, 2008, p.16). The textbooks from the apartheid era, that is pre-1994, were used as tools to legitimise apartheid ideology (Weldon, 2003). The apartheid education system also used textbooks as a means to impart their ideology and divide South Africa along racial lines. Apartheid textbooks were used as vehicles to legitimise the apartheid political system and its mythologies (Engelbrecht, 2006). Myths, such as the belief that white settlers settled on unoccupied land, were powerful devices for justifying white minority rule. Thus the apartheid history textbook was by no means neutral but contained strong ideological and political content.

In terms of the apartheid mythologies, Carnevon, cited in da Cruz (2005), identified 10 myths present in apartheid era textbooks that served the purposes of the apartheid government. These myths were outright falsifications. The most self-serving myth was the myth that the Dutch Voortrekkers moved into uninhabited land and thus had the right to settle in such areas. This myth legitimised an enormous 'land grab' in the interior of the country. A second myth that apartheid textbooks popularised, was that traditional African leaders were warmongering, blood thirsty despots (da Cruz, 2005). According to the apartheid history textbooks, it was the arrival of white trekkers that eventually brought peace in the interior and thus justifying white minority rule (Bam & Visser, 1996).

In addition to Carnevon's findings, a study of textbooks conducted in 1983 by J.M. du Preez, cited by Engelbrecht (2006), identified 12 master symbols or myths prevalent

in apartheid textbooks. These powerful myths, still held as truth by many, were part and parcel of the ruling Nationalist Party's ideology. Some of the key myths were:

- Whites are superior to blacks
- Afrikaners have a privileged relationship with God
- South Africa belongs to the Afrikaner
- Afrikaners are militarily innovative
- South Africa is a leader in Africa
- Afrikaners have a God given task to fulfil in Africa

(du Preez cited by Engelbrecht, 2006, pp.71-72)

Thus Carnevon and du Preez both identified myths that were prevalent in apartheid-era textbooks. Their findings show, beyond any doubt, that there was a strong political agenda present in the textbooks.

Furthermore, apartheid textbooks ignored the histories of black South Africans and focused only on white South African history and European history (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983; Engelbrecht, 2006). The purpose of this was to establish the supremacy of white histories. The presence of crude stereotyping of ethnic groups in the textbooks (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983) further polarised an already divided society. Apartheid textbooks had further limitations in that it adhered to a Rankean historiography, with its sexist 'great men' approach (Engelbrecht, 2008). History was treated as a science comprising unquestionable facts (Weldon, 2003). It was as if history textbooks had been frozen in time and methodology since the 1950's when the ruling National Party devised CNE and Bantu Education. Thus, apartheid textbooks not only contained myths that legitimated white minority rule, but also alienated the vast majority of the population and further divided South Africa. In addition the textbooks did not reflect the advances made by history as a discipline. However, during the 1990's as South Africa underwent dramatic political changes, so would history textbooks.

By the early 1990's there was consensus amongst South African historians that the textbooks that served the purposes of apartheid had to go. In 1993, on the initiative of the George Eckhart Institute for International textbook Research, three colloquia on 'School history textbooks for a democratic South Africa' was held. The colloquia

addressed the issue of a new curriculum as textbook production is allied to curriculum development (Siebörger, 2006). Two key proposals concerning the history curriculum was adopted. Firstly, that any new history syllabus must be inclusive and democratic, and secondly the new syllabus must promote democracy (Siebörger, 1994). It was noted by one participant that there would be tension between political objectives and the need to equip students with the necessary historical skills (Stolten, 2003). Thus there was a clear political agenda attached to the revision of the history syllabus, and political considerations would dominate the transformation of the history curriculum and history textbooks for the rest of the 1990's and into the new century.

In the immediate years after 1994, curriculum revision was very much part of political developments (Van Eeden, 2010). In 1994 the Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bhengu, authorised the development of an interim revision of the history syllabus. However, no new textbooks were prescribed so history teachers still had to use apartheid era textbooks. The government maintained that this was due to inadequate funding available for the introduction of new sources. Pulakow-Suranski (2002) argues that it was for political reasons that textbooks were not revised in the early stages of South Africa's democracy for fear of alienating whites. Reconciliation was high on the ANC's political agenda, even to the point of stating that Afrikaners and blacks were equal victims of the English during the Anglo-Boer War. Thus, even the absence of new textbooks could be viewed as a political decision. At the end of the day both the absence of new textbooks and the interim syllabus pleased few (Engelbrecht, 2008). It was clear that the syllabus would have to be revised again and that there was a desperate need for textbook revision and production.

Towards the end of 1996 work began on a new curriculum which would be known as Curriculum 2005. Curriculum 2005 would dictate the content and form of the first new textbooks since the end of apartheid. Unfortunately, Curriculum 2005 was hastily put together and consequently the new history textbooks in general did not reflect the advances made in history as a discipline (Siebörger, 2006). It would not be long before Curriculum 2005 would be revised.

In 1999, Kader Asmal was appointed Minister of Education and he would oversee further revisions of the curriculum and textbooks. After consulting the DoE, Kader Asmal appointed a committee to review Curriculum 2005 in February 2000. The result was a simplified Curriculum 2005, the Draft Revised National Curriculum Statement, which was widely consulted in its development (Stolten, 2008). Importantly for history as a subject, Asmal took special interest in trying to restore it to a central place in the curriculum. In order to improve the quality of teaching and learning, Asmal appointed a history/archaeological panel (Engelbrecht, 2008). Asmal, cited in Engelbrecht (2008), drew attention to the change he wanted to see in history textbooks when he stated:

The lion, we have always hoped, will one day have its day ... The lion will one day rise up and write the history of Africa. We know, very well, the kinds of histories that have been written by the hunter. Those books only serve the hunter's interests ... We now want to hear the lion's story. We now want to hear the lion's roar (p.523).

Asmal's metaphor of the lion's story could well be the history of the struggle against the apartheid hunter. Here one must ask, in terms of the struggle and the context of this study, does Mandela get the lion's share. Thus it is clear that although there has been a move to the discipline of history in textbooks, the political nature of the textbook is still clear.

At this stage one must also ask who had the final say in the selection of what would be 'official knowledge' in South African schools since the end of apartheid. The DoE, now the Department of Basic Education and Training (DoBET) produces curriculum documents outlining what is to be taught in each grade. This central document informs the content of history textbooks. All curriculum review and development were carried out by panels that were chosen by DoBET. It stands to reason that people included on these panels would be those who best would reflect the interests of the government. This must be noted as the ANC would have a strong voice on how Mandela is represented. In terms of the development of Curriculum 2005 and its subsequent revisions, decisions concerning content were decided at a higher departmental level (Van Eeden, 2008). The revision of the curriculum 2005 history curriculum was determined by political and human rights forces (Weldon cited in Van

Eeden, 2008) and it stands to reason that subsequent revisions continued in a similar vein. The curricula thus came to reflect the interests of the ANC, which is the ruling political party. This would in turn affect how Mandela is represented in textbooks. Thus 'official knowledge' in South African schools is determined by the government and those few chosen academic voices.

In addition to determining 'official knowledge', the DoBET has the power to produce a prescribed textbook list. All textbooks are submitted to the department for approval and it is in the interests of publishers to be on that list. As a result publishers aim to please the authorities, and consequently stay clear of controversy (Van Eeden, 2010). Chapter headings for most textbooks are copied verbatim from curriculum documents (Morgan & Henning, 2011). Textbook publishers are also at pains to mirror the dominant political beliefs (Van Eeden, 2008). Thus, as is the case of global textbook publishing, South African textbook publishers toe the line of the DoBET.

The history textbook is becoming increasingly important in the South African context. According to the *Report of the history/archaeology panel to the minister of education* (2000), textbooks have a significant role to play in South Africa. Due to the lack of resources facing a large proportion of schools the textbook is the probably the only teaching resource available to history teachers. The Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, emphasised the importance of textbooks in her report to parliament in 2009. She said that "textbooks are going to be used as an effective tool to ensure consistency, coverage, appropriate pacing and better quality in terms of instruction and content" (Motshekga, 2009, npg.). This is very significant, apart from ensuring that official knowledge is covered consistently, teachers are expected to pace themselves according to the textbook content. This would make the textbook central to any planning that the teacher does. Thus it is the wish of the DoBET that textbooks occupy primary place in the classroom.

Given the ascendancy now afforded to textbooks in the classroom, what do scholars opine about the content of history textbooks. Whilst textbooks no longer contain apartheid stereotypes, new stereotypes, new myths and silences have come to the fore (Engelbrecht, 2008; Morgan & Henning, 2011). For example, white people such

as Max du Preez, the anti-apartheid Afrikaner journalist, and the late Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party³, who were opposed to apartheid at great risks to themselves, are given little if any representation (Van Eeden, 2010). Witz, cited in Morgan and Henning (2011), notes there has been a clear redress of black and white history imbalances in textbooks. However, due to the desire to foster nation building, in the form of the 'rainbow nation', multiculturalism dominates the narratives in textbooks. In addition, any meaningful discussion of conflict between ethnic groups is avoided. Conflict is depicted as "unfortunate", due to a "lack of understanding" or needs to be "understood in context" (p.171). A study by Morgan and Henning (2011) showed that, through a reductionist approach, new stereotypes have emerged in history textbooks. Stereotypes such as perpetrator and victim, black and white and 'us' and 'them' were found to be present in most of the textbooks that they analysed. An example of reductionism that was found was that colonialists and missionaries were lumped together in the same category. History textbooks made no attempt to show the complexity of issues such as imperialism and racism. Thus whilst having moved away from the ideological machinations of apartheid, the new South African history textbooks carry their own stereotypes. In my readings of the literature surrounding South African history textbooks, I have not found any research on myths in current South African textbooks. This would constitute a gap in the research conducted thus far.

By way of a conclusion, textbooks in South African schools have always been political in nature. Whether they were used to legitimise white supremacy or to engage in nation building along democratic lines, there has always been an underlying political motive. It has also been noted that new stereotypes have emerged. Those few voices that decided on 'official knowledge' had always come from above, that is from governmental officials. Currently the ANC as the ruling party is involved in determining official knowledge. In terms of textbook content, publishers have little room for manoeuvre if they want their volume to be on the prescribed list.

³ The Progressive Federal Party was a white liberal political party that was opposed to apartheid and were the main opposition party to the National Party.

2.6 The historiography of Nelson Mandela

In my study on the representation on Mandela in grade 12 textbooks it was essential that I, in addition to reviewing the literature on textbooks, also read some of the various histories on Mandela. By doing this I would encounter the various representations of Mandela in other forms of literature. This was deemed necessary so as to develop an image of Mandela as portrayed by the literature in order to make a comparison with the representation of Mandela in the textbooks under study.

In my research into the histories on Nelson Mandela I was struck by the dearth of critical literature on him. The literature that I did read can be divided into three categories namely: biographies, academic works and general histories. I will firstly give a brief overview of each of these categories then I will discuss the various representations of him that I encountered in the literature reviewed.

In my review of the literature I found that there were numerous biographies of Mandela and it was not possible to read them all due to time restraints. I chose the literature that I read based on the frequency of their occurrence in references. One of the more comprehensive works on Mandela is his autobiography, *Long walk to freedom* (1994) which must be considered an 'evergreen' as it details a large portion of Mandela's life. In the case of *Long walk to freedom* there are concerns which the researcher has to bear in mind. It is not an autobiography in the true sense of the word, in that it was a collaboration with the first half edited by Walter Sisulu and had the latter part of it written by Stengel (Mandela, 1994; Sampson, 1999; Lodge, 2006). It was also published in the 1990's, a time when reconciliation was high on the ANC's agenda and care was taken to cast Mandela as a reconciliatory leader and man of peace (Van Heerden, 2012). Evidence of this reconciliatory nature in the book is revealed in silences concerning the harsher experiences he endured. For example, Mandela does not mention being urinated on by prison guards (Lodge, 2006). It was probably felt that such details would be counterproductive to the goals of reconciliation. This is probably also the reason why he left out much of the gruesome details of the right wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) invasion of Bophuthatswana. Furthermore, Mandela downplays the Shell house shootings where ANC security guards killed protesting Inkatha supporters. Perhaps this is for

the selfish reason of saving face as he ordered guards to protect Shell house even if they had to kill (Sampson, 1999; Lodge, 2005). This was the case since Mandela's role in the Shell house shootings could tarnish the carefully constructed representation of him being a tireless, unselfish human rights activist and freedom fighter. The book aims to justify all of his actions such as the decision to embark on the armed struggle to his unilateral decision to initiate talks with the apartheid government.

Another biographical work on Mandela, is Fatima Meer's, *Higher than hope* (1988). The drawback of Meer's work is that it is more of a hagiography which aimed to 'monumentalise' Mandela (Solani, 2000, p.44). In *Higher than hope*, Meer uses a selection of letters that Mandela wrote, her own experience of Mandela and public memory to create a purely positive representation of Mandela as a determined freedom fighter. One will not find any criticism of Mandela in it. This could well be because it was written in the 1980's at the time of the Free Mandela Campaign which was growing in momentum.

An additional biography that I reviewed was Limb's *Nelson Mandela* (2008). This biography tracks the life of Mandela from birth till the years immediately after he stepped down as president. The biography is well researched, listing numerous up to date sources. The account was written mostly in praise of Mandela. The only criticisms that were evident came in the chapter describing Mandela's presidency. In this chapter Limb draws attention to Mandela's failure to implement a successful economic policy and his failure to respond to the AIDS pandemic. This biography tends to represent Mandela in a very positive light as the ideal leader; a man of principle, dedicated to his cause, selfless, humble and prepared to be reconciled to his enemies.

The most comprehensive work on Mandela that I was able to review was Sampson's *Mandela: the authorized biography* (1999). In writing the biography he interviewed numerous of Mandela's contemporaries, friends, acquaintances and foes. He did so, so as to describe Mandela as others saw him. He aimed to have his representation of Mandela stripped of "its gloss of mythology" (p.xii). The work shows some criticism of Mandela, and is well researched. Sampson represents Mandela as a man

dedicated to the fight against apartheid, a man that has had some conflict with his colleagues and a man that has his flaws. However, his work does need to be critically read as he as a member of the advisory board to the Independent Newspapers International, discouraged criticism of Mandela (Johnson, 2009).

In terms of academic works on Mandela I was only able to review a few given the length of time that a master's degree should take, so I focussed on seminal works that kept appearing in references in works on him. One of the published academic writings on Nelson Mandela is Tom Lodge's *Mandela: a critical life* (2006). In this well researched work, he critically documents Mandela's life both inside and outside of politics. He also outlines many of the popular mythical representations of Mandela such as him being a reconciler and a man of peace. Lodge, with a certain degree of detachment, represents Mandela as a person who increasingly becomes enveloped in his own myth.

The other is Van Heerden's Masters dissertation entitled *The Making of the Mandela Myth* (2012) which examines how myths were constructed around Mandela. He identifies two emerging narratives concerning Mandela: the dominant narrative which was established while Mandela was on Robben Island and the official narrative which was constructed from the time of his release. His work was useful for my study in that it argued that there were two main representations of Nelson Mandela, the guerrilla who was imprisoned on Robben Island, and the man of peace that emerges from prison.

There were two scholastic articles that I found on Mandela, both address the mythical representations of Mandela. The first article was Solani's *The Saint of the struggle: deconstructing the Mandela myth* (2000). In this article he offers a critique of Mandela and argues that a myth was created around Mandela in order to sustain resistance against Apartheid. Solani argues that with his imprisonment in 1964 the myth on Mandela starts to emerge. Both Lodge (2006) and Van Heerden (2012) argue to the contrary, in that they trace the origins of the myth to pre-1964. The second article was Martin's *Throwing off the yoke to carry the man: Deconstructing the Myth of Nelson Mandela* (2006). In this article she gives valuable insight to the mythical representation of Mandela in the Western media. Martin argues that

Mandela's representation in the Western media is "strictly contained within the parameters of his modern day Moses image" (p.46) in that his involvement with Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, is ignored.

In terms of Nelson Mandela's representation in general South African histories, I found a number of books very useful for my study. Johnson's *South Africa, first man, last nation* (2005) maintains that Mandela filled the role of a reconciler really well which he describes as "magical stuff" (p.211). He does offer criticism of Mandela's presidency citing his failure to respond to the AIDS epidemic. Johnson observes that as a president Mandela had little power in that it was Thabo Mbeki who ran the government. Louw, in *Rise, fall and legacy of Apartheid* (2004), opines that the ANC used Mandela as a reconciler to calm white fears of a black government. He also supports Johnson's contention that Mbeki was the real power behind the throne. Sparks wrote two books that proved useful in determining the popular representations of Mandela in the 1990's. The first being *Tomorrow is another country* (1995). In this book, Sparks describes South Africa's move to democracy which he argues began with secret meetings between various apartheid officials and Mandela in the mid-1980's. He represents Mandela as a strong, determined leader who steps into the breach to save the country from disaster. A case in point is that after Hani's assassination, he states that Mandela "took over mantle of presidency" (p.189) and averted a national crisis by appealing for calm. He does, however, give much credit to Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo and Roelf Meyer for negotiating a democracy for South Africa under extraneous conditions. The second informative book that Sparks wrote was *Beyond the miracle: inside the new South Africa* (2003). It is apparent throughout this book that Sparks is in awe of Mandela. An example of this is his description of the inauguration of Mandela as president in 1994. Here Sparks writes that "Mandela stood tall" and goes on to describe him as "the miracle man, the living martyr who withstood 27 years in jail" (p.1). In his opinion Mandela brought peace to South Africa. He makes the claim that inside two years of his presidency Mandela had neutralised the spectre of a right wing counter revolution and ended the internecine violence in what was then known as Natal. This is contentious as Mandela surely did not act alone. Furthermore, Sparks goes to great lengths to represent Mandela as a reconciler by citing instances where Mandela reached out to former enemies. For example when Mandela had tea with Betsie

Verwoed, the widow of the apartheid Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoed (1958 -1956), it is seen as a major act of reconciliation.

From my reading of the above forms of literature, I was able to identify several representations of Mandela. Some of these representations were certain key roles that Mandela played in his life. These key roles will make up the dominant representations of Mandela that I will review in the rest of this section. Apart from 'Mandela, the man', these representations that I have identified are public representations of Mandela. By Mandela the man, I am referring to his flaws, his more human side. I felt it necessary to examine Mandela the man as a precursor to reviewing the mythical representations of Mandela. By outlining what the literature that I have read has to say about each of these representations, I will be able to compare them with how the textbooks represent Mandela. I will focus on the following dominant representations:

- Mandela as volunteer in chief during the Defiance Campaign (1952);
- Mandela as a guerrilla and founder of MK, a freedom fighter (1961-1963);
- Mandela as a political prisoner and martyr (1964 – 1990);
- Mandela as the driving force behind the move to democracy (1990 – 1994);
- Mandela as a president and statesman (1994 – 1999);
- Mandela as a man of reconciliation and peace (1990 -1999);
- Mandela the man;
- Mandela the myth.

The first major political role that Mandela played was that of Volunteer in Chief during the Defiance Campaign. During this time one can trace the origins of his representation of being a volunteer who gave himself selflessly to the struggle against apartheid. Here we can see the beginnings of the representation of Mandela as a martyr, one who gives himself wholly to the cause. Mandela's rise up the ranks of the ANC was assisted by his role as Volunteer in Chief during the Defiance Campaign of 1952. The Defiance Campaign was launched at the time the apartheid government was celebrating the 300th anniversary of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape. The ANC sent an ultimatum to the government stating that unless it

abandoned apartheid they would embark on a prolonged period of civil disobedience (Pampallis, 1991). The defiance campaign would employ passive resistance with the object of overcrowding South Africa's jails with people who broke Apartheid's segregationist laws. The term Volunteer in Chief carries the connotation that Mandela was a servant leader and as such would be in touch with people on the ground. Mandela, as Volunteer in Chief, however, was not involved in grassroots mass mobilization (Lodge, 2006) and contrary to Meer's (1988) claim he did not coordinate branches. In fact he only dealt with middle echelon leaders and here he merely explained the aims of the defiance campaign (Lodge, 2006). Furthermore, Mandela himself, in *Long walk to freedom* (1994), gives little attention to the Defiance Campaign and states that he was, at that stage, never a full time organizer for the ANC. Mandela's actual value to the campaign came from him being somewhat of a celebrity partly through his appearances in *Drum* magazine and partly because of his royal lineage. It is important to note that Mandela did not do any act of defiance himself during the Defiance Campaign (Lodge, 2006). He instead focused on organizing the campaign to ensure its maximum effect. In Lodge's (2006) opinion, the role of Volunteer in Chief enhanced his reputation as a leader in the ANC and perhaps this is what Mandela was aiming to do all along. Meer's (1988) representation of Mandela as a selfless volunteer during the Defiance Campaign is called into question. Thus the earliest representation of Mandela came as the Volunteer in Chief in the Defiance Campaign.

The 1960 Sharpeville shootings ushered in the phase of Mandela as a guerrilla. It is this phase of his life that gave him the admiration of his supporters (Boehmer, 2005). Mandela was at the forefront of calling for the formation of a military wing and the move to violent confrontation with the government. It has been argued that as early as 1953 that Mandela felt that "violence was the only weapon that would defeat apartheid" (Boehmer, 2005, p.51). In 1961 Mandela told the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC that "... if the government reaction is to crush by naked force our non-violent policy. In my mind we are closing this chapter of a non-violent policy" (Mandela, 1994, p.320). He felt that he needed to push the ANC, which in turn felt that the conditions were not right, in the direction that he wanted it to go. For Mandela non-violence as a tactic had failed and should be abandoned. Although he wanted to avoid the loss of life by starting off with sabotage, he believed

that if sabotage failed one would then resort to guerrilla warfare and terror. By persisting, Mandela convinced a wary NEC to endorse the armed struggle (Mandela, 1994). Many works on Mandela, such as Meer's (1988), gloss over this militant representation of him perhaps with the idea of selling Mandela to the Western world (Martin, 2006).

As founder of Umkhonto weSizwe, Mandela was stepping into a major leadership role and also in the eyes of those supported the armed struggle against apartheid a heroic one. Sisulu, cited in Lodge (2006, p.86), stated that "when we decided that he [Mandela] should go underground, I knew he was stepping into a position of leadership." Another observer noted that "Mandela was groomed to take leadership ... and he, of course, conducted himself to attain that status" (Mhlaba cited in Lodge, 2006, p.86). At this juncture it is fair to say that once Mandela assumed command of MK and is forced to go underground, his name starts to become synonymous with the struggle against Apartheid. Whilst evading the police, Mandela earned the epithet of the 'black pimperl' which in turn fed into a mythology that was also beginning to develop around him. Mandela was aware of the value of the myth of the 'black pimperl' and actively embellished the myth by phoning the newspapers to report on how he was evading the police (Mandela, 1994; Lodge 2006; Van Heerden, 2012). Although receiving training as a guerrilla in various countries, Mandela did not directly take part in any acts of sabotage. He went on much later to say that he "started Umkhonto weSizwe, but never had any illusions that we could win a military victory" (Sparks, 1995, p.26). As this was said in hindsight, one can question the validity of Mandela's claim. Nevertheless it was Mandela's representation as the leader of a guerrilla army that gave him his strongest appeal within South Africa.

In contrast to Mandela's representation as a guerrilla/freedom fighter is the representation of him as a terrorist. It was not only the apartheid government that labelled him a terrorist, but many in the West did so too (Boehmer, 2005). Although Mandela wanted to avoid the loss of life, this was only in the initial phase of sabotage. Mandela was prepared to move to guerrilla war and terrorism (Mandela, 1994). Mandela could be represented as a terrorist in terms of Heehs's definition. Heehs defined 'terror' as the "use of violence" in any means against an unjust state

“to bring about political, social or other change” (Heehs cited in Boehmer, 2005, p.48). One must not forget that for many years after 1994, the ANC was still branded a terrorist organisation by the USA and only in 2008 did the US government remove Mandela and the ANC from the terror list (“Nelson Mandela removed from US terror list”, 2008). Some South African whites still refer to him as a terrorist (Hues, 2011). Thus one must not lose sight that Mandela has been represented as a terrorist.

Mandela was eventually captured near Howick in Natal in 1962 and was sentenced to three years in jail. In July 1963 the MK base at Rivonia was raided by the security police who found incriminating evidence against the leadership of MK and Mandela. Mandela was already in jail and was placed on trial together with other leaders of MK for treason. Mandela was accused number one which in itself gave him special status. His actions during the trial were drenched in symbolic gestures. Mandela represented himself in court so as “to enhance the symbolism of [his] role” and “to put the state on trial” (Lodge, 2006, p.103). Mandela’s choice to wear a leopard skin *kaross* in court on the first day of the treason trial was deeply symbolic being a traditional African. Mandela’s trial speech was extensively covered in both the local and international media (Sampson, 1999; Solani, 2000). According to Lodge (2006, p.113) Mandela’s trial speech was the “most effective rhetorical texts by a South African politician”. Mandela refused to appeal the guilty verdict (Mandela, 1994), readily assuming the role of a political martyr. According to Sampson (1999) “Mandela went to jail with all the glory of a lost leader, in an aura of martyrdom” (p.199). During the trial a number of representations of Mandela came to the fore; the guerrilla, the selfless Volunteer in Chief, the Africanist, international icon, and the martyr.

While a prisoner Mandela’s representation took the form of a political martyr, a symbol of the struggle against apartheid. Attempts by the government to remove Mandela from the memories of South Africans by the banning of his words and images only enhanced his reputation as a symbol of the struggle against apartheid. Such attempts by the apartheid government merely placed Mandela in a time capsule, with his memory being preserved by popular reminiscences of his life before his incarceration. His validity was continually kept alive by the ANC in exile

who celebrated his birthday every year, and by his wife, Winnie Mandela, who kept his name relevant and preserved his political authority (Lodge 2006; Van Heerden, 2012). By imprisoning Mandela, the authorities handed him powerful symbolic value of the “glamour of martyrdom but reinforced by the possibility of a second coming” (Lodge, 2006, p.193). It was during his imprisonment that ‘Free Mandela’ was equated with ‘Free South Africa’ such was the symbolic value that Mandela added to the struggle against apartheid (Van Heerden, 2012). According to Mandela (1994), the ‘Free Mandela Campaign’ was part of a strategy that Oliver Tambo devised to put the fight against apartheid in the front of people’s minds. It was his absence from the public eye that made him a political icon (Lodge, 2006). Mandela quite wryly noted, “... there are times when absence can be more powerful than presence” (Van Heerden, 2012, p.109). The years Mandela spent in prison were important for his personal development. It gave him time to think and change his philosophies (Boehmer, 2005). The man that went to jail was different to the man that came out, a moderate and pragmatic man with all his values intact (Sampson, 1999; Van Heerden, 2012). During Mandela’s 27 years in prison, he received 12 honorary degrees, the freedoms of many cities and various awards for different governments. In 1988, admirers from the Netherlands alone sent him 170 000 letters and birthday cards. His face adorned postage stamps, rock concerts were held in his honour and the Release Mandela Campaign gained worldwide support (Lodge, 2006). He was, by the time of his release, the “world’s most famous political prisoner” (Sparks, 1995, p.44). Thus we can see how powerful Mandela’s representation as a political prisoner was in establishing him as a symbol of the struggle against apartheid.

When Nelson Mandela was released on 11 February 1990, he stepped out of jail and straight into a myth that had developed around him in his absence. The world was keen to see what impact he would have on South Africa. Consequently his release from jail was seen by many, both locally and internationally, as a watershed event. For both the ANC and Mandela it was important that his release was carefully planned so as to gain as much political capital out of it as possible. The United Democratic Front (UDF) appointed Cyril Ramaphosa as head of the National Reception Committee which would oversee his reintroduction into political life. Mandela knew the importance of his release in that he persuaded F.W. De Klerk, who was then president, to delay his release by 2 days so that Ramaphosa could

have the necessary time that he needed for the preparations and for the international press to arrive in time (Lodge, 2006). He also knew that no one had seen a photograph of him in 26 years and refused to have his photograph taken before the day of his release (Van Heerden, 2012). Millions watched as Mandela walked arm in arm with Winnie Mandela, who was still his wife at the time, out of Pollsmoor Prison (Sparks, 1995; Lodge, 2006). Mandela's release represented for many the first step to democracy in South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, between 1990 and 1994, was viewed as the man that led South Africa to democracy in those turbulent years. He has been represented as the driving force behind the negotiations between the National Party government and the ANC. Mandela, during this tumultuous period, is often represented as an inspired leader or even given saviour status. Limb (2008) claims that "it was Mandela who had initiated and then driven this process [the move to democracy] to its conclusion, providing inspired leadership at every turn" (p.107). This is an in exactitude which needs to be addressed in two parts. Firstly, in terms of initiating the process, most of the credit must go to Mandela but one must not forget that it was Cobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, who made the first move in terms of talks with Mandela in 1985 (Sparks, 1995). When he met Coetsee, he noted that he was a 'new breed of Afrikaner leader' and felt that he was putting out feelers (Sampson, 1999). Mandela felt that the ANC needed to make the first step toward talks. In this regard Mandela stated that "there are times when a leader must move out ahead of the flock, go off in a new direction, confident that he is leading his people in the right way" (Mandela, 1994, p.627). He wrote twice to Coetsee to no avail. When in 1986 the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) visited South Africa and saw Mandela, he again sent out feelers to the government. The EPG left South Africa after the apartheid government scuppered their visit by bombing ANC bases in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. Mandela felt that "once again [his] efforts to move the negotiations forward [were] stalled" (Mandela, 1995, p.630). In 1986 Mandela wrote to the government requesting a meeting. Mandela reiterated his belief that the ANC and government should start talking and was taken to see Coetsee. He told no one of his contact with the government at this stage. When he did eventually tell his fellow political prisoners he was met by mixed responses. Walter Sisulu wished that the government had made the first move rather than Mandela initiating talks with them. It was because of his unilateral decision to

talk to the government that some viewed Mandela as being a sell-out (Mandela, 1994; Sampson, 1999). Thus it is clear that Mandela did initiate talks with the apartheid government which ultimately would lead to a democracy in South Africa.

Secondly, when one turns to address the question of who drove the process of negotiation one must take into account the work done by Cyril Ramaphosa as the ANC's chief negotiator (Sparks, 1995). In fact Mandela had little to do with the day to day negotiations. Mandela himself refers to Ramaphosa as a "most accomplished negotiator" (Mandela, 1994, p.709). Joe Slovo, who was the leader of the South African Communist Party, also played a vital role in both moving the negotiations forward and breaking the deadlock in 1992. Firstly one of the obstacles to negotiations was the issue of the armed struggle. De Klerk had asked Mandela to suspend the armed struggle. Mandela was reluctant and it was Slovo who convinced him that it was necessary to suspend the armed struggle and focus on negotiations (Sampson, 1999; Lodge, 2006). Together he and Slovo convinced the NEC to suspend the armed struggle which Mandela announced in August 1990. Also, one must not ignore Joe Slovo's role in suggesting the 'sunset clause' which broke the serious deadlock in negotiations with the government by ensuring the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU), a compromise on power sharing. Thus it was not only Mandela who drove the negotiation process forward.

In addition to the key roles played by Slovo and Ramaphosa, it is also important to note that Mandela was always loyal to the ANC's structures (Sparks, 1995; Sampson 1999). There is no indication that during the period 1990 to 1994 that Mandela ever took any action that was not approved by the NEC. He was obliged to respect the will of the majority. The case of suspending the armed struggle is an example of how Mandela had to, with great difficulty, convince the NEC that this was the right course. In fact the NEC could at times shoot Mandela's proposals down quite harshly. This is best illustrated with regards to Mangasotho Buthelezi, the leader of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Mandela proposed, in early 1990, that he share a platform with Buthelezi when he went to address supporters in Durban. The NEC was vehemently against this proposal and Mandela backed down. He also proposed meeting with Buthelezi in 1990 but again he was opposed by the majority (Sampson, 1999). It has been argued that had this meeting taken place much of the bloodshed in Natal between

the IFP and the ANC from 1990 until 1994 may have been avoided (Lodge, 2006). Buthelezi later stated that “history would have been quite different had Mandela had his way” (Sampson, 1999, p.437). It is therefore erroneous to view Mandela as the unfettered leader of the ANC during this period so any representation of Mandela being the sole driving force behind the negotiations is inaccurate.

Certainly Mandela’s stature as a leader played a crucial role in convincing ANC followers to embark on the ‘rolling mass action’ in 1992. Sparks (1995) argues that the power of mass stay-aways was something that the government had not bargained for when negotiating with the ANC. A further vital role that Mandela played occurred in the wake of the assassination of Chris Hani in 1993. The country was on a knife edge. Mandela was asked to address the country on television and appeal for calm. Later, Mandela was booed by a mourning crowd when he appealed for peace (Limb, 2008). In the aftermath of Hani’s assassination, 40 people were killed, there were angry protests, looting and strikes (“Ten days that shook our country”, 2011). However, most people heeded Mandela’s call for peace and a major crisis was averted, from that moment on Mandela was the *de facto* president of the country (Sparks, 1995). One can speculate as to if anyone else could diffuse such a volatile situation. No one in the ANC had his immense mythical status. Thus, to some extent, Mandela did play a role in preventing further bloodshed in South Africa and at this stage could be represented as a man of peace.

Mandela was appointed president of South Africa in April 1994 ushering in a new phase of his life. In spite of his powerful image and colossal reputation as a politician, Mandela was, for all intents and purposes, a ceremonial president who strove for reconciliation and nation building. Mandela had tea with the widows of apartheid presidents, such as Mrs Betsie Verwoerd. He invited Percy Yutar, the prosecutor who had called for him to be executed in 1964, to lunch (Sparks, 2003). He thus showed an incredible lack of bitterness for which he would become renowned for (Sampson, 1999). He urged all South Africans to support the rugby Springboks in a major act of nation building. Rugby was a white dominated sport but Mandela gained substantial support for them from the black population (Van Heerden, 2012). Although he gained a reputation globally as a reconciler, one must take note of the fact that he was asked by the ANC to take on this role in order to

allay white fears (Solani, 2000; Louw, 2004; Lodge, 2006) and that the ANC had complete control of all of his speeches (Johnson, 2005). In terms of Mandela being president, it was Thabo Mbeki, who was the then deputy president, who had the real power. Mandela gave much of his administrative tasks to Mbeki and in the last two years of his presidency and it was Mbeki who headed cabinet meetings (Lodge, 2006; Louw; 2004; Johnson, 2005). Furthermore, Mandela's presidency is considered by some to be "one of drift" (Johnson, 2005, p.217). His government was slow to respond to the HIV/AIDS crisis in the country (Limb, 2008), oversaw the drop in standards in schools and hospitals and high levels of crime (Johnson, 2005). Thus, as a president Mandela achieved, according to some, very little and ignored serious social issues. However, it was as a reconciler and nation builder that Mandela was best known for during his presidency.

Having discussed the various public representations, I will now draw attention to Mandela the man. That is I aim to show his more human, fallible side. I found it very difficult to flesh out much criticism from the literature, which testifies to the high regard to which he is held. One criticism of Mandela emerged in the early 1980's when Mandela entered into talks with the apartheid government. The UDF, which was for all intents and purposes the ANC in South Africa, was dead against talks with the government. According to Alan Boesak, a prominent UDF leader, Mandela violated a fundamental UDF principle in that he had not consulted, and that there was no greater sin in the UDF (Sparks, 1995; Sampson; 1999). Thus there was a side to Mandela that was seen to be undemocratic.

Although he was renowned for his reconciliation with his former enemies, he refused to be reconciled to his second wife, Winnie, even though she wanted to be reconciled to him (Lodge, 2006; Solani, 2000). Most unusual is Mandela's treatment of FW De Klerk. Mandela was responsible for most of the venomous attacks on him (Sampson, 1999). Mandela suspected that De Klerk was behind the violence in South Africa. When, in 1990, police attacked ANC demonstrators, Mandela complained to De Klerk saying that how can the government "talk about negotiations on the one hand and murder our people on the other" (Sampson, 1999, p.423). He subjected FW De Klerk to a vicious attack at the opening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in December 1991. Here FW De Klerk was

accused of being behind the violence in the country and, by inference that he was unfit to lead. Their relationship never healed. In addition, Mandela was averse to sharing the Nobel Peace Prize with De Klerk. In this case one can argue that Mandela did not share "moral authority" easily (Lodge, 2006, p.205). Mandela never trusted De Klerk, and during the GNU period, attacked him at one of the cabinet meetings. De Klerk would subsequently withdraw the National Party from GNU after two years stating that the new CEO [Mandela] would always resent the advice from the old (Sparks, 2003). De Klerk noted the contrast in that Mandela was able to forgive others but not him (Sampson, 1999). Thus, Mandela's representation as a man of reconciliation does have its limitations.

Mandela did not always appreciate criticism. This was evident when Terror Lekota, a former prisoner of Robben Island who was then on the ANC's NEC, challenged Mandela's authoritarian efforts to have a 30 per cent quota of women in the ANC's internal election. Lekota's reference to this as tokenism drew an angry response from Mandela. Lekota maintained that Mandela proved extremely difficult to engage in an argument (Sampson, 1999). Furthermore, Mandela reacted unfavourably to criticism of the ANC from the black community. Mandela openly rebuked black journalists and even Desmond Tutu, who as an Anglican Archbishop was an outspoken anti-apartheid activist, for criticising the ANC (Lodge, 2006).

One aspect of Mandela life that has not been placed under the spotlight is the issue of power. In none of the literature has he been represented as being power hungry. This is probably true, but perhaps one can make a case for him having a strong desire to be a leader. According to Joe Matthews, who was also a defendant at the 1956 treason trial, Mandela did predict that he would be the first black president of South Africa (Sampson, 1999). Could this be why he chose the high profiled positions such as Volunteer in Chief and leader of MK? He was always aware of his celebrity status and never shied away from the limelight (Lodge, 2006). He was always conscious of the image he projected and chose his clothes carefully (Sampson, 1999). Thus one can see that whilst he was not power hungry, Mandela was ambitious and aware of his image.

Much of the literature has identified mythical representations of Mandela (Sampson, 1999; Solani, 2000; Lodge, 2006). Given the many different roles that Mandela played during his life and his popularity, it is not surprising that he is surrounded by myths. Myths in general have a social purpose, but when it comes to the Mandela myth in particular, one has to examine the phenomenon on a broader scale. The struggle against apartheid was a protracted one, lasting over 40 years. In such an instance, heroes and myths are created to inspire people to persevere in their struggles (Solani, 2000). Mandela himself was not unaware of the mythical qualities he had, and on occasion actively sought to establish and expand his own myths (Sampson, 1999). The myth would be embellished by a wide range of sources so that it would develop into a 'mega-myth'. A strong messiah myth grew around Mandela. Traditional poets, such as Bongani Sitole, likened him to Jesus (Kaschula, 2008). Mandela's incarceration on Robben Island only added to his messianic mythology. By being imprisoned on Robben Island, Mandela was stepping into folklore in that the island has long been associated with oppression and the imprisonment of traditional leaders. The island was known as Makana's island after a Xhosa chief who was imprisoned there after leading a rebellion against British colonial authorities in 1819 (Van Heerden, 2012). Makana, or Nxele as he was known, was tall like Mandela. Makana drowned while trying to escape (Mandela, 1994). Mandela, being from a royal Xhosa household, would become the new Makana, one that the majority of South Africans were waiting for his return (Van Heerden, 2012). Thus a messianic myth grew around Nelson Mandela and this is a popular representation of Mandela.

The messianic myth grew even bigger after Mandela's release from prison. Peter Mokaba, who was a former political prisoner and UDF leader, on Mandela's release, openly referred to Mandela as a Messiah (Lodge, 2006). In July 1990, the then mayor of New York, David Dinkins, compared him to Moses leading his people out of Egypt. Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement in the USA claimed Mandela filled the gap left by the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X (Lodge, 2006).

South Africa needed both a hero and a myth which came in the form of Mandela, a saviour who would come and liberate the country. While Mandela was alive, the hope of defeating apartheid was alive as well. But the myth goes much further than

that. Mandela has become a magic talisman for South Africa, from being a Volunteer in Chief, a martyr in jail, the founder of its democracy, reconciler, first President of the new democracy, the founder of the 'rainbow nation' and a unifying factor. To complete the picture just throw some of that 'Madiba magic', which supposedly brought luck to South African national teams, in to the mix and you have a phenomenon not just a man. When Mandela was ill, South Africans feared him dying, with President Jacob Zuma asking the nation to 'pray for Mandela' on one of his admittances to a hospital (Barnett & Karimi, 2013). The ultra-right wing of South Africa maintained that once Mandela dies, black people would have immediately start killing white people (Foster, 2012; du Preez, 2013). It seemed while he was still alive that the destiny of South Africa was inextricably linked to the well-being of Nelson Mandela.

The Mandela myth is not confined to South Africa, but is evident internationally as well. Martin (2006) notes that, in the Western media no mention is made of Mandela's involvement with Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). His representation is strictly confined within "the parameters of his modern day Moses image" (Martin, 2006, p.46). In addition she states that "Mandela is raised to saviour status and becomes a mythic figure as his representation is bathed in Western whiteness. The West needs Mandela as its cultural saviour in South Africa to contain its fear of the cultural 'Other'" (Martin, 2006, p.53). Thus the mythical representation of Mandela as a messiah is not limited to South Africa.

In terms of mythical representations of Mandela there are a few dominant myths. The most dominant one is the messiah myth. Then one can identify various concepts that Mandela has come to signify or symbolise. He can signify or symbolise the struggle against apartheid, African nationalism, terrorism, freedom and South Africa. Mandela can represent different things to different people. As there are extant myths surrounding Mandela, one needs to conceptualise myth by referring to the literature on myth and political myth.

Roland Barthes (1972) defines myth as a "type of speech chosen by history" (Barthes, 1972, p.110). Barthes in unpacking myth argues that one needs to note that there is interplay between what he terms the "signifier" and the "signified"

(p.112). The signifier is the symbol or image and the signified is its mythical representation. He further argues that the signifier is emptied out of its own value and it becomes natural, even second nature to immediately associate the signifier with a particular myth. If we were to apply Barthes's theory to the Mandela myth, one would view Mandela as the signifier and the myth (or concept) would be the signified.

The conceptualisation and theorisation of myth is, however, problematic. According to Levi-Strauss, "myths are still widely interpreted in conflicting ways" (Levi-Strauss cited in Strenski, 1987, p.4). Myth is an overworked term, there happens to be no common ground among myth theorists such as Malinowski, Levi-Strauss, Eliade and Cassirer (Strenski, 1987). As the conceptualisation of myth is complicated, it is important for the study to investigate relevant theories and definitions concerning myth, and in particular political myth, so as to develop a workable theory of myth which can be referred to when analysing the representations of Mandela found in the textbook sample.

In order to conceptualise myth one can refer to the *Collins Shorter English Dictionary* (1994), which defines myth as "a story about superhuman beings of an earlier age". This is an apt description of the Mandela myth, although it is a contemporary myth and not one of an earlier age. Myth can also be seen as an illusion, something which in essence does not exist. What does exist is the manufactured article of myth together with the factory that produces the concept (Strenski, 1987). Thus, one can propose that a myth is a social construct and in the case of Nelson Mandela, the production of myths surrounding him attributes superhuman qualities to him.

The Mandela myth is in its essence a political myth. A political myth can be crucial to the formation of a national identity. According to Cassirer, myth lays the foundation of nationhood; it's behind the feelings of nationhood and gives it power. He argues that "it is inconceivable that a nation should exist without a mythology" (Cassirer cited in Strenski, 1987, p.16). Mandela steps into the role of being the figure that would unite a country after a long period of strife and racial polarisation. Nation building became a major goal of the GNU with Mandela being the means to achieve this goal through reconciliation.

One of the first to develop a theory of political myth was Georges Sorel. His ideas were first published in *Reflections on violence* (1906). Here he examined the mythical qualities of the French Revolution. For Sorel, the French Revolution was “the epic of wars which have filled the French soul with an enthusiasm analogous to that provoked by religions” (Sorel cited in Strenski, 1987, p.167). Sorel saw the social need for myth and stated that “La Patrie, La Revolution Francaise, Jeanne d’ Arc’ are ‘sacred things, which we cannot touch” (Sorel cited in Strenski, 1987, p.191).

Curtis, in summing up Sorel’s view of political myth, states that myth is “the image held by participants in a movement of impending action in which their cause will triumph” (Curtis cited in Strenski, 1987, p.164). Strenski (1987) unpacks this statement as follows:

- Myth is holistic – an image which must be taken as a whole and so cannot (ought not) to be analysed by being broken down into its constituents’
- It is social – ‘held by participants’ involved in some collective effort.
- It is political – held ‘in a movement’ of action to achieve some definite change in human affairs. (Strenski, 1987, p.164)

Such an analysis is useful in trying to grasp the Mandela myth. In viewing a political myth as an image, it helps us understand the complexity of the Mandela myth. Mandela projects an image rather than a well-structured story, which can be deconstructed along the lines of Levi-Strauss’s theory of myth. The image that Mandela projects is multi-faceted, depicting different political ideals for different people. As an image, the Mandela myth must be viewed as a whole. Secondly, the Mandela myth was held by participants of the struggle against apartheid. Later the myth represented nation building and was held by a collective in their desire to unite a divided country. Finally the Mandela myth was a political myth held by the anti-apartheid movement in their striving to achieve definite change in the country.

Bottici (2007) has written extensively on political myths. She argues that political myths exist as a result of the need a society or group has for significance. It is the pursuit of a deep sense of meaning that gives birth to a political myth. Bottici

conceptualises political myth as “the work on a common narrative by which members of a social group make significance of their experience and deeds” (p133). Given the changing nature of society, in order for political myth to provide significance it needs to be reworked or renegotiated. Thus, political myths change depending on the needs of the present. This reworking of the political myth, Bottici refers to as “work on myth” (p.179). In addition to describing the changing nature of myths, Bottici contends that political myths are the last means of desperate people who are in the grips of a serious crisis. Bottici argues that “in desperate situations, man will always have recourse to desperate means” (p153). In such situations, the primal need for myth will emerge.

With reference to the Mandela myth, Bottici’s theories are most applicable. The Mandela myth has been reworked over time. The myth first emerged with the selfless Volunteer in Chief and then developed into the guerrilla fighter and black pimpnel. As a prisoner the Mandela myth grew larger with him obtaining the status of a martyr with the “possibility of a second coming” (Lodge, 2006, p.193), hence the birth of the messiah myth. The Mandela myth sustained people through the struggle against apartheid, and provided significance for those engaged in it. It indeed was a desperate situation which required the desperate means of a political myth in order to sustain the struggle. Once free, the Mandela myth grew further until Mandela came to represent the hopes of the ‘Rainbow Nation’.

In light of the above one could argue that there are four ways political myths function in a society (Reid, 2011). Firstly it can serve as a way of reinforcing beliefs and values of a political grouping. In terms of beliefs and values, it can be argued that Mandela symbolised a variety of values and beliefs such as non-racialism, democracy and reconciliation. Secondly myth allows people to escape reality and romanticises individuals or goals. In terms of the Mandela myth, it allows South Africans to escape the realities of a divided country beset with social problems by creating an extremely romanticised view of a united South Africa. Thirdly, myth unifies the audience by inspiring feelings of patriotism. Here Mandela’s representation of being a lucky talisman for South African sports teams is a case in point. It was notably that during the Rugby World Cup of 1995 that Mandela united South Africans behind their team (Van Heerden, 2012). Finally myth serves as a

basic example of culture making it easier to live within different social, economic, and political establishments of a society (Reid, 2011). Mandela became a symbol of reconciliation and non-racialism in South Africa, which would be vital attributes that an individual would need in order to function fully in South African society.

2.7 Conclusion

By way of a conclusion it has been demonstrated that textbooks contain the official knowledge of dominant groups within a society. Textbooks are powerful tools with which an interest group can establish cultural and political hegemony. The literature has shown that history textbooks have significant power to shape their society by means of disseminating a national narrative. Given the fact that South Africa is a post-conflict society, history textbooks become central to creating a national narrative and a collective memory. In terms of developing a national narrative, how is Mandela positioned in the textbooks to this end? The review of literature on textbooks will be useful in ascertaining why Mandela is represented the way he is in the textbooks.

The literature review also identified numerous representations of Mandela in both academic and general works. This was useful in that it helped me develop instruments for analysing data in the textbooks. It has been argued that there exists a mythology surrounding Mandela, so the selected theories on myth that I reviewed will give me a lens with which to understand any myth relating to Mandela that is found in the textbook sample. Having reviewed the various representations of Mandela in literature, it remains to be seen which representations of Mandela can be found in the history textbook sample.

In preparing this literature review, I found that there are two gaps in academic research in the field of textbook research in South Africa. The first being that no one has done research into myths that may exist in current South African history textbooks. Secondly, no one has researched the way Mandela has been represented in grade 12 textbooks. This is the gap that my research will fill. In the next chapter I will explain the research design and methodology used to fill these gaps.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss my research design and research methodology. Furthermore, it will give an explanation of how my research design and research methodology was used to determine how Nelson Mandela is represented in the selected grade 12 history textbooks. This chapter will first address the distinction between the research design and the research methodology. Once this has been accomplished then the following aspects of the study will be presented: the theoretical framework of the study; the theoretical approach; the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study; the research methodology; sampling and sampling methods; data analysis methods and data analysis techniques. The chapter will then consider issues such as trustworthiness, limitations and ethical considerations ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods are thoroughly interrogated.

Research design and research methodology are often confused by researchers and are used interchangeably as concepts. However, Mouton (2001) makes a clear distinction between the two. The research design is best described as a plan of action, a blueprint with which to conduct the study and answer the research question. The research design is of utmost importance and it needs careful consideration before embarking on a study. It can be seen as the overall strategy which the researcher will use to conduct a study.

In contrast, the research methodology can be seen as the means with which to achieve the strategy or plan. Mouton (2001) explains the difference between the research design and the research methodology by means of an analogy of building a house. Here the research design is the approved plan with which to build a house. The plan is based on an idea that was formed in the mind of the prospective home owner and this idea is transferred onto a blueprint. The research methodology is the

process of actually constructing the house by using different methods and tools to perform the different tasks that are necessary.

3.2 Research design.

3.2.1 Interpretivist paradigm

The paradigm that informed my study was interpretivism. The theoretical framework of my study thus is social constructivism and it was the lens through which the selected textbooks were studied and interpreted. It is vital to choose the paradigm that influences the study at the very beginning of the study. The choice of a paradigm informs all other subsequent choices with regards to research design and research methodology (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2009). A 'paradigm' or a 'knowledge claim' can be seen as "a loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research" (Bogdan & Biklen cited in Mackenzie & Knipe, 2009, npg.). It has also been defined as "set of basic beliefs that deals with ultimates or first principles" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.107).

The fundamental principle of interpretivism is that reality is socially, culturally and historically constructed (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008). Thus for this study, textbooks are viewed as social constructions of knowledge. Consequently, any representation of Mandela in these books would also be socially constructed. The interpretive paradigm maintains that people seek an understanding of the "world in which they live and work" and that they "develop subjective meanings of their experiences. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas" (Creswell, 2002, p.9). As I aimed to describe in detail the complex and varied representations of Mandela within the textbooks sample, I believe that the interpretive paradigm was ideally suited to these ends. The fact that I made subjective interpretations of the textbook content is acknowledged by the interpretive perspective. In addition, as the focus of this study was to understand how and why Mandela is represented in the way has been in the selected history textbooks, my study aligned more itself with the interpretive paradigm.

According to Henning (2004), an important principle of the interpretivist paradigm is the uncertainty of research findings. Here it is held that no single researcher can objectively make sense of the world. The researcher cannot be divorced from the research. For the interpretivist all research is thus subjective.

This issue of researcher subjectivity can be addressed in the following manner. Interpretivists maintain that the social world is a product of human knowledge, and its very existence is reliant on human knowledge. Researchers are influenced by their own knowledge and preconceived ideas of the object under investigation (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Therefore, researchers adhering to the interpretivist paradigm need to be aware that they approach research with their own baggage drawn from their life experiences. The researcher takes careful stock of such baggage so as to be aware of how their interpretation of data is shaped by their own life experiences. By doing so the researcher, in the case of this study, me, is able to temper the high degree of subjectivity found in interpretivist research. Researchers thus situate themselves in the research to recognize their own cultural, social and historical backgrounds. I, as the researcher, thus have to acknowledge that I am a male and come from a white English speaking middle-class background with my own history. In the case of this study, I had to consider my own views on Mandela and the ANC and how such views developed historically. Taking such 'baggage' into account, the researcher instead of starting with a theory, he/she poses research questions and aims to generate or inductively develop meaning from the data as the study progresses (Creswell, 2002; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008). The issue of researcher bias has been addressed fully in chapter 6.

3.2.2 Qualitative approach

This study followed a qualitative approach. Researchers, on beginning a study are confronted with 3 broad approaches to a study, namely: qualitative; quantitative and mixed methods approach in which both aforesaid approaches are combined. Quality refers to the quintessence, which is the characteristics or the properties, of a phenomenon under study, whilst quantity refers to amounts drawn from a phenomenon under study (Henning, 2004; Picciano, 2004). Qualitative research focuses on connotations, concepts, context and description. Quantitative research, in contrast, focuses on measurements and counts (Picciano, 2004). The qualitative

approach serves the ends of my study in that I aimed to describe in depth the various ways Mandela has been represented conceptually in the textbooks by focusing on the connotations that one can draw from each reference to Mandela in the textbooks.

Another difference between the qualitative and quantitative approaches is the criterion used for assessing the study. In qualitative research, the researcher seeks believability, insight and trustworthiness through a process of verification. On the other hand, in a quantitative study, the researcher will employ traditional validity and reliability measures (Creswell, 2002). The issue of assessing this study will be addressed under the section assigned to limitations.

By employing the qualitative approach the researcher will also make knowledge claims based on the interpretive paradigm. The qualitative approach is fundamentally interpretive in that the researcher interprets the data (Creswell, 2002). Merriam (2002) asserts that key to understanding qualitative research is that “meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interactions with their world” (p.3) which is essentially an interpretivist world view. As my study is located in the interpretivist paradigm, and social constructionism it stands to reason that I employ the qualitative approach. Besides interpretation, the qualitative researcher aims to produce a rich description of the phenomenon under study (Hancock, Windridge, & Ockleford 1998). Here the qualitative approach suited my research in that I was able to produce a rich description of the representations of Mandela found in the textbook sample. Aside from being associated with the interpretivist paradigm and producing rich descriptions of the phenomenon under study, the qualitative approach is very flexible.

In qualitative research the ‘variables’ – that is representations of Mandela in the case of this study - are normally not cast in stone. As a result the qualitative researcher has the freedom to develop the study in any manner that he/she sees fit. This freedom also allows the researcher to understand, and also elucidate in argument, by using evidence derived from the data and from the literature, what the object that is under study is all about (Henning, 2004). Thus for my study, I had the freedom to identify various representations of Mandela without being restricted to a set of

specific representations. Furthermore, the flexibility of the qualitative approach allowed me to give a richer and broader description of why Mandela is represented in the way he was in the textbooks under study. The advantages of flexibility in qualitative research will be discussed later in this chapter.

It is important to note that, under the qualitative approach, the researcher is the primary instrument for data analysis (Merriam, 2002; Henning, 2004). Thus, the qualitative researcher has to interpret what he/she finds but whilst doing so, it is imperative that the researcher is aware that such findings are shaped by his/her own background. This has been discussed as a feature of the interpretivist paradigm. Therefore, once again, it is vital that the researcher, in doing qualitative research, must reflect on who he/she is (Creswell, 2002). Here, once again, I had to be aware of the fact that I come from a white South African, middle class background and had to consider its implications for my research.

The process of data analysis in qualitative research is mainly inductive in that the researcher gathers meaning from data and works towards a theory (Creswell, 2002; Merriam, 2002). This was applicable to my study as I aimed to work through the data in the selected textbooks on Nelson Mandela with the intention of determining how he was represented in the textbooks. I did not have an extant theory on Mandela's representation in textbooks as this would have limited my research to being a rigid study. I preferred the flexible approach of qualitative research which allowed me to develop a theory as the study progressed.

One of the advantages of the qualitative approach is the emphasis on the researcher being the primary instrument for analysis. As the goal of qualitative research is to gain understanding, the human is ideal as an instrument in that he/she is immediately responsive and adaptive. The other advantage of qualitative research, to which I have previously referred to in this chapter, is that the end product is richly descriptive. Words are used to convey exactly what is learnt (Merriam, 2002). I believe that words were the best means to describe how Mandela was represented in the textbooks under study. In terms of determining why Mandela is represented in the way he is, a rich descriptive analysis was also best suited to answering this aspect of the research problem.

3.2.3. Ontological and epistemological assumptions

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), the ontological and epistemological assumptions are the inquiry paradigms that define for researchers “what it is they are about, and what falls within and outside the limits of legitimate enquiry” (p.108). Thus, for my study, by the adoption of ontological and epistemological assumptions, I set the parameters of my research. Furthermore, by defining my inquiry paradigms I legitimised my research. I have already stated that the theoretical framework of this study was social constructivism, I needed to ensure that the inquiry paradigms that were adopted for this study were in line with social constructivism.

Ontology can best be conceptualised by answering the question “what is the form and nature of reality, and, therefore, what is there that can be known from it?” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.108). Given the fact that my study was located in the interpretivist paradigm and that I will be following a qualitative approach, it stands to reason that the ontological assumption of this study is social constructivism. Social constructivism views social life and reality as constructed entities which have been produced by and have their origins in the human mind. The human mind is the source of meaning in the social world. Thus reality is a social construct and as a result the researcher cannot be an objective observer in research (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Henning (2004) emphasises this point by stating that ontologically speaking the interpretive paradigm rejects the notion of an objective reality that lies outside the frame of reference of the researcher. As a result of this inability to produce a neutral result, all research findings are a creation of the human mind (Henning, 2004; Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

Furthermore, in my literature review I showed that there were many different representations of Mandela and that Mandela represents different things to different people in different contexts and times. Thus there cannot be only one representation of Mandela. Therefore, the ontological assumption for this study was that the representations of Mandela are socially constructed and can be represented by different people in different ways. The same assumption can be applied to textbooks which I demonstrated are social constructs themselves and are open to multiple meanings, thus any interpretation of their content can differ from person to person.

Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge that informs the research (Crotty cited in Creswell, 2002). The epistemology has to complement the theoretical perspective and the methodological approach of the study. Researchers adhering to the qualitative approach maintain that society comprises of people who have individualistic worldviews which are determined by their life experiences. Thus, for the qualitative researcher, the method of knowing reality is by delving into the experiences of others concerning the phenomenon under study. Given the premise that the social world is made up of complex human beings, each with their own unique life experience, one cannot expect to find precise answers to human problems. In lieu of the complexity of society, research findings cannot be generalised. The qualitative researcher notes that every situation is different and one must pay careful attention to the context of the phenomenon under study. Furthermore, as the researcher him/herself is a product of their own life experience, one cannot separate the researcher from the study as any conclusion held by the researcher will be influenced by his/her life experience. Thus knowledge is always subjective as it always involves a human researcher (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

Hence, given the fact that my study was located in the interpretivist paradigm and that the study will adhere to a qualitative approach, the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study is that both knowledge and reality are socially constructed.

3.3. Research Methodology

The research methodology adopted for this study is content analysis.

3.3.1. Content analysis

Content analysis was the basis of my research and was ideally suited to describing the representations of Mandela in the textbooks. According to Weber, cited in Neuendorf (2002), "content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p.10). Simply put, content analysis is a method of analysing documents which in the case of this study are textbooks. By using content analysis I aimed to capture both the obvious representations of

Mandela and the non-obvious representations contained in the textbooks (Hofstee, 2006). Content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols or any other communicated messages which I will find in the textbooks (Mouton, 2001; Kohlbacher, 2006). However, I excluded pictures and symbols from my analysis due to considerations of length and time restraints. Content analysis entails analysing data from different viewpoints with the aim of recognizing keys in the text that will help us understand and interpret the data found in the textbooks (Nieuwenhuis, 2007).

The advantage of content analysis is that it aims to preserve the benefits of quantitative content analysis for a more qualitative text interpretation in that step by step rules of analysis are applied and that categories are identified within the process of analysis (Mayring, 2000; Kohlbacher, 2006). In terms of the actual analysis of the content, there are no systematic procedures available to the researcher (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The absence of systematic procedures does not limit the analysis itself but rather affords it flexibility. The value of content analysis is that one is able to detect nuances in the content (Krippendorff cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) and is flexible in terms of a research design (Harwood and Garry cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

By employing content analysis one is able to filter words into fewer content related categories. This system of categories is crucial to content analysis. By means of a category system, the aspects, which are filtered from the data, are determined (Mayring cited in Kohlbacher, 2006). It is presumed that when placed into equivalent categories, words, phrases and the like share the same meaning (Cavanagh cited in Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). Content analysis is therefore a research method for making valid inferences from the data on Mandela (Krippendorff cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) found in the textbooks. By using content analysis I aimed to reach an abridged and broad description of the representations of Mandela in the textbooks, and the results of the analysis produced various categories describing different representations of Mandela.

According to Elo and Kyngäs (2008), which I will refer to extensively in this section, there are three phases to content analysis: preparation, organisation and reporting.

Preparation starts with reading through the data in order to decide on a unit of analysis. According to Neuendorf (2002), the unit of analysis is the individual entity that is the focus of the study. Having read through the data, it was decided that the unit of analysis in this study would be each reference to Mandela. Choosing a single character in a book is quite acceptable when employing content analysis (Cohen and Manion, 1994). Thus my unit of analysis was guided by my research question which aims to identify how Mandela is represented in the textbooks.

My next step in the analysis process was to read through the data repeatedly so as to gain a sense of the whole. My aim was to become absorbed in the data relating to Mandela, without becoming totally acquainted with it (Polit & Beck cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). After I made sense of the data, I proceeded with my analysis by using an inductive approach. This inductive approach was based on open coding, and included creating categories and abstraction.

Open coding is the technique of categorising the data into distinct units of meaning (Goulding cited in Moghaddam, 2006). Under open coding I was free to change the codes or categories as I saw fit. This brought an enormous degree of flexibility to this study. Each code or category was a different representation of Mandela. I analysed both the manifest content and the latent content (Kohlbacher, 2006). By manifest content I am referring to the surface content and by latent content I am referring to the deeper messages in the text (Neuendorf, 2002). I coded line by line as this allowed me to verify categories as well as producing rich data content for each category (Glaser & Holten, 2004). The use of open coding meant that I read through the data and wrote notes and headings in the text. I then read the written material through again and write down as many headings in the margins to describe all features of the content. (Burnard, Hsieh & Shannon cited in Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). Once I felt I had reached saturation in terms of the headings written on the margins, I gathered all headings from the margins and wrote them on separate coding sheets (Cole, Dey cited in Elo and Kyngäs, 2008).

After producing coding sheets, the lists of categories were gathered together under higher order headings (Mcain & Burnard cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The aim of gathering data together was to reduce the number of categories by integrating those

that were similar into higher order categories. The purpose of generating categories was to afford a means to describe the different representations of Mandela (Cavanagh cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

The final step in the process was abstraction. Abstraction refers to articulating a general description of the research topic through generating higher order categories (Robsen, Burnard, Polit & Beck cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). I named each higher order category after the different representations of Mandela found in the data. Sub-categories with similar representations of Mandela were grouped as main representations (Dey cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The abstraction process carried on until I felt that the process has reached saturation levels (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Ultimately, I was able to integrate all the categories under one overarching category and that was the representation of Mandela as messiah.

Content analysis is not without its critics who come mainly from the quantitative field. These critics view content analysis as a simplistic technique that does not produce exhaustive statistical analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). However, as I had to analyse references to Mandela in the textbooks, it was my intention to produce a rich descriptive analysis and therefore had no need for statistics.

Issues of reliability in content analysis are typical of any qualitative research design. The main concern in terms of reliability in qualitative research is researcher bias (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008). I hoped to address this concern of researcher bias by using investigator triangulation. Investigator triangulation involved me involving my supervisor or someone else, 'second eyes', to make an independent interpretation of the data in the textbooks (Cohen & Manion, 1994). Here I showed the data contained in each textbook to my wife, who holds a Doctorate of Philosophy, and asked her to develop some categories of her own which I then compared to those developed by me. Thus I feel that my findings are fairly reliable. However, it should be noted that according to Berger and Luckman, cited in Neuendorf (2002), true objectivity does not exist. In line with the interpretive paradigm they argue that 'knowledge' and 'facts' are socially decided upon and one can argue that all human research is by nature subjective. Whilst objectivity is unobtainable, researchers should strive for consistency amongst each other. Neuendorf (2002) suggests that one should not

ask 'is it true' but rather 'do we agree that it is true'. With this in mind, the 'second eyes' that I employed agreed in the most part with my findings and as a result there was a degree of consistency amongst each other.

In addition, for content analysis to be reliable it is imperative that the researcher ultimately forms categories that accurately reflect the subject of the study. Here again I used investigator triangulation to cross check the categories that I have formulated (Kohlbacher, 2006). Here I showed my categories to my supervisor who verified the categories. In doing so, I ensured the credibility of the categories that I formulated. Furthermore, the credibility of the study also depends on how adequately the data is reflected in the categories (Weber cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). To ensure that I had reflected the data adequately in the categories, I certified that the analysis process is articulated in as much detail as possible when I demonstrated the results of my findings.

Neuendorf (2002) identified two additional threats to trustworthiness in content analysis. The first being badly worded categories which could be present as a result of the researcher not making the necessary changes whilst employing open coding. To avoid this I ensured that any necessary changes were made and I also liaised with my supervisor on the wording of the categories. The second threat to reliability is coder fatigue as a result of an overtaxing coding schedule and an excessive number of units of analysis. As I had limited my study to a sample of three textbooks and also that I will only be extracting data relating to Mandela in the textbooks, I ensured that I was not overtaxed in completing my research. Furthermore, I took regular breaks from the coding so as to keep my mind fresh and alert. If I felt that I was approaching exhaustion I stopped coding altogether.

The internal validity of content analysis can be evaluated as face validity (Weber cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). According to Neuendorf (2002) face validity can be very useful. Face validity requires the researcher to distance him/herself from the research and then examine the analysis from a fresh and as disinterestedly as possible. This I did at the beginning of every second day by taking a step back and reflecting on what categories I had formulated.

There exists several opinions concerning seeking agreement amongst researchers (Groneheim & Lundman cited in Elo & Kyngäs, 2008), since every researcher interprets data based on their own personal perspective. Content validity necessitates using experts to confirm concept generation or coding matters. As mentioned before, both my supervisor and my wife were referred to in order to confirm the concepts that I generated and the codes and categories that I extracted from the data. In addition, I also discussed my findings with my history Masters in Education cohort members which met once a month.

A problem that faces the use of content analysis is that there is no straightforward, precise method of applying it. However, I enjoyed the freedom that it gave me as a researcher. Another challenge facing content analysis is that in spite of quality of the qualitative data, the large quantity of the data can be intimidating (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). In this regard there was rich data on Mandela in each textbook, but as I took a piecemeal approach and used only three books I did not find the large quantity of data overly daunting.

3.3.2 Sampling

My research sample was both purposive and convenient. A feature of qualitative research is that the research sample is generally purposive (Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Merriam, cited in Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008). Teddlie and Yu (2007) concur stating that purposive sampling is mainly associated with qualitative studies and may be defined as choosing units, in my study - textbooks, with a specific purpose in mind. Mason (2002) adds that purposive sampling involves selecting groups or categories based on their relevance to the research questions. The main idea of purposive sampling is for the researcher to hand pick rich cases, that is cases that will satisfy the specific needs of the study (Cohen & Manion, 1994), with the specific aim of attaining the richest possible sources of data to answer the research question (Nieuwenhuis, 2007), as opposed to random sampling which is more for quantitative studies (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008). If I employed random sampling, each textbook on the DoBET's prescribed textbook list would have an equal chance of being chosen. As a result I could have had a situation where a textbook is chosen that only had three references to Mandela in the whole book. Thus I chose purposive

sampling as it is in line with qualitative studies and that it allowed me to engage in an in depth analysis based on the rich data that was found in the selected textbooks.

Convenience sampling entails choosing samples that are easily accessible (Teddlie & Yu 2007). The textbooks were chosen on the basis of their accessibility and also on the basis that they have rich data content. Thus I chose textbooks based on their availability and whether they had rich data content relating to Mandela. Based on these criteria, I narrowed the five textbooks that I was able to obtain down to three. The factor that necessitated that I limit the textbook sample to three is that this study is a Masters Degree dissertation. Thus due to time and length constraints the sample was limited to a manageable quantity. Finally, as the approach of the study is a qualitative approach, the aim is to describe the phenomenon under study in terms of depth rather than breadth.

The three grade 12 history textbooks that I chose (see Figure 3.1 below) all came from the DoBET's approved list of textbooks. The textbooks that were used in this study were also all Grade 12 CAPS compliant. Whilst this is a small sample, it is not an insignificant one as the sample represents over one third of the eight approved grade 12 history textbooks. The main limitation of purposive and convenient sampling is that the results of the findings cannot be generalised. However, as this is a qualitative study, issues of generalisation do not present a problem as I intended to describe the representation of Mandela in depth and not in breadth.

Table 3.1 The Research Sample

Authors	Date	Title	Publishers
Bottarro, J., Visser, P. & Worden, N	2013	<i>Oxford in Search of History: Grade 12 learners book</i>	Oxford University Press.
Dugmore, C., Friedman, M., Minter, L. & Nicol, T	2013	<i>Spot on History: Grade 12: learners book</i>	Heinemann
Gove, S., Manenzhe, J., Proctor, A., Vale, P. & Weldon, G.	2013	<i>Via Afrika History: Grade 12 learners book</i>	Via Afrika Publishers

The bulk of the data came from the section in the textbooks devoted to South Africa's move to democracy. All data concerning Mandela which was found elsewhere in the textbooks has been included in the analysis.

Images such as photographs and cartoons were not included as data due to the time and space constraints of a Masters degree, thus only type written text was considered as data.

3.3.3 Ethical Issues

This study is in full compliance with the UKZN's policy on ethical issues. See Appendix A. The study uses history textbooks as its data which has been published and is available in the public domain. The use of textbooks as the source of data precluded any involvement of other people in this study. The data were treated in full compliance with the rules of the University. As the data involves text which is available in the public domain and has been written for public consumption and analysis no problems related to obtaining an ethical clearance existed (Koekemoer, 2012). However, to mitigate against any possible bias in the process of analysis I have decided to code the books in Table 3.2 by means of colours. In addition to employing verification strategies, in order to prevent me, or anyone else, that may read this dissertation from developing bias against a publisher, I referred to the textbooks as the red book (2013), the green book (2013) or the blue book (2013) according to the following table:

Table 3.2

<i>Oxford in Search of History: Grade 12 learners book</i>	Blue book (2013)
<i>Spot on History: Grade 12 learners book</i>	Red book (2013)
<i>Via Afrika History: Grade 12 learners book</i>	Green book (2013)

Finally, in terms of ethical issues, I have not plagiarised anyone else's work and the work contained in this dissertation is my own. In compliance with UKZN policy I have submitted my work to Turnitin which verified the fact that I have not plagiarised. See Appendix B.

3.3.4 Issues of trustworthiness

Validity in qualitative studies is problematic and hence the concept of trustworthiness is normally foregrounded. Issues such as whether qualitative data can be classified as evidence, and how the quality of qualitative research can be assessed, are debatable. As a result, the established measures of validity are occasionally seen by qualitative researchers as immaterial. In terms of the interpretivist perspective, the issue of evidence is in itself problematic, as it maintains that a neutral body of data which speaks the objective truth does exist (Mason, 2002). This is anathema to the interpretivist paradigm which maintains that there are many truths as truth is a social construct and is therefore subjective in itself. Thus the criteria for judging a qualitative study must differ from that of quantitative research. The qualitative study firstly strives for believability, based on lucidity, understanding and instrumental utility (Eisner cited in Creswell, 2002). Trustworthiness is often preferred in place of validity and is established by verification as opposed to quantitative measures of validity (Lincoln & Guba cited in Creswell, 2002). In terms of establishing the trustworthiness of my research, I have used investigator triangulation which I have detailed previously in this chapter.

However, Mason (2002) argues that you can maintain that your research is valid if you are observing and identifying what you say you are. Thus I need to prove that the concepts that I have developed can be identified, observed or measured in the manner that I state they can. Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers (2008) put forward a strong argument for validity in qualitative research. They maintain that reliability and validity can be ensured in qualitative research by building verification strategies within the process of research. These verification strategies are “investigator responsiveness, methodological coherence, theoretical sampling and adequate sampling, an active analytical stance, and saturation.” (p.17). I believe that the most important of these strategies is investigator responsiveness. Investigator responsiveness entailed that I would have to aim to be original, sensitive and malleable in terms of my analysis and my research methodology. I was prepared to abandon insufficiently supported ideas. Furthermore, I made sure that I “listened” to the data and worked inductively and did not use a previously held assumption. Thus by employing these verification strategies I, as a qualitative researcher ensured that my research, to a large degree, is reliable and trustworthy.

3.3.5 Methodological limitations

The first limitation of this study is the sample size. The sample size is small in that it only represents just more than one third of the approved textbooks for grade 12. However, the approved textbooks all had to follow the curriculum and DoBET's guidelines for textbook production so the sample size should be not considered a serious limitation.

The second limitation of this study is that as a qualitative study the results cannot be generalised (Niewenhuis, 2007). But, as previously mentioned, as this is a qualitative study, issues of generalisation do not present a problem as I aim to describe the representation of Mandela in depth and not in breadth. The aim is therefore not to generalise but to present a rich description of the phenomenon under investigation.

The third limitation of this study is that the qualitative research approach relies solely on the human researcher as the instrument for data analysis. However, the human researcher has the distinct advantage of being able to be instantly reactive and adaptive whilst analysing the data (Merriam, 2002). Furthermore, I have employed investigator triangulation to identify any inaccuracies that may have occurred in this study.

3.4 Conclusion

In this methodology chapter I have outlined the research design and the research methodology that was used in determining how Mandela has been represented in grade 12 history textbooks. The theoretical framework of this study is social constructivism. The study has adopted a qualitative approach and the methodology that was employed to answer the research question was content analysis and the method that I employed was open coding. The ontological and epistemological assumption of the study is that both knowledge and reality are socially constructed. The textbook sample of three grade 12 textbooks was selected based on purposive and convenience sampling. Finally the criticisms and limitations of the research design and research methodology have been acknowledged.

In the next chapter I will deal with the results of my analysis of the data relating to Mandela found in the selected textbooks. The results were based on the application of the methodology described in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I elucidated the research design and methodology and clarified how it was developed with the intention of answering my research questions. I discussed the crucial features related to the methodology and methods that I have used in my research. I have justified all the decisions I made with regards to the methods that I have employed with the aim of answering the research questions. In this chapter I will present the fruits of the research design and methodology that I have employed. I have employed a thematic approach to present the data in my answering the research questions posed.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the various representations of Nelson Mandela present in the textbook sample. The chapter will first address the character traits attributed to Nelson Mandela in the textbook sample. Then I will examine the various roles that have been ascribed to Mandela in the textbook sample. I will then discuss the various symbolic values attributed to Mandela. In other words, in this chapter I will answer the following questions about the textbook sample: What does Mandela look like? What does Mandela do? And what does he stand for? I will endeavour to link these three aspects together so as to consolidate the representations into a whole. By doing so, I will be answering the research question of how Mandela is represented in the selected Grade 12 history textbooks.

4.2 The representation of Mandela's character

According to the analysis of the textbook sample, Mandela's character traits that have been foregrounded can best be divided into three main sub-categories. The first being the strong character traits that were identified in the representation of Mandela's character. The second being the saintly character traits that have come to the fore in the textbook representation of Mandela's character. Finally, the textbooks representation of Mandela's demeanour will be discussed.

4.2.1 Mandela's strong characteristics

The reader first encounters the strong, firm and uncompromising Mandela in the sections dealing with Mandela's imprisonment and release. In the blue book (2013) Mandela is represented as being highly principled, firm and uncompromising with regards to any conditions being placed on his release from prison. It is noted that "Botha had offered Mandela release five previous times but all with conditions which Mandela rejected" (p.187). Given the length of Mandela's sentence, one gets a strong sense that Mandela had to be a firm and strong willed character to reject freedom on five occasions. The blue book (2013) also emphasises his strength of character stating that, "Mandela rejected any offer of release unless it was unconditional" (p.195). Mandela is quoted as saying of the conditions attached to his release by PW Botha who was president at the time, "I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free" (p.187). This statement brings home the idea that Mandela was a man of principle and also someone who would not compromise his principles. The blue book (2013), furthermore, praises Mandela for rejecting the idea of a conditional release by stating that "... even though he was still in prison, he was not manipulated by the government and that his allegiance remained strongly with the liberation struggle and the people of South Africa" (p.195). Here Mandela is commended for his strength of character. His letter written in response to this offer of freedom is quoted in parts in the blue book (2013) and green book (2013). From what the textbooks quote from the letter, it is clear that Mandela not only rejected the then President PW Botha's offer of conditional freedom outright, but added a number of his own conditions for his release. One of the conditions Mandela placed on his release was that he wanted the ANC to be unbanned first. The whole idea of a prisoner not only rejecting an offer of release, but placing his own conditions on his freedom foregrounds the representation of Mandela as having an incredibly strong character, and that he will not compromise on his principles. Thus, with regards to his conditional release, all three textbooks represent Mandela as a firm, principled and uncompromising character.

Mandela as a firm and uncompromising character is present in other sections in the green textbook. It is noted that Mandela, on release, "read an uncompromising speech" (p.267). The green textbook also represents Mandela as uncompromising in terms of democratic principles. Mandela is quoted as saying that "It is our belief that

the future of our country can only be determined by a body which is democratically elected on a non-racial basis” (p.267). He is represented as not being prepared to accept anything short of a democracy based on majority rule and stood firm on rejecting any form of a minority veto.

From reading the content concerning the issues surrounding the release of Mandela, I would also argue that Mandela is represented as showing great determination in obtaining an unconditional release coupled with his own conditions such as the unbanning of the ANC. Once again I would like to refer to Mandela’s letter, which Zindzi Mandela read out in public in 1985, and was quoted in parts in both the green book (2013) and blue book (2013). Here Mandela’s determination to bring freedom is foregrounded in that he is quoted as saying, “Your freedom and mine cannot be separated” (green book, 2013, p.263; blue book, 2013, p.187). In the red book (2013), Mandela is quoted as saying, on the eve of the signing of the Record of Understanding, that “... we must emerge with a firm resolve to clear the path to a new and democratic order” (p.274). This reinforces the idea that Mandela is a determined character. Finally in reference to Mandela and De Klerk, the green book (2013) states that “neither gave up on their determination to see an outcome which would be acceptable both to South Africa and the world” (p.331).

In addition to being firm and determined, Nelson Mandela has also been represented as being confrontational with regard to the National Party government’s role in the violence leading up to the 1994 elections. However, it must be noted that he is only confrontational with regards to issues of violence being committed against innocent people. All three books allude to Mandela’s clash with FW De Klerk at the opening of CODESA in 1991. The red book (2013) documents that “Nelson Mandela accused De Klerk’s government of being either involved in the attacks against the ANC directly, or at the very least, not doing anything to stop them” (p.273). The green book (2013) documents another occasion when Mandela can be seen as confrontational. This occurred in 1992, when in clarifying why he withdrew the ANC from negotiations he is quoted as saying, “I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a regime that is murdering our people and conducting war against us” (p.272). Here Mandela is once again in conflict with FW De Klerk and his

government whom he is accusing of murder. These two incidents bring out a confrontational side to the representation of Mandela.

4.2.2 Mandela's saintly characteristics

It is thus apparent that Mandela has been represented as being firm, uncompromising and, on two occasions, confrontational. That constitutes the strong side of Mandela's representation. What also emerges from the data is a gentle, saintly representation of Mandela. His saintly characteristics are unselfishness (green book, 2013, blue book, 2013), compassion, caring, forgiving, reconciliatory (green book 2013, red book 2013, blue book, 2013), loving (red book, 2013), friendly (green book, 2013) and loyal (blue book, 2013). Mandela's refusal to accept a conditional release can also be interpreted as him being unselfish in that he placed the needs of his people ahead of his own. The unselfish side to Mandela is shown again in the green book (2013) when he asks for the release of his friend Walter Sisulu and not his own. The blue book (2013) adds to this representation of Mandela giving himself unselfishly to a cause. In a reproduction of a Release Mandela Campaign leaflet, Mandela's words appear on it. Mandela is quoted as saying, "During my lifetime ... I have cherished the ideal of a free society ... It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die" (p.186). This quote leaves the reader with the impression that Mandela was prepared to give his life unselfishly for freedom.

Besides Mandela being represented as unselfish, he is also represented in all three textbooks as being compassionate and caring. Staying with the concept of freedom, on refusing the governments offer of freedom, Mandela responds in a letter in which he declares, "I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your [the people] freedom" (blue book 2013, p.187). Whilst Mandela is seen as being unselfish again, it is also apparent that he cares deeply for others. In the green book (2013) Mandela shows compassion, in arguing for negotiations with the government, by saying that, "Many people on both sides had died". Mandela goes on to refer to his people as "his flock" (p.263). This conjures up the image of a caring shepherd. References to Mandela attending the funeral of those killed in the Boipathong Massacre 1992 and Hani's funeral in 1993 also show that he had compassion on those who died and those who were grieving. Finally, Mandela's association with the

Truth and Reconciliation Council (TRC), which is referred to in all three textbooks, is an indication that he had compassion on the victims. In addition, the red book (2013) highlights Mandela's compassion for the poor in emphasizing that he was "concerned to address poverty" (p.338) and it quotes Mandela's stating that the GNU's overriding goal is to tackle the issue of poverty.

Coupled with Mandela's representation as being compassionate is the strong representation of him being forgiving and willing to reconcile with his enemies. Mandela is credited in all three textbooks as having a policy of reconciliation. It is *his* policy of reconciliation. The green book (2013) highlights Mandela's "willingness to forgive his jailers" (p.343). The blue book (2013) is more complimentary of Mandela in this regard in that it asserts that, "People were also inspired by the actions of Nelson Mandela who focused on promoting national reconciliation. He sometimes went to extraordinary lengths to forgive former enemies ..." (p.187). Hence Mandela is represented as being capable of forgiving those who brought him suffering.

Moreover, in terms of Mandela being represented as a gentle person, he is represented in the red book (2013) as a loving husband and a friend. It contains a picture of him and Winnie together with a caption that reads "... a photograph of Nelson and Winnie Mandela embracing" (p.326). Winnie's relationship with Mandela is deemed to be supportive in that the red book (2013) describes Winnie as being "by his side" (p.325). In turn Mandela is represented in the green book (2013) as a person who establishes long term friendships. The green book (2013) refers to Walter Sisulu as being Mandela's "long-time friend" (p.330) and as a "fellow prisoner and long standing political colleague" (p.329). So, according to the green book (2013), Mandela establishes meaningful friendships. One can also infer from these references that one of Mandela's characteristics is loyalty. His loyalty is borne out in the blue textbook when it claims that while in prison "... his [Mandela's] allegiance remained strongly to the liberation struggle ..." (p.195). Thus Mandela is represented as being loyal under the most trying of circumstances.

In addition to being represented as loyal, Mandela is also represented in the textbooks as being trustworthy. His trustworthiness is demonstrated in that in the green book (2013) it maintains that Mandela convinces the IFP to take part in the

1994 elections as he “promised Buthelezi [the leader of the IFP] that foreign mediators would examine the IFP’s claim to more autonomy in the Zulu area” (p.280) and he guaranteed that the Zulu King would be given special status. One can infer from this that Buthelezi regarded Mandela as a man of his word. Another example of him being represented as being trustworthy also occurs in the green book (2013) where he is quoted as saying that “negotiations cannot take place over the heads and behind the backs of people” and that “... the people need to be consulted ...” (p.267). Thus the green book (2013) conveys the notion that Mandela is trustworthy as he advocates transparency in the negotiation process.

Mandela is also represented as a character that stands for justice. In a cartoon caption in the blue book (2013) he has the title of “Sherriff Mandela” (p.224), which is a description synonymous with justice. Again he comes out strongly in favour of seeking justice when the blue book (2013) states that Mandela felt that it was “essential to uncover the injustices of the past” (p.219).

The green book (2013) also represents Mandela as being magnanimous by stating that “[he], in the interests of peace, accepted that the IFP had won in Natal” (p.281). As a result of all the saintly characteristics that are attributed to Mandela, he is represented as someone who has earned the respect of many.

The textbooks furthermore represent Mandela as someone who commands respect. The green book (2013) notes that a rock concert was held in 1988 to pay tribute to Mandela on his birthday. The book also states that one billion people watched the concert and in doing so were paying respect to Mandela. It also notes that PW Botha, according to Mandela, treated him with “respect and dignity” (p.215). The blue book (2013) claims that, when Mandela toured outside of South Africa, many people felt “respect and admiration” towards him (p.196).

4.2.3 Mandela’s demeanour

Finally, Mandela is represented as being confident and cool headed in the green book (2013) and the red book (2013). Mandela appears as a confident leader when he decides to start negotiations on his own with the apartheid government. The green book (2013) goes on to quote him as saying that, “There are times when a

leader must move ahead of his flock, go off in a new direction, confident that he is leading his people in the right way”(p.263). In the red book (2013) Mandela is said to have “handled” the assassination of Chris Hani in “a way that was calm” (p.276) and thereby averting a major crisis.

4.3 The roles ascribed to Nelson Mandela

The textbook sample represents Mandela as performing numerous roles. In all three books Mandela is represented as being central to South Africa’s move away from the racially oppressive system of apartheid to a non-racial democracy. He has also been represented as saving South Africa from a cataclysmic civil war by steering the country towards a negotiated settlement. The textbooks give substantial credit to Mandela for this peaceful transition to democracy. Thus, the overriding role that Mandela plays is akin to one of a messiah. There are strong messianic overtones found in the textbooks. This role is complemented by his saintly characteristics attributed to him as explained in the previous section. In order to be viewed as a messiah, Mandela performs numerous other roles that cement this image of him. The role of South Africa’s messiah necessitated that he be an exceptional leader. All three textbooks give him strong leadership characteristics and his strong character traits described in the previous section bear this out. In order to fulfil the role of a strong leader, he needed to be represented as an intellectual. Linked close to him being an intellectual, he needed to play the role of both a sage and a problem solver. In addition to Mandela being an intellectual leader, he needed to be an anti-apartheid activist to make him a highly credible leader who would save South Africa from apartheid. It was his role of being an activist that landed Mandela in jail which leads him to his role as a political prisoner. Being a political prisoner strongly tied Mandela to the role of a martyr which in turn underpins the notion of Mandela as a messiah. It is the role of prisoner and martyr that brings Mandela the status that leads to the role of a world renowned celebrity. It is his celebrity status coupled with his leadership abilities that leads to his role as a negotiator, first while in prison and then as ANC leader. In order to ensure his success as a negotiator, he has to play the role of a reconciler. Being a reconciler automatically coincides with Mandela being a healer of wounds which once again links him to the role of a messiah. In addition his role of being a reconciler necessitates that he also plays the role of a peacemaker. Having

performed all these roles Mandela ultimately is represented as a liberator, setting South Africa free from apartheid and the wounds that it afflicted upon its people. Once he is viewed as the liberator of South Africa as a result of all the roles he has played, one then arrives once again at his overriding representation; that of a messiah. As a messiah he becomes the authoritative voice on a wide range of issues. Each of these roles ascribed to Mandela by the textbook sample needs further clarification.

4.3.1 Mandela as a messiah

The original concept of a messiah is strictly a biblical one. The *Collins Shorter English Dictionary* (1994) describes a messiah as “an exceptional or hoped for liberator of a country or people” (p.713). In addition, in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the messiah is also one that will bring peace and rule the land (Judaism 101, 2013). This is an apt description of the role which the textbooks claim that Nelson Mandela played in South Africa’s move from apartheid to democracy and later as president of the country. The emphasis that the textbooks place on the release of Mandela can be compared to the long awaited return of a messiah.

The representation of Mandela as a messiah can best be identified by the use of biblical language in the textbook sample. In reference to Mandela initiating talks with the apartheid government, the green book (2013) quotes Mandela as saying “There are times when a leader must move out ahead of his flock ...” (p.263). The concept of people being referred to as a flock is indeed biblical, a Judeo-Christian reference to the shepherd and the flock. The blue book (2013) also quotes Mandela as using biblical language, in refusing the conditional offer of freedom, by saying “I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free ...” (p.187). This is a reference to the biblical story of how Esau foolishly sold his birthright to Jacob.⁴ The red book (2013) invokes spiritual overtures when, with

⁴ Once when Jacob was cooking some stew, Esau came in from the open country, famished. He said to Jacob, “Quick, let me have some of that red stew! I’m famished!” (That is why he was also called Edom.)³¹ Jacob replied, “First sell me your birthright.”³² “Look, I am about to die,” Esau said. “What good is the birthright to me?” But Jacob said, “Swear to me first.” So he swore an oath to him, selling his birthright to Jacob. Then Jacob gave Esau some bread and some lentil stew. He ate and drank, and then got up and left. So Esau despised his birthright. Genesis 25:29-34, New International Version (NIV). See to it that no one becomes like Esau, an immoral and godless person, who sold his birthright for a single meal. Hebrews 12:16, New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

reference to the Release Mandela Campaign, it enigmatically contends that “It [the campaign to free Mandela] kept the spirit of Mandela alive through the long years of imprisonment” (p.254). Finally the green book (2013) once again uses biblical language when it states “The president’s appearance at the 1995 Rugby World [Cup], which South Africa won, converted many Afrikaners to his idea of reconciliation” (p.343). Being “converted to” Mandela’s “idea of reconciliation”, which in itself has religious connotations, could be construed as being converted to Mandela’s ‘gospel’. Consequently some of the language used in the textbook sample elevates Mandela to someone akin to a biblical messiah.

4.3.2 Mandela as a saviour

In addition to the use of biblical language, some of the events described in the textbooks portray Mandela as a messiah who saves the day. For this purpose it is more applicable to view him as a saviour. In the general context of South Africa’s move to democracy, Mandela is referred to in the green book (2013) as being part of the “negotiated solution to the country’s problems” (p.255). Mandela saves the country from disaster by initiating talks with the government. A letter sent to the government by Mandela is reproduced in parts in the green book (2013) as a primary source. Mandela is quoted as saying, “If we do not start a dialogue soon, both sides would soon be plunged into a dark night of oppression, violence and war” (p.263). Hence Mandela is credited with saving the country from such a fate by initiating talks with the government and being central to a negotiated settlement to the country’s problems.

The move to democracy is described in all three textbooks as being fraught with danger and came close to being derailed. A major threat to the negotiations was the assassination of Chris Hani in April 1993. All the textbooks paint the picture that the country was on edge in that the “fragile balance was disrupted” (blue book, 2013, p.207), that there were “violent riots” (red book, 2013, p.276), “an increase in racial tension” (blue book, 2013, p.207) and that the “country readied itself for violence and revenge” (green book, 2013, p.227). Mandela himself said that the “... whole nation teeters on the brink of disaster” (red book, 2013, p.276). At this juncture all the textbooks represent Mandela as the one who saved the day. The green book (2013)

declares that after Hani's death, "Nelson Mandela went on national television to appeal for calm" and that "Mandela's appeal worked" (p.277). Likewise the blue book (2013) declares that, "It was only Mandela's appeal for calm that prevented more violence" (p.207). The red book (2013) opines that "Nelson Mandela addressed the nation, appealing for calm, in a speech regarded as 'presidential' even though he was not yet president of the country" (p.276). Consequently all the textbooks have Mandela rescuing the country, in its time of need, from an all-out racial war thus making Mandela the saviour.

Another crisis identified in the textbooks was the threat that the IFP's non participation in the 1994 elections posed. Without the IFP's participation, people feared that the elections would be seriously disrupted and plunge the country into civil war. Here again Mandela is credited with saving the elections and thereby saving the move to democracy. The blue book (2013) states that, "One week before the election, after an emergency meeting between Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi, Buthelezi announced that Inkatha would participate in the election ..." (p.210). The green book (2013) gives more of the credit to Mandela by asserting that "The Inkatha Freedom Party agreement to participate had come after Mandela offered the Zulu King ... a guarantee of special status of the Zulu monarchy" (p.280). Therefore it is Mandela ability to save South Africa in the time of crisis that gives him messiah like status.

4.3.3 Mandela's leadership roles

Following closely to the role of messiah is the role that Mandela plays as a leader. Mandela is represented as a strong leader in all three books. The strongest leadership role that Mandela plays is that of being a president. He is represented as the president of the ANC and more predominantly the president of South Africa. In fact the red book (2013) infers that Mandela was already president of South Africa in 1993 after appealing successfully for calm after Hani's assassination. Here the red book (2013) opines that he gave a speech that was "'presidential' even though he was not yet president of the country" (p.276). The green book (2013) emphasises that Mandela was South Africa's first democratically elected president. The blue book (2013) incorrectly states that "Nelson Mandela became the first president" (p.212) of South Africa, disregarding all previous presidents. The green book (2013)

praises his presidency by referring to him as “forward looking” (p.343). Thus all three books emphasise that Mandela played the role of being a president extremely well.

What attaches the notion that Mandela is a powerful leader is the emphasis that all three books have on his popularity both in South Africa and internationally. At various stages mention is made of the massive following that Mandela enjoyed. The red book (2013) notes that the Release Mandela Campaign enjoyed the support of “millions of ordinary people around the world” (p.254). Mandela’s popularity at home is demonstrated by the attendance of thousands to witness his release from Victor Verster Prison. All three books note that millions of people witnessed Mandela’s release from prison on February 11 1990. Mandela’s international popularity is demonstrated in the blue book (2013) as follows: “[t]he respect and admiration which so many people felt towards Mandela was demonstrated when he visited 13 countries ... Everywhere he went he was met by enthusiastic crowds” (p.196). Thus Mandela is represented as enjoying immense popularity at home and abroad.

In addition to being represented as a popular leader, Mandela is represented in all three books as a strong leader who is capable of facing challenges. Firstly in all the books, Mandela is credited with preventing the country from descending into chaos in the wake of Chris Hani’s assassination by appealing on television for calm. It is noted in all the textbooks that his appeal for calm was heeded which infers that he had enormous influence as a leader nationwide. In addition to the Hani incident, the green book (2013) states that after Mandela’s release he would face challenges and that Mandela would be “tested as a leader” (p.267). As South Africa successfully becomes a democracy, one can argue that Mandela passed the ‘test’. Mandela is further represented as a powerful leader in all three textbooks in that he often meets with leaders and heads of state. The blue book (2013) has him attending summit meetings and making public announcements on behalf of the ANC and of South Africa. Hence, Mandela is represented as a powerful, popular presidential leader which ties in well with the concept as Mandela as messiah in that the messiah will also rule his people.

For Mandela to be represented as a strong leader he also needed to be represented as an intellectual, a sage and a problem solver. He is represented as an intellectual

by the fact that all three books quote Mandela to a large extent. From these quotes one can infer that he is an intellectual in that his speeches have that quality to them. The quotes found in the textbooks demonstrate not only Mandela's grasp of the English language but also his intellect in his use of metaphors. In the red book (2013) he is quoted as saying with reference to the TRC: "We will come to terms with our horrendous past, and it will no longer keep us hostage" (p.338). Mandela fulfils the role of a sage in the red book (2013) when he is quoted as saying "... that to be free is not merely to cast off ones chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others" (p.368). Learners are then asked to refer to these words when writing an essay on South Africa's move to democracy. His excellent choice of words is further highlighted when he rejected PW Botha's offer of conditional release. Here the blue book (2013) maintains that "his words of response were a further inspiration for the [Anti-Apartheid Movement] AAM" (p.186). Thus the textbook applauds his intelligent choice of words. Another example of Mandela playing the role of a sage is when he shows an understanding of leadership in his tribute to Steve Biko. He describes Biko as the kind of leader who would "seize the moment, cohere the wishes and aspirations of the oppressed" (red book, 2013, p.237). So it is evident that in the textbooks, Mandela is represented as an intellectual and a sage. This equips him with the ability to solve the country's problems.

In all three books Mandela is associated with solving the country's problems. The green book (2013) argues that together with the unbanning of the ANC the "freeing of Mandela was part of the opening of the door to a negotiated solution to the country's problems ..." (p.255). Similarly, the red book (2013) quotes Mandela as saying at CODESA, "Now we have assembled ... to seek practical solutions to the most urgent problems facing our country ..." (p.274). The blue book (2013) opines that there would be "... no solution to the crisis while Mandela remained in jail" (p.195). As previously mentioned, in the green book (2013) Mandela is credited for solving the crisis created by the IFP's refusal to participate in the 1994 elections by offering Buthelezi guarantees concerning the status of the Zulu King and an independent assessment of the IFP's claim to autonomy in KwaZulu-Natal. So Mandela has also been represented in the textbook sample as being an intellectual who seeks and provides answers to problems facing South Africa.

To be a credible leader in South Africa, Nelson Mandela had to be an anti-apartheid activist. He is represented as a militant anti-apartheid activist in the red book (2013) which mentions that in 1962 Mandela left South Africa to undertake military training. In terms of the general struggle against apartheid, the blue book (2013) declares that Mandela's "allegiance remained strongly with the liberation struggle" (p.195). The blue book (2013) also claims that "Mandela's name became a symbol of the struggle" (p.186). Mandela's role as an anti-apartheid activist is emphasised when he is quoted as saying "... we have been fighting against white minority rule ..." (green book, 2013, p.263). Later on in the same book Mandela states that South Africa is free from the "scourge of apartheid" (p.328). In the blue book (2013) he is once again associated with the struggle against apartheid by his reading of a statement from the ANC which maintains their "commitment ... to end[ing] apartheid" (p.195). His role of an activist is highlighted further when it notes that "Mandela led 50 000 in a march on the Union buildings" (p.274). Thus it is clear that Mandela is represented as an activist opposed to apartheid.

4.3.4 Mandela as a political prisoner

It was his role as an anti-apartheid activist that leads to his role as a political prisoner. However, in all three books Mandela is represented as an extraordinary political prisoner enjoying an elevated status. Both refer to Mandela as the "world's most famous political prisoner" (red book, 2013, p.267; blue book, 2013, p.195). Furthermore, all three books have a section on the Free Mandela Campaign which supports the notion that he was a special political prisoner who would be singled out for release. Very few other political prisoners are mentioned by name in the textbooks. Mandela as a prisoner is singled out in the blue book (2013) by stating that international protests called for the "release of political prisoners, especially Nelson Mandela" (p.286). In the red book (2013) this is apparent when it's argued that "[a]s a result of ... the release of political prisoners, in particular Nelson Mandela, it was possible for talks to commence ..." (p.338). Again Mandela is singled out in the green book (2013) which has a heading entitled: "Release of political prisoners and of Mandela" (p.266). Accordingly Mandela is represented as having special status as a political prisoner in that in many cases the other political prisoners' names are not mentioned and are thus deemed as inconsequential.

4.3.5 Mandela as a martyr

One can argue that being a political prisoner is synonymous with being a martyr. It is the sheer length of Mandela's imprisonment that gives one the idea that Mandela, as a prisoner, is a martyr. All three textbooks emphasise the length of his imprisonment that being 27 years. As Mandela was removed from society for a life sentence is in itself comparable to a death sentence. As referred to before, the blue book (2013) has a poster with his words on it that read "[d]uring my lifetime ... I have cherished the ideal of a free society ... It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die" (p.186). The self-sacrificing overtures are inescapable. Mandela therefore fulfils the role of a martyr for a just cause by being imprisoned for life.

4.3.6 Mandela as a celebrity

It is precisely the role of prisoner and martyr that gives Mandela the celebrity status that the textbooks ascribe to him. Both the red book (2013) and the blue book (2013) claim that Mandela was the "world's most famous political prisoner" (red book, 2013, p.267; blue book, 2013, p.195). One normally attaches the term 'famous' to that of a celebrity. Mandela is associated with pop stars in the green book (2013) when they detail the rock concert held in 1988 "to pay tribute to Nelson Mandela on his 70th birthday" (p.249). Famous pop stars and rock bands are listed as having taken part in the 11 hour concert. The green book (2013) adds that 72 000 people watched the concert in the stadium and that it had a television audience of one billion. As mentioned before, his fame is highlighted in the blue book (2013) which claims that "[t]he respect and admiration which so many people felt towards Mandela was demonstrated when he visited 13 countries ... Everywhere he went he was met by enthusiastic crowds" (p.196). It would be his celebrity status, coupled with his leadership abilities that would assist Mandela in the role of a negotiator.

4.3.7 Mandela as a negotiator

Mandela is strongly linked to the role of a negotiator in all three textbooks. I have categorised all meetings that Mandela had with various leaders to fall under the higher order category of Mandela as a negotiator. In these meetings Mandela would be doing some kind of negotiating. All three textbooks maintain that the move to democracy was successful as democracy was realised in South Africa through the

negotiation process. In all three textbooks Mandela plays an invaluable role in the negotiation process, thus bringing democracy to South Africa. He has been represented as being committed to the process of negotiations. In the green book (2013) Mandela is credited with initiating the negotiations with the apartheid government. In this regard the green book (2013) quotes him as suggesting that "... the time had come when the struggle could best be pushed forward through negotiations. If we did not start dialogue soon, both sides would be plunged into a dark night of oppression, violence and war ..." (p.263). In terms of initiating the process the green book (2013) notes that it was Mandela who requested a meeting with the government. In the blue book (2013), he reads out a statement from the ANC which repeated "the ANC's commitment to negotiate with the government" (p.195). The red book (2013) equally represents Mandela as being strongly in favour of a negotiated settlement. With regards to the suspension of the armed struggle Mandela is quoted as arguing that it was "in the interests of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated settlement" (p.268). Mandela is shown to be determined to negotiate but wants to ensure that there is a climate conducive "for substantive negotiations" (p.274). Mandela is quoted in the red book (2013) as saying, just before the signing of the Record of Understanding in 1992, that in the negotiations "South Africa must be the winner" and that it would be "a grave mistake for any organisation to be blinded by sectarian interests" (p.274). Mandela is viewed as an authority on negotiations in that he gives guidelines for how parties should approach the negotiations.

All three books have a timeline outlining the main events of South Africa's move to democracy. Mandela features prominently as the key negotiator who sees the whole process home. All textbooks place his meetings with PW Botha and FW De Klerk on their timelines. The red book (2013) includes meetings with Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the IFP and Constand Viljoen, a right-wing leader and former army general. Negotiations with Mandela are thus seen as more important than other negotiations, for instance those between Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer.⁵ The importance of Mandela as a negotiator is demonstrated in the red book (2013) which has a section

⁵ Roelf Meyer of the National Party and Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC were the dominant players during the negotiations concerning the new democratic Constitution. Even when the negotiations collapsed in 1992 they secretly continued negotiations.

entitled “Secret negotiations with the ANC-in-exile and negotiations with Mandela” (p.265). In this section the negotiations with Mandela are treated separately to those with the ANC. The account given of the negotiations with Mandela are more detailed than the sparse content on the negotiations with the ANC in exile. The blue book (2013) also gives more attention to the negotiations with Mandela than the negotiations with the ANC in exile. It has a whole sub-section devoted to negotiations with Mandela. The green book (2013) emphasises the importance of the role Mandela played as a negotiator at this stage by pointing out that Mandela met with Neil Barnard, the head of Intelligence, and Cobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice on 47 occasions. Both the blue book (2013) and the green book (2013) refer to Mandela having secret talks with the government before his release from prison. None of the textbooks elaborate on the content of these negotiations between the government and the ANC and Mandela. However, in the green book (2013) it is noted that Mandela asked PW Botha at one of their meetings to release all political prisoners. On his release from jail, Mandela would continue to play a key role in the negotiation process. The red book (2013) asserts that South Africa became a democracy, not as a result of a civil war or a revolution, but as a result of a negotiated settlement. It maintains that “Mandela was significantly involved in this process that led up to the elections” (p.338).

Mandela is furthermore seen as vital to the negotiation process in that all three textbooks get across the view that the release of Mandela in 1990 was crucial to moving the negotiation process forward. The green book (2013) opines that the freeing of Mandela “opened the door to a negotiated settlement” (p.255) and reiterates this later by stating that the release of Mandela “made it possible for the apartheid government, liberation movements, and other organisations to plan negotiations” (p.326). This places Mandela squarely in the centre of the negotiation process.

Not only is Mandela placed at the centre of negotiations, but he is represented as a skilled negotiator. In the green book (2013) and the blue book (2013) he dexterously convinces Buthelezi to enter his party, the IFP, into the 1994 elections. The green book (2013) gives insight into how he achieved this coup by guaranteeing special status to the Zulu king and promising to have mediators evaluate the Zulu claim to

autonomy in KwaZulu-Natal. It was Mandela's negotiating skills that saved the elections. His expertise as a negotiator is also demonstrated in his association in the red book (2013) with regards to the ending of the 20 year old civil war in Angola. Thus not only is he portrayed as having successfully negotiated a democracy in South Africa, but he has played a role in the ending of conflict in Angola as well. Clearly one can see that Mandela has been represented in the textbooks as a skilled and successful negotiator.

4.3.8 Mandela as a reconciler

In order for Mandela to be a successful negotiator, he had to also be a reconciler. There are two groups that can be identified that Mandela plays a reconciliatory role with, namely his political enemies and the general white South African population. In terms of reconciling with his enemies, I have detailed that Mandela met with various politicians while playing the role of the negotiator. The textbooks represent Mandela as adopting a conciliatory attitude towards his political enemies. On describing Cobie Coetsee the green book (2013) quotes Mandela as saying that he was a "new sort of Afrikaner leader" (p.264). In other words, Mandela views Coetsee as a break from the past, a more benign leader as opposed to, for example, Jimmy Kruger, who was a previous apartheid Minister of Justice. He is adopting a conciliatory attitude towards Coetsee in that he pays him a compliment. It is striking that a political prisoner would give his/her 'captor' such an accolade. The green textbook quotes Mandela as saying that he discussed the idea of racial conciliation with Coetsee. This adds to the conciliatory nature of their meetings. The textbooks also describe his meeting with PW Botha in friendly tones. The green book (2013) states that Mandela has tea with PW Botha, which is more of a social event than a meeting of opposing political leaders. Of this meeting the red book (2013) adds that they shook hands and discussed political matters. The meeting thus appears very amicable. The green book (2013) quotes Mandela as saying of PW Botha that "I came out feeling that I have met a creative, warm Head of State" (p.265). By inference, Mandela is saying that he is dealing with a new type of Afrikaner unlike those of the past. From this one can deduce that he feels that Afrikaners can change and therefore reconciliation can take place. In reference to his 'arch-enemy', FW De Klerk, the green book (2013) quotes Mandela as describing him as a "man of integrity" (p.268).

Therefore the textbooks represent Mandela as a reconciler who is conciliatory in his dealings with his enemies.

Aside from reconciling with his enemies, he also is represented as reconciling with whites. Here the green textbook notes Mandela's concern with white fears. It contends that immediately after his release he tried to calm white fears in a speech by stating that "[t]he whites are our fellow South Africans" (p.267). This is a very conciliatory gesture as it can be argued that white people were the main beneficiaries of the system of apartheid which Mandela so vehemently opposed. It was white people who put him in jail in the first place. Mandela as a reconciler with white people comes through very strongly in the section that deals with Hani's assassination. Both the green and the red book (2013) quote Mandela's speech in which he appeals for calm in the aftermath of the assassination. He is quoted as saying "... but a white women, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice the assassin" (green book, 2013, p.277; red book, 2013, p.276). Here not only does he praise a white woman, but an Afrikaner. Afrikaners were the group within white society that introduced apartheid and whose language was seen as the language of the oppressor. A further indication in the speech of Mandela as a reconciler is that he declares that he is reaching out to "every single South African", black and white "calling on all South Africans to stand together" (green book, 2013, p.277). It is important to note that the assassination of Hani was a potentially divisive event but Mandela is represented as uniting all South Africans. Mandela is represented as not only bringing calm to the situation, but also taking steps towards racial reconciliation.

The representation of Mandela as a reconciler is further consolidated by all three textbooks as they refer in their texts to Mandela's "policy of reconciliation" (green book, 2013, p.343; red book, 2013, p.338; blue book, 2013, p.264). He is thus singularly accredited with the concept of reconciliation in South Africa. The blue book (2013) has a section entitled "Success in avoiding war and Mandela's policy of reconciliation" and claims that it was "Nelson Mandela who focused on promoting national reconciliation" (p.264). This places Mandela squarely in the centre of reconciliation. The idea of Mandela as a unifier and nation builder is closely linked to him being a reconciler. This is demonstrated in the textbooks references to the GNU.

The green book (2013) identifies the leaders of GNU as Mandela as the president with Thabo Mbeki and FW De Klerk as vice presidents which it states was formed “in a spirit of compromise” (p.281). With Mandela as president it is clear that he has made a compromise by allowing his former ‘enemy’ to be vice president. As a result the GNU is an example of the representation of Mandela as a political reconciler.

The red book (2013) places an international aspect to the representation of Mandela as a reconciler by stating that “President Mandela’s policy of reconciliation inspires the world” (p.338). The green book (2013) goes to greater lengths to represent Mandela as the great reconciler. In the section on Mandela’s policy of reconciliation, the book praises Mandela’s “willingness to forgive [his] jailers”, and that his appearance at the rugby world cup final sporting a springbok rugby jersey “converted many Afrikaners to his idea of reconciliation” (p.343). The green book (2013) also asserts that South Africa’s “new Constitution reinforced the reconciliatory policy of President Mandela” (p.343). This gives the impression that Mandela, in his role as a reconciler, influenced the highest law of the land. Thus the textbooks represent Mandela as pursuing his own policy of reconciliation to such an extent that it converts former opponents of his, influences the country’s Constitution and inspires the world.

In addition to having a policy of reconciliation, the textbooks link Mandela to the TRC whose ultimate aim was to bring reconciliation amongst South Africans. The blue book (2013) opines that the people who served on the TRC were personally chosen by Mandela. This indicates that Mandela is linked closely to the works of the TRC and could also be construed that the TRC is Mandela’s brainchild. This is further borne out by the fact that the green book (2013) and the red book (2013) state that the final report of the TRC would be handed over to Mandela. This strengthens the sentiment that the work of the commission was done on the behalf of Mandela. At no stage in any of the textbooks does Mandela question the findings of the TRC. Instead the blue book (2013) maintains that Mandela “stated his belief that the [TRC] report had laid the foundation for reconciliation” (p.224). The red book (2013) represents Mandela as praising the TRC report. The red book (2013) quotes Mandela, on receiving the TRC report, as saying: “Dear fellow South Africans, accept this report as a way to healing, to cleanse our land, its people, and to bring

unity and reconciliation” (p.338). Here Mandela is not only represented as a reconciler, but also as a healer and unifier. Thus by associating the TRC with Mandela, the textbooks have further strengthened the representation of Mandela as reconciler.

As a result of the above the textbooks have created a strong representation of Mandela as reconciler in that they highlight the conciliatory gestures he makes towards his enemies such as PW Botha and FW De Klerk. Mandela is also shown as going to the great lengths he goes to reconcile whites, especially Afrikaners. Importantly the textbooks credit Mandela with pursuing his own policy of reconciliation. According to the green book (2013), Mandela’s policy of reconciliation is reflected in South Africa’s Constitution. Finally, his association with the TRC adds to the powerful representation of Mandela as reconciler. In the final analysis, so strong is the representation of Mandela as a reconciler one can say that for the textbooks, Mandela is synonymous with reconciliation. Being a reconciler is a powerful representation of Mandela and ties strongly with the representation of Mandela as a messiah. Given South Africa’s painful experience of the divisive policies of apartheid, the country needed a messiah that was also a reconciler.

4.3.9 Mandela as a man of peace

Closely linked to Mandela’s representation of being a reconciler is his representation of him being a man of peace and a peacemaker. The textbooks distance Mandela from any act of violence. His military training is mentioned in the red book (2013) but that is as far as the textbooks go. The blue textbook quotes Mandela as saying “... I am not a violent man ...” (p.187) and this serves to create distance between him and violent acts. The representation of Mandela as being opposed to violence is a strand that can be found in all the textbooks. Mandela as a man of peace is evident in the green book (2013) which quotes parts of his letter to the apartheid government in 1986. Mandela is quoted as wanting dialogue to prevent the country from plunging into a “dark night of oppression, violence and war” (p.263). His desire for peace is also documented in the red book (2013) which holds that Mandela convinced the ANC to suspend the armed struggle and thus dropping the violent alternative so that the country can move “as speedily as possible towards a negotiated settlement” (p.268). Mandela’s support for a negotiated settlement reinforces the representation

that he is a man of peace and is against any violent solution to the country's problems. Mandela's opposition to violence is foregrounded in the green textbook when he is quoted as urging FW De Klerk to "act decisively to bring such violence to an end" (p.274). The red book (2013) has Mandela as referring to the Record of Understanding signed in September 1992 as an important step and that "practical measures" need to be taken "to address violence" so as to facilitate negotiations (p.274). Hence one can state that in the textbooks representation of Mandela as being opposed to violence that Mandela's representation of being a peacemaker is reinforced.

Mandela as a man opposed to violence is highlighted in all three textbooks in their sections dealing with Chris Hani's assassination. All three textbooks state that Mandela appeared on television and appealed for calm. The blue book (2013) builds on Mandela as a man of peace by making him a peacemaker in that the book states that "[i]t was only Mandela's appeal for calm on national television that prevented more violence" (p.207). The green book (2013) contends that Mandela's "immediately went on national television to appeal for calm" (p.277) and that his appeal for calm worked implying that there was no violence at all. These statements can be interpreted as not only representing Mandela as a peacemaker but one who saved lives in the process.

Apart from Mandela's role in bringing calm in the wake of the Hani assassination, the blue book (2013) contains references to Mandela earning the Nobel Peace Prize which underpins the notion of Mandela as a man of peace. The fact that the Nobel Peace Prize is an international award is significant as it means that Mandela is recognized globally as a man of peace. The book furthermore notes that Mandela is one of four South African Nobel Prize winners that have had statues erected in honour of them. References to a statue of Mandela as a Nobel Peace Prize winner immortalise s the representation of Mandela as a man of peace.

Asides from the representation of Mandela as a recipient of an international peace award, he is also represented as being a regional man of peace in the red and green book (2013). The red book (2013) has Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), briefing Mandela on his

meeting in 1995 with Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos. The textbook notes that the meeting concerned the ending of 20 years of civil war in Angola. This reference gives one the impression that Mandela played an important role in the ending of such a protracted conflict. In a similar vein, the green book (2013) states that “[b]y the time Nelson Mandela became president of South Africa in 1994, southern Africa, after decades of conflict was at peace” (p.336). This statement links peace in the region directly to Mandela. Therefore it can be concluded that the representation of Mandela as a peacemaker stretches to him being a regional peacemaker.

Thus the representation of Mandela as a man of peace comes through very strongly in the textbooks. He is represented as being opposed to violence and having strove for alternatives to violence. The textbooks claim that Mandela was able to prevent violence in South Africa in the wake of Hani’s assassination. In the red book (2013) and the green book (2013) he has been linked to peace in southern Africa, even to the extent that he could be seen as having brought peace to the region. The blue book (2013) emphasises the international recognition he got as a Nobel Peace Prize winner. Such a powerful representation of Mandela as a man of peace feeds into the overriding representation of Mandela as a messiah.

4.3.10. Mandela as liberator

4.3.10.1 Mandela as liberator in the textbooks’ timelines

A key thread that runs through all the representations of Mandela is the role he plays as liberator. The role of liberator encompasses all the other roles that he plays. In the textbooks much credit is given to Mandela for the role he played in the liberation of South Africa from apartheid. The advent of democracy in South Africa is seen by the textbooks as the final act of liberation which culminates in the inauguration of Mandela as the first democratically elected president of the country. An indirect role that Mandela played in liberating South Africa is found in the treatment of the Free Mandela Campaign. All three textbooks place the Free Mandela Campaign amongst the factors that led to the end of apartheid. In reading the section on South Africa’s move to democracy the textbooks create the impression that Mandela is there every step of the way, shepherding the country towards democracy. This view is apparent in the timelines that each textbook has regarding South Africa’s move to democracy.

The textbooks all have Mandela's release from prison present in their timelines. The timelines indicate various meetings Mandela had with either members of the apartheid government or leaders from other opposition parties. The only other ANC leader featured on the timeline is Chris Hani and that is because his assassination caused a major crisis, a crisis that, according to the textbooks, Mandela resolved. All the timelines include the inauguration of Mandela as president in 1994. The green book (2013) has two timelines dealing with South African history. One ends with Mandela being released from jail, and the other ends with Mandela's inauguration as president in 1994. Consequently the timelines represent Mandela as being the beginning and end of the liberation of South Africa.

4.3.10.2 Mandela role as liberator of South Africa

Aside from the timelines that feature Mandela prominently in the liberation of South Africa, elsewhere the textbooks are rich in data concerning the positive role Mandela plays in most of the events discussed in the move to democracy. Even before his release from jail, the red book (2013) notes that Mandela discussed the political situation with PW Botha indicating a willingness to find a solution to the country's problems. The blue book (2013) links Mandela directly to liberating South Africa by stating that there could be "... no solution to the crisis while Mandela remained in jail" (p.195). South Africa's freedom is thus linked to Mandela's freedom. In the green book (2013), after his first meeting with FW De Klerk before he was released, Mandela is quoted as saying that they both had the same goal in mind that being the end of apartheid. Consequently even before his release from jail, Mandela is represented as working towards the liberation of South Africa.

4.3.10.3 The release of Mandela as key to South Africa's liberation

All three textbooks represent the release of Mandela as a watershed event in the liberation of South Africa from apartheid. The blue book (2013) has a section entitled "Start of the reform process; the unbanning of liberation organisations and the release of Mandela" (p.195). This gives one the impression that the release of Mandela was a vital step in the reform process and that it deserves equal importance to that of the unbanning of the ANC. In describing the events on the day of his release, the blue book (2013) maintains that "[m]any people now expected all their problems to be solved" (p.196). This conveys the belief that the release of Mandela

was crucial to resolving the country's problems. In the green book (2013) the importance of the release of Mandela in the liberation of South Africa is strongly emphasised. In reference to the internal resistance and international opposition to apartheid, the green book (2013) states that it "led to the release of Nelson Mandela and the abandonment of apartheid" (p.210). From this one can infer that the release of Mandela is synonymous with the end of apartheid. The book later reinforces this notion in stating that it was the "freeing of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, which opened the door to a negotiated solution to the country's problems and the advent of democracy in 1994" (p.255). In this instance Mandela is singled out as one of the political prisoners that would solve the country's problems and bring democracy to it. By singling Mandela out, the text is inferring that he plays a very important role in liberating the country. In the revision section of the green book (2013), it declares that freeing Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC was a factor in the "peaceful transition to a democratically elected government" (p.326). The strongest representation of Mandela as the liberator is found in the green book (2013) on page 252 where it contends that "... releasing Nelson Mandela from prison, [was] a step that resulted in the end of apartheid". Accordingly, as can be gleaned from the timelines and the text relating to the release of Mandela, it is implied that the release of Mandela marks the beginning of the end of apartheid.

4.3.10.4 Mandela as determined to liberate South Africa

Mandela is furthermore represented as being determined to find a negotiated settlement as the only means to change South Africa from a repressive society to a free and democratic one. By moving South Africa forward along these lines, he is once again playing the role of liberator. In addition to liberating South Africa from racial oppression, Mandela is also represented as liberating South Africa from her gruesome past.

In terms of Mandela's determination to find a negotiated settlement, in the red book (2013) he is credited with persuading the ANC to suspend the armed struggle in favour of negotiations. He is quoted as saying that suspending the armed struggle is "in the interests of moving as steadily as possible towards a negotiated settlement" (p.268). At the opening of CODESA in 1991, he is quoted in the red book (2013) as saying "... we have come to earnestly tackle the problems facing our country. We

must emerge with a firm resolve to clear the path to a new and democratic order ...” (p.274). This informs us of his determination to liberate the country.

In terms of being determined to liberate South Africa from its past, the red book (2013) quotes Mandela as saying, on receiving the TRC report, that “[w]e will come to terms with our horrendous past, and it will no longer keep us hostage ... We will cast off our shackles” (p.338). The use of the terms ‘hostage’ and ‘shackles’ necessitates that the need for liberation. His determination is evident in his repetitive use of ‘will’. By endorsing the TRC report Mandela was playing the role of a determined liberator who sought to get to the bottom of the truth so that his people should be set free from their past.

In representing Mandela as the liberator of South Africa, the textbooks assign Mandela unequalled ‘struggle credentials’. South Africa has been portrayed in the textbooks as being on the brink of an unmitigated disaster right up until the first democratic elections of 1994. The textbooks refer to the on-going violence in the 1980’s and 1990’s. In this context one can argue that Mandela was more than a liberator as, according to the textbooks, it seemed that only a miracle could save the country. Thus it’s is not without justification that one can argue that the overriding representation of Nelson Mandela in the textbooks is one of a messiah. Given the messiah status that Mandela enjoyed it is not surprising the credibility he enjoys in the textbook. He is represented as the authoritative voice on a number of issues.

4.3.11 Mandela as an authoritative voice

4.3.11.1 Mandela as an authoritative voice regarding contentious issues

Evidence of Mandela being represented as an authoritative voice is evident in that he is quoted regularly throughout the section on the end of apartheid. This section is present in all the textbooks. One first encounters Mandela as an authoritative voice in the red book (2013) which depicts Mandela in a teacher’s role, educating people at the grassroots level on how to vote. But Mandela as an authoritative voice comes through most strongly when it comes to contentious issues. Here Mandela’s words are seen as carrying a considerable amount of weight, with his view on certain matters seen as gospel. The green book (2013) demonstrates this in the section dealing with the TRC. It outlines the debates around whether there needed to be a

commission or not. The green book (2013) notes one side of the argument which felt that the commission would open old wounds and make matters worse. When the other side of the argument is presented the textbook invokes the authoritative voice of Mandela. The green book (2013) notes that “Mandela and others firmly believed that it was essential to uncover the injustices of the past” (p.219) so as to move the country forward. Once Mandela has had his say the textbook ends the argument. No other person’s name or voice was needed to prove the necessity of having the TRC investigating the crimes of the past.

Another example of Mandela’s voice as being seen as the final and authoritative one occurs in the green book (2013) in the section on the battle of Cuito Cuanavale. The significance of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale is a hotly contested one. The green book (2013) acknowledges the fact that such a debate over the outcome of the battle exists. It first states one side of the argument which maintains that the battle of Cuito Cuanavale was not a defeat for the South African Defence Force (SADF) but then follows this argument by stating, “however, as Nelson Mandela has said, Cuito Cuanavale ‘was the turning point for the liberation of our continent – and of my people - from the scourge of apartheid’” (p.328). Mandela’s words carry enormous weight in the argument and once again he has had the final say. The slant of the textbook from this point on indicates that the battle was a defeat for the SADF. Therefore Mandela is represented as having the authoritative voice in a number of debates.

4.3.11.2 Mandela ascribes credibility to others

Over and above being deemed an authoritative voice, Mandela opinions of people determine their credibility. In some cases, mere association with Mandela is enough to earn credibility. Cyril Ramaphosa is a case in point. In the green book (2013) Ramaphosa is introduced as a “trade union leader, [who] took a lead in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and served on the National Reception Committee when Nelson Mandela was released” (p.270). This carries the sentiment that Ramaphosa’s main claim to fame, before he became a negotiator, was being on a committee that was established to welcome Mandela on his release from jail.

In the same textbook, Walter Sisulu is introduced in a similar manner. Sisulu's main credentials were that he was "Nelson Mandela's friend, fellow prisoner and longstanding political colleague" (p.329). Sisulu is thus defined by his relationship to Nelson Mandela. No mention is made of Sisulu's contribution to the liberation struggle. Chris Hani is also given Mandela's stamp of approval in the red book (2013). It states that "Hani was a popular leader and a firm favourite with Nelson Mandela" (p.276). Again no mention is made of the role Hani played in the liberation struggle.

In the red book (2013), Mandela's presence at a state function adds to the importance of the event. In it there is a section on how Namibia gained its independence. The red book (2013) declares that the swearing in of newly elected Namibian president, Sam Nujoma, was a "momentous day which Nelson Mandela witnessed" (p.139). This seems to suggest that Mandela gave the event certain legitimacy, like the presence of the pope at a coronation.

In the section on black consciousness, the same book has Mandela paying tribute to black consciousness leader Steve Biko. Mandela is quoted saying of Biko that he was a "fitting product of his time" (p.237). Biko was a very popular leader and many other prominent people could have been quoted instead, but once again Mandela is used as a reference point to gauge an individual's value with his words carrying enormous weight.

Finally in the blue book (2013) the members of the TRC are given impeccable credentials. It declares that "[t]he commission's hearings were chaired by people who were chosen by President Mandela" (p.218). So in terms of debates and character assessments, Nelson Mandela is represented as the ultimate authority.

4.3.12 Mandela's release a watershed

Reinforcing the notion of Mandela being a messiah is the representation in all the textbooks of Mandela's release from jail as a watershed event. The textbooks pay inordinate attention to the release of Mandela from prison in February 1990. In each textbook the release of Mandela is in a separate section. All the textbooks note that Mandela's spent 27 years in jail. Given the length of his imprisonment, the release of

Mandela can be seen as representing the long awaited coming of the messiah. The very date of his release is noted on all the timelines concerning the move to democracy in the textbooks.

The textbooks highlight the importance of the day of Mandela's release by outlining the events of the day and noting its significance. The blue book (2013), in building towards the day of Mandela's release, opines that "the [a]nnouncement of the release of Mandela was received with great joy by South Africans" (p.196). This ignores the fact that some South Africans were decidedly against his release. The red book (2013) quotes a source that maintains "[o]n the 11 February 1990, the day of Nelson Mandela's release, mass gatherings took place in numerous parts of South Africa" (p.326). The textbooks all stress the significance of Mandela's release for South Africa and its move to democracy. The red book (2013) states that "[o]ne of the most important characteristics of Nelson Mandela's release was that it begun a series of negotiations" (p.325). The blue book (2013) quotes a source that claims "[i]t seemed that the unbanning on the political organisations had lit a fire under South Africa" (p.202).

The textbooks accentuate the significance of Mandela's release from prison. The blue book (2013) also gives a task for learners entitled "What made February 1990 an extremely significant month in South African history" (p.193). Therefore, in terms of South African history, the release of Mandela is represented as a watershed moment was long awaited for by South Africans. It is represented as marking the beginning of the end of apartheid and the first step towards a democratic South Africa. Mandela's release from prison, as a watershed, becomes a point of reference for the history student. This is demonstrated when the green book (2013) notes that "by the time Mandela was released, over 3000 people had been killed in the conflict [in Natal]". One could have given the year 1990, but Mandela's release from prison was chosen as a more apt point of reference.

In addition to being a watershed moment for South African history, all three textbooks noted that the release of Mandela was seen as an international event, a significant moment in world history. In this regard, the green book (2013) claims that "Mandela's release was carried on live television all over the world" (p.266). Later in

the same book it is noted that the “eyes of the world were on South Africa” (p.331) as Mandela was released. The red book (2013) says that “[m]any international journalists and media recorded and televised Mandela’s release ...” (p.267). The blue book (2013) declares that “[t]housands of supporters, together with representatives of the international media, gathered to witness the release of the world’s most famous political prisoner” (p.195). Hence it is apparent that the textbooks represent the release of Mandela as a watershed in South African history, and an event of that attracted worldwide attention.

By way of a conclusion it is clear that the textbooks have represented Mandela as fulfilling numerous roles. The reason Mandela has been represented as playing so many different roles is largely due to the sheer wealth of data on Mandela present in each textbook. The role of messiah is the dominant role that can be linked to most of the other roles that he plays. As a messiah Mandela is able to play the role of reconciler, peacemaker, healer, sage and liberator. The role of messiah also gives Mandela’s and authoritative voice on all matters. Finally, one must note that the characteristic traits that the textbooks assign to Mandela allows him to carry out these roles that he has been represented as playing.

4.4 Symbolism attached to Mandela

The representation of Mandela as a messiah feeds into the symbolism attached to Mandela. The textbook sample represents him as being without any flaws. In terms of identifying what Mandela has come to symbolise, it is important to note that very little criticism of Mandela, if any, is found in the textbook sample. Rather, the textbooks express adulation in their representation of Mandela. He is lauded for his achievements such as being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and the freedom of European cities such as Glasgow. He is represented as someone who suffered in jail for 27 years and as someone who came out of jail to liberate South Africa successfully. He is hailed as someone who wins over his enemies and forgives his jailers. He is represented as playing numerous roles throughout the textbooks. Being aware of these features places one in a position to see what symbolism has been attached to Nelson Mandela within the textbooks. I believe that the textbooks, through their eulogistic representation of Mandela, have given him an iconic status. Such is Mandela’s iconic status that the green book (2013) chooses to use his name

as means to sell the textbook. The blurb on the back cover informs would be buyers that by reading the textbook, amongst other international events, they will “also revisit other significant developments of the time, including those that occurred in our own country and ultimately resulted in Nelson Mandela’s presidential inauguration in 1994 ...” No other South African is mentioned in the blurb. For the specific textbook publisher, Mandela, the icon, suffices.

4.4.1 Mandela as an icon

4.4.1.1 The renaissance South African

From my interpretation of the data within the textbooks I suggest that Mandela as an icon has come to symbolise certain concepts. Firstly I believe the textbooks attach the concept of what I will call the ‘renaissance South African’ to Mandela. I could have used the term ‘new South African’ but I feel the numerous roles that Mandela is represented to have played is more in line with a multi-dimensional character. Also the international recognition that Mandela has been credited with receiving gives him a Western dimension. In fact the textbooks represent him as a Westerner, and they ignore his African roots and his link to African Nationalism. It is noted that he has tea with PW Botha, which is a very British tradition. Whilst not being represented as an African, Mandela is rather represented as a South African. The renaissance South African is a multi-dimensional character which is non-racial, principled, peace loving, forgiving, forward looking and determined to make a contribution to liberating South Africa from her traumatic past. He is articulate and educated. Mandela symbolises the renaissance South African in his/her purist form. He is held up, in the textbook sample, as an example that all are subtly encouraged to emulate. Mandela as the renaissance South African is the glue that holds a divided nation together.

4.4.1.2 Separate from and above the ANC

For Mandela to be an icon in the textbooks he had to be raised above petty politics and not get his hands dirty. In fact, in reading the textbooks carefully one gets the impression that Mandela and the ANC have no real connections. One can even come away with the impression that Mandela was not even a member of the ANC. For example, in the blue book (2013), the negotiations with the ANC-in-exile are dealt with separately to negotiations with Mandela. No connection is made between Mandela and the ANC in this section. It appears that Mandela is negotiating on the behalf of the people of South Africa. There seems to be a very subtle effort to

distance Mandela from the ANC. This can again be demonstrated in the blue book (2013) which comments that “[i]n addition to Mandela, others who were serving sentences because they were members of the ANC or PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] was released” (p.196). Here one could interpret the reason for Mandela being released as being different to the “other prisoners” and thus he does not belong to either organisation. Another interpretation is that the text does not indicate whether he belongs to the ANC or PAC. Mandela could just as well be a member of the PAC. In a similar vein, the green book (2013) declares that “[p]risoners serving sentences for membership of these [banned] organisations would be released – this included Nelson Mandela” (p.330). Again it is not clear as to which organisation Mandela belongs to. Therefore it seems that on release from prison, Mandela has been separated from the ANC and has started to ascend above partisan politics.

There is another example of the separation of Mandela from the ANC. It is present in the blue book (2013) and it is a source quoting a member of the PAC. The quote contends that “[t]hey tried to make people believe that Mandela was a genuine political leader but he was, unfortunately, surrounded by the ANC ...” (blue book, 2013, p.199). Here he is represented as being ‘surrounded’ by and not part of the ANC.

The gap between Mandela and the ANC becomes wider once he becomes president of South Africa. Here both the blue and green book (2013)’s treatment is a striking example of the distance the textbooks place between Mandela and the ANC. The blue book (2013) states that “[w]hen the TRC formally presented its report to President Mandela in October 1998, he stated that his belief that the report had laid the foundation for reconciliation. But other key figures disagreed: Mbeki (who represented the ANC before the TRC) insisted that it was wrong to judge the violence used by the liberation struggle ...’ (p.224). Here the gap is created by placing Mandela at loggerheads with Mbeki, who is directly linked to the ANC, over the TRC report. Someone reading this could conclude that Mandela is not a member of the ANC because, if he were, he would also disagree with the report. The green book (2013) also creates distance between the ANC and Mandela with regard to the TRC report. The green book (2013) states that “[t]he handing over of the final report to President Mandela was scheduled for 29 October 1998. However, the ANC and

the NP were dissatisfied with the report and tried to block its publication” (p.291). Here Mandela is not represented as a member of the ANC in that it’s the ANC that tries to block the TRC report’s publication and not Mandela. Further on, the green book (2013), states that “[t]he ANC lodged an appeal in the courts to stop the handing over of the report to President Mandela just before it was going to happen” (p.292). Distance is created here by having the ANC trying to stop something in the report from getting to Mandela. It conjures up the image of Mandela being a headmaster and the ANC being a schoolchild that is afraid of what the report might say. In other words Mandela is being portrayed as being much more powerful than the ANC. If he were a loyal member of the ANC, he could merely bury the report or ignore it. But he is not, he is incorruptible. Moreover, the ANC seem afraid of Mandela. The fact that Mandela does not oppose the TRC report is also an indication of him being above petty politics. By not opposing the TRC, Mandela keeps his hands clean. Hence one can maintain that according to the textbooks, when Mandela becomes president, he is not a loyal member of the ANC but is placed above partisan politics. Mandela as an icon has to be bigger than his political party and must float above the messy politics of the day so as to be held in the highest esteem.

4.4.1.3 Mandela as a global icon

Not only is Mandela represented as a South African icon, but he is also represented as a global phenomenon. His status of being an international icon is emphasised in the green book (2013) which describes the rock concert held in Mandela’s honour on 11 June 1988. The concert was organised by the Release Mandela Campaign. The green book (2013) claims that 72 000 people watched the concert at Wembley stadium in London and that it was broadcasted to 67 countries. It adds that this concert had a television audience of 1 billion. The red book (2013) also notes Mandela’s huge international following gained through the Release Mandela Campaign. It argues that the Release Mandela Campaign “... involved many governments of the world, trade unions, religious organisations as well as millions of ordinary people around the world” (p.254). Both the red book (2013) and the blue book (2013) mention Mandela’s international status when they declare that Mandela was the “world’s most famous political prisoner” (red book, 2013, p.267; blue book, 2013, p.195). The blue book (2013) also details the international status that Mandela

had by claiming that “[t]he respect and admiration which so many people felt towards Mandela was demonstrated when he visited 13 countries ... Everywhere he went he was met by enthusiastic crowds” (p.196). The blue book (2013) also points out that Mandela “... was given honours such as the freedom of the city of Glasgow ... and in Britain and the Netherlands streets were named after him” (p.186). Mandela’s international status is once again emphasised in the blue book (2013) which pays homage to Mandela by declaring that he, as an international icon, is an inspiration for all. The red book (2013) maintains that “President Mandela’s policy of reconciliation inspires the world” (p.338). Thus Mandela is represented in the textbooks as an international icon of enormous global stature.

4.4.1.4 Iconic adulation

In addition to his international status, the adulation that he receives in the textbooks also raises Mandela’s iconic status in the eyes of the reader. The red book (2013) praises Mandela’s managing of the Hani assassination crisis as being “presidential even though he was not president” and that he “handled the situation in a way that was calm and presidential” (p.276). The blue book (2013) claims that many people felt “respect and admiration” towards Mandela and that he was greeted by “enthusiastic crowds and leaders” when he visited 13 countries around the world (p.196). Further evidence of the adulation that Mandela receives is references to Mandela being an inspiration to others. This ties in very well with him being an icon that people look up to and try and emulate. In rejecting PW Botha’s offer of freedom, Mandela’s “words of response were a further inspiration for the AAM [Anti-Apartheid Movement]” (blue book, 2013, p.186). The blue book (2013) also claims that “people [were] inspired by the actions of Mandela” with regards to the lengths he went to implement a policy of reconciliation (p.264).

Thus it is evident that Mandela is represented symbolically as an icon. His iconic status is built up by giving him characteristics that South Africans are encouraged to emulate, those of the renaissance South African. Mandela is also raised above the ANC and above petty politics to be such an icon. To reinforce his iconic status even further, he is represented as a global icon and is celebrated as an inspiration to the whole world. The adulation that Mandela receives further solidifies his iconic status.

4.4.2 Mandela as symbolizing freedom

In addition to Mandela being represented as an icon, the textbooks represent him as being closely associated with freedom. He can also be seen to symbolise the concept of democracy, but I maintain that as democracy is allied with freedom, freedom must be seen as the overriding concept. Throughout the textbooks, Mandela is often linked to the concept of freedom. He is often quoted as referring to freedom, so in the end the reader of the text associates Mandela with freedom. Each textbook has a section devoted to the Free Mandela Campaign. The reader immediately connects Mandela's name with freedom. The fact that the books refer to Mandela's autobiography entitled *Long walk to freedom* immediately associates Mandela with the concept of freedom.

Mandela is often quoted as referring to freedom in one way or another. A part of Mandela's trial speech is quoted in the green book (2013). He declares that he has "... cherished the idea of a free society" (p.186). On the same page one reads of Mandela being awarded the freedom of Glasgow. He maintains, in his speech he made on television, in the wake of Hani's assassination, that Hani had died for "... the freedom of all of us..." (red book, 2013, p.276; green book, 2013, p.277). On being set free, Mandela makes a speech in which he greets people by saying "I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all" (green book, 2013, p.267). Learners are asked to ponder on his words which claim that "... that to be free is not merely to cast off ones chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others' (red book, 2013, p.368). Thus, if one would have to associate a word with Mandela's name, one of the first words that one would choose, after reading the references to Mandela in the textbooks, would be freedom.

Not only is Mandela associated in the textbooks with the concept of freedom, he can be seen as symbolising South Africa's freedom in particular. A case in point is the treatment of the release of Mandela. The textbooks convey the sentiment that by freeing Mandela the apartheid government was freeing South Africa. In so doing, the textbooks give the idea that Mandela's and South Africa's destinies are linked. South Africa needed to be freed from the chains of apartheid and Mandela needed to be freed from prison in order to free South Africa. In such a manner the destinies of both South Africa and Mandela are intertwined. The blue book (2013) stresses this point

when it claims that there could be "... no solution to the crisis while Mandela remained in jail" (p.186; p.195). The green book (2013) also claims that freeing Mandela was "a step that resulted in the end of apartheid" (p.252). Such a link between the destinies of South Africa and Mandela is also evident in Mandela's own words: "I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated" (blue book, 2013, p.187; green book, 2013, p.263). Here the freedom of South Africans is intertwined with Mandela's freedom. It suggests that once Mandela is free, South Africa is free. Mandela reflects on his freedom and reveals that when "[he] finally walked through those [prison] gates ... [he] felt ... that [his] life was beginning anew" (green book, 2013, p.331). For Mandela his freedom meant a new life for him and for South Africa. Now that Mandela was free, it meant that South Africa would enter into a new era where it too would taste freedom. One can also connect Mandela's freedom to South Africa's freedom by noting the unusual use of the word 'liberation' in the red book (2013). In detailing the release of Mandela it refers to the occasion as "Nelson Mandela's *liberation* [own emphasis]" (p.267). One normally associates liberation with that of a country and not of a person, so in this instance, it is possible to parallel Mandela's freedom with South Africa's.

By way of concluding this section concerning the symbolism attached to Mandela in the textbook sample, it is evident that there are two main symbolic representations of Mandela: an icon and freedom. The representation of Mandela as an icon is imperious. He is untouchable. As an icon, Mandela represents someone South Africans should try and emulate. He is represented as commanding international respect. Locally, he is represented as being above petty politics and even his own organisation, the ANC. As an icon, Mandela is represented as having all the characteristics that the 'renaissance South African' should aspire to have. As an icon, Mandela is also represented as symbolising freedom in that his name is often associated with freedom through the textbooks coverage of the Free Mandela Campaign, the release of Mandela and the presence of quotes that Mandela makes referring to freedom.

4.5 Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter I stated that I would be answering the following questions: What does Mandela look like? What does Mandela do? And what does he stand for? By answering these questions I will be answering one of my research questions, namely: How is Mandela represented in selected Grade 12 history textbooks? From the written textbook content on Mandela that was categorised through open coding I was able to answer these questions. The analysis of the data revealed that Mandela's character was represented as being flawless. He is represented as being strong willed when it comes to his principles on the one hand and has saintly characteristics on the other. His demeanour is represented as being calm and cool-headed, something one would expect of a statesman.

The dominant representation of the role Mandela plays is one of a type of messiah. The role of messiah encompasses many other roles. These include being a leader; an intellectual; an activist; a political prisoner; a negotiator; a reconciler; a peacemaker and a liberator. Given the high esteem that Mandela is afforded due to all these roles he played, he is viewed by the textbooks as being the authoritative voice.

Finally it was shown that Mandela is represented as a monumental icon. He is held up as an example for all, both in South Africa and internationally. Mandela has been represented as more than a man but a concept, that concept being freedom.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I started to answer the research question of how Mandela is represented within the textbook sample. The purpose of this chapter is to do a second level of analysis by comparing my findings to my literature review in order to ascertain why Mandela is represented the way he is. I will tackle this problem in two sections.

In the first section I aim to evaluate the content related to Mandela in the textbooks. I endeavour to ascertain as to what extent the textbook content relating to Mandela dovetails with the academic writings on Mandela. I start by identifying the areas where the textbooks and the academic writings meet. Having established the extent to which the textbooks under study are accurate in relation to their content on Mandela, I then address the inaccuracies found in the textbooks in relation to the academic writings on Mandela. Included in these inaccuracies are the discrepancies that are found from one textbook to another. Having identified the discrepancies between the textbooks, I will establish why there are these discrepancies. Finally, I will identify and deliberate on the silences that are found on Mandela within the textbook sample.

In the second section I postulated as to why Mandela is represented the way he has been in the textbook sample. Answering the research question of why Mandela is represented the way he has been in the textbooks is indeed a complex one. There is no simple explanation as to why he is represented the way he has been, and one has to address this question by means of a multi-faceted approach. In order to answer this question, I will begin by locating the representation of Mandela in the broader South African context of nation building. I will then address the issue of why Mandela is represented the way he is by referring firstly to the literature surrounding the political nature of the school history curricula. Secondly, I will refer to the literature concerning textbooks and their production in an attempt to answer the question as to why Mandela is represented in the way he is. Finally, I will endeavour

to explain why Mandela has been represented the way he has by referring to various extant theories on myth. By the end of this chapter, I hope to have addressed the research question as to why Mandela is represented in the textbook sample the way he has been in enough depth to give a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

5.2 The evaluation of the content of the textbooks

5.2.1 The meeting of the academic works and the textbooks

In my comparison of the textbooks content on Mandela with the academic writings on him, I found that the textbooks' content was by and large accurate. However, some inaccuracies were identified and these have been pointed out in a section lower down. What follows is a biography solely based upon the agreed upon content that was found in the textbooks which could be verified in the academic writings. I have not made any attempt to fill in the gaps left by the textbooks in the biography. The content that I selected for this biography does not necessarily have to be agreed upon by all three textbooks. For example, some information in the biography is only present in one of the textbooks. I did this in order to produce a more complete biography of Nelson Mandela. The purpose of constructing a biography based on the textbooks under study is important in understanding as to what image of Mandela will be constructed in the minds of learners. In addition, the biography will enable one to identify any silences and inaccuracies that are present in the textbooks.

Mandela was an anti-apartheid activist who, in 1962, underwent military training outside of South Africa and visited newly independent African states in order to gain support for the struggle against apartheid (Sampson, 1999; Limb, 2008). Together with other conspirators, one being his long-time friend, Walter Sisulu, he was sentenced to life in prison in 1964. In his trial speech, Mandela maintained that he had committed his life to the ideal of achieving a free society in South Africa. In addition to committing his life to achieving a free society, he also added that he was prepared to die for such an ideal. Most of his sentence was spent on Robben Island's in the maximum security prison. In 1982 he was moved from Robben Island to the mainland (Mandela, 1994; Sampson, 1999; Lodge, 2006; Limb, 2008).

During his time in prison, Mandela became the world's most famous political prisoner (Sparks, 1995; Lodge, 2006; Van Heerden, 2012). While in prison, attention was drawn to his cause by the Free Mandela Campaign which was launched by the AAM. The AAM's biggest success was a rock concert held at Wembley in London on 11 June 1988, to pay tribute to Mandela on his birthday (Sampson; 1999). Mandela was given numerous awards while in prison (Lodge, 2006; Limb, 2008).

From 1986 onwards Mandela became involved with negotiations with the apartheid government. The government responded to a letter sent by Mandela in which he stated that the best way to avert a catastrophe in the country would be through dialogue. Mandela felt that both sides had suffered casualties and that the negotiations must happen sooner rather than later. He notes that he acted alone as he believed that there are times when a leader must seize the initiative if he is confident that his actions are justified. Thus Mandela initiates talks with the apartheid government and first met with Cobia Coetsee in November 1986. Coetsee represented for Mandela a new kind of Afrikaner leader. Throughout 1987 talks between Mandela and the government continued. In May 1988, he met Neil Barnard, PW Botha's chief strategist. On 5 July 1989, he met PW Botha and the two had tea together. The meeting was a warm and friendly one. The two of them discussed the political situation. Botha treated Mandela with deference and dignity. At this meeting Mandela pressed for the release of Walter Sisulu. In December 1989, Mandela met the new president, FW De Klerk (Mandela, 1994; Sampson, 1999).

As there could be no solution to the country's problems while Mandela remained in jail, on 2 February 1990, FW De Klerk announced that he was going to release Mandela unconditionally. On 11 February 1990, Mandela was released from Victor Verster Prison. His release was televised throughout the world. Many South Africans believed that their problems were over once he was released (Limb, 2008). Mandela visited many countries and was enthusiastically received where ever he went (Sampson, 1999; Limb, 2008).

Mandela's played a pivotal role in the success of the negotiations for a democratic South Africa (Sampson, 1999; Limb, 2008). In August 1990, Mandela persuaded the ANC to suspend the armed struggle in favour of moving the negotiations along more

quickly (Sampson, 1999). Mandela met, in January 1991, with Buthelezi, the IFP leader (Sampson, 1999). During the period of negotiations with the government, Mandela declared that he thought FW De Klerk to be a man of integrity. In spite of this they had serious quarrels. Mandela clashed with De Klerk at the opening of the CODESA in 1991, (Sampson, 1999; Lodge, 2006; Limb, 2008). Here in response to De Klerk's attack on the ANC, he stated that De Klerk was the 'head of an illegitimate regime' (Sampson, 1999, p.459) and that his government was using trickery and dishonesty. They also clashed in 1992 over the question of violence with Mandela again accusing the government of complicity in the violence (Sampson, 1999).

In July 1992 the ANC broke off talks with the government (Limb, 2008). Mandela explained that he could not justify talking to a government that is murdering its people. As a result of the Bisho shootings, negotiations were resumed and as a result of the Record of Understanding that was signed by the government and the ANC (Sampson, 1999).

In April 1993 Chris Hani, the leader of Umkhonto weSizwe, was assassinated by right wing extremists, resulting in unrest throughout the country. This was a crisis which nearly had the country erupting into a racial war. Mandela went immediately on television and appealed for calm (Mandela, 1994). In his appeal for calm, Mandela stated that a foreigner had come to South Africa and killed Chris Hani in what he described as 'cold blooded murder'. He then praised a white Afrikaner woman who had risked her life to assist in the arrest of the killer. Mandela asked the country, both black and white, to unite against all people who would have the country destroyed by violence (Sampson, 1999). The speech that Mandela made on television was seen as presidential (Sparks, 1995).

On 27 April 1994, Mandela voted for the first time in his life (Sampson, 1999). These elections were won by the ANC. Mandela was inaugurated as the first fully democratically elected president on 10 May. As president, in the spirit of compromise, he appointed FW De Klerk as a deputy president and formed the GNU (Limb, 2008). Mandela won the Nobel Peace Prize for his contribution to the peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa (Sampson, 1999).

Mandela went to extra-ordinary lengths in pursuing reconciliation. He, for example, forgave his former jailers. In addition, Mandela met and absolved his former enemies, such as the public prosecutor in his trial of 1964. By appearing at the 1995 rugby world cup final, which South Africa won, wearing a Springbok rugby jersey, Mandela earned the respect of Afrikaners (Sampson, 1999; Sparks, 2003; Van Heerden, 2012).

Mandela was also closely connected to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Mandela personally chose the people that would serve on the committee (Sampson, 1999). Some people were opposed to the TRC as they were afraid it would open up old wounds and be counterproductive. But Mandela prevailed. He believed it was essential to deal with South Africa's past in order to move the country forward. For Mandela, the TRC laid the foundation for reconciliation. He received the TRC report from Bishop Desmond Tutu in October 1998 after both the ANC and National Party (NP) tried to block the report from being handed over to Mandela (Lodge, 2002).

In terms of economic policy, President Mandela followed China and Vietnam's advice by embracing private enterprise (Sampson, 1999). Mandela also maintained that the GNU was committed to addressing the existing inequalities and poverty in South Africa (Lodge, 2002).

So, the above content has been found in both the literature on Nelson Mandela and the textbooks under study and should be viewed as accurate. It must be noted that this reflects a substantial portion of the content on Mandela found within the textbooks under study, therefore one can conclude that their content is largely accurate with regards to factual information on Mandela. However, there were a few notable inaccuracies that were found concerning the content on Mandela within the textbooks under study, which will be pointed out later in this chapter. What remains to be examined is what kind of image of Mandela the above biography would create in a learner's mind.

In order to ascertain as to what image the biography would create in a learners mind, one must first note the limitations of the biography that I constructed. Importantly, the content needed to be placed in chronological order. Also, it must be emphasised that I constructed the biography using all three textbooks under study, whereas the average learner would only have access to one of the textbooks. What all this means is that the average Grade 12 learner would have a fragmented biography of Mandela lacking chronology. Common to all the textbooks under study were the following topics: the release Mandela Campaign; the release of Mandela; the assassination of Chris Hani; Mandela's policy of reconciliation; and the TRC. Looking at the content surrounding these common topics, I would suggest that the average learner would be exposed to the following major themes: Mandela as a prisoner; whom the world campaigned for his release; as a saviour whose long awaited release from prison would solve the country's problems; as a peacemaker who brings the country back from the brink of disaster; as a reconciler who forgives those who wronged him; and finally as a healer who brings restoration to those who suffered under apartheid. These themes match the fortunes of South Africa, from the depth of despair as a prisoner of apartheid, to the healing nature of reconciliation and the promise of a better future.

Thus the biography served a number of purposes. It established the agreed upon content between the textbook sample and the literature. The biography allowed me to postulate as to what image of Mandela would be built in a learners mind, albeit a fragmented one. By referring to the biography I was able to identify silences concerning Mandela which will be pointed out later in this chapter. Finally, in the construction of this biography I was able to identify some inaccuracies which will be pointed out below in the next section.

5.2.2 Inaccuracies found in the textbooks

Having established that the textbooks under study were largely accurate when compared to the literature on Mandela, one must now discuss the inaccuracies that were identified. The first inaccuracy that I would like to point out relates to the Free Mandela Campaign. The role of the Free Mandela Campaign in ending apartheid has been exaggerated. The textbooks have placed the campaign amongst the reasons for the ending of apartheid. Firstly, the textbooks exaggerate the following

impact that the campaign had. The claim that the green book (2013) makes that one billion people around the world watched the 1988 Free Mandela concert could be an exaggeration. Limb (2008) has the total television audience at 200 million. The red book (2013) asserts that the campaign had the support of some governments, trade unions and millions of people around the world. This contention could not be verified by any of the literature that I have read on Mandela.

In addition to contesting the wide reaching impact of the Free Mandela Campaign, one must also call into question its role in the ending of apartheid. The Free Mandela Campaign was a late addition to the international pressure that was building on the apartheid government. It was formed in 1980, when sanctions and internal resistance against apartheid were already hitting the apartheid government hard (Limb, 2008). International sanctions and the cost of maintaining apartheid had sent South Africa's economy into a downward spiral in 1984. Banks then suspended loans to the apartheid government and by mid-1985 its foreign debt lay at \$22 billion. In August 1985, the apartheid government announced that they had frozen repayments of this debt. Internally, the apartheid government faced determined resistance from the UDF, which was formed in 1983 and was making the country increasingly ungovernable (Gumede, 2005). Limb (2008) argues that it was the United States' Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which introduced sweeping sanctions against South Africa, which forced the apartheid government to the negotiating table. The end of the Cold War must be seen as a very important factor in bringing the apartheid government into negotiating with the ANC (Pampallis, 1991). Thus the Free Mandela Campaign plays a marginal role if any at all in the ending of apartheid.

Aside from there being inaccuracies concerning the Free Mandela Campaign, the claim that Mandela convinced the ANC to unanimously suspend the armed struggle has been misrepresented. The suspension of the armed struggle was announced by Mandela on 7 August 1990, but the decision to do so was mainly taken by the prompting of Joe Slovo, the leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP). Mandela was not keen on the idea, but Slovo prevailed on him (Sampson, 1999; Lodge, 2006). He did not feel the time was right for the suspension of the armed struggle, but told Slovo if he suggested the matter to the NEC, he would support him

(Mandela, 1994). Thus it was Slovo, supported by Mandela, who persuaded the ANC to suspend the armed struggle.

Apart from being inaccurate concerning Mandela's role in suspending the armed struggle, the textbooks are to be challenged in claiming that people heeded Mandela's appeal for calm on national television in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination. The reality was that during the ten days before Hani's funeral the country was on the boil, with 40 people being killed and over 500 being injured. There were angry protests, looting and strikes ("Ten days that shook our country", 2011). In fact Mandela was booed by a mourning crowd when he appealed for peace (Limb, 2008). This hardly attests to him bringing calm to the nation.

Aside from being inaccurate with regards to the extent to which Mandela brought calm in the wake of Hani's assassination, Mandela's role in convincing Buthelezi to have the IFP participate in the 1994 elections is overly exaggerated. The key person in this regard was Mbeki who was assisted by Jacob Zuma. Mbeki had met with Buthelezi on several occasions in an effort to get the IFP to take part in the elections. Mbeki made promises to Buthelezi that were well beyond the wishes of the ANC. Mandela did endorse some of these promises though. Before the deal was finally done and dusted, the ANC flew Mbeki out of the country leaving Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo to finalise the loose ends of the arrangement (Gumede, 2005). So in reality, Mandela played a limited role in persuading the IFP to participate in the 1994 elections.

Apart from misrepresenting Mandela's role in bringing the IFP into the 1994 elections, the textbooks are also incorrect in claiming that reconciliation was Mandela's policy and idea. However, at this point one must note that the textbooks are obediently following what is being prescribed by the CAPS document. The CAPS document states that "President Mandela's policy of reconciliation inspires the world" (CAPS, 2011, p.31). The reality it was the ANC who called on Mandela to pursue their idea of reconciliation (Louw, 2004). Mandela must not be seen in isolation or as someone who acts outside of the ANC, but must be seen within the collective leaders of the ANC (Solani, 2000). He was a loyal member of the ANC who in the main respected the will of the collective in the NEC (Sampson 1999; Sparks, 2003).

In fact, the NEC could firmly reject Mandela's ideas out of hand (Sampson, 1999). A case in point is that Mandela wanted Ramaphosa to be deputy-president, but was forced to accept Thabo Mbeki (Gumede, 2005). Johnson (2005) argues that the ANC exercised complete control over Mandela's actions and speeches. Another instance which demonstrates that Mandela had no say in the speeches he gave was the speech Mandela gave at the ANC conference at Mafikeng in 1992. In this speech he decried all forms of opposition as part of a plot against the ANC. This speech is thought to be written by Mbeki and was obediently read out by Mandela. The press was shocked and Mbeki ran around telling journalists not to take the speech seriously (Johnson, 2005). Thus Mandela was certainly not able to make policy decisions on his own, if he had all his speeches written by the ANC. Nevertheless the textbooks felt obliged to kowtow to what was prescribed by the curriculum. The issue of why textbook publishers feel compelled to follow curriculum guidelines will be discussed later in this chapter.

In terms of these inaccuracies that were found in the textbook content, I would like to suggest that they are present in order to solidify various idealistic representations of Mandela. Thus by exaggerating the role that the Free Mandela Campaign played in ending apartheid, the textbooks were building up the representation of Mandela as a liberator. Furthermore, by claiming that it was Mandela who persuaded the ANC to suspend the armed struggle, the textbook solidified the representation of Mandela as being a non-violent peace loving man. Also, by amplifying the role that Mandela played in bringing calm to South Africa in the wake of Hani's assassination serves the purpose of bolstering the representation of Mandela as a peacemaker, or a saviour who brings the country in from the brink of disaster. The misrepresentation of the role Mandela played in convincing the IFP to join the elections further cemented his representation of a saviour. By accrediting Mandela with devising the policy of reconciliation, the textbooks were bolstering his representation of being a reconciler. Therefore, these inaccuracies can be viewed as embellishments that serve the purpose of creating a myth around Mandela. In addition to identifying inaccuracies, I was able to identify discrepancies concerning a few factual details concerning Mandela between the textbooks. These discrepancies are not present in the textbooks under study in order to build up a particular representation of Mandela, but have other explanations for their presence.

The first discrepancy found between the textbooks concerns the conditions that the then president PW Botha attached to his offer of release to Mandela in 1985. The green book (2013) claims that the condition was that the ANC must reject violence whereas the blue book (2013) states that it was only Mandela who had to reject violence in order to be freed. In this case the blue book (2013) is correct, in that according to Limb (2008), in 1985 Mandela was offered freedom if he renounced violence. It is difficult to account for such an error, perhaps the green books' (2013) authors simply equated Mandela with the ANC, thinking that if Mandela rejects violence, so the ANC will do likewise.

The second discrepancy between the textbooks concerns as to when Mandela appeared on television to appeal for calm in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination in 1993. The green book (2013) states that he made this appeal immediately after the assassination whereas the blue book (2013) states that he made his appeal four days later. Here there seems to be some confusion in the academic writings as to when Mandela first appeared on television to make his appeal. According to Smith and Tromp (2009), Mandela went on national television on the night of 13 April, the very day Hani was assassinated. However, the *Sowetan* (2011) maintains that he only appeared on television on the fourth day after the assassination. Sampson (1999) contends that the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) cut the speech, and it was only broadcasted in full at a later date on Mandela's insistence. This could account for the discrepancy in the textbooks and the academic writings.

The third discrepancy concerns the actual date that Mandela cast his vote in the 1994 elections. The blue book (2013) says he voted on 26 March, and the red book (2013) says that he voted on 27 April. According to the authoritative work of Peter Limb (2008) the red book (2013) is accurate in claiming that Mandela first voted on 27 April 1994 – the day of the general election. In this case, I believe it could be that the textbook has not been thoroughly checked for errors. One must keep in mind that the textbooks under study are all pilot copies for implementation in 2014 and such errors could be corrected when the final product is placed on the market.

Thus one can conclude that the inaccuracies that were found concerning Mandela within the textbooks under study may be present in order to boost a particular representation of Mandela. In terms of the discrepancies found between the textbooks, I found that it was not so much the case of building up a particular representation of Mandela, but they can be explained in terms of the use of conflicting sources or the fact that the textbooks under study are only pilot copies and errors are bound to be found. Having addressed the question of inaccuracies, I will now proceed to discuss what was found in the literature on Mandela but not in the body of knowledge that was found in the textbook sample. Such content found outside the body of knowledge of the textbooks I shall refer to as silences.

5.2.3 Silences surrounding the representation of Mandela in the textbooks.

Often it is the silences around historical figures that are more telling than the inaccuracies. By means of silences, textbooks are able to produce an idealistic representation of a historical figure (Lowen, 1995). By identifying the silences, one is able to have a clearer picture of the representation of Mandela that the textbooks under study are trying to construct. However, it would not be fair to expect the textbooks to include all that is present in the academic writings in that the textbooks must follow the curriculum as laid out in CAPS and that they are further limited in space, so I only chose content that was left out that would be relevant to the content that the textbooks had to cover so as to adhere to the curriculum statement for History. The silences that I have found are generally related to conflict that he had with other people, his personal failures, or him making radical, sometimes violent statements.

The textbooks make no mention of the criticism that Mandela drew from his colleagues and the UDF when he did not consult anyone before initiating talks with the apartheid government. The green book (2013) maintains it was Mandela who took the first step to get the ANC and the apartheid government to negotiate. One can argue that it was the apartheid government that initiated talks in that Cobie Coetsee, the then Minister of Justice, was persuaded by Winnie Mandela to meet Nelson Mandela. The two met whilst Mandela was in hospital in 1984 (Mandela, 1994). Mandela felt that Coetsee was testing the waters (Sampson, 1999). However, this was a very tentative step indeed. It is generally accepted that it was Mandela

who made the first step towards serious talks with the apartheid government (Mandela, 1994; Sampson, 1999; Limb, 2008). Mandela stated that in order for the impasse to be broken “[s]omeone on our side needed to make the first step” (Mandela, 1994, p.626). Mandela initially told no one about his decision to engage in talks with the apartheid government (Mandela, 1994). When Mandela informed his fellow political prisoners of his talks with the apartheid government, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada, who were both fellow political prisoners, were suspicious of the talks (Limb, 2008). Walter Sisulu had wished that the apartheid government had taken the first steps rather than Mandela starting talks with them (Mandela, 1994). For Allan Boesak, a UDF leader, Mandela had dishonoured a key UDF principle in that he had “not consulted, and that there was no greater sin in the UDF” (Sparks, 1995, p.61; Sampson, 1999, p.384). This is strong criticism indeed as the UDF was, for all intents and purposes, the ANC in South Africa. Thus there is a complete silence in the textbooks under study concerning the criticisms emanating from his own organisation regarding Mandela’s unilateral decision to initiate talks with the government.

Apart from being silent on the conflict he had within the ANC over his decision to initiate talks; the textbooks are silent on the fact that Mandela divorces Winnie Mandela. The red book (2013) refers to her as his wife and not his ex-wife, whilst the green book (2013) has a picture of Mandela holding hands with Winnie Mandela but she is not acknowledged in the caption that follows. They also do not inform the reader as to the fact that Winnie was his second wife and that he takes a third wife in the person of Graça Machel. Mandela was adamant that he would not be reconciled with Winnie in spite of her efforts to achieve reconciliation (Lodge, 2006). The question here is that if Mandela is held in such great esteem as a reconciler, as the textbooks represent him as being, why was he not able to forgive Winnie, who was regarded by many as the mother of the nation (Solani, 2000). This would explain the silence concerning the divorce; Mandela must be seen as a reconciler. There are various reasons for the divorce, the most blame for which goes to Winnie Mandela. In April 1992, Mandela announced his separation from Winnie at a press conference. Four year later the couple would be divorced. Winnie was seen by some as being out of control. According to Fikile Bam, a fellow prisoner on Robben Island, Mandela placed national interests above personal interests. Mandela felt obligated to stand for

law and order and could not afford to support Winnie in the face of serious charges against her concerning the 1989 events regarding her Mandela Football Club gang (Limb, 2008).

Apart from being silent concerning Mandela's divorce, the textbooks are also silent about the fact that it took Mandela one year to meet with Buthelezi, the leader of the IFP, and that an earlier meeting would have saved many lives. Mandela had wanted to meet with Buthelezi in March 1990, but Harry Gwala and some other of his colleagues strongly opposed such a meeting. Mandela gave in to their demands when he should have been his obstinate self (Sampson, 1999; Lodge, 2006). Jacob Zuma, who was at the time the ANC's leader in Natal, felt that they were making a mistake. According to Buthelezi, "History would have been quite different had Mandela had his way" (Sampson, 1999, p.437). The textbooks under study do refer to Mandela meeting Buthelezi after 1990, but they are silent about the consequences of Mandela's failure to meet with Buthelezi timeously.

The textbooks under study are also silent about the nature of the relationship Mandela had with another adversary, that being FW De Klerk. The textbooks do not give the full story with regards to the clash with De Klerk at the opening of the CODESA in 1991. They also do not make mention of the enmity that Mandela felt towards De Klerk. In an angry response to De Klerk's attack on the ANC and their unwillingness to disband self-defence units, Mandela, at the first assembly of CODESA referred to De Klerk's government by claiming that it either has "lost control over the security forces or the security forces are doing precisely what he [De Klerk] wants them to do." He went on with his vicious attack arguing that "[i]f De Klerk did not know that Inkatha was receiving help from his own government, he was not fit to lead it" (Lodge, 2006, p.175). Mandela drew specific attention to the person of De Klerk by rebuking him in public saying that "if a man can come to a conference of this nature and play the type of politics he has played, very few people would like to deal with such a man" (Sparks, 2003, p.132). His attack on De Klerk was personal and vicious (Lodge, 2006). The relationship between De Klerk and Mandela never was restored. This is still evident as recently De Klerk said that Mandela was a ruthless and unjust political opponent (Conway-Smith, 2012).

There were other occasions where De Klerk bore the brunt of Mandela's anger. In 1992, Mandela threatened to "humiliate" De Klerk if the three demands of the fencing of hostels, the release of 200 prisoners and the ban on cultural weapons were not met (Lodge, 2006, p.178). It was noted that Mandela was not comfortable with sharing the Nobel Peace Prize with De Klerk in 1993 (Lodge, 2006). In a speech in Oslo, at a banquet held for both De Klerk and Mandela soon after being awarded the Nobel Prize, Mandela attacked De Klerk and all he stood for. He refused to acknowledge De Klerk's contribution to change in South Africa. The Swedish hosts were embarrassed and apologised to De Klerk (Carlin, n.d.). Later, in a cabinet meeting, Mandela attacked De Klerk once more when he heard that De Klerk had indemnified 3 500 police officers (Sampson, 1999; Sparks, 2003). Thus Mandela was responsible for most of the vitriol between him and De Klerk. Mandela's treatment of De Klerk is an anomaly as he was, for example, able to forgive Percy Yutar, who was his prosecutor in the 1964 treason trial. In time De Klerk lamented over the fact that Mandela was able to forgive others but not him (Sampson, 1999). Hence the textbooks are silent about this on-going feud he had with De Klerk and are not forthcoming concerning the depth of the animosity that Mandela felt towards De Klerk.

In addition to being silent concerning the conflict Mandela had with others, the textbooks are also silent about any role that Mandela may have played in violent conflict. In this regard, the textbooks are mute about the role that Mandela played in the Shell House massacre. The inclusion of the Shell House massacre in CAPS itself represents a break from the past in terms of the curriculum (DoE, 2003; DBE, 2011). The Shell House massacre was not included in the previous curriculum and could cause controversy if textbooks placed the blame on either the ANC or the IFP as many were killed. In March 1994, thousands of IFP supporters, of whom many were armed with traditional weapons, marched on the ANC headquarters at Shell House. At some point the IFP marches stormed towards Shell House, and ANC security guards opened fire killing 8 initially. In the ensuing violence, 53 IFP marchers would be killed. It later emerged that Mandela had personally instructed the security guards to protect Shell House "even if you kill" (Sampson, 1999, p.485; Johnson, 2009, p.67). Mandela had admitted to parliament in 1995 that he gave instruction to the security guards to shoot (Boyle, 1995). However, the textbooks are silent with

regards to these orders that Mandela gave on the day of the massacre. If the textbooks were to state, as I believe they should as it is crucial to the historical narrative, that Mandela gave orders to the ANC security guards that they should shoot to kill, such information would seriously damage the representation of Mandela as a peacemaker and a non-violent leader. Therefore, the textbook publishers are loathed to pull out this particular skeleton in Mandela's cupboard.

Aside from the silence that exists surrounding the role that Mandela played in the Shell House massacre, the textbooks are largely silent on the more violent side of Mandela, preferring to represent him as a man of peace. Whilst the red book (2013) mentions that Mandela went for military training outside of South Africa, the textbooks are silent concerning his willingness to resort to violence. At the time of his sentencing, Mandela was branded as a terrorist in certain circles in the Western world. 'Terror' has been described as the "use of violence" in limited and controlled forms against an oppressive state "to bring about political, social or other change" (Heehs cited in Boehmer, 2005, p. 48). This would make Mandela a terrorist in that as early as 1953 Mandela had declared that the use of violence was the only way to eradicate apartheid (Boehmer, 2005). Furthermore, Mandela was the prime mover behind the formation of Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the ANC, in 1961 (Sparks, 1995; Lodge, 2006). Mandela told ANC members that "[i]f the government reaction is to crush by naked force our non-violent policy. In my mind we are closing this chapter of a non-violent policy" (Mandela, 1994, p.320). Mandela had divided violent retaliation into four stages – acts of sabotage, guerrilla warfare, terror and then open revolution. He argued that if one stage did not work then the movement must move to the next stage (Mandela, 1994). Thus at one point, Mandela was prepared to use violent terror tactics. He was therefore at one time a violent revolutionary with radical politics. Mandela's violent radicalism was the main reason why his supporters initially held him in such high regard (Boehmer, 2005), and also why he went to jail in the first place.

The textbooks are not only silent about Mandela's radical past but also his radical pronouncements which were made after he was released in 1990. On the day of his release in February 1990, Mandela made a radical and uncompromising speech. This speech is acknowledged as being uncompromising by the green book (2013)

but it only quotes an innocuous part of the speech. The uncompromising and radical part of the speech is left out. In this speech, the part left out, Mandela declared that the “nationalisation of the mines, banks, and monopoly industry is the policy of the ANC, and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable” (Gumede, 2005, p.68). This is why the speech was regarded as being uncompromising in the first place, but the textbook does not reproduce this part of the speech. By including this part of the speech, it would link Mandela with communism. Another radical pronouncement that Mandela made which has also not been included in the textbooks under study was his belief that 14 year olds should have voted in the 1994 elections (Lodge, 2006). Thus Mandela’s representation has been purged of any of his radical ideas or statements that he made before and after he was freed.

In addition to being silent concerning some of Mandela’s radical political views, the textbooks are also silent concerning the limitations of Mandela’s power within the ANC and as president of South Africa. The textbooks make no mention of the fact that it was, according to the literature, Thabo Mbeki who had the real power in the government (Sparks, 2003; Louw, 2004; Johnson, 2005; Lodge, 2006). They represent Mandela as having the power to devise policy, such as the policy of reconciliation, and set the goals of addressing poverty and inequality for GNU. However, this is a far cry from the reality of GNU. For the first two years of GNU, Mandela delegated De Klerk and Mbeki to preside over cabinet meetings on a rotational basis (Sparks, 2003). For the next two years, as De Klerk had led the National Party out of the GNU, Mandela handed over much of his administration to Mbeki. For the last two years of his presidency it was Mbeki who chaired the Cabinet meetings and ran government (Johnson, 2005; Lodge, 2006). This allowed Mandela to float above politics and carry out the roles that the ANC expected him to (Louw, 2004). Thus, in reality it was Mbeki who was the power the throne and the textbooks are silent about this detail. It is therefore inaccurate to ascribe any of the GNU’s policies to Mandela alone.

There was not only a silence over the limits of power that Mandela had as a president, the textbooks are also silent about the failures of Nelson Mandela’s presidency. The fact that Mandela himself was silent concerning AIDS is a serious

blight on his government and must be criticised. Mandela's administration was sluggish in its response to the HIV/AIDS threat, something which Mandela would later regret (Johnson, 2005; Lodge, 2006). Mandela shied away from speaking about condoms and from confronting men about their sexual habits. This, in the view of Johnson (2005), constitutes a real failure of his leadership. The failure of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was unable to meet any of its goals, (Johnson, 2009) is also not mentioned. Generally speaking, the Mandela presidency was at times directionless with problems piling up for the future. A case in point was the lucrative packages that Mandela's government offered civil servants and teachers. As a result, many well qualified and experienced people left resulting in a drop in standards and poor service delivery. Furthermore, under Mandela's presidency, primary health care was given priority over first class medical institutions resulting in a hospital crisis (Johnson, 2005). The textbooks are silent on all these failures of the Mandela presidency.

Thus we have seen that there are numerous silences concerning the representation of Mandela. The textbooks are silent on the conflict that he has with others, his violent side, his radical ideas, and his failures as president. The question that I will address now is why there are these silences that were found in the textbook sample. I would like to suggest that these silences are necessary to construct an idealistic representation of Mandela that is attractive to all learners. The textbooks under study avoided references to Mandela's divorce as this would corrupt the representation of Mandela as a reconciler. His failure to be reconciled with Winnie is problematic for anyone trying to represent Mandela as the ideal South African in that one would expect that if he is able to make peace with his enemies, how much more so should he be able to restore his marriage to a woman he once loved. Thus the textbooks under study choose to be silent concerning the messy details of Mandela's personal life. The silence on Mandela's divorce also can be seen as an attempt to represent him as being devoid of any forms of conflict.

Apart from the silence around Mandela's divorce which assists in the creation of a representation of Mandela that does not have a messy personal life, there are also silences concerning his conflict with others, especially De Klerk, which also service particular representations of him. Such a silence concerning his bitter conflict with

others is necessary in order to construct the representation of Mandela as one who brings peace and not conflict, one who works harmoniously with others. As a messiah-like figure he should not have detractors, only followers. Staying with the reluctance of the textbooks to associate any conflict with Mandela, the silence around his role in the Shell House massacre is a crucial point. Mandela giving orders to shoot to kill is counterproductive to any idealistic representation of him, in particular the notion that he is only a non-violent man of peace. Likewise the silence around Mandela's violent past and his 'terrorist' activities also serve the purpose of bolstering the representation of Mandela as a man of peace.

In addition to creating a representation of Mandela as a man who does not have conflict with others, the textbook sample also are silent on Mandela's radical beliefs that could bring conflict or controversy within the classroom. Some South Africans may be opposed to communism and having Mandela represented as a communist calling for nationalisation would cause much division in many classrooms. Representing Mandela as a communist would, for example, alienate many white learners who stand to lose the most under communism. The need for Mandela to be a unifier in a diverse country subordinated any representation of him as supporting communist policies that would radically change the socio-political landscape. Also, the ANC has since abandoned much of its radical economic policy (Gumede, 2005), and the inclusion of such content could embarrass the ANC, so the editor could have excised any reference Mandela made in favour of nationalisation so as not to offend anyone. Finally, communism could also be seen as being outdated, so the silence could be there in order to keep Mandela relevant to contemporary South Africa.

Aside from avoiding the inclusion of potentially divisive content concerning Mandela, the textbooks under study are also silent concerning the limitations and failures of Mandela as a president. By not divulging that it was Mbeki that had the power during the Mandela presidency, the textbooks are able to maintain the powerful representation of Mandela the messiah who, leading from the front, shepherds his country from out of the chaos of apartheid to the paradise of the 'Rainbow Nation's' democracy. One could also suggest that the textbook authors shied away from anything that would give the impression that Mbeki was more powerful than Mandela because he fell out of favour in the ANC. Textbook publishers are aware that the

ANC appoints the committees that approve the textbooks that will be used in schools. The issue of getting your textbook on the prescribed list will be addressed later in this chapter. Furthermore, by being silent on the failure of the Mandela presidency, the textbooks under study are able to represent Mandela as an infallible sage and intellectual.

As a consequence the silences around Mandela all play a vital role in the construction of an elevated representation of him. It is not so much what is said about Mandela, but what is left out that builds an idealistic representation of him within the textbooks under study. The representation of Mandela cannot have feet of clay or a dark side if one wants to construct him as an ideal, a prototype that all are to emulate.

In this section I have compared the content on Mandela found in the textbooks under study with that which is found in the literature on Mandela. I have argued that, for the most part, the content concerning Mandela found in the textbooks under study is accurate. However, I was able to identify a few inaccuracies such as the exaggerated role that Mandela was given in the ANC's decision to suspend the armed struggle which served the purpose of building up Mandela as being non-violent. Each inaccuracy was explained in terms of how they served to bolster a particular representation of Mandela. I then discussed various discrepancies found between the textbooks under study. Such discrepancies I argued existed as a result of either a misunderstanding on the part of the textbook author, or the use of conflicting sources, or as a result of the textbooks under study being pilot copies which would contain errors. Finally, I identified the silences that existed within the body of knowledge found in the textbook sample. Textbooks under study were all silent concerning Mandela's radical violent past, his divorce, the criticism levelled at him, the animosity he felt towards De Klerk, and most importantly, his role in the Shell House massacre. I suggested that these silences exist in order to construct a wholly idealistic representation of Mandela. Having compared the content of the textbooks under study on Mandela with the literature on Mandela, I will now address the question of why Mandela has been represented the way he has been in the textbook sample.

5.3 Why Mandela is represented the way he is

In the previous section I explained that there were inaccuracies and silences found within the content on Mandela in the textbooks under study. I found that these inaccuracies and silences were used to construct various representations of Mandela. In chapter 4, I identified all the various representations of Mandela in the textbook sample, all of which were to me idealistic. The strongest overarching of these representations of Mandela was one of a 'messiah' with idealistic qualities. These qualities included being a leader, an intellectual, a peacemaker and a reconciler amongst others. Symbolically, Mandela is an icon that is held up for South Africans to emulate and feel proud of. As I pointed out in Chapter 4, he also has the symbolic value of representing freedom, being associated with freedom. The concept of freedom connects Mandela to democracy, equality, and justice. In this section, I aim to answer the question why Mandela is represented in the way he has been. To answer this question one would need to understand the political context that the curriculum and the textbooks have been created in. Bearing this in mind, one would then have to see what the literature surrounding textbooks have to say concerning the nature and power of history textbooks as discussed in the literature review. Finally, to understand why Mandela has been represented so idealistically, which equates to a mythical representation, I will look at some of the extant theories of myth. In doing so I will establish the nature and the function of myth and political myth so as to comprehend why there is such a powerful myth surrounding Mandela. Thus in this section I aim to locate the reasons as to why Mandela has been represented the way he has by looking at the political context of South Africa, the nature of the history curriculum, the textbook industry and applicable theories of myth.

5.3.1 Political context of South Africa

In order to begin to comprehend why Mandela has been represented the way he has been as explained above, one must grasp the context that one finds the representation in. In terms of the political context, South Africa, for all intents and purposes, is a new nation. Less than twenty years have passed since the end of the racially divisive policy of apartheid. In the four years before the first fully democratic election, between 20 000 and 30 000 people were killed in political violence

(Gumede, 2005). Thus, in addition to being a new nation, South Africa is also a post-conflict society. Since the inception of the new democratic state in 1994, the ANC, as the ruling party, has pursued the extremely challenging goal of nation building in a particularly diverse and divided country (Bornman, 2006). In the years following 1994, South Africa, under the ANC led government, has tried to construct a non-racial identity (Reilly, 2001). At the ANC's National conference in Mafikeng in 1997, the concept of nation building was endorsed in the form of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR). The NDR was defined as "an act of addressing the national question: to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society" (Bundy, 2007, p.82). Such a task is daunting and would require a large degree of social engineering. South Africa is home to roughly 52 million people who are comprised of numerous ethnicities. The country has 11 official languages which further adds to the diversity. If one includes bitterness, caused by years of oppression and state sanctioned violence, the ANC government has an enormous challenge on its hands in trying to unite a divided country. To meet this challenge, the ANC has used various nation building exercises in which Nelson Mandela has been a key player.

The pursuit of nation building on the part of the ANC can be traced back to 1994. At this juncture, in order to free itself of the legacy of apartheid, the ANC led GNU sought to construct a new national identity. The apartheid state had defined citizens' identities in terms of its racial ideology. Ranger, cited in Bompani, (2006) defined this as the creation of 'frozen' identities. The new government wanted to have a clean break with the past. The GNU had to decide whether to adopt a federative multination-state in which racial and ethnic diversity would be valued, or to pursue a nation-state model by constructing a non-racial national identity. The federative multination-state carried the risk of instability and disunity, so a non-racial unitary state was preferred (Reilly, 2001). It was thus the task of the GNU to 'unfreeze' these identities which apartheid had 'frozen' in order to create a non-racial nation state (Bompani, 2006).

In order to achieve the GNU's goal of a non-racial nation state, there needed to be reconciliation between the various racial groupings in South Africa. Mandela was asked by the ANC to play the role of reconciler in an attempt to bring white people into the concept of the "rainbow nation" (Louw, 2004, p.77). To unite South Africa,

Mandela had to become all things to all people thus becoming the light that would melt away the racially 'frozen' identities. Nelson Mandela, by espousing the concept of South Africa being a "Rainbow Nation at peace with itself and the world," chose to lead South Africa towards the creation of a nation-state, founded on the ideal of non-racial reconciliation (Reilly, 2001, p.9). Consequently, Mandela would go out to the people to promote the 'Rainbow Nation' and get people from all walks of life to buy into the concept. Crucially, the ANC needed to get the church to give the Rainbow Nation concept its blessing.

After 1994 the ANC encouraged churches to engage in nation building. Mandela once again proved invaluable for the ANC. He was used to convince the churches to play a role in the process of nation building. Addressing church leaders in 1997, Mandela said, "The transformation of our country requires the greatest possible cooperation between religions and political parties, critically and wisely serving our people together. ... We are partners in the building of our society" (Bompani, 2006, p.1144). The Churches responded positively to Mandela's plea for co-operation on the building of a new national identity by forming the National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) which prioritised nation building (Bompani, 2006). Thus through the prompting of Mandela, the Churches committed themselves to nation building.

Apart from Churches engaging in nation building, another major step that South Africa took towards nation building came in the form of the TRC which was established by Nelson Mandela and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Alex Boraine, the Vice-Chairperson of the TRC, stated the aim of the TRC was to assist South Africa in its healing process by:

"an honest assessment and diagnosis of our sickness within our society in an attempt to give our people, both perpetrators and victims, an opportunity to face the past and its consequences, and to start afresh. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an opportunity to make a contribution in order to deal finally with the past without dwelling in it and to help to create the conditions for a truly new South Africa"
(Boraine cited in Norval, 1998, p.252).

The 'Rainbow Nation' concept can be directly linked to the TRC. It posited a diverse society that would ultimately accept each other by means of admission, repentance and forgiveness (Bundy, 2007). It can be argued that the TRC "was to be the most compromised, yet significant pieces of nation-building ever imagined" (Sitas cited in Bundy, 2007, p.81). The TRC was able to cast all South Africans as victims of apartheid thus giving South Africans a unifying shared history (Valji, 2004). A shared history is a vital component in nation building. The final TRC report was welcomed by Mandela, although Mbeki, the then deputy-president opposed parts of it (Johnson, 2009). Again Mandela played a role in this aspect of nation building.

Whilst the TRC sought to heal South Africa as a means to create a 'rainbow nation', the area that has been one of the most enduring centres for nation building is the sporting arena. South Africans have always been sports mad, and the ANC led government has targeted sport as a vehicle for nation building and social change. In, 1995, one year into the new democracy, South Africa hosted the rugby World Cup. The government seized the moment to unite South Africans of all races behind the South African team, the rugby Springboks. The rallying cry of "One Nation, One Team" aimed to unite all South Africans behind their rugby team. Here again Mandela was used to unite South Africans (Maingard, 1997; Grundlingh, 1998). Throughout the tournament he encouraged all South Africans to get behind their team. "The Boks [Springboks] belong to all of us now" (Carlin, 2007), was Mandela's rallying cry. On the day of the final, Mandela arrived at the stadium wearing a springbok rugby jersey in a well calculated gesture of support which endeared many Afrikaners to him and the concept of the 'rainbow nation'. South Africa won, and many felt that it was a result of 'Madiba magic', Madiba being Mandela's Xhosa praise name. South Africans have since been bombarded with advertising campaigns aimed at uniting them in support of, not only their rugby team, but also their soccer team, Bafana Bafana, and their cricket team, the Proteas. It is important to note that Mandela, when he was president, attended matches of all three codes of sport as part of the nation building exercise (Craig, 2003; Motshwane, 2013). Thus sport has been viewed as a major vehicle for nation building and the drive to unite all South Africans behind their national teams is an on-going process.

Therefore, given the various mechanisms used for creating a new national identity, South Africa must be viewed as a post conflict society that is presently still undergoing vigorous nation building exercises. I would like to argue that nation building has begun to pervade South African society in near-Gramscian terms. In 1994 it was found that 65% of all South Africans supported the concept of nation building in the form of the 'Rainbow Nation' (Bornman, 2006). For this study, it is important to note the role that Mandela has played in each of these various attempts at nation building. He has proved himself as a reconciler, he has involved himself in the TRC, and he has encouraged Churches to support nation building and has rallied South Africans behind their sports teams. So, Mandela should be seen as a nation builder who has reached iconic status in a country that is focused on nation building. Mandela is therefore integral to nation building in South Africa. In fact, I would like to suggest that Mandela has become synonymous with nation building in South Africa. His status as a nation builder must be taken into account when considering why he is represented in the way he is in the textbooks. However, there are other explanations for the manner in which Mandela is represented which can be found in the nature of the school curriculum and the textbooks.

5.3.2 The nature of school curriculum and textbooks

Given the near-Gramscian terms in which nation building permeates South African society, it would certainly have an impact on the school history curriculum. Nation building, in the South African context, can be seen as a political ideology (Stolten, 2003). The ANC's goal of nation building entails certain political objectives, namely creating a united non-racial democracy (Bundy, 2007). Thus nation building entails transformation which in itself requires a considerable amount of social engineering. Schools are the ultimate agents for such attempts at social engineering and history is an ideal subject as it contains the national narrative which seeks to give the learners a shared history. A shared history is crucial to nation building. In other words, history as a subject is the means to which "nations seek to store, transmit, and disseminate narratives that define conceptions of nationhood" (Foster and Crawford, 2006, p.5).

If schools are to be used as a means of social engineering to which history is ideally suited, one needs to control the curriculum. Who determines what is taught and what content should be in the textbooks determines how political and ideological

domination is achieved in schools and consequently the wider society (Apple, 1993). Thus the first step to achieving such hegemony would be to control the school curriculum. The curriculum dictates what knowledge is present in textbooks and what is taught in schools. According to Chisholm (2005), the key players in the development of South African school curriculum between 2000 and 2002 was the ANC, trade unions and various academics. She maintains that the ANC dominated the decisions on the content and form of the curriculum. Thus it is one group's "legitimated knowledge" or "official knowledge" that has come to inform the curriculum at the expense of other groups (Apple, 1993, p.222). Pressure groups outside of the ANC had limited impact on the curriculum. In any case it was not the issue of nation building that was challenged as much as the humanistic approach to education. This challenge came from the Christian right and was dismissed by all three major stakeholders in curriculum development (Chisholm, 2005). As far as the development of the history CAPS document, which the textbooks used in this study are based on, Kallaway (2012) argues that it seems that there could be a case made that the new curriculum had more political education in mind than history education. This inclusion of citizenship education which aims to educate learners about the values of the Constitution and democracy hints at the continued domination of the ANC in developing curricula. Thus, the ANC maintained its control over official knowledge and hence, as Apple (1993) argues, be able to achieve political and ideological domination in this case South African schools.

Whilst Chisholm (2005) only referred to the curriculum developments between the years 2000 and 2002, the ANC's political and ideological domination of the curriculum can be traced from the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) of 2008 to the CAPS document of 2010. The similarities between the two curricula can be noted on close examination. Both documents place a great emphasis on the South African Constitution. The NCS states that "... South Africa had changed. The curricula for schools therefore required revision to reflect new values and principles, especially those of the Constitution of South Africa" (p.2) and that "[t]he values of the South African Constitution form the basis of values in History" (p.7). It further adds that "[t]he study of history promotes democracy by: engendering an appreciation and an understanding of the democratic values of the Constitution" (p.7). Similarly, the CAPS document places equal emphasis on the values of the South African

Constitution. It states that one of its guiding principles that it is based on are “Human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice, infusing the principles and practices of social and environmental justice and human rights as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa” (p.3). It also emphasises that history develops an understanding of democracy as defined in the Constitution when it states that “[t]he study of history also supports citizenship within a democracy by: understanding and upholding the values of the South African Constitution” (p.6). What must be noted here is the mention of citizenship, something not mentioned in the NCS, which can be regarded as nation building which has been demonstrated to be a key goal of the ANC. Another similarity between the two curricula is the emphasis on transformation which also is a policy pursued by the ANC. The NCS asserts that “... History should make a crucial contribution to transforming society by helping learners to apply the values that are embodied in the Constitution to their lives and to those around them” (p.7). The CAPS states another of its guiding principles as being “Social transformation; ensuring that the educational imbalances of the past are redressed, and that equal educational opportunities are provided for all sections of our population” (p.3). One can read ‘social transformation’ as nation building as by transforming a country’s society you are creating a new national identity. Another similarity that both curricula have, and that is connected to nation building, is the inclusion of heritage, which as Lowenthal, cited in Keely and Thomas (2012) argued is not history. Thus it is clear that both the NCS and CAPS have similar, if not, the same, political and ideological goals as both emphasise the values of the Constitution and nation building in the form of social transformation and the inclusion of heritage.

Whilst the objectives of the NCS and CAPS are similar, so too is the content of their respective grade 12 curricula. However, there are some notable exceptions. Both curricula include the transition from apartheid to democracy, between the years 1980 to 1994. The NCS merely listed the period of the 1980’s as “The crisis of apartheid in 1980s” (p.48). No further details are supplied as to what aspects of the 1980’s need to be taught. In comparison the CAPS (p.13) gives the same topic but with prescribed content in the following manner:

The crisis of apartheid in the 1980s

International response to South Africa: total onslaught

- Government attempts to reform apartheid: the tricameral system;
- Secret negotiations with the ANC in exile and negotiations with Mandela;
- Response to Botha's "reforms";
- Mass civic action to make the country ungovernable;
- Turning point: the collapse of the Soviet Union and its impact on SA;
- De Klerk and the unbanning of organisations and release of political prisoners in 1989 and Nelson Mandela in 1990.

So, in contrast, the CAPS document has become more prescriptive than the NCS. This would indicate that government is seeking more control over what becomes official history knowledge for this key period during which Mandela feature prominently. It is also important to note that Mandela is mentioned twice amongst the sub-topics listed. If one adds the other sections to this, it means that he has been prescribed five times, an honour that has not been afforded to any other historical figure. The curriculum thus is in itself prescribing that Mandela be placed on a pedestal thus influencing how he is represented in history textbooks. In addition to being more prescriptive, the CAPS recommends that teachers read *Tomorrow is Another Country* (Sparks, 1995). This is an important point to note, as textbook authors would feel obliged to read and include Sparks' (1995) work, and this will have an impact on the way that Mandela is represented. Thus the content required concerning the transition to democracy is similar, it is crucial to note that the DoBET has become more prescriptive in the CAPS document by not only spelling out the content to be covered, but also by prescribing what book to use as a point of reference.

Having established that the current curriculum, that is the CAPS document, is dominated by the ANC's political values, more so than the NCS, and has become more prescriptive over time by requiring more content on Mandela, one now needs to turn to the issue of textbooks. In terms of textbooks, which are informed by the curriculum, it is important to note that South Africa has a prescribed textbook list (Van Eeden, 2008). Textbooks that are not on the list will, almost certainly, not be used in South African schools. In order for a textbook to be accepted and placed on the prescribed list, it is submitted to the DoBET and is evaluated in line with their basic criteria. As the DoBET officials who get to evaluate the textbooks are appointed by the state dominated by the ANC, the dissemination of their official

knowledge and political ideals as encapsulated in the curriculum are assured. Therefore, the textbooks will reflect the ANC's goal of nation building and consequently, the centrality of Mandela in this process. Thus the principles that are contained in textbooks used in schools, in general, support the political principles and the ideological thought of the dominant group within that society (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983; Stolten, 2003). In the case of South African context that being the ANC. For the purpose of this study one must therefore note that the textbook publishers will represent Mandela in the way that they perceive the DoBET expects them to as the CAPS document does not prescribe exactly as to how he is to be represented.

Consequently the prescribed list ensures that the textbooks used in schools are 'politically correct' and adheres to the 'official knowledge' laid down and vetted by the DoBET. The actual power that textbooks have is not lost on the ANC government. As noted in chapter 2, The Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, said that textbooks will play a central role in the classroom (Motshekga, 2009). President Zuma reinforced the priority of the government's education policy as being "the Triple T's - Teachers, Textbooks and Time" (Zuma, 2013, n.p.g.). Thus textbooks are viewed by the government as being central to, not only to what teachers teach, but also what learners learn. So for many learners and teachers the textbook will contain the "canons of truthfulness" (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, p.4) giving the textbook a sacred quality. The use of the term 'textbook' in English gives the impression that textbooks have considerable power. When one talks of something being done in textbook style, it means that it was done perfectly. From this one gets the impression that a textbook is something that one must not deviate from, that it is an example of the desired result perfect in every way (Crawford, 2003). In addition to the impressions that learners have on the accuracy of textbooks, textbooks play a dominant role in a learner's academic life. In practice we find that a textbook is used "75% of time in class and 90% of time on homework" (Apple, 1991, p.24). Thus the textbook is a powerful medium for controlling what teachers teach and what learners learn. Add the perceptions held by society of the textbook's 'correctness', you have a very potent tool for nation building.

Given the power that textbooks have, it is important to understand the nature of the textbook. As the curriculum is not neutral in that it has a political agenda, neither are the textbooks. The curriculum informs the textbooks and the people who design and produce textbooks will reflect the goals and content of the curriculum. Furthermore, textbooks are “conceived and designed by real people with real interests” (Apple, 1992, p.4). The content in textbook is not the result of an arbitrary process but there is real intent behind choices made in deciding on content. Choices needed to be made concerning what is to be included and what is to be left out in terms of content, in the case of this study regarding Mandela. For example, the Shell House massacre is included as it is in the curriculum, but the decision to leave out Mandela’s role in the massacre was a choice influenced by certain motives. It follows that any representation found in textbooks, whether it be gender representations or the various representations of Mandela, has motives behind it (McKinney, 2005). Thus it is not a case of absentmindedness that there are silences and misrepresentations within textbooks as explained earlier in this chapter, but there are underlying motives for them.

A strong motive for the inclusion or exclusion of content in history textbooks on Mandela could be the furthering of the goal of nation building and the creation of a national historical narrative. I have argued in the previous section that nation building has come to dominate, not only the ANC’s political thought, but the majority of the people of South Africa’s consciousness. History textbooks themselves are seen by governments throughout the world as an important vehicle for transmitting ideology and notions of nationhood or nation building (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983; Pulakow-Suranski, 2002; Weldon, 2003; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Torsti, 2007). In the case of emerging democracies, post-colonial societies or post conflict societies, such as South Africa, the role of history is vital to the development of a new national identity (Apple, 1992; Pulakow-Suranski, 2002). This is the case because history textbooks contain the ‘national historical narrative’, a narrative that defines the conceptions of nationhood (Foster & Crawford, 2006). The national narrative is usually based upon an amalgamation of myth, memory and official knowledge. It is not in the interest of the nation state to tell the whole truth about itself, but rather to construct a single, simplistic and unifying historical narrative. The implication of this construction of a historical narrative for this study is that Mandela himself is not only

integral to nation building, but also to the national narrative. In order to create the appropriate representation of Mandela, it was necessary to silence all dissenting voices and contradictions. For example, since reconciliation is considered vital for the construction of a South African national identity, it was crucial that the textbooks were silent concerning Mandela's refusal to be reconciled with Winnie Mandela and FW de Klerk. By including such content, the textbooks would be at odds with their representation of Mandela as being a reconciler, and consequently with the overall goal of nation building. Thus choices concerning the inclusion or exclusion of content can be subordinated to the overarching goal of nation building and the construction of a national narrative and new identities. The actual national narrative that the representation of Mandela locates itself in will be discussed in another section.

Aside from being motivated by the goal of nation building and the creation of a national narrative, a further motive for portraying Mandela in a certain manner is the conscious change of emphasis found in South Africa's curriculum and textbooks. Whilst textbooks no longer contain apartheid stereotypes, new stereotypes, new myths and silences have appeared (Engelbrecht, 2008; Morgan & Henning, 2011). For example white people, such as Max du Preez and Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, who were opposed to apartheid at great risks to themselves, are given little if any representation (Van Eeden, 2010). Where black people were once on the periphery of the history curriculum, now as a result of the end of apartheid, the history of black people has taken the central position in the history curriculum (Engelbrecht, 2008). This would affect how Mandela, as the most famous black South African, is represented in textbooks. In light of this shift from a white centred history to a black centred one, this could explain why the textbooks have represented Mandela as being central to South Africa's move to democracy. Thus an important motive for the choice of content regarding Mandela is the change of emphasis in South African history education, from a white minority centred one to a black majority centred one.

Another motive for the exclusion of content can be a desire to present an uncomplicated, clean version of history. In order to understand how and why these silences are constructed in history textbooks, one would do well to note Lowen's (1995) observations. The idealistic representation of historical figures is described by Lowen (1995) as "heroification" (p.31). As pointed out previously, South African

history textbooks have moved away from focusing on white heroes to a more black centred history demanding black heroes such as Mandela. In this way Lowens's (1995) assertions are to understanding why Mandela has been represented the way he has been. As mentioned in chapter 2, he argues that idealistic representations were created in the USA around key historical figures by keeping silent about the less 'savoury' aspects of their lives. By including these aspects of their lives in a textbook would make history 'messy' by giving heroes views that run contrary to the dominant political culture. It was important that heroes were given the attributes that the dominant political culture wanted them to have. Thus a "Disney version of history" is created, a history that is complete with unblemished heroes, and is seen as being more appropriate for consumption (Lowen, 1995, p.35).

Lowen's (1995) concept of "heroification" is not limited to American history textbooks. Likewise in the textbooks under study, one finds the "Disney version" of Mandela complete with only endearing characteristics. No spot or blemish is to be found in the textbooks heroic representation of Mandela. He is represented as being principled, loyal, unselfish, compassionate and forgiving. These saintly characteristics feed into the overall representation of Mandela as a messiah – an idea that will be explained further down in detail. For example, the textbooks under investigation are silent concerning his refusal to be reconciled with Winnie, any criticism levelled at him, his violent radical past, his role in the Shell House massacre, his belief that 14 year olds should have the vote, his criticisms of the press, his initial unwillingness to suspend the armed struggle and how he failed in his role as a father to his children. All these silences help create an idealistic representation of Mandela. The practice of heroification prevents textbooks from showing the inadequacies of the 'hero'. By including any of these 'unwelcome' facts would make the representation of Mandela messy and would fly in the face of the representation of Mandela as the quintessential hero who liberated South Africa.

Lowen (1995) further contends that "textbook authors might write history in such a way that students feel good about themselves by feeling good about the past" (p.133). Thus there exists a 'feel good history' when one examines the representation of Mandela and the role he played in the move to democracy. Such a 'feel good history' allows the learner to feel proud to be South African and in evoking

such emotions the textbooks under study are embarking on nation building. So, the idealistic representation of Mandela can also be explained in terms of what Lowen, (1995) calls heroification. There are, however, alternative explanations as to why Mandela is represented the way he is which pertain to the nature of the textbook industry.

5.3.3 The nature of the textbook industry

Another explanation as to why Mandela is represented the way he is in the textbooks concerns the nature of the textbook industry. First and foremost the textbook industry, like any other industry, is profit driven (Crawford & Foster, 2006; Apple, 1991). Publishers in general will not place ideological concerns, or concerns over accuracy, above their profit margins. If, as in South Africa, there is an approved textbook list, publishers will do their utmost to have their book on it. Getting your book on the approved list makes a textbook much more profitable. If having your textbook on the approved list means toeing the DoBET's line by including a certain perspective on content, then so be it. A case in point, which I previously drew attention to, is one will find that the contention that Mandela's policy of reconciliation was an inspiration for the world has been copied from the CAPS document. It is vital for textbooks to avoid the inclusion of controversial content (Apple, 1991). As a result publishers aim to please the DoBET (Van Eeden, 2010). Chapter headings for most textbooks are copied verbatim from DoBET's curriculum documents (Morgan and Henning, 2011). As previously mentioned, the curriculum places Mandela on a pedestal in that few historical figures appear more than once, whereas his name appears five times. So, textbook publishers will sit up and take notice and give Mandela the attention that has been prescribed by the curriculum.

Apart from having to interpret the curriculum, textbook publishers are also at pains to mirror the dominant group's political beliefs (Van Eeden, 2008). They will be aware that Mandela is a high profile member of the ANC and first president of a fully democratic South Africa. Controversial content concerning Mandela could be construed as an affront to the ANC which would result in books not being included on the prescribed list of textbooks. Textbook publishers therefore have stood clear of any criticism of Mandela, and have represented Mandela in the most acceptable manner so as to ensure that their book is on the prescribed list. Finally, they are

aware that their product must be in line with whatever the national exams require (Crawford & Foster, 2006). Controversial content surrounding Mandela could well not fall into the ambit of the requirements for the Matric exams. If the authors do include controversial content or content that is not relevant to the exams, the editors are most likely to edit it out.

School textbooks are thus not the only the work of the authors but also the work of editors which is the public face of a much larger enterprise. There is a limited amount of space available in a textbook which needs to be of the ideal marketable size. In an effort to fit the shape and size of the textbook series, textbooks are 'designed' rather than 'written' by editors and authors. For the sake of space and design, authors will have their work changed, with the editors rewriting and reshaping their content. In this manner textbook content becomes diluted (Crawford & Foster, 2006). This can also explain why Mandela is represented only in positive terms. There could simply be no space for including issues such as Mandela's divorce of Winnie, the details of his prolonged animosity towards De Klerk and his violent radical past. Thus, the limits of space can be a contributing factor that limits the content surrounding a particular topic.

Apart from limits of space, another explanation as to why Mandela is represented the way he is could be the case that the authors of the textbooks have themselves only read a few of the works on Mandela. Textbook production is often a rushed affair with deadlines needing to be met. Textbook publishers are often given very little time by the DoBET to submit their textbooks for approval. This could impact on the authors' ability to review the latest work on Mandela. For example, none of the textbooks made use of Lodge's (2006) *Mandela: A critical life*. This work does approach Mandela's life critically. It is important to note that Mandela's autobiography (1994), *Long walk to freedom*, is quoted quite extensively. *Long walk to freedom* was written collaboratively with Stengel and Sisulu, and great care was taken to cast Mandela as a reconciliatory leader and man of peace (Van Heerden, 2012). This would explain why he is represented as a reconciler if *Long walk to freedom* is a major source. However, many other works on Mandela are most adulatory of him. Sparks (2003) refers to Mandela as "the miracle man, the living martyr who withstood 27 years in jail" (p.1). As previously mentioned, Sparks is the

author of the only recommended book for teachers, for the section on South Africa's move to democracy, by the CAPS document. What is recommended for teachers becomes obligatory for textbook authors who strive to capture the official knowledge perfectly so as to improve their marketability of their product. Sparks is not alone in his adulation of Mandela. Limb described Mandela as a "star performer, African Chief, Western president, the sportsman, philosopher, jiver with the 'Madiba shuffle'" (p.117). As noted in chapter 2, Sampson's (1999) *Mandela: the authorized biography* needs to be critically read as he has been viewed as an ambassador for the ANC (Johnson, 2009). Therefore, if the sources used by textbook authors view Mandela in flattering terms, the subsequent representation of Mandela in the textbooks will also be laudatory of him.

5.3.4 Explaining Mandela as 'messiah'

Whilst one can explain why Mandela has been represented in adulatory terms, devoid of criticism, one still needs to understand why he is represented as an idealised messiah in textbooks. In terms of surmising as to why Mandela is represented as a messiah, one needs to consider what Suttner (2007) opines in this regard. He argues that it is not the ANC who has given Mandela the epithet of 'messiah' but white South Africans. He supports his argument by suggesting that if one were to search the ANC website for the words 'messiah', 'messianism' and 'saviour', one would only find it on one occasion, used by Mandela in rejecting any claims of 'messianic' status for the organisation. No reference to Mandela as being a messiah-like figure is to be found. Thus the representation of Mandela as a messiah does not stem from the ANC. Suttner (2007) thus proposes that it is not followers of the ANC or those involved in the anti-apartheid struggle that attribute saint-like qualities to Mandela, but mostly whites who expected vengeance to be wreaked upon them for the iniquities of apartheid and their racist attitudes with the onset of a black majority government. The success of the transition to democracy in South Africa was inexplicable in purely secular terms. There had to be a spiritual explanation, a miracle performed by Mandela the messiah. Attributing the success of the transition to democracy to spiritual factors went hand in hand to the separation of Mandela from the ANC. This would explain how in some parts of the textbooks, Mandela is represented as being separate from the ANC. Finally, Suttner (2007) maintains that a messianic construction of Mandela enables individuals who do not

support the ANC, to nevertheless applaud him. In my readings on Mandela, I found that most books written about him had white authors, such as Sparks, Sampson, and Limb. The books tended to be very adulatory towards Mandela. Authors of the textbooks were most likely to refer to some of these books that I have read, and this would explain why Mandela is represented in the textbooks as a messiah. Furthermore, as some of the textbook authors, and most probably some editors, are white, Suttner's (2007) work does seem to explain why Mandela would be represented as a messiah.

However, Suttner's position with regard to the messianic representation of Mandela can be contested. There certainly were ANC members and supporters who viewed Mandela as a messiah. Traditional poets, such as Bongani Sitole, not only represented him as a messiah but likened him to Jesus (Kaschula, 2008). During his time in jail, he was the messianic figure of struggle songs (Sparks, 1995). According to Carling, a British journalist, Mandela was regarded as the "jailed messiah" (Smith & Tromp, 2009, p.264). Peter Mokaba, an ANC leader, on Mandela's release from prison, openly referred to Mandela as a Messiah by saying "Comrade President, here are your people, gathered to pay tribute to their Messiah, their saviour whom the apartheid regime failed to silence" (Lodge, 2006, p.196). In July 1990, the then mayor of New York, David Dinkins, an African American, compared him to Moses leading his people out of Egypt. Veterans of the civil rights movement claimed Mandela filled the gap left by the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X (Lodge, 2005). As far as Suttner's assertion that white people have separated Mandela from the ANC, one must note that he was more popular than the ANC (Johnson, 2005; Lodge, 2006) which in itself separates him from the ANC, something that Suttner acknowledges but does not consider its implications. If he was more popular than the ANC, he could be viewed as someone above the ANC and therefore separate. Thus if there is every indication that black people, and not only white people, viewed Mandela as a messiah who floated above the ANC before the 'miracle' of 1994 and not only after 1994 when Mandela focused on reconciliation.

Thus Suttner (2007) can only explain the representation of Mandela as a messiah in a limited sense in that white people may have viewed him as such. But his

representation of being a messiah is found in other communities inside and outside of South Africa, and it was evident before 1994 and not only after as Suttner (2007) opines. The representation of Mandela as a messiah is the summation of all the other representations of Mandela. These representations of Mandela - the liberator, reconciler, leader, peacemaker and saviour – compliment the concept of a messiah. Such a representation can best be described as a myth. In fact, a large contingent of scholars maintains that a whole mythology has developed around Mandela (Sampson, 1999; Solani, 2000; Louw, 2004; Lodge, 2006; Martin, 2006; Van Heerden, 2012). Thus there is an extant myth surrounding Mandela which would have fed in to the representations of Mandela within the textbooks under study. Each representation of Mandela found in the textbook sample can be seen as mythical, with each one contributing to what I maintain is a mega-myth, that being the messiah myth. In order to understand the ‘messiahification’ of Mandela one needs to understand the meaning and function of myth, and, in particular, political myth in a society. For the purposes of this section I will be referring to the ‘messiahification’ of Mandela as the ‘Mandela myth’. In my use of the term, Mandela myth, I am referring to all that encompasses the representation of Mandela as a messiah. The representation of Mandela as a messiah is not simply one of a saviour, but also an intellectual, a leader, a reconciler and a nation builder. The Mandela myth will also include what Mandela has come to symbolise, namely, freedom, democracy and the ‘rainbow nation’. Given the fact that Mandela has come to represent so much to so many people at various times of his life, this reinforces my contention that the Mandela myth is best described as a mega-myth. In order to understand the Mandela mega-myth, one needs to address the various theories surrounding myth.

5.3.5 The theory and function of myth.

In order to adequately address the Mandela myth, I will first ascertain the basic meaning of myth. Secondly, I will give a brief overview of the main theories concerning myth. Finally, I will then outline the functions of myth in a society like South Africa. By understanding what the functions the Mandela myth serves, I will be able to postulate to the reasons why Mandela is represented as a messiah in textbooks under study.

As pointed out in chapter 2, the conceptualisation and theorisation of myth is problematic. According to the *Collins Shorter English Dictionary* (1994), myth is “a story about superhuman beings of an earlier age” (p.751). This is an apt description of the Mandela as messiah myth, although it is a contemporary myth and not one of an earlier age. However, referring to a dictionary can only be seen as a starting point for a synopsis on myth.

Apart from being stories about superhuman beings, Strenski (1987) argues that myth can also be seen as an illusion, something which in essence does not exist. What he argues does exist is the manufactured article of ‘myth’ together with the factory that produces the concept. The manufactured article in this case I would argue is the representation of Mandela as a messiah, whilst the factory that has produced can be found in both South African society and the international community. Within South African society, the forces that helped create the myth are varied. The myth would have started in the black community during the struggle, various poets and authors would have added on to the myth, the ANC also used the myth to further their political agenda, and one must not forget the fact that at times Mandela actively fed the myth (Lodge, 2006; Van Heerden, 2012). The media also played its part in embellishing the Mandela myth. Finally, I would suggest that the DoBET, the school curricula and the textbook industry are also part of this factory that churns out the myth. Thus one can propose that a myth is a social construct and in the case of Nelson Mandela, the messiah myth attributes superhuman qualities to him. Aside from Strenski’s (1987) theory on myth, another theorist who has contributed to the theorisation of myth would be Roland Barthes.

As noted in chapter 2, Barthes (1972) regards myth as a “type of speech chosen by history” (Barthes, 1972, p.110). More precisely, the Mandela myth is based on history in that Mandela has historical significance to both South Africa and the world. If we were to apply Barthes’s theory to the Mandela myth, one would view Mandela as the “signifier” and the myth (or concept) would be the “signified” (Barthes, 1972, p.112). For Barthes the myth would have “emptied out” Mandela of his own “value”, that is his own person (p.118). Consequently Mandela, being represented as a messiah, has been purged of his human qualities, that is, his failings and his mortality. Mandela is the form that has been “absorbed” by the myth (Barthes, 1972,

p.118). As a result, Mandela the man is the myth, in that it becomes 'natural', even second nature, to immediately associate Mandela with the messiah myth, with freedom or any other mythical representation of Mandela. It has therefore been noted that it is very difficult to separate the man from the myth (Sampson, 1999). Mandela is completely engulfed by myths.

The myths that surround Nelson Mandela generally take the form of a political myth. A political myth can be crucial to the formation of a national identity or in the case of South Africa, nation building. According to Cassirer, myth lays the groundwork for nationhood as it's behind the sense of nationhood and gives it impetus. He argues that "it is inconceivable that a nation should exist without a mythology" (Cassirer cited in Strenski, 1987, p.16). South Africa, as a new nation searching for a new national identity, will likewise require myths to hold such in place. When Mandela was released from prison in 1990, there already existed a myth surrounding him, something that Mandela himself acknowledged (Lodge, 2006) and which was explained earlier. Such was the enormity of the existing myth that Mandela had no room for manoeuvre on his release in 1990. As much as he tried to dispel the myth, it was to no avail. Consequently, he could not escape the excessive adulation bestowed upon him (Martin, 2006). Thus Mandela was sucked into the role of being the mythical figure that would liberate and unite a country after a long period of strife and racial polarisation. Mandela was therefore the 'messiah' who came to bring racial reconciliation. He is held up as the ideal, the perfect South African, someone all South Africans should emulate. Thus the Mandela myth, as Cassirer would argue, lays the ground work for South Africa's new national identity. However, there are other theorists of political myth that could assist one in understanding the Mandela myth.

As noted in chapter 2, one of the first to develop a theory of political myth was Georges Sorel. Sorel saw the social need for myth and stated that for French society, "La Patrie, La Revolution Francaise, Jeanne d' Arc' are sacred things, which we cannot touch" (Sorel cited in Strenski, 1987, p.191). Likewise, in the South African context, Mandela has become 'untouchable' and 'sacred' as no criticism of Mandela can be found in the textbook sample. It can also be argued that Mandela has filled South Africa's soul with the same religious enthusiasm that Sorel noted the

French Revolution had done for the French soul. As a result, Mandela is placed on a pedestal as the renaissance South African, a concept I discussed in chapter 4. Accordingly, it would be 'heretical' for any textbook to denounce Mandela in any way as he is seen as sacrosanct as he fulfils a vital social need, that is, he is the glue that holds a diverse nation together. Hence one finds a mythical representation of Mandela in the textbooks because history textbooks are powerful educational mediums that have the ability to influence generations of learners.

So, for Sorel, myth fulfilled the social need for sacrosanct things that would invigorate people. In addition, Sorel maintains that political myth is "the image held by participants in a movement of impending action in which their cause will triumph" (Curtis cited in Strenski, 1987, p.164). Thus political myth assumes that one's cause will succeed, and it needs images to achieve this. As a result, political myth represents a last recourse for people facing a deep crisis (Bottici, 2007). In the case of the Mandela myth, the crisis was apartheid. Political myth must always be told from the perspective of the present, as the textbooks are in the present, it must be able to be renegotiated according to the needs of the society of the day. The myth can be adapted to meet the challenges of different crises, and thus can change continually. This continual change or reworking is referred to by Bottici (2007) as "work on myth" (p.115). As a result, the mythical representations of Mandela have changed depending on the cause or social need. The cause has changed from fighting apartheid to nation building and reconciliation. The Mandela myth therefore had to be reworked over time (Solani, 2000). Mandela, in the early 1960's, was a revolutionary figure with the iconic status of a Che Guevara the Argentine Marxist revolutionary and leading figure of the Cuban revolution. When he was on Robben Island, he was a martyr for the cause. Once he was released, he was a man of peace who was guiding South Africa through a peaceful transition to democracy. As a president, he was a reconciler. Today, we see Mandela as being part of rampant commercialism, a brand name, with his image adorning, for example, T-shirts (Lob, 2012; Curnow, 2013). His image is used to sell South Africa to tourists. There is a longing for another Mandela, another messiah that will guide South Africa out of its socio-economic troubles. Thus the mythical representation of Mandela has been renegotiated, or, reworked, in line with Bottici's theories of political myth. The representation of Mandela as a messiah, an icon, in the textbook studies is therefore

just another reworking of the Mandela myth, to hold up to young South Africans a prototypical South African.

Aside from the use of images, Bottici (2007) adds that political myth has a narrative dimension. This is also true in the case of the political myth that surrounds Mandela. There is an historical narrative that surrounds Mandela and is essential in the construction of the Mandela myth. History lends itself to myth making. What is truth for one historian, another historian might consider it as myth. One must acknowledge that historians are under pressure to kow-tow to expectations of society by representing individuals they write about as the society wants them to be represented. As a result, historians are tempted to mingle truth with falsehood, the result being a mythical representation of history (McNeil, 1986). If there is strong pressure placed on academic historians to represent Mandela as society would like him to be, certainly textbook authors would feel even more pressure to represent Mandela as South African society would like him to be.

Whilst historians and textbook authors can be susceptible to myth making, one can take this a step further and argue that all national historical narratives are mythical constructs. National historical narratives can be seen as such because representations of the past are seen as secondary to the establishment of an identity of the present (Friedman cited in Bottici, 2007). Thus, according to Friedman, there is no difference between national historical narratives and myth. In the case of the textbooks under study, the narrative that the Mandela myth is located in is the narrative regarding South Africa's move from apartheid to a democracy.

This narrative concerning South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy I suggest has become the new 'Great Trek', which in itself was replete with myths of its own, of school history. It has been present in all the curriculum revisions since 1999 (Curriculum 2005, 1999; NCS, 2008; CAPS, 2011). This new national narrative is in itself a myth in that it suggests that South Africa's transition to democracy was miraculous. In addition this narrative gives birth to the myth that South Africa moved from chaos to order, from racial division to racial unity and from conflict to peace. In this narrative, Mandela is there every step of the way, leading this migration from the front and guiding all South Africans to the promised land of the 'Rainbow Nation'.

Furthermore, myth is a means for creating an identity yet to come (Schmitt cited in Bottici, 2007). This is an apt evaluation of the nation building concept of the 'Rainbow Nation', the identity that the Mandela myth is constructed to help create which is yet to be fully achieved as it is a project still under construction. The textbooks that have been analysed is part of this nation building exercise as the curriculum that informs the textbooks require that, as Kallaway (2012) notes, citizen education be included as part of history education. In order to further the ends of nation building, the textbooks under study have replaced old myths with new myths such as the Mandela myth.

In light of the above I would argue that political myth is vital to the formation of a national identity, as is the case with South Africa today. In addition, political myth necessitates that certain things, or people as in the case of Mandela, are regarded as sacrosanct. Such sacrosanct things evoke a religious enthusiasm for a cause especially since political myth maintains that the peoples cause will triumph. This cause could be the struggle against apartheid or the construction of a new national identity or a rainbow nation in post-conflict society. It has further been demonstrated that political myth can be changed to meet the needs of different circumstances. Hence, the Mandela myth sustained people through the struggle and later inspired people to believe in the 'Rainbow Nation'. Finally, there is a narrative dimension to political myth which can be present in history textbooks. The narrative found in the textbooks under study which contains the Mandela myth is the myth of South Africa's miraculous transition to democracy. In order to further understand why there is this political myth surrounding Mandela, one should endeavour to understand what function the Mandela myth serves in South African society.

According to Reid (2011), there are four ways myths function in a society, which I believe apply equally to political myth. Firstly it can serve as a way of reinforcing beliefs and values of a political grouping. In terms of beliefs and values, it can be argued that Mandela symbolised a variety of values and beliefs such as non-racialism, democracy and reconciliation. All these values and beliefs need reinforcing and nurturing in this new but vulnerable South Africa. Mandela has come to be synonymous with nation building, the belief that a previously strife torn and racially divided South Africa can be, as Mandela himself has put it, a "rainbow nation that is

at peace with itself and the world” (Sparks, 1995, p.229). Thus the Mandela myth serves the function of reinforcing the belief that South Africans of all races can live harmoniously in the new democracy.

Apart from reinforcing the political beliefs of the “Rainbow Nation”, the Mandela myth also serves the function of allowing people to escape reality and to romanticise individuals or goals. The highly romanticised representation of Mandela as a messiah leading South Africa from the pit of apartheid towards a better dispensation inspires South Africans and gives them hope that all will be well. Hearing that everything will be well is exactly what society wants and which the textbooks under study have provided. The Mandela myth also romanticises the triumph over racism and the goal of the ‘Rainbow Nation’. Such a myth allows South Africans to escape the realities of a divided country beset with social and economic problems by creating an extremely romanticised view of a united South Africa.

Aside from the function of fulfilling societies need to romanticise individuals and escape reality, political myth also unifies people by inspiring feelings of patriotism. Mandela, as a South African, is held up as a world renowned icon, who inspired the world. Mandela made South Africa, once considered to be the “skunk of the world” as Mandela put it (Sampson, 1999, p.493), to walk tall amongst all nations. In terms of the textbooks under study, on encountering the mythical representation of Mandela in the textbooks, learners will generally feel proud to be South African and proud to be born in a country that has produced such a leader that is perfect in every way. In addition, to inspire pride, Mandela’s mythical qualities inspired South African sports teams and has been credited with bringing them victory. This phenomenon was referred to as ‘Madiba magic’ (Johnson, 2005). It was notably that during the rugby world cup of 1995 that Mandela united South Africans behind their team using the tournament to advocate the concept of nationhood (Van Heerden, 2012). For example, his presence at the final, wearing a springbok rugby jersey, and the fact that South Africa won the tournament, added to the work on myth surrounding Mandela. On South Africa winning the championship, Mandela “said it was one of the happiest moments of his life ... It was the country’s moment in history that would unite every South African” (Lieberfeld, 2003, p.243). Mandela not only united South

Africans through sport but had the mythical quality of being a lucky talisman for their sports teams.

Apart from the function of political myth in inspiring patriotism and uniting a country, it also serves as a basic example of culture making it easier to live within different social, economic, and political establishments of a society (Reid, 2011). Mandela, I argue, is the prototypical South African, an example for all to emulate. He became an example of reconciliation and non-racialism in South Africa, which are considered vital attributes that an individual would need in order to function fully in the social, economic and political institutions of South African society today.

By adapting Reid's (2011) analysis of the function of myth to the political myth surrounding Mandela, I believe that one has a better idea of why Mandela has been represented the way he has been. In a nutshell, the Mandela myth serves various functions in South African society. I would like to suggest that the Mandela myth, or even Mandela himself as the two are virtually inseparable, is the glue that seems to hold South African society together. The presence of the Mandela myth, in which he is presented without spot or blemish, in the textbooks under study is significant as textbooks are powerful tools for influencing the future by influencing the young minds of today. Thus the textbooks are the conduit for a powerful myth that serves the function of reinforcing the political beliefs and values of the ANC, that allows learners to escape the harsh realities of their society and romanticises the political ideal of the 'Rainbow Nation', that inspires patriotism in the learners, and that serves as an example of culture which the learners can emulate.

5.4 Conclusion

Through the use of silences and inaccuracies the textbooks under study have constructed an idealistic representation of Mandela, that being the overriding representation of Mandela as a flawless messiah. This representation is one that I previously identified in Chapter 4. One would be resorting to reductionism if one were to isolate a single reason as to why Mandela is represented in this manner. Any representation of Mandela must be seen in the context of the political goal of nation building which, I have argued, has reached near-Gramscian levels in South African

society. One must bear in mind that Mandela has played a pivotal role in the various nation building exercises of the 1990's and that Mandela can be seen as being synonymous with nation building. The curriculum that informs the textbooks openly encourages nation building in the form of citizen education. Mandela's idealistic representation in the textbooks under study as the prototypical South African serves the purpose of being an example for South African learners so as to create the ideal 'Rainbow Nation'. Furthermore, textbooks are powerful mediums for conveying the national narrative which is vital to developing a sense of nationhood. In this national narrative, the narrative of South Africa's move to democracy, Mandela plays a central role in transforming South Africa from a state of chaos to an ever improving state of harmony.

Although nation building plays an important role in why Mandela is represented the way he has been, there are other valid explanations. South African history textbooks have turned full circle away from a white centred history to a black centred one. Thus there is a need to create new black heroes of which Mandela is paramount. What we could be seeing in the textbooks under study is the 'heroification' of Mandela, a term that Lowen (1995) first coined. What this means is that all unsavoury aspects of Mandela's life are conveniently left out so as to create the ideal hero that learners will seek to emulate. This could explain why a sanitised version of Mandela's life is found in the textbook sample.

Apart from the need for black heroes, one can also find the representation of Mandela is influenced by the nature of textbook publishing industry which is profit driven. In order for a textbook to be profitable, it must first appear on the prescribed textbook list. It is thus seen as prudent to avoid controversial content which could have your textbook barred from the list. Thus the representation of Mandela will aim to please the DoBET. Another issue relating to textbook production, which could explain the silences that were found in the textbooks, is the issue of not having enough space to include all content concerning Mandela. The textbooks are further limited by what is prescribed by the DoBET and by what sources the textbook authors have read.

Having opined as to why Mandela is represented in the textbooks in manner he has been, one needs to investigate as to why he is represented so powerfully as a messiah. In suggesting why Mandela is represented as a messiah, Suttner's (2007) maintains that only whites view Mandela as a messiah simply because they were amazed that there were no recriminations against them after the ANC assumed power with Mandela as president in 1994. Whilst his observations may be pertinent in terms of how white people view Mandela, this notion must be challenged as the representation of Mandela as messiah can be found in the black community even before 1994. It is in the field of mythology that one can best understand as to why Mandela is represented as a messiah.

The representation of Mandela as a messiah is what I termed a 'mega-myth'. The nature and form of this myth can best be understood by examining selected theories of myth and political myth. Essentially the Mandela myth is a political myth. The absence of any criticism of Mandela in the textbook sample is perfectly in line with Sorel's theory on political myth which maintains that there are certain individuals that are sacrosanct (Sorel cited in Strenski, 1987). Political myth gives people hope that their cause will succeed. In the case of South Africa, this cause could be the construction of a 'Rainbow Nation'. Also, political myth is often found in the historical narrative of a nation, the story that nations choose to communicate about themselves (Crawford, 2003). History textbooks lend themselves to mythmaking as they contain this national narrative. All historical content in the national narrative is subordinated to the overriding cause of nation building, the result being a myth. The textbooks sample's representation of Mandela as a nation builder is a mythical construct which fits in nicely with the national narrative. Thus the theories surrounding political myth help to comprehend as to why the Mandela myth can be found in the textbooks under study.

Finally, having established the nature and form of the political myth surrounding Mandela, one needed to understand the function that this myth serves in South African society. The function of the Mandela myth, which is found in the textbook sample, is to reinforce the political values of the dominant group, to allow learner to escape the harsh reality of South African society, to give the learners a sense of pride in their country, and to serve as an example of culture, a prototypical South

African that the learners are encouraged to emulate. In the final analysis, the Mandela myth, as found in the history textbooks under study, fulfils a social need, that is, it is the glue that holds a diverse nation together. Even though Mandela is no longer with us, if the textbook sample is anything to go by, the myth is as powerful as ever. Time will tell as to how enduring the Mandela myth will be, but if these history textbooks that are under study become the only history books that the next batch of grade 12 learners get to read, then the Mandela myth will endure for another generation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

In the previous Chapter, I answered the research question of why Mandela is represented within the textbook sample the way he has been. In Chapter 4, I answered the research question as to how Mandela has been represented in the textbook sample. So, by the end of Chapter 5, the study had answered both research questions posed. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to present an overview of the study, with an aim to round off the study by presenting my thesis on why Mandela has been represented in Grade 12 history textbooks. Furthermore, in this chapter, I provide a summary of the findings and the conclusions that I have made in this study. I then discuss the contribution that this study has made towards academic research. The limitations of this study are addressed and I have also outlined the implications this study has for future research. Finally, I deliberate on my personal growth as an academic as a result of doing the research required for this study.

6.2 Review of the study

In Chapter 1, I outlined the study as a whole. The study was firstly placed in its socio-economic and political context, which I linked to what I argued, was a leadership crisis. I suggested that people are longing for a leader of Mandela's

calibre, and gave a brief synopsis of Mandela's achievements. The study was then placed in its educational context by reviewing the issue of textbooks in South Africa and the curriculum developments that resulted in CAPS. I then discussed my rationale and motivation for my study. The purpose and focus of the study was also addressed. At this point, I presented the research questions which the study sought to address, that being how Mandela has been represented in selected grade 12 textbooks and why he has been represented in the way that he has been. The methodology that was used in order to answer the research questions was explained and a motivation for the adoption of such a methodology was given.

Chapter 2 of the study was a literature review which consisted of four themes. The first theme that I focused on was the literature surrounding global textbook issues. The literature stressed that the curriculum that informs the textbooks is some interest groups choice (Apple, 1990; 1993). If the curriculum is not neutral then neither are the textbooks which reflect the culture and the ideologies of the dominant group, which is in South Africa's case, the ANC. Representations that are found in the textbooks have motives behind it (McKinney, 2005). The literature also revealed the nature of the textbook industry and it was argued that the industry is profit driven. The best way of ensuring that a textbook will be profitable is to have it on the approved list, even if it means adopting a certain perspective in the textbook so as to please the authorities (Apple, 1991; Crawford & Foster, 2006). The literature also emphasised the power of the textbooks. It was argued that textbooks are held in high regard as containing unquestionable truths (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). Additionally, textbooks dominate the education of a learner (Apple, 1991). Turning to what is opined concerning history textbooks, it was agreed that history textbooks contain the nation's national narrative. Governments are keen to control the content of history textbooks as they are seen as ideological tools and are vital for the creation of a national identity (Pulakow-Suranski, 2002). History textbooks influence future generations as the history textbook in most cases is the only history book that a learner may ever read (Morgan, 2012). The issues surrounding South African history textbooks proved to be no different to global textbook issues.

Turning to the literature surrounding Mandela, I first observed that there is a lack of critical literature on Mandela. Most authors held him in high regard, with a few even

adding to the mythology that surrounds Mandela. By tracing various representations of Mandela, which can be found in the literature, I was able to critically assess the representations found in the textbooks. By outlining various representations of Mandela such as him being a Volunteer in Chief, a political prisoner, and a president I was able to develop my knowledge-base of Mandela. From my reading of the literature, I was able, to a certain extent, to separate the man from the myth. By reviewing the literature relating specifically to the Mandela myths I was able to identify that the dominant mythical representation of Mandela is one of a messiah, which is the representation that I found in the textbook sample.

Having reviewed the myths that surround Mandela, I then chose selected theories surrounding myth and political myth to form the basis of the theoretical lens that I have applied to my findings. I noted what scholars such as Barthes (1972), Strenski (1987) and Bottici (2007) theorised concerning myth. Bottici's (2007) theory of political myth was most suitable for my study. What was applicable to the Mandela myth was the contention that political myth is reworked according to the needs of the time. Hence, one finds that the Mandela myth has morphed from the selfless Volunteer in Chief to the reconciler. Finally, Reid's (2011) theory on the function of myth in society was also helpful in understanding the phenomenon. Although she wrote with particular reference to myth in films in post-apartheid South Africa, she provided insight into the function of myth in South African society. What was important to my study was her contention that new myths have been created since 1994 with the distinct purpose of the creation of a national identity by dealing with South Africa's hurtful past and promising a better future. This observation can be applied to the Mandela myth.

Therefore, the literature surrounding textbooks provided an understanding of the nature and power of the textbooks which was vital for my study. The literature surrounding Mandela was useful in comparing what scholars opined and what the textbooks maintain concerning the representation of Mandela. Finally, the literature concerning myth and political myth formed the basis of the theoretical lens that I ultimately employed in analysing why Mandela was represented in the manner that he had been in the textbooks.

In Chapter 3, I outlined the research design and the research methodology that I adopted whilst doing my study. I will also reflect on the suitability of the research design and methodology that was employed in my study. In this chapter I discussed my choice of interpretivism as my research paradigm. I found that by adopting interpretivism as the framework for my study was very beneficial. Interpretivist researchers aim to understand their world (Creswell, 2002) and as I sought to understand how Mandela has been represented in the textbooks the paradigm suited my research. Interpretivism influenced my whole study as it dovetailed nicely with the ontological and epistemological assumptions of my research which is that reality is socially constructed. Textbooks as one of the foci of my study are socially constructed. In addition, I found that the Mandela myth has been reworked over time in response to the changing needs of society thus making the Mandela myth a social construct. This further validated my choice of interpretivism as my research paradigm.

The approach that this study employed was also described in the chapter. This study adopted a qualitative approach which allowed me to be the primary research interpreter. This was beneficial as the researcher is adaptive and I was able to reassess my research at any time. I enjoyed the flexibility that a qualitative approach afforded me. Furthermore, a qualitative study is often used in order to understand a phenomenon (Merriam, 2002) which is precisely what the research aimed to do.

In this chapter I also interrogated the methodology employed in this study. By adopting content analysis as the methodology of the study and open coding as the method, I was able to follow step by step procedures which produced numerous categories which were integrated into higher order headings which allowed me to richly describe Mandela's representations in the textbooks analysed. I was able to consolidate these higher order headings into one category; Mandela as messiah.

Sampling issues were also addressed in the chapter. The sample chosen for this study was purposive in that I chose the three grade 12 textbooks that had the most data relating to Mandela in them. As a result I was able to richly describe the representation of Mandela found in the textbook sample. The sample was also convenient as the textbooks were easily accessible.

In Chapter 4, I analysed the research findings which were gathered from the grade 12 textbooks under study. The research data was generated by means of content analysis as the methodology employed in this study. The results of the data analysis were used to answer the research question of how Mandela is represented in the textbook sample. What emerged from the data was that Mandela had numerous representations so I decided to analyse each higher order category separately in sections. I firstly addressed the character traits attributed to Nelson Mandela in the textbook sample. It was found that Mandela was represented as having saintly characteristics such as, for example, being forgiving. Secondly, the various roles that were ascribed to Mandela in the textbook sample were then analysed. He was, amongst others, represented as a liberator, a sage, and a reconciler. Importantly, by drawing all the roles and attributes together, I identified the overarching representation of Mandela as a messiah like figure. Finally, I identified the symbolic values attributed to Mandela such as being the prototypical South African and him representing freedom.

In Chapter 5, I tackled the research question as to why Mandela has been represented in the way that he has been in the textbook sample. A biography of Mandela was constructed based solely on the content found in the textbooks. I found that the biography would leave grade 12 learners with a fragmented narrative of Mandela which followed certain themes. With reference to the biography, I identified silences and inaccuracies that were present in the textbooks under study and suggested possible reasons why such would be found in the textbook sample. Moving on to answer the research question of why Mandela was represented the way he has been, I first placed the study within the context of nation building and the central role that Mandela has played in creating a new national identity. I proceeded to refer to what the literature opines as a second level analysis concerning the nature of the curriculum, textbooks and history textbooks in particular in order to further explain why Mandela has been represented the way he has been in the textbook sample. The curriculum that informs the textbooks was shown to have political objectives, one of which being nation building. I argued that governments use history textbooks in order to create a national identity by including the national narrative. I drew attention to the fact that Mandela plays a central role in the new 'Great Trek'

that being South Africa's move to democracy. I also emphasised the pains that textbook publishers go to to appease the DoBET so as to get their textbooks approved which would explain why Mandela is represented idealistically. Finally, in this chapter I argued that the representation of Mandela as a messiah ultimately is a myth. Thus I referred to selected theories of myth and political myth so as to develop a theoretical lens with which to further understand why Mandela has been represented the way he has been.

6.3 Summary of the findings

As mentioned above, the overarching representation of Mandela was one of a messiah. Within this representation there were representations concerning his personality, his leadership skills, and particular messianic qualities attributed to him. In addition to these representations, Mandela had also been given symbolic meaning in the textbooks sampled.

Mandela was represented as having strong personality traits. He was represented in the grade 12 history textbooks as being, amongst other qualities, selfless, compassionate, determined and forgiving. In terms of his leadership qualities, Mandela was represented as being presidential, popular, powerful and wise. The specific messianic qualities that have been attributed to him is the representation of his release from prison as being a long awaited watershed that would change the destiny of South Africa. Other messianic qualities attributed to Mandela are demonstrated in his representation of him being able to liberate South Africa from the yoke of apartheid, to reconcile a divided country, and to bring peace to South Africa and the region after a long period of conflict. The symbolism attached to Mandela in the textbook sample is twofold. Firstly, he becomes synonymous with freedom in that there is much emphasis on him being freed and freeing South Africa. Secondly, and more importantly, he is seen as a prototypical South African, a renaissance South African who is held up for the learners to emulate. Thus, through all these representations that are found in the textbook sample, a powerful messiah myth has been constructed around the figure of Nelson Mandela.

Such a powerful messiah myth is part of what Bottici (2007) would term a “work on myth” (p.99). The Mandela as messiah myth, or what I referred to as the Mandela myth, has not been produced out of a vacuum at one particular point in time. Construction of the Mandela myth began as early as the 1950’s with Mandela’s role as Volunteer in Chief during the defiance campaign. The myth was built up during the 1960’s as Mandela the guerrilla and black pimpernel added new dimensions to the myth (Lodge, 2006; Van Heerden, 2012). The myth continued to grow and adapt during his imprisonment, his release and in becoming the first black president of South Africa. Thus it has morphed from the flamboyant Volunteer in Chief to the romanticised freedom fighter to the martyr in jail to the freed liberator and finally the inspired reconciler. The myth continues to grow even today as one can see in the reluctance of South Africans in letting Mandela go while he was ill and in the events surrounding his death. Mandela was seen as a messiah whilst he was alive, his presence in the country being a source of hope, now that he has died, his death has been interpreted by some as an ominous harbinger for South Africa. Such is the power of the Mandela myth, which has been continuously been reworked over time and will be reworked as a result of his death. The textbooks under study are themselves part of this ‘work on myth’.

This ‘work on myth’ surrounding Mandela is a response to the need for a myth within South African society at various stages of its history. Since 1994 the quest of building a new national identity has been the strongest societal need. Nation building has come to the levels of near-Gramscian proportions within South African society. Apart from being present in broader South African society, nation building can be found in the curricula and consequently in the textbook sample. CAPS, the curriculum that informs the textbooks under study, is part of a long chain of curricula that placed an emphasis on the values of the Constitution and nation building. The CAPS document thus has come to reflect the political goals of the ANC. The political ideals that underpin the CAPS document will therefore appear in the textbooks and if not the textbook runs the risk of not being approved by the DoBET.

Thus the textbooks are part of the broader nation building ethos that is prevalent in South African society. As one can argue that a united South African identity, the ‘Rainbow Nation’, is in itself a mythical construct and needs other myths to give it

impetus and sustain it. In a divided post-conflict society such as South Africa, there is a desperate need for something to hold it together, that something invariably comes in the form of a myth. Thus Mandela becomes the glue that holds South African society together which is the basis of the Mandela myth today. Therefore, the current reworking of the Mandela myth places him in the very fabric of South African society. Mandela is omnipresent; his representation can be found in museums, in film, in literature, clothing, art, and song throughout South Africa. He is never out of the country's consciousness, he is wanted there. Mandela has become the norm, the '*Zeitgeist*' of our times. He is the yardstick with which not only leaders, but all South Africans are measured against. Being seen as the glue that holds a diverse South African society together, it is no wonder that South Africans were anxious when he became ill and that they honoured him in all kinds of ways after he died. This explains why his passing has been seen by many as an omen for the country. Now that the 'glue' is gone South Africa some feel the country will descend into racial Armageddon (Ajam, 2013).

Thus, the Mandela myth is the product of society and performs a vital social function. Textbook producers themselves cannot extrapolate themselves from being part of this society in which the Mandela myth plays such a vital role in holding it together. Consequently the Mandela myth is destined to find itself in the textbooks, which in themselves are socially constructed. Furthermore, the textbooks are not just a product of what textbook producers perceive the ANC wants, but also what society wants. South African society does not want to hear about controversies surrounding Mandela. It wants an idyllic representation of Mandela, which caters for a 'feel good history'. A 'feel good history' caters to the societal need to feel good about itself. A warts and all representation of Mandela in a textbook would thus be unpalatable and would translate into the textbook probably being excluded from the prescribed textbook list. Being excluded from the prescribed textbook list would hurt the profitability of the textbook. One must not lose sight of the fact that textbook publishing is a profit driven industry (Apple 1991; Crawford & Foster, 2006). The textbook industry will thus be sensitive to the both the perceived expectations of the ANC and DoBET, and the needs of society. Given the socio-economic challenges facing the country, there is a need for a messiah. Thus the representation of Mandela as a messiah falls on fertile soil.

The messiah myth finds fertile soil in that South Africans are, in significant numbers, deeply religious. The Mandela myth has a divine aspect to it, a sense that he was preordained to lead South Africa out of the wilderness. His release being interpreted as a long awaited 'second coming' that ended apartheid, brought peace and healing, and united a divided nation through reconciliation. The ANC today links itself to messianic prophecy in that President Zuma has said that the ANC "will rule till Jesus comes back" (Mkhwanazi, 2008, npg.). Thus the representation of Mandela as a messiah is a powerful one as many learners reading the textbooks will be duly influenced.

What adds further power to the mythical representation of Mandela in the textbook sample is the role that Mandela plays in the new national narrative. As Mandela is closely associated with the ANC, great care has been taken to represent him idealistically in the new national narrative. Mandela has become central to what I called the new 'Great Trek' of school history which has been present in all the curricula since 1999, that being South Africa's 'miraculous' transition to democracy. This section, which is the pivotal point of the new national narrative, can in itself be viewed as mythical, with South Africa migrating from chaos to cosmos. Within this narrative, Mandela is represented as the Homeric hero of this mythology, a messiah who fulfils the promise of a 'second coming' by his release from prison, and frees his people from the scourge of apartheid, leading them into the promised land of a non-racial democracy. The location of the representation of Mandela as messiah in the new mythical national narrative further adds to the power of the myth.

Whilst the representation of Mandela as a messiah is a powerful one, South Africa is not alone in the representation of a leader as being a messiah. Alridge (2006) contends that Martin Luther King Junior has been represented as a messiah in the USA's history textbooks. Similarly to Mandela, he maintains that it's the biblical language surrounding the representation of Martin Luther King jnr that lends itself to a messianic tone. It is in King's own speeches that one finds biblical language, as is the case in Mandela's reference to his people as a flock. The similarity between the representations of King and Mandela is striking in that their representations are oversimplified, heroic and one dimensional. In both narratives there are silences

concerning controversial issues and what society would see as unpalatable aspects of their lives. Apart from their representations of being messiahs, they are also similarly represented as being moderate so as to appeal to a broader audience. Furthermore, whilst King has been represented as the embodiment of the civil rights movement (Alridge, 2006), Mandela is similarly represented as the embodiment of South Africa's move to democracy. Thus there is a template that one can apply in the creation of the idyllic representations of icons in textbooks.

There is every indication that such an idyllic representation of South Africa's leading icon will be perpetuated for a long time. This can be clearly demonstrated in the ANC's reaction to Couper's (2010) book on Albert Luthuli, *Bound by faith*, the one-time leader of the ANC and Nobel Peace Prize winner. Couper contends that Luthuli as a Christian never gave up his belief in the principle of non-violence and maintains that Mandela formed Umkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the ANC, behind Luthuli's back (Couper, n.d.). The ANC responded vehemently to this assertion stating that Luthuli had supported the armed struggle all along with President Jacob Zuma incorrectly claiming that Luthuli even gave Umkhonto weSizwe its name (Couper, n.d.). In addition, Zuma attacked Couper's book publically. His book consequently will not be found in any museum for their fear of controversy (Merret, 2013). If Luthuli's representation is so important to the ANC, how much more so will Mandela's be? Textbook producers will in all probability sit up and take notice of this fact and steer clear of any controversial content on Mandela in the future.

Apart from getting censured publically and having your textbook excluded from the prescribed list as a reason for staying clear of controversial content, textbook publishers will also be aware of the possibility of having your textbook burnt by angry learners. A case in point is the controversy around a cartoon which appeared in a grade 12 history textbook which depicted the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a bad light. The IFP first raised the matter in 2007 with Naledi Pandor who was the then Minister of Education. However, this attempt to have the cartoon removed failed. The IFP resorted to other tactics. In 2008, The IFP organised protest marches that ended with the burning of the offensive textbook. The IFP issued press releases and sent a memorandum to the Minister of Education. Finally a parliamentary speech threatened the public burning of the books. These pressures proved to be

sufficient and the publishers gave in and removed the cartoon from the textbook (Wassermann, n.d). Thus the IFP went to great lengths to ensure that the representation of Buthelezi, and with it the IFP's representation, is sanitised. In terms of keeping Mandela's representation sanitised, the ANC would not need to go to such lengths; by excluding the offending book from the approved textbook list is tantamount to its banning. Thus it could well be the fear of governmental retribution that keeps Mandela's representation sanitised and controversy free.

Finally, aside from being wary of the repercussions of a controversial representation of Mandela in textbooks, there are other factors that influence the way textbook producers represent Mandela. Firstly, there is the issue of space within the textbooks. Due to limitations on space, the textbook may not have diverged into alternative views of Mandela as the textbook could become too bulky. Secondly, the authors' exposure to a limited numbers of sources would certainly affect the way Mandela has been represented. Certain biographies on Mandela are very hagiographical and, if the textbook authors only had access to such, one would expect an idealistic representation of Mandela. Thus the limits of space and the nature of the sources that the textbook authors used are alternative factors that can explain why Mandela is represented in a mythical manner.

Whatever the reasons for there being a Mandela myth in the textbooks, whether it is present as a result of the nature of available sources, or it serves the needs of society or the ANC, its presence alone is significant. It indicates that the old apartheid myths have been replaced by new myths surrounding Mandela and the country's transition from apartheid. In the past such myths were identified and challenged but since 1994 there has been very little written concerning these new myths. The consequence of being silent regarding these myths is that textbooks could well be on a slippery slope towards political indoctrination. Previously I have pointed out that the curriculum has become more prescriptive as the state strives to control official historical knowledge. The presence of myths in textbooks is significant as textbooks are a powerful medium for influencing young minds. For the most part, the history textbook will be the only history book that a learner will read in his/her entire life (Morgan, 2012). Textbooks are being placed at the forefront in education with the Minister of Education, Angie Motshekga, as noted in chapter 2, placing the

textbook at the centre of education (Motshekga, 2009, npg.). Thus government is aware of the power of textbooks. Given the inherent power that textbooks have and the centrality of the textbook in education, the mythical image of Mandela that has been found in these textbooks will impact on future generations.

Aside from influencing future generations, the presence of an idyllic representation of Mandela in history textbooks runs contrary to the discipline of history and even the goals of the history CAPS document. By denying the learners the critical lens that is a crucial string in the historian's bow, we are undermining the spirit of the intended curriculum. The construction of a myth surrounding Mandela, something that I myself engaged in whilst teaching, is thus part of the enacted curriculum. As a teacher I was aware that certain things and individuals were sacrosanct. This equates to a different kind of censorship, and acknowledgement of the unwritten rules that we have agreed upon on how we should view things. By reserving critical thought for only selected parts of the curriculum, I denied learners a full historical education. By looking at all the content of the curriculum critically we will be developing a better skilled crop of historians.

As I have previously pointed out, South Africans yearn for another leader like Mandela, they will increasingly idealise Mandela. Not only is he the prototypical South African held up for learners to emulate, he is the template with which to measure other leaders. The more the present leaders of South Africa disappoint, the stronger the myths around Mandela become. If this is going to be the case one can expect to see an increasingly idealised representation of him in future textbooks, something that history educators need to beware of.

6.4 Contribution of my study to research

The study has made a contribution to academia firstly by reinforcing the widely held contention that textbooks are not neutral, and the textbooks under study do conform to the dominant political culture of the day. The study has demonstrated that the textbooks sampled have politically motivated content, such as the pursuit of a new non-racial democratic state. In pursuing this political end, it was argued that the textbooks under study have used Mandela as its leading light. Importantly, the study

has filled a gap in academic research in that, up until now, there has not been a study of how Mandela has been represented in textbooks in South Africa. Also, the study has confirmed that new myths and silences have emerged in history textbooks since 1994. Therefore, the use of myths and silences so as to create a jaundiced perspective of history in the minds of South African learners, has not ended with the demise of apartheid and is in itself part of a global phenomenon in this regard. Whilst the new myths might seem innocuous in comparison to the ones that apartheid sought to perpetuate, they are present nevertheless. The study has shown that as the textbooks are silent on content that would detract from Mandela's saintliness, one can conclude that the textbooks under study consider him to be sacrosanct, something that no one dares touch. The silences that have been identified in this study relate only to Mandela, but given the political nature of textbooks, one would probably find other silences. Finally, the study has shown that the textbooks sampled for this study reflects the powerful political myth that has been constructed around the person of Nelson Mandela. The representations of Mandela in the textbook sample can be described as mythical, thus the textbooks are feeding an already extant myth that surrounds Mandela. Whilst acknowledging the fact that the teacher may subvert or contradict what is opined in the textbooks (Hues, 2011), if these textbooks are the only history books that learners get to read, then the Mandela myth will last for another generation.

6.5 Limitations

The limitations of the study concern issues such as the sample size, generalisability, and researcher bias. In terms of the sample size, I used three of the possible eight prescribed textbooks for the study. Including all of the prescribed textbooks in the study would have probably strengthened the academic rigour, but this was not practical, given the length of time such a study would have taken. However, the sampled textbooks all had to follow the curriculum as defined by CAPS and DoBET's guidelines for textbook production so the sample size should be not considered a serious limitation.

Another limitation of this study is that as a qualitative study the results cannot be generalised (Niewenhuis, 2007). Finally, open coding as a method, is solely reliant

on the researcher. This is the case with all qualitative research. To limit researcher bias, I used 'second eyes' that being my supervisor and my wife, to review the codes that I developed during the coding process. Furthermore, so as not to develop a bias against or towards any textbook, I referred to the textbooks as the green book (2013), the blue book (2013) and the red book (2013). But one cannot escape bias if the researcher is the source of analysis. A researcher's life experience and background must come into play. One cannot escape the lens that you see the world through. Therefore, it is vital that the researcher, in doing qualitative research, must reflect on who he/she is (Creswell, 2002). As a middle-aged white South African who witnessed the transition from apartheid to a full democracy I carry a fair amount of baggage. Also, as having taught history in South Africa for over twenty years, I conducted the study as both a participant in nation building and myth making. This becomes a limiting factor if one considers the extent to which my experience influenced some of the judgements I made on the analysis of the representations of Mandela.

6.6 Implications for future research

There are a few implications that this study has for future research. I suggest that there is a need for a study on how Mandela has been represented in history textbooks from other grades, and not only grade 12 as in the case with this study. Also, there could be a study on the representation of Mandela in other subjects' textbooks. Furthermore, the study opens the door to studies on the new myths and silences that have emerged in South African history textbooks since 1994. Finally, moving away from textbook studies, there are other implications this study has for research. The nature and function of the Mandela myth, within South Africa and the world, needs to be better understood.

6.7 Personal and professional growth

The rationale and motivation for my embarking on this study was primarily to make myself more marketable in education circles by obtaining a Masters degree in history Education. Thus, it was mostly for professional reasons that I undertook to do this study.

Personally, I also wanted to make good use of the time given to me as a result of taking a sabbatical in order to rejuvenate my mind and my sharpen my research skills. In addition to refreshing my mind, I have found that I have developed critical thinking skills and have improved my writing skills. My knowledge of South African educational issues has also been broadened. I have come to have a better understanding of the nature and power of history textbooks. The realisation that South African textbooks are not as neutral, as I previously thought them to be, has been an important insight that I have gained as a result of this study. In addition to seeing textbooks in a different light, I also learnt a lot more about Nelson Mandela, and in spite of having to draw attention to his weaknesses, I have come to respect him even more. By researching myths and mythmaking I have become aware of how prevalent myths are, not only in the textbooks, but in society in general gave me much enjoyment. It became clear to me that I was complicit in, not only the mythmaking apparatus that surrounds Mandela, but of the creation of a myth around myself especially as an educator. I used my own myth to help me function better as an educator, in that learners would only know what I wanted them to know about me. When I taught the section which dealt with South Africa's move to democracy, I used the Mandela myth to give hope to the learners concerning the 'Rainbow Nation'. So, from a personal point of view, the study has been an education for me.

From a scholastic point of view, I feel that my study has filled a gap in research and could lead to further research into myths in post-1994 South African textbooks. Thus the study has not only sharpened my research skills, educated myself with regards to Nelson Mandela, textbooks, myths and mythmaking but also has made a valuable contribution to research.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I summed up the findings of this study. I gave an overview of the study by recapitulating the content of each chapter. The findings of this study in relation to the research question of how Mandela has been represented in the textbook sample were then addressed. I then proceeded to state the conclusions that I came to with regard to the research question of why Mandela has been represented the way he has been in the textbooks under study. The contributions

that this study has made in terms of the academic research with regards to Mandela and textbooks were noted. The limitations of this study were acknowledged. I then laid down the implications that this study has made for future research. Finally, my personal and professional development was deliberated upon.

I must reiterate that it was not my intention to criticise the person of Nelson Mandela, but merely to understand the way he has been represented in the textbook sample. It is my belief that this study is useful in that it has shown that a mythical representation of Mandela can be found in the textbooks under study. It is more through the silences than the misrepresentations or inaccuracies that one creates myths. By being silent on the mistakes Mandela may have made, by representing him uncritically, we are denying Mandela his humanity and we are compromising our goal of imparting good historical skills to our learners. As far as I know, there has not been a study which investigates the representation of Mandela in any textbooks, let alone history textbooks. Whilst there are academics who acknowledge that there a Mandela myth does exist, none have considered how it would be translated into South African history textbooks which as powerful tools influences future generations of South Africans. Textbooks must be viewed as a form of mass media and thus as the biggest dispenser of ideas and myths and they represent a powerful genre for shaping ideas, such as nation building, in the minds of learners. Whilst an idea as nation building seems innocuous, by remaining silent concerning the current myths that can be found in current South African history textbooks, one could be only a slippery slope and find that in the future there could be more potent and poisonous myths.

References

- Ajam, K. (2013). *Fear of mayhem after Mandela's death*. Retrieved 17 July 2013, from <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/fear-of-mayhem-after-mandela-s-death-1.1532927>
- Alridge, D. (2006). The limits of master narratives in history textbooks: An analysis of representations of Martin Luther King, Jr. *The Teachers College Record*, 108(4), pp.662-686.
- Apple, M.W. (1990). *Ideology and the curriculum*. New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M.W. (1991). The culture and commerce of the textbook. In M.W. Apple & L.K. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook*. pp. 22 – 36. New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M.W. (1992). The text and cultural politics. *Educational Researcher*, 21(7) 4-19. Retrieved 15 March 2013, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1176356>
- Apple, M. W. (1993). The politics of official knowledge: Does a national curriculum make sense? *Discourse*, 14(1), pp.1-16.
- Apple, M.W. & Christian–Smith, L.K. (1991). The politics of the textbook. In M.W. Apple & L.K. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook*. pp 1 - 14. New York: Routledge.
- Balia, D. (2004). Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In Rabin, J. (ed) *The Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy*, pp. 295-297. Retrieved 07 October 2013, from http://bib.convdocs.org/docs/39/38115/conv_1/file1.pdf#page=308
- Bam, J. & Visser, P. (1996). *A new history for a new South Africa*. Cape Town: Kagiso Publishers.
- Barnett, E. & Karimi, F. *Mandela 'responding positively' to treatment in hospital*. Retrieved 01 May 2013, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/28/world/africa/soujth-africa-mandela-hospitalized>
- Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Bell, T. (2013). The whole country must learn from the Marikana massacre. Retrieved 09 November 2013, from <http://www.iol.co.za/business/opinion/columnists/the-whole-country-must-learn-from-the-marikana-massacre-1.1563172#.Un3cOWYaLIU>
- Bertram, C. (2012). Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device as a frame to study History curriculum reform in South Africa. *Yesterday & Today*. No.7, July, pp.1 – 21.

- Bloomberg, L. & Volpe, M. (2008). *Completing your qualitative dissertation: A road map from beginning to end*. California: SAGE Publications.
- Boehmer, E. (2005). Post-colonial terrorist: the example of Nelson Mandela. *Parallax*, 11(4) pp.46 – 55.
- Boote, D. N. & Beile P. (2005). Scholars before researchers: On the centrality of the dissertation literature review in research preparation. *Educational Researcher* 34(6) pp.3-15.
- Bompani, B. (2006). 'Mandela Mania': mainline churches in post-apartheid South Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(6), pp.1137-1149.
- Bornman, E. (2006). National symbols and nation-building in the post-apartheid South Africa. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(3), pp.383-399.
- Bosch, M. (2011). *Poor young South Africans lose faith in ageing leaders*. Retrieved 12 November 2013, from <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2011/09/02/poor-young-south-africans-lose-faith-in-ageing-leaders>
- Bottarro, J., Visser, P.& Worden, N. (2013). *Oxford in Search of History: Grade 12 learners' book*. South Africa: Oxford University Press.
- Bottici, C. (2007). *A philosophy of political myth*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyle, B. (1995). Mandela: why I gave shoot to kill order. Retrieved 14 November 2013, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/mandela-why-i-gave-shoot-to-kill-order-1585387.html>
- Bundy, C. (2007). 'New nation, new history? Constructing the past in post-apartheid South Africa'. In H. Stolten (ed.). *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Meaning In South Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsala, 2007, pp.73 –97.
- Carlin, J. (2007). *How Nelson Mandela won the rugby World Cup*. Retrieved 25 October 2013, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/features/3634426/How-Nelson-Mandela-won-the-rugby-World-Cup.html>
- Carlin, J. (N.d.). *F.W. De Klerk interviewed by John Carlin*. Retrieved 16 November 2013, from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/interviews/deklerk.html>
- Chisholm, L (2005). The politics of curriculum review and revision in South Africa in regional context. *Compare*, 35(1), pp.79–100.
- Cohen, L. & Manion, L. (1994). *Research Methods in Education*. London: Routledge.
- Conway-Smith, E. (2012). *FW de Klerk says Nelson Mandela was 'brutal and unfair'*. Retrieved 16 November 2013, from

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/nelson-mandela/9194297/FW-de-Klerk-says-Nelson-Mandela-was-brutal-and-unfair.html>

Couper, S. E. (N.d.). 'But let us remember him then and never forget...' - The dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa, forthcoming in the *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*.

Craig, J. (2003). *Proteas to get some Madiba Magic*. Retrieved 07 October 2013, from <http://www.iol.co.za/sport/cricket/proteas-to-get-some-madiba-magic-1.522902#.UIKz0skaLZ4>

Crawford, K. (2000). Researching the ideological and political role of the history textbook-issues and methods. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 1(1), pp.81-91.

Crawford, K. (2003). The role and purpose of textbooks. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3 (2) pp. 5-11.

Crawford, K. (2006). Culture wars: Japanese history textbooks and the construction of official memory. In K. Crawford (ed.) *'What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks'*. pp. 49-68. USA: Information age publishing.

Crawford, K. & Foster, S. (2006). The political economy of history textbook publishing in England. In J. Nicholls (ed), *School history textbooks across cultures: international debates and perspectives*. Oxford: Symposium books.

Creswell, J.W. (2002). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. California: Sage publications.

Curnow, R. (2013). *Selling Mandela: From t-shirts to TV shows, how Madiba became a brand*. Retrieved 25 October 2013, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/01/business/selling-mandela-from-t-shirts-tv/>

Da Cruz, P. (2005). *From Narrative to Severed Heads: The Form and Location of White Supremacist History in Textbooks of the Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Eras. A Case Study* (Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Cape Town).

Dean, E. Hartman P. & Katzen M. (1983). *History in black and white*. An analysis of South African school History textbooks. Paris: UNESCO.

Department of Education (DoE). (2000). *Report of the History/Archaeology panel to the Minister of Education*. Ministry of Education. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Education (DoE). (2003) *National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12 (General) History*. Pretoria: Department of Education.

Department of Basic Education (DoBE). (2011). *Curriculum And Policy Statement: Grades 10-12: History*. Pretoria: Department of Basic Education.

De Vos, P. (2013). 'Top secret' Nkandla report: On the highway to embarrassment. Retrieved 19 August 2013, from <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2013-06-25-top-secret-nkandla-report-on-the-highway-to-embarrassment/#.UjLd3ckaLIU>

Du Preez, M. (2013). *Deep sadness yes, black backlash no*. Retrieved 01 May 2013, from <http://www.iol.co.za/mercury/deep-sadness-yes-black-backlash-no-1.1494193>

Dugmore, C., Friedman, M., Minter, L. & Nicol, T. (2013). *Spot on History: Grade 12: Learners book*. Cape Town: Heinemann.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of management review*, pp.532-550.

Elo, S. & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62(1), pp.107-115.

Engelbrecht, A. (2006). Textbooks in South Africa from Apartheid to post-Apartheid: Ideological change revealed by racial stereotyping. *PROMOTING*, no. 71, pp. 1 -12

Engelbrecht, A. (2008). The impact of role reversal in representational practices in history textbooks after Apartheid. *South African journal of education*. 28, pp.519-541.

Foster, D. (2012). *Beneath worry of Mandela's death is a disturbing truth*. Retrieved 01 May 2013, from <http://www.northwestern.edu/newscenter/stories/2012/07/op-ed-los-angeles-times-foster.html>

Foster, S. & Crawford, K. (2006). The critical importance of history textbook research. In K. Crawford (Eds.). 'What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks'. USA: Information Age Publishing.

Glaser, B. G., & Holton, J. (2004, May). Remodeling Grounded Theory. In *Forum: Qualitative social research* 5, (2) pp.1 - 17.

Goodreads.com (2013). Retrieved 04 August 2013, from http://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/367338.Nelson_Mandela?page=3

Gove, S., Manenzhe, J., Proctor, A., Vale, P. & Weldon, G. (2013). *Via Afrika History: Grade 12 learners book*. Cape Town: Via Afrika Publishers.

Grundlingh, A. (1998). From redemption to recidivism? Rugby and change in South Africa during the 1995 Rugby World Cup and its aftermath. *Sporting Traditions*, 14(2), pp.67-86.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S, Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research*. pp.163-194. London: Sage

Gumede, W. M. (2005). *Thabo Mbeki and the battle for the soul of the ANC*. Paarl: Zebra Press.

Gumede, W. M. (2012). *Restless nation: Making sense of troubled times*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Gumede, W. M. (Ed.). (2013). *Nelson Mandela: No easy walk to Freedom*. Cape Town: Kwela books.

Hancock, B., Windridge, K. & Ockleford, E. (1998). *An introduction to qualitative research*. The NIHR RDS EM/Y2007. Trent focus group. Retrieved 12 June 2013, from http://www.rds-sc.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/5_Introduction-to-qualitative-research-20091.pdf

Henning, E. (2004). *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Pretoria: Van Shaik Publishers.

Hofstee, E. (2006). *Constructing a Good Dissertation: A Practical Guide to Finishing a Masters, MBA or PHD on Schedule*. Sandton: EPE.

Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.

Hues, H. (2011). "Mandela, the Terrorist": Intended and Hidden History Curriculum in South Africa. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 3(2), pp.74-95.

Johnson, R. B. (1997). Examining the validity structure of qualitative research. *Education*, 118(2), pp.282-292.

Johnson, R.W. (2005). *South Africa, first man, last nation*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Johnson, R.W. (2009). *South Africa's brave new world: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*. London: Penguin.

Judaism 101 (2013). *Mashiach: The Messiah*. Retrieved 09 August 2013, from <http://www.jewfaq.org/mashiach.htm>

KaBizokwakhe, M. (2013). *Zuma camp keeps mum on wife No 5*. Retrieved 13 August 2013, from <http://www.sundayworld.co.za/news/2013/08/25/zuma-camp-keeps-mum-on-wife-no-5>

Kallaway, P. (2012). History in Senior Secondary School CAPS 2012 and beyond: A comment. *Yesterday & Today*. No.7, July, pp.23- 62.

Kaschula, R. (2008). *Myth and reality in the New South Africa: Contemporary oral literature*. Retrieved 03 June 2013, from <http://www.oulitnet.co.za/seminarroom/myth.asp>

Keely, R. & Thomas, J. (2012). *History for the IB diploma*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Kohlbacher, F. (2006). The use of qualitative content analysis in case study research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [On-line Journal], 7(1), Art. 21. Retrieved 18 April 2013, from : <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqstexte/1-06/06-1-21-e.htm>

Koekemoer, M. (2012). *Analysing the dominant discourses on the holocaust in grade 9 South African history textbooks*. (Unpublished Master's thesis). University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pinetown.

Lieberfeld, D. (2003). Nelson Mandela: Partisan and Peacemaker. *Negotiation Journal*, 19(3), pp. 229-250.

Limb, P. (2008). *Nelson Mandela*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Lob, E. (2012). *Controversy Surrounds Commercializing of Mandela's Image*. Retrieved 07 August 2013, from <http://www.voanews.com/content/controversy-surrounds-commercializing-of-mandela-image/1416866.html>

Lodge, T. (2002). *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki*. David Phillip/James Curry: Cape Town/Oxford.

Lodge, T (2006). *Mandela: a critical life*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Louw, P.E. (2004). *The rise, fall and legacy of Apartheid*. Johannesburg: Praeger Publishers.

Lowen, J. W. (1995). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbook got wrong*. New York: Simon & Shuster.

Makhele, T. (2013). *The real reasons behind DA's sudden support for BEE*. Retrieved 09 November 2013, from <http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/The-real-reasons-behind-DAs-sudden-support-for-BEE-20130914>

Makinana, A. (2013). *Cope MPs threaten to stop backing Lekota*. Retrieved 09 November 2013, from <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-07-05-00-cope-mps-threaten-to-stop-backing-lekota>

Mandela, N. (1994). *Long walk to freedom*. Great Britain: Abacus Books.

Mandeladay.com (2013). Retrieved 04 August 2013, from <http://www.mandeladay.com/>

Mapimhidze, R. (2013). *South Africa won't be the same without Mandela*. Retrieved 07 August 2013, from <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2013/06/29/south-africa-wont-be-the-same-without-mandela/>

Martin, M. (2006). Throwing off the yoke to carry the man: Deconstructing the myth of Nelson Mandela. *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, (12), pp.41 - 61.

- Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching*. London: SAGE Publications Limited.
- Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative Content Analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1(2), Art. 20, Retrieved 15 April 2013, from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0002204>.
- Mackenzie, N. & Knipe, S. (2009). Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology. *Issues In Educational Research*, 16 (2), pp.193-205.
- NPA drops corruption charges against Zuma. (2009, April 6) *Mail and Guardian*.npg. Retrieved 14 August 2013, from <http://mg.co.za/article/2009-04-06-npa-drops-corruption-charges-against-zuma>
- Maingard, J. (1997). Imag (in) ing the South African nation: representations of identity in the rugby world cup 1995. *Theatre Journal*, 49(1), pp.15-28.
- Mbeki, M. (2009). *Architects of poverty*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.
- McKinney, C. (2005). *Textbooks for diverse learners: A critical analysis of learning materials used in South African schools*. Cape Town: HSRC Publishers
- McLoed, W.T. (eds). (1994). *Collins Shorter English Dictionary*. Finland: HarperCollins Publishers.
- McNeill, W. H. (1986). Mythistory, or truth, myth, history, and historians. *The American Historical Review*, 91(1), pp.1-10.
- Medvedev, R., Babayeva, S., Bovt, G., Markedonov, S., Akhiezer, A., Klyamkin, I., & Yakovenko, I. (2006). History and Myths. *History*. Retrieved 28 October 2013, from http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_6872
- Meer, F. (1988). *Higher than hope: Mandela*. Durban: Madiba Publishers.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: examples for discussion and analysis*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merret, C. (2013, November 8). A tale of two books. *The Witness*, p.9.
- Mistry, J. (2002). *Mandela: Humanitarian Hero*. Retrieved 20 August 2013, from <http://www.eurozine.com/pdf/2002-12-18-mistry-en.pdf>
- Mkhwanazi,S. (2008). 'ANC to rule until Jesus comes back'. Retrieved 20 August 2013, from <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-to-rule-until-jesus-comes-back-1.398843#.Uo3Gn2YaLIU>
- Moghaddam, A. (2006). Coding issues in grounded theory. *Issues In Educational Research*, 16(1), pp.52-66.

Moloto, M. (2012). *Zuma is an embarrassment – Malema*. Retrieved 13 August 2013 from <http://www.iol.co.za/news/special-features/zuma-is-an-embarrassment-malema-1.1357826#.UjLbm8kaLIU>

Morgan, K. (2010). Reflexive grappling with theory and methods of text analysis: Race and racism represented in history textbooks. *South African Historical Journal*, 62(4), pp.753-770.

Morgan, K. & Henning, E. (2011). How school history textbooks position a textual community through the topic of racism. *Historia*, 56 (2) pp.169 – 190.

Morgan, K. (2012). Stereotypes, prejudices, self and 'the other' in history textbooks. *Yesterday and Today*, No.7, pp.85-100.

Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, J. (2008). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 1(2), pp.13-22

Motshekga, A. (2009). *We've signed OBE's death certificate*. Statement by Minister of Basic Education, Angie Motshekga, on curriculum review process, National Assembly, November 5, 2009. Retrieved 12 September 2013, from <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71656?oid=150055&sn=Detail>

Motshwane, G. (2013). *Stars give credit to 'Madiba Magic'*. Retrieved 07 October 2013, from <http://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/stars-give-credit-to-madiba-magic-1.1548675#.UpRjHmYaLIU>

Mouton, J. (2001). *How to succeed in your Masters and Doctoral Studies*. Pretoria: Van Shaik Publishers.

Naudé, P. (2012). *South Africa's leadership crisis*. Retrieved 12 November 2013, from <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012/09/03/south-africas-leadership-crisis>

Nelsonmandela.org (2013). Retrieved 04 August 2013, from <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/tributes>

Nelsonmandelas.com (2013). Retrieved 04 August 2013, from <http://www.nelsonmandelas.com/nelson-mandela-achievements.php>

Nelson Mandela removed from US terror list. (2008, July 2). *The Telegraph*. Retrieved 06 July 2013, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/2233256/Nelson-Mandela-removed-from-US-terror-list.html>

Neuendorf, K. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. California: Sage Publishers Limited.

- Nieuwenhuis, J. (2007). In K. Maree (Ed.). *First steps in research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Norval, A. J. (1998). Memory, identity and the (im) possibility of reconciliation: The work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. *Constellations*, 5(2), pp.250-265.
- Ogawa, M. & Field, S. (2006). Causation, controversy and contrition: recent developments in the Japanese history textbook content and selection process. In J.Nicholls. (Ed.). *School history textbooks across cultures: international debates and perspectives*. Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Pampallis, J. (1991). *Foundations of the new South Africa*. London: Zed Books
- Picciano, A. G. (2004). *Educational Research Primer*. London: Continuum.
- Pulakow-Suranski, S (2002). *Historical amnesia? The Politics of textbooks in post-Apartheid SA*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Annual meeting, New Orleans.
- Reid, J. (2011). *A theoretical exploration of the case of counter myth: A case study of post-apartheid South African film*. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. UNISA, Pretoria.
- Reilly, J. E. (2001). Nation building and the construction of identity: Xenophobia in South Africa. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 19(6), pp.4-11.
- Saba, A. & van der Merwe, J. (2013). *Revealed – the true scale of SA service delivery protests*. Retrieved 08 November 2013, from <http://www.m24i.co.za/2013/01/22/revealed-true-scale-sa-service-delivery-protests-with-original-offical-data/>
- Sampson, A. (1999). *Mandela: The authorised biography*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball publishers.
- Sapa. (2009). *Shaik released on “medical parole”*. Retrieved 14 August 2013 from <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71627?oid=119684&sn=Detail>
- Sapa. (2012). *More school textbooks dumped in Limpopo*. Retrieved 13 November 2013, from <http://mq.co.za/article/2012-07-10-more-textbooks-dumped-in-limpopo-da>
- Sieborger, R. F. (1994). Reconceptualising South African School history textbooks. *South African Historical Journal*, 30(1), pp.98 – 108.
- Sieborger, R. F. (2006). The Dynamics of history textbook production during South Africa’s educational transformation. In S. Foster and K. Crawford (Eds.). *‘What shall we tell the children? International perspectives on school history textbooks’*. pp. 227-243. USA: Information Age Publishing.

Smith, J. & Tromp, B. (2009). *Hani: a life too short*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Solani, N. (2000). The saint of the struggle: Deconstructing the Mandela myth. *Kronos*, 26, pp.42 – 50.

Sparks, A. (1995). *Tomorrow is another country*. Sandton: Struik Book Distributors.

Sparks, A. (2003). *Beyond the miracle: Inside the new South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

Statistics South Africa (2012). *Poverty Profile of South Africa: Application of the poverty lines on the LCS 2008/2009*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Still dysfunctional: Standards leave a lot to be desired. (2012, January 21). *Economist*. Retrieved 05 November 2013, from <http://www.economist.com/node/21543214>

Strenski, I. (1987). *Four theories of myth in the 20th century*. Hong Kong: Macmillan Press.

Stolten, H.E. (2003) *History writing and history education in post-apartheid South Africa*. Paper for NETREED Conference 8 - 10 December 2003. Retrieved from http://www.netreed.uio.no/articles/Papers_final/Stolten.pdf

Suttner, R. (2007). (Mis)Understanding Nelson Mandela, *African Historical Review*, 39 2, pp.107-130.

Teddle, C. & Yu F. (2007). Mixed methods sampling: A typology with examples. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1(1), pp.77-100.

Tellis, W. (1997). Application of a case study methodology. *The Qualitative Report [On-line serial]*, 3(3). Retrieved 20 June 2013, from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-3/tellis2.html>

Ten days that shook our country. (2011, February 24). *Sowetan*. Retrieved 20 August 2013 from <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/goodlife/2011/02/24/10-days-that-shook-our-country>

Torsti, P. (2007). How to deal with a difficult past? History textbooks supporting enemy images in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 39(1), pp.77-96.

Valji, N. (2004). *Race and reconciliation in a post-TRC South Africa*. In Ten Years of Democracy in Southern Africa Conference, Southern African Research Centre, Queens University, Canada.

Van Eeden, S.E. (2008). *Curriculum transformations in History: Driven by political trends or as a result of empirical outcomes and educational progress? A debate with*

South Africa as example. Revised paper presented at the International Didactics History Conference, Tutzing, Germany, 7-9 September, 2008.) Retrieved 15 May 2013, from http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?pid=S0018-229X2010000100007&script=sci_arttext&tlng=es

Van Eeden, S.E. (2010). South Africa's revised history curriculum on globalism and national narratives in grade 12 textbooks. *Historia*, 55 (1).

Van Heerden, D. (2012). *The Making of the Mandela Myth*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch.

Vinterek, M. (2009). International Society for History Didactics. *Possibilities and Obstacles in the study of Textbook use in the classroom*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference together with Georg-Eckert-Institut Für Internationale Schulbuchforschung. Braunschweig, Germany. 14-16 September 2009.

Wassermann, J. M. The small matter of a cartoon - history textbook burning and censorship in South Africa, in L. Cajani, M. Repoussi, and S. Lässig (editors), *History Wars*. Braunschweig, Georg Eckert Institute – forthcoming in September 2014.

Weldon, G. (2003). A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum of post-conflict societies: Rwanda and South Africa. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 6. pp.55-71.

Zuma, J. (2013). Address by His Excellency, President Jacob Zuma, at the Annual National Teaching Awards, Gallagher Estate, Midrand. Retrieved 29 October 2013, from <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=15026>

Appendix A Ethical approval



6 August 2013

Mr Adrian Lionel Van Niekerk 213570470
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Van Niekerk

Protocol reference number: HSS/0728/013M

Project title: The representation of Nelson Mandela in Grade 12 South African history books: A case study

NO- RISK APPROVAL

In response to your application dated 26 July 2013, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

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

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

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Acting Chair)
Humanities & Social Science Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Prof JM Wassermann
cc Academic Leader: Dr MN Davids
cc School Admin.: Miss Bongekile Bhengu

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Acting Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0)31 260,4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS



Appendix B Turnitin Certificate