

**HERITAGE IN CONTEMPORARY GRADE 10 SOUTH
AFRICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: A CASE STUDY**

BY

NKWENTI RAYMOND FRU

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

At the

**University of KwaZulu-Natal
2012**

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own work. It has not been submitted before, in whole or in part, for the award of any degree at any other university. Where use has been made of the scholarship of other authors, they have been duly acknowledged accordingly.

.....

Nkwenti Raymond Fru

As the candidate's supervisor and co-supervisor we hereby approve the submission of the thesis for examination.

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Professor Johan Wassermann

May 2012

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Mr Marshall Maposa

May 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all, I would like to thank the Lord God Almighty, for giving me the strength, courage, good health and sustenance which proved indispensable for the completion of this project in the midst of countless challenges. He is a God that never fails and I can simply never do enough to thank Him. I hereby acknowledge my heart-felt gratitude and appreciation to the following people for their unwavering contribution towards the completion of this thesis:

- My supervisor, Prof. Johan Wassermann, for his trust, invaluable guidance and encouragement throughout this study but also on all aspects regarding my development as a person and an academic. Thank you for bestowing confidence in me Prof. You are more than a supervisor to me. I pray God to grant us the same strength to accomplish even greater things.
- My co-supervisor and brother, Mr. Marshall Maposa.
- My sister, Nchang Nkwenti, for giving me the rare opportunity to further my studies. At a time when all hopes seemed lost, you single handily took the initiative on my life through which I am able to see some light at the end of the tunnel. I will forever be indebted to you 'grande sœur'.
- My dearest and beloved wife, Immaculate Forlum Fru for your love, support and patience all these years. Your ability to withstand years of loneliness gave me an added impetus to succeed. You have been a tower of strength without which this thesis as well as a great deal of my personal happiness would not have been possible.
- My father, Mr Nkwenti Keka and the rest of my family, especially Nche Nkwenti, Che Nkwenti and Kah Moma for standing by me throughout this most torturous, tiring, yet greatest learning experience I have ever had.
- My mentors, colleagues, and peers in the School of Social Science Education; the School of Education Studies and Professional Development; the Edminson library and the Edgewood counselling and disability unit. The spirit of camaraderie that prevailed is much acknowledged.
- Mrs Angela Brian for taking time off her busy schedule to proof read this dissertation. Your professional input was invaluable

DEDICATION

I dedicate this Masters in Education thesis to my late mother: ***Mrs Ngum Justine Nkwenti*** (1957-1992).

As long as your memory is in my heart, mom you are never truly gone from my life.

ABSTRACT

Drawing on two research questions, this study presents an understanding of the nature of heritage in selected contemporary Grade 10 South African history textbooks, and elucidates factors responsible for the depiction of heritage in a particular way. The context that informed this study was that of South Africa as a post-conflict society.

Using the interpretivist paradigm and approached from a qualitative perspective, this case study produced data on three purposively selected contemporary (post-1994) South African history textbooks with regards to their representation of heritage. Lexicalisation, a form of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used as method to analyse the pre generated data from the selected textbooks following Fairclough's (2003) three dimensions of describing, interpreting, and explaining the text. The study adopted a holistic approach to heritage as a conceptual framework whilst following social constructionism as the lens through which heritage was explored in the selected textbooks.

My findings from this study concluded that although educational policy in the form of the NCS-History clearly stipulates the expectations to be achieved from the teaching and learning of heritage at Grade 10 level, there are inconsistencies and contradictions at the level of implementation of the heritage outcome in the history textbooks. Key among the findings are the absence of representation of natural heritage, lack of clear conceptualisation of heritage, many diverse pedagogic approaches towards heritage depiction, a gender and race representation of heritage that suggests an inclination towards patriarchy and a desire to retain apartheid and colonial dogma respectively, and finally a confirmation of the tension in the heritage/history relationship. The study discovered that factors such as the commercial and political nature of textbooks, the lack of understanding of the debates around the heritage/history partnership, and the difficulties involved in post-conflict reconstruction are responsible for this type of heritage depiction in the textbooks.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA	Discourse Analysis
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
DoE	Department of Education
FET	Further Education and Training
GDR	German Democratic Republic
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
MMR	Mixed Method Research
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
SCHP	Schools Council History Project
SFL	Systematic Functional Linguistics
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNISA	University of South Africa
WHYH	World Heritage in Young Hands
ZANU	Zimbabwe National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 The study in context

This study was carried out in the context of contemporary South Africa as representative of a post-conflict society. The time frames provided to better comprehend this context were the pre-1994 and the post-1994 South African society. The former period represents the era of conflict that was characterised by the implementation of apartheid policies that divided social, economic and political space as well as officially defined ethnic divisions at personal, local and national levels (Lemon, 1990). The consequences were inequalities, discrimination and exclusion and the rise of social upheaval and outright conflict between perpetrators and victims of the system. However, the demise of apartheid in 1994 and the introduction of a democratic constitution brought hope of a conflict free society, one that is united, non-racist, non-sexist and based on the respect of human rights. Education was identified as a major player in this endeavour and the role of heritage education in particular in promoting social cohesion was envisaged. Therefore, heritage was included as one of the outcomes of the National Curriculum Statement (NCS-History)¹ so as to address this challenge. Consequently, history textbooks became an important medium through which these new ideals could be passed on to both learners and teachers. As a result, this study analysed three of these purposively selected history textbooks at Grade 10 level to determine the extent to which these books comply with the ambitions of the builders of this post-conflict South Africa through the manner in which they represent heritage. A deeper context of this study is provided with the two time frames under consideration clearly stated.

1.1.1 Pre-1994 context

There have been significant developments in education in South Africa since the demise of apartheid in 1994. The ultimate goal of these changes has been to redress

¹The NCS was replaced in 2011 with the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) as part of the process of curriculum transformation in South Africa (DoE, 2011). At about the same time, the National Department of Education (DoE) was split into two: Department of Basic Education (DBE) and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).

the injustices of the apartheid curriculum. Msila (2007) submits that education is not a neutral act; it is always political. Education in the apartheid era was used as a weapon to divide society as it constructed different identities amongst learners. This is evidenced in the statement made by Dr. HF Verwoerd, the then Minister of Native Affairs in 1955, “when I have control over native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them” (Christie, 1985, p. 12. Cited in Naiker, 1998, p. 9).

With the implementation of the apartheid policy, Verwoerd’s dream became reality. Legislation such as the Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education Acts that were passed in 1953, 1963, and 1965 respectively strongly indicated the desire of the National Party to segregate schooling and to create a certain heritage (Molteno, 1991). The education that was offered to the different groups was well crafted with the purpose of making its recipients forever inferior to the whites in all aspects of socio-economic and political life. This resulted in a scenario of all heritages being dominated by white heritage.

Therefore, during this period education in general and history education in particular was largely portrayed from the white man’s point of view. Both whites and people of colour² were required to study the history of white pioneers and heroes. Other race groups of this country did not appear to have a history but were rather portrayed as hindrances in the efforts of the white heroes to survive. According to Kallaway (2002, p. 3) this system of education “... has been recognized as one of the most dramatic cases of institutional educational injustice in the history of the twentieth century”. This argument vividly indicates the extent to which education in apartheid South Africa was racist, sexist, and discriminatory. The national policy on South African living heritage (2009) of the Department of Arts and Culture explains this situation further by revealing that the history of apartheid ensured that heritage aspects such as the practice and promotion of languages, the performing arts, rituals, social practices and indigenous knowledge of various social groups were not balanced and in they were strongly and systematically discouraged. Summarily, it is evident that the apartheid authorities ensured that the heritage of the people of colour in South Africa was never appreciated or promoted. An example of this was the false impression that was created that

² Term used to refer to the Black, Indian, and the coloured race groups of South Africa.

traditional dress code and traditional dances of certain groups were backward and clashed with colonial adopted practices such as Christianity (Department of Arts and Culture, 2009).

However, it should be noted that the quest for Afrikaner nationalism and the ideology driving this kind of heritage, resulted in a systematic subjugation and alienation of the heritage and history of people of colour, and consequently heritage was never an intended outcome of the study of history under apartheid. Even though it could be argued that the nature of the curriculum and the textbooks that accompanied it was enough indication of the kind of heritage that was promoted among learners, in terms of the intended curriculum heritage was never an issue. It was only after 1994 that issues of heritage studies started to be part of the public debate in education and other circles. Now it is one of the outcomes of the NCS-History. The obvious question should be, why the sudden interest in heritage education in post-1994 South Africa?

1.1.2 Post-1994 context

The end of apartheid symbolised an end to different kinds of discrimination. The emphasis was now on the kind of education that Brittan and Maynard (1984) proclaimed as a leveller in its promotion of equalities and disregard of social differences. In other word the focus was now on education that strived to achieve nation building based on human rights and equality. For these values to be achieved there had to be a complete overhaul of the old apartheid curriculum and what it stood for. This transformation process could not have started in a better place than in the new Constitution of the Republic.

The constitution of a democratic country is the supreme law of the land which defines very clearly, the rights and obligations of citizens as well as the vision and mission of the nation. The dawn of democracy in South Africa necessitated the establishment of such a constitution to carry the aspirations of the 'new' rainbow nation into the future. The adoption of the Constitution of South Africa, Act, No. 108 of 1996, was therefore an outcome of these considerations. This constitution recognises in its preamble the injustices of the past and honours those who suffered for justice and freedom in this land. It pays respect to those who have worked to build and develop this country and

emphasises that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. Evidently, the aims of the constitution as stated in its preamble were to “heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights” (Republic of South Africa – constitutional law, 1996, p. 1243). Equally, the language, culture, religion and education clauses of the bill of rights catered for the appreciation and promotion of the heritage of all South Africa. By implication, the emphasis after 1994 was to build an inclusive and democratic society that is united in its diversity, is non-racial and non-sexist, which promotes the dignity of humans and strives to advance equality, human rights and freedom. The expectation was a prototype citizenship and a prototype styled heritage was a prerequisite for it. The enthusiasm of the new society was equally demonstrated through slogans and songs such as ‘Simunye’ and ‘Batho Pele’ – slogans that stand for ‘we are one’ and ‘people first’ respectively. As stated earlier, a very effective way to achieve these desired intentions was through education and this involved reviewing the curriculum policy and the textbooks to carry the message of change. The curriculum transformation was therefore driven and underpinned by the constitution and its inspiration was informed by the objectives outlined in its preamble (DoE, 2003, p. 1).

In line with the above developments, heritage was included as one of the outcomes of the NCS-History. The NCS-History states that in addition to enquiry skills, historical conceptual understanding and knowledge construction and communication, learners of history will be introduced to “issues and debates around heritage and public representations, and they are expected to work progressively towards engaging with them. Links are drawn between different knowledge systems and the various ways in which the past is memorialised” (DoE, 2003, p. 14). The implication here is that learners are expected to engage with different customs, cultures, traditions and in other words, different heritages. They are exposed to debates around sites of historical value, monuments, museums, oral histories and traditions, street names, buildings, and public holiday as they relate to the heritage outcome prescribed by the NCS-History.

Furthermore, in the context of this study it is necessary to understand that the curriculum is articulated by means of textbooks. As the most commonly used teaching resource and the vehicle through which the curriculum is made public, the history

textbook has the potential to play a significant part in the implementation of heritage education. According to Engelbrecht (2006, p.1) textbooks by their nature, “tend to control knowledge as well as transmit it, and reinforce selected cultural values in learners”. It is one of the means used by any government to present official history. Therefore, the state requires learners to understand heritage in the curriculum as presented in the textbooks, and specific to this study, Grade 10 textbooks.

It is necessary to note that the presence of heritage in the curriculum and the textbooks has not eliminated some of the controversies and the contestations surrounding heritage. The reality on the ground is not always in line with the lofty aims of the constitution and the aspiration of the post-1994 South African government. A major concern here is about shared heritage, if indeed this notion exists. Recently the South African national and some local government structures have embarked on a project to change place names and street names. Though this can be understood in the context of reconstruction of a post-conflict society, such actions, however, provoke questions such as: whose heritage is being promoted? Is national heritage actually the heritage of the nation or inhabitants? It equally increases the debate on the place of history as well as the heritage/history dichotomy. What should be retained and preserved? What should be discarded and why? On the one hand there is the will to acknowledge the past and create inclusiveness in society as proclaimed in the constitution and the curriculum, but on the other hand there is the difficulty of its practicability as illustrated with the example below.

The recent controversy in eThekweni (Durban) over the elephant sculpture project by Andries Botha further testifies to this contestation. The project, commissioned by the eThekweni municipality was brought to an abrupt end because the elephants were declared symbols of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and were deemed unacceptable in an African National Congress (ANC) controlled city. This happened despite the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of the region are Zulus whose history is steeped in elephant reverence. For example, King Shaka was known as Great Elephant and the royal homestead is *Mgungundlovu* which refers to the secret place of the great elephant (van Wyk & Pillay, 2010). Moreover, as the biggest land based mammal the elephant is also known as one of Africa’s most iconic animal and is a quintessential African symbol.

This renders the elephant an important aspect of Zulu and African heritage and such controversy over its public representation leaves many questions about the nature and position of heritage and the heritage industry at large. As a result this study sought to elucidate the extent of such contestations with specific emphasis on the selected Grade 10 history textbooks.

However, the situation in South Africa is only part of increasing international concern regarding heritage. A study conducted by van Wijk (no date) reveals that cultural heritage is a key element in history curricula and history textbooks throughout Europe. The roots of this recent worldwide interest in heritage studies can be traced to the aftermath of World War II. The urgent need to rebuild a war torn Europe led to propaganda on identity and citizenship as prerequisites for nation building and prevention of future wars. It was necessary for people to identify a common heritage, globally or locally, before they could come together to build their own nations and a better world. It was in this regard that heritage became a very important aspect of schooling especially in Europe. This did not occur in South Africa because the apartheid government strongly opposed these ideals. For this reason, South Africa had to wait till the end of apartheid before joining the existing international interest in heritage.

Consequently, it is imperative to note that the relationship between heritage and history is one of tension, contestation and contradiction. A synopsis of this situation is foregrounded here but elaborated more under section 2.2.2. Attempts to establish a demarcation between the two concepts have been carried out by researchers such as Lowenthal, Novick and Nora as cited in Phillips (2006). According to them, the primary concern of heritage is the domestication of the past and not a systematic study of the events of the past – the latter being the interest of historians. Therefore history acknowledges the concepts of historical time and distance in the interpretation of events while heritage on the other hand only clarifies the past so as to infuse them with present day purposes (Phillips, 2006). A detailed literature review on the conceptualisation of heritage and its relationship with history is provided under the appropriate section in chapter two.

1.2 Statement of Purpose and Focus

The purpose of this study was to attain an understanding of the curriculum translation of heritage into the selected Grade 10 history textbooks and to understand the different discourses around the curriculum and the textbooks with regards to history and specifically heritage within the context of a post-conflict South African society. It was important to do this because contemporary South Africa is a post-conflict and diverse society with a certain history which is fast becoming a distant memory to today's learners who never experienced it. An understanding of the nature of heritage as portrayed in textbooks might help to identify the kind of citizenship that the post-conflict South African state is promoting through the NCS-History. The purpose of this study was also to see if such textbook representation of heritage met the goals of the curriculum and to a larger extent the Constitution of the Republic it is meant to reflect.

The focus of this study therefore was on the heritage outcome of the NCS-History and the way this outcome is manifested in contemporary Grade 10 South African history textbooks through the choice of language, known as lexicalisation. In this study, I attempted to understand the nature of the representation of heritage, including the reasons for its representation in any particular way through an examination of the content of three selected history textbooks by means of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

1.3 Critical Questions

Research always commences with one or more questions. De Vos (1998) stated that a good research question is one that can be answered by collecting data and whose answers cannot be foreseen prior to the collection of data. With regards to the representation of heritage in selected Grade 10 South African history textbooks, this research study was based on the following research questions:

- How is heritage represented in selected contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks?
- Why is heritage represented as it is in selected contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks?

1.4 Rationale and Motivation for the Study

Heritage education is not a priority in many societies. My experience as a history teacher in Cameroon revealed to me that even though the country is as blessed as South Africa in terms of cultural and natural heritage resources, heritage is not given the same value in the history syllabus as is the case with the NCS-History. Not only is it absent as an expected learning outcome, textbooks are also ineffective on the topic. A critical study on heritage in history textbooks will therefore equip me personally, professionally, and conceptually with an in-depth understanding of the intricacies surrounding the neglect of the rich Cameroon heritage as a stipulated outcome in the history syllabus and evidently in history textbooks.

Furthermore, the South African experience aroused my interest resulting in my reading and researching widely on the subject. This realisation, that the role heritage education can play in amongst other things, identity formation and in conserving and protecting both tangible and intangible heritage resources so that these can be bequeathed to generations to come (Fru, 2010). But this cannot be realised without the textbook. This is supported by a UNESCO (2006) report which emphasises that even though textbooks are not the ultimate solution to a country's educational problems, they are a major component underpinning many curricula and education systems. They provide a solid basis for learners learning and teachers teaching and a means for gaining information and knowledge. This clear link between textbooks and instruction is an indication that the textbook is the ultimate place to start unpacking my curiosity regarding heritage.

A review of a sample of literature on heritage studies in South African education revealed that heritage was never a component of the pre-1994 curriculum. Its sudden appearance in the post-1994 content and its inclusion as an outcome in the NCS-History left me with some questions – Why now?; What is it all about?; What is the purpose of it?; How does language contribute? Whose heritage and what kind of heritage? This is an indication that there are a lot of contestations and controversies about the nature of heritage and it is my intention to add my voice to the debates around heritage education in history education in South Africa.

Furthermore, the fact that heritage education is, in the South African context 'new knowledge' but packed in a familiar package, the history textbook means that teachers will lean heavily on it for teaching about heritage. This makes the history textbook a critical element in this discourse because its depiction of heritage greatly affects the views of both learners and teachers. This partly informs the motivation for this study which is to examine selected history textbooks in order to appraise the kind of heritage that is portrayed in them.

Moreover, as discussed in the introduction above, the concept of heritage is a very debatable one and is understood differently by different people at different times and in different contexts. The questions of which form of heritage or even who's heritage easily come to mind when the topic arises. This means that heritage as a concept is contested. When can heritage be called national? Will national heritage be the heritage of the nation or of the people? If it is for the people, will everybody identify themselves with it? This conceptual debate of the term, together with the other factors explained above, served as motivation for this study. In short, it is important to understand the way heritage is presented in the history textbook to know what or whose heritage is represented, how and for what motive it is represented in a particular way as well as the implications thereof on post-conflict South Africa. Finally, even though this rationale has drawn a distinction between Cameroon and South Africa, it must be emphasised that this study is conducted in the context of South Africa. This investigation was grounded in a particular methodology as discussed below.

1.5 Research Methodology

The purpose of this section was to briefly describe the research design, the methodology, and the methods employed to address the research questions listed. As this is an introductory chapter to the study, a more detailed explanation including a link between the methods used and research findings is provided in chapters three and four respectively.

This research project was approached from a qualitative perspective. The study thus generated and interpreted qualitative data, using interpretivism as a guiding paradigm. The qualitative design was centred on in-depth understanding of a phenomenon

(Henning, 2004). This made it suitable and effective for this study because it gave me a deep understanding of the heritage phenomena as it is represented in the selected South African Grade 10 history textbooks, and also as an understanding of the factors responsible for such a representation.

This study also adopted a case study approach as its design. Creswell (2008) highlights the different interpretations researchers have given to case studies. The case used in this research refers to specific phenomena and a specific object of study which are; heritage and the selected Grade 10 history textbooks respectively. In a similar explanation, Maree (2007) submits that the case study method is used either to describe a unit of analysis or to describe a research method. She further discloses that this method of research has been used across a variety of disciplines for many years to answer the “how” and “why” questions. In line with the above, my justification for the case study method lies in the fact that it is directly linked to the critical research questions of this study through the why and the how questions. Equally the study is a qualitative study rooted in interpretivism and social constructionism which are typical characteristics of the case study research method.

The methodology adopted for this study was the Critical Discourse Analysis – CDA. The CDA as research methodology entails a form of detailed textual analysis which specifically includes a combination of interdiscursive analysis of texts and linguistic and other forms of semiotic analysis. This implies that the main focus of CDA is on the language of the text and social and theoretical issues underpinning such a text. CDA was appropriate for this study since it accommodates such theories as language, power and ideology that are vital in understanding post-conflict societies. This methodology was also adopted because it allowed me as the researcher to engage with the textual component of the textbooks to ensure that the phenomena under investigation are thoroughly analysed and understood. The CDA instrument used for analysis was the grammatical resource of lexicalisation. The analysis entailed describing, interpreting and explaining the lexical aspects of the textual data. This linked to my conceptual framework of heritage in that the indicators in my framework served as signifiers in my analysis instrument such that during analysis, the nature of representation of heritage in the selected history textbooks was informed by my conceptual understanding of

heritage. This together with the sampling of this study is discussed in greater detail under the methodology section in chapter three.

1.6 The Layout of the Study

The structure of this research project comprised six chapters as follows:

Chapter One

This chapter provided a preamble to the study. It presented the background to the research problem and set the tone of the research by examining the following sub-headings: The study in context; statement of purpose and focus; critical questions, rationale and motivation; research methodology including the layout of the study. To sum up, this chapter introduced the research problem and the procedure for addressing it.

Chapter Two

In this chapter, I provided an outline of the broad international and local research conducted in areas that shaped this study. I reviewed the literature pertaining to the conceptualisation and evolution of heritage, heritage education, textbooks in general but particular emphasis on history textbooks, as well as heritage studies in history textbooks. The dominant themes and discourses surrounding the two main concerns of this study: heritage and history textbooks were explored in this chapter. It also covered a reflection on the implications of the literature review for the purposes of this study. The niches that do exist in the literature reviewed as part of the intellectual conversation on heritage and textbooks were explored in this chapter.

Moreover, this chapter also provided the conceptual framework for understanding heritage in this study, based on an analysis of different theories that have been proposed to explain heritage.

Chapter Three

In this chapter, I discussed the research design, methodology and appropriate methods that were employed in order to generate and interpret the data relevant to answer the research questions of this study. Qualitative research, interpretivism, and case study research are vigorously analysed in this chapter as the design approaches chosen.

CDA was equally employed and discussed as the methodology to address the critical questions in this study. Lexicalisation was used as the specific method together with Fairclough's three dimensions of description, interpretation and explanation of data. A detailed discussion of the design, methodology and methods used to conduct this research will be provided.

Chapter Four

Chapter four is the first level of data analysis. I utilised the research instruments at this level in order to answer the research questions. Therefore this chapter was aimed at my inserting myself into the data to allow it to speak. Details of the specific findings were provided with the intention of addressing the first critical question in particular, namely: How is heritage represented in selected contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks? The explanation and the conclusion drawn at the end of the chapter compared and contrasted the findings gleaned from the analysis of the selected textbooks and pulled the argument together to answer the first research question.

Chapter Five

The findings, at the second level of analysis were discussed in this chapter. These findings from the previous chapter were discussed in relation to both research and theoretical and conceptual literature in terms of their convergence and divergence. The findings were also discussed within the framework of characteristics of a post-conflict society such as South Africa. The chapter concluded with reasons why heritage is represented in a particular way in the selected textbooks, which is the second critical question for this study.

Chapter Six

The final chapter served as conclusion to the research project. Some implications of the findings of the study are discussed with suggestions and recommendations based on the implications. The limitations of the research were explained with the aim of exposing possibilities for further research on the topic.

1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I foregrounded the context under which this study is undertaken. It also outlined the purpose, scope, rationale and methodology of the research study. It concluded with an overview of the research study by providing a preview of the chapters to follow. In the next chapter, a detailed review of literature on heritage education and history textbooks was embarked on and as a result, this subsequent chapter serves as a route map to my study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, which served as a route map to the main study, I identified why I undertook this study and what I hoped to achieve. In this chapter, the literature related to this study was reviewed in terms of its implication for this particular research project. Using a thematic approach, this chapter reviewed research conducted in South Africa and beyond, focusing on heritage; heritage education and on textbooks more specifically, history textbooks. The aim was to demonstrate the type of topics or themes that are important to this research as well as the niche that exists. As Kaniki (2006) points out, thematic reviews are structured around different themes or perspectives in the literature, and often focus on debates between different schools of thought. This is important as it helped me resist the urge to merely summarise the literature but rather engage with it critically. Common themes and issues that emerged from the literature were therefore critiqued in terms of their applicability to this study. The review did not claim to be exhaustive but assessed what others have researched as it relates to my research topic. Consequently, this chapter was divided into the two sections critical to this study namely: heritage and history textbooks. It is, however, imperative to begin with some clarification on the purpose of a literature review in research.

It is important for a researcher to know who has already studied the research problem in question. The contention is that a research project does not exist in isolation but must build upon what has been done previously (Kaniki, 2006). According to Neuman (2006) the necessity of a literature review in a research project is based on the assumption that knowledge accumulates and that people learn from and contribute to previous research. And thus any specific research project is but a fraction of the overall process of creating knowledge. As a result, reviewing the literature becomes an important step in the research process because there is a need for the study to build on existing knowledge and not merely add to the accumulation of findings on a particular topic (Creswell, 2009).

Kaniki (2006) clarifies this further by identifying other more specific purposes of a literature review which are: the identification of gaps in knowledge and the development of a research problem; the identification of a theoretical framework; identification of issues and variables related to the research topic; identifying conceptual and operational definitions; and lastly the possibility of the literature review revealing a number of similar or different methodologies that have been employed by others to study similar problems – “obviously, the more a method has been tested and adjusted for use in studying a specific problem, the more reliable it will be” (Kaniki, 2006, p. 22). In this study, the review of literature on heritage and on history textbooks including the relationship between the two has put this study in context by showing how it fits into the broader fields of textbook research, but with particular emphasis on history textbooks and heritage studies.

2.2 Heritage

This section is the first of two reviewed in this chapter. It sought to review literature on the heritage/history relationship as well as on heritage education. Most importantly it clarified the heritage concept and produced a conceptual framework that was used as a benchmark for heritage analysis in this study.

2.2.1 Evolution and clarification of the concept of heritage

Many scholars have indicated that heritage as a concept is a malleable one. It is largely ambiguous, very difficult and debatable, and full of paradoxes (Copeland, 2004; Edson, 2004; Kros, 2003; Marschall, 2010; Morrow, 2002; van Wijk, no date & Vecco, 2010). It is therefore worth reflecting on this, beginning with the origin of the concept. In a keynote speech titled *Heritage and education: A European perspective*, Tim Copeland suggested a clue to the origin of the concept. He remarked that the word heritage appears to come from a Greek root that meant “to adhere to” or “to hang on to” (Copeland, 2004, p. 19). His contention is that to hang on to something predicts choice about what is kept and what to discard or let go of, therefore the process of heritage is about choice and power. He further suggests that the term “inheritance”, which in his opinion is synonymous with heritage, also comes from the same Greek root. This enhances the idea of heritage as choice, in that we do not usually inherit everything; we inherit specific things and often that which someone has chosen to give us to ‘hang on

to' but at the same time we have the choice to reject. One important issue that stems from this view of heritage as something chosen could mean that each generation has the opportunity of defining or choosing what its heritage should comprise at all levels and this choice is influenced by a range of political, social, and economic factors. As a result, it is this choice of heritage that is promoted and represented in different forms including curricula and history textbooks, the latter as an extension of the former. Whilst this seems like an inalienable right, I feel that current and future generations must be able to make that choice with informed knowledge of what the people of the present value from their past.

In a similar attempt although with a different perspective, Vecco (2010) opines that the concept of heritage has been characterised by expansion and semantic transfer ever since the last decade of the twentieth century. This has resulted in a generalisation of the use of the term with some aspects such as monuments and cultural property frequently used in the place of one another. Since all these terms cannot obviously cover the same semantic field, four different phases in the semantic evolution and history of the concept heritage can be distinguished: 1790-1791; 1930-1945; 1968-1969; and 1978-1980 (Vecco, 2010). The table below provides an illustration of this evolution.

Table 2.1: Table illustrating the semantic evolution of heritage – An adaptation of the work of Vecco (2010)

Period	Origin and semantic evolution of the term/concept heritage
1790-1791	The first use of the term is on 4/10/1790 in a petition aimed at the French Constitutional Assembly by Francois Puthod de Maisonrouge. He was trying to convince emigrants of the need to transform their heritage from family to national.
1930-1945	The concept takes a cultural dimension as artistic heritage is used for the first time by Euripide Foundoukidis at the Athens conference (1931). This will subsequently be used in the documents of international organisations.
1968-1969	Intensification in the use of cultural heritage in political and administrative circles. In some cases it was used with a meaning that limited it to national property or to artistic property encompassing everything that traditionally belonged to the fine arts. These limitations in the use of the term continued until the end of the 1970s.
1978-1980	During this period, the concept was largely expanded upon. There was a gradual separation process from the idea of history monument to a more universal meaning of heritage as applies to date being an acknowledgement of both tangible and intangible heritage in natural and cultural forms.

Consequently, the meaning of heritage, like any other concept, changes over time. It evolves based on the temporal historical context. Table 2.1 is a rudimentary illustration of this evolution. The Table highlights a perspective on heritage that suggests the term was first coined in France in 1790 and has since evolved semantically through time and space up to the present where its meaning is still a source of contestation.

There is a clear disparity in the views of Copeland (2004) and Vecco (2010) with regards to the origin of the concept of heritage. While the former traces such origin from a Greek word, the latter as indicated in Table 2.1 suggests that the concept was first coined in France. However, despite this disparity both scholars concur that the meaning of heritage has greatly evolved over the centuries from its original meaning.

Ahmad (2006) suggests that international guidelines in the form of charters, resolutions, recommendations, declarations or statements drafted and promulgated mainly by international organisations have been significant in defining the scope of heritage and its broader definitions. As early as 1931, the Athens Charter had already taken into consideration, during its deliberations, the conservation of artistic and archaeological heritage as well as of historic monuments and works of arts. This charter however failed to conceptualise heritage in detail (Vecco, 2010). The first and most significant text that clearly defined the nature of heritage was the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites otherwise known as the Charter of Venice of 1964 (Ahmad, 2006; Vecco, 2010). This Charter helped to broaden the concept of historic building or monuments as a common heritage to be preserved for future generations, the main focus of heritage at the time. Since its adoption in 1964, the Charter of Venice has been used as a reference point by other organisations and for the development of a number of other documents pertaining to heritage. Some of these organisations that have since produced documents building on the Charter of Venice to define heritage, include: the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). While ICOMOS in 1965 reinterpreted the term historic monument used in the Charter of Venice to mean monument and site, UNESCO on the other hand in 1968 interpreted it as cultural property to include both the movable and the immovable. It was, however, not until the World Heritage Convention also known as the UNESCO

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage held in 1972 that the difference in terminology between UNESCO and ICOMOS was reconciled (Ahmad, 2006).

Presently the concept heritage is still viewed and interpreted from many different perspectives by the different stake holders, with each interpretation having its own specific focus. The reason for these divergent views seems to be linked to the different local or regional, political, economic and educational agendas or interests of stake holders in the heritage enterprise. Ultimately, since the Charter of Venice, the scope of heritage has broadened from a concern of physical heritage such as historic monuments and buildings to non-physical heritage including environment, social factors and lately intangible values. My argument is that the tension over the origin of the concept and its semantic evolution, including its divergent usage in international and national organisations, accounts for the many perspectives and contested nature of heritage in present day societies, including the manner in which it is represented in school history textbooks. Some of these contemporary views on heritage are reviewed below.

Deacon (2004, p. 117) in her work on *Heritage in African History* explained heritage as "... what is left behind after the historic event has taken place." According to her, heritage is simply the outcome of historic events. It is enough to be celebrated as heritage for the mere fact that it happened and left residue. Even though one can appreciate this view due to the focus it placed on the historicity of the event, yet to limit the understanding of heritage to this statement is inadequate. It will be an acknowledgement that the present generation has no voice in deciding what its heritage should encompass since the process would be a natural one based on natural occurrences of events in the past. Obviously, this is a contradiction of Copeland's (2004) notion of heritage being something that was chosen. Heritage according to the latter has more to do with the present generation's need to retain the past and not simply a natural result of inherited past events.

Saunders (2007, p. 183) adds to the debate by arguing that heritage is more than simple historic events. His opinion is that, heritage must include "what is created in the present to remember the past by ...". This point of view is an insinuation that heritage

cannot just be about the past itself but must entail what is recreated in the present to remember the past. In other words, it is the right and perhaps the responsibility of any given generation to decide or chose those aspects of the past that can be recreated to form their own heritage. This can be done at different levels including personal, family, community, nation or state. Such recreation of the past can then take the form of the giving of names to places, the erection of monuments and memorials, songs and slogans, the way objects are displayed in a museum, or as in this study, the representation of all these in school history textbooks, with the view that the textbooks themselves are heritage resources.

However, it should be noted that the process of such recreation is a very complex one. To a large extend it is informed by the political atmosphere, economic realities, socio-cultural values as well as the ideological inclination of the government of the time. This partly explains why heritage is said to be a very malleable concept. For example in the South African context, the discourse of heritage changed after the first democratic elections on 27 April 1994 that formally ended apartheid. Marschall (2010) contends that this period has seen heritage associated with emotions and notions of benefits at different levels for the various stake holders and communities. In her view, heritage in South Africa is now presumed to signal empowerment for the previously marginalised black community: “The valorisation and preservation of their cultural beliefs and values; the honouring of their heroes and contributions ... [including] the official acknowledgement of their suffering and sacrifices” (Marschall, 2010, p. 1). On the other hand she notes that the white minority “motivated by anxieties over disempowerment and alienation tend to demonstrate a strong emotional attachment to contested facets of their embattled heritage, even if they no longer identify with the specific symbolic values each of these represent.” In the midst of this, the state on its part is using heritage as an opportunity to promote nation building, reconciliation and unity (Marschall, 2010, p. 1). This is where the tension lies with regards to heritage because each stake holder uses heritage based on its own agenda of what heritage should be fore grounded for. The textbook ends up being a vital resource to serve these different agendas. However, the states’ role seems to be more powerful because it is that which in the South African context permeates the history textbooks.

The present emotions around heritage are different from the pre-1994 scenario where, as has been discussed in chapter one, heritage only served the need of the apartheid regime and the white minority and there seemed to be no concept of heritage for people of colour, in official history terms at least. The ideological preference of both eras explains the manner in which both generations interpreted, recreated and represented their heritages.

Recreating the past in the present will also mean linking heritage to the discourse of memory. Usually not all aspects of the past are quickly forgotten. Those left behind after historic events that remain in the memories of the people could be considered heritage. According to Nora cited in Phillips (2004, p. 90), memory like heritage is always a “phenomenon of the present, a bond tying us to the eternal present”. For such memories to be celebrated there must be a place for the domesticated past that Nora (1989) calls *lieux de memoire* or sites of memory. Institutions such as museums, monuments, schools, archives, commemorations, and history textbooks are all heritage resources and are all equally important institutions for the preservation sites of memory. These institutions are a recreation of the past in the present and a way of seeing the past that denies distance and time. It is important to note that language is a vital factor in recreating the past in post-conflict societies, hence the focus of this study on the choice of lexicalisation in selected Grade 10 history textbooks. It should also be noted that this memory also resides at different levels such as the familial, religious, community, local and regional (Seixas, 2006). Therefore it is not uncommon when debates about heritage arise to entertain questions such as whose heritage? In this particular study, I attempted to respond to this question utilising a case study of selected South African Grade 10 history textbooks.

Memorialisation, representation, and recreation are not smooth processes in post-conflict societies. Bonner (2004, pp. 140-141) cites a number of examples of countries that have struggled with how to represent their past. These include: Japan that is to this day failing to acknowledge atrocities committed in China, Korea, and elsewhere in Asia prior to and during World War II; In Israel, the experience of holocaust survivors was publicly silenced for three decades due to post-war Israeli Zionist sense of shame at the apparent passivity of the victims “which some critics registered almost as complicity”; In

Germany itself, the holocaust represents an episode of national shame with which the nation has struggled to come to terms; In India and Pakistan, personal experiences of the communal violence that accompanied partition in 1947 were largely ignored or suppressed until the fiftieth anniversary of the event. In Bonner's view, even those posts-conflict societies which attempt to represent painful engagements and painful pasts are sometimes lacking in detail or even evasive in their treatment of some of the issues. The South African situation confronts one additional dilemma to the above mentioned examples in that members and descendants of the communities that both executed or suffered from apartheid policy continue to co-exist in the same space. This makes it difficult to simultaneously engage their motives and experiences without perpetuating polarisation and re-igniting hatred. Sometimes questions arise whether in a post-conflict society such as South Africa, the more difficult and disturbing parts of their history should not be best left alone as in so many other countries until some point well into the future? It is against this background of controversy regarding representation of the history and heritage of post-conflict societies that this study examined the case of heritage representation in three selected South African history textbooks.

A different dimension of heritage comes from McMorran (2008, p. 336). He submits that heritage is a multi-disciplinary concept. He nonetheless stresses that there exists a division amongst heritage scholars between heritage as a highly contested political or ideological tool on the one hand and heritage as an ever evolving economic tool on the other. Whilst the foundation of scholarship is wrapped in discourses of representation, interpretation, and power, the focus of the latter group is on the protection and the development of heritage resources for purposes of commoditisation. Tourism heritage is an example of this multi-disciplinary heritage family. Henderson (2007) and McKercher and Ho (2006) confirm the link between heritage and tourism by affirming that heritage asserts are ideally suited to become tourist attractions. They reveal that most heritage manifestations and resources are tourist attractions or simply resources for tourism. Consequently, there is a possibility that this commercial aspect of heritage, just like political and ideological aspects, have an influence on the nature of its depiction and representation in history textbooks. This notion of heritage might be initiated by the stakeholders to attract and promote tourism for all the economic benefits that

accompany that but might also be highly contested political or ideological tools or even both.

Resulting from the above, reviewed literature one can see that heritage is a very divisive and contested concept whose meaning and purpose is different over time and in space.

2.2.2 Heritage and History

What then is the relationship between heritage and history? The aim of this section was to review the literature on the relationship between heritage and history. It should be remembered that this study of heritage is entrenched in the discipline of history and it was therefore imperative to illuminate the intricacies that surround this relationship.

The first aspects that emerge in this relationship are historical time or historical distance. In the view of historians such as Lowenthal, Novick, and Nora as cited in Phillips (2006) heritage could be seen as a way of seeing the past that denies distance. He explains that heritage clarifies the past so as to infuse them with present day purposes. This means that the primary concern of the heritage enterprise is with the representation or domestication of the past and not a systematic study of the events of the past. Why and how it happened are not relevant questions for the heritage practitioners. The interest, rather, is to recreate the events of the past so that they can permanently be implanted in the long term memories of people. As Nora (1989) puts it, heritage is always a phenomenon of the present like a bond that ties us to the eternal present.

On the other hand, history like heritage deals with events of the past but in contrast to heritage, history focuses on the historicity of such events that happened then not now. In other words, history explores and explains the past as it grows opaque over time (Phillips, 2006). The importance of the time and distance factor in the heritage/history discourse is also made evident in the words of Gabrielle Spiegel:

To the extent that memory 'reincarnates,' 'resurrects,' 're-cycles,' and makes the past 'reappear' and live again in the present, it cannot perform historically, since it refuses to keep the past in the past, to draw the line, as it were, that is constitutive of the modern enterprise of historiography (Cited in Seixas, 2006, p. 7).

Memory as used in the quotation above can be interpreted to mean heritage considering the link between heritage and memory as discussed earlier in this chapter. Ultimately therefore history, unlike heritage, acknowledges historical distance.

A position raised by Lowenthal (1996) and Slekar (2001) is that historians base their claims on a quest for the truth on evidence in the form of documents, artefacts, eye witness accounts as opposed to heritage that is not a testable account of some past but simply a declaration of faith in the past. Lowenthal reiterates the argument by stating that “history in opposition to heritage aims to reduce bias, demands reinterpretation, conforms to evidence accessible to all trying to tell the truth but being aware that truth is chameleon and its chroniclers fallible beings” (Lowenthal, 1996, p. 121). The insinuation here is that heritage creates faith in mythologies while history is very critical of the past and seeks to inquire endlessly in a scholarly manner so as to destroy myths. This position suggests that heritage is concerned with stabilising the past while history by its methods is destabilising the past. A strong supporter of this school of thought is Jane Carruthers, an environmental historian with the University of South Africa (UNISA). In a briefing paper entitled *Heritage and History*, she describes history as a “high level of activity that includes systematic research and the convention of peer review”. In comparison to heritage, she believes that heritage is simply a sub-genre of history that is produced by non-academics and innately subordinate to academic history (Baines, 2007, p. 170)

An example of heritage as an emotive or non-academic discipline is evident in a research conducted by Kros (2003) with her heritage students. It revealed that students who visited museums that portrayed aspects of segregation and apartheid most often reacted with humiliation and anger at what they saw and declared that they did not want to see anything about the past at all, that it is best forgotten and are therefore not willing to engage in it academically. These visitors were exposed to a degree of communion with the past that we consider as history, but are actually heritage. They were not challenged to view the facts objectively and consequently reached over- simplistic conclusions. History on the other hand will be more critical and will certainly consider other issues linked to historical literacy and historical understanding such as empathy, historical time, causation and significance, contextualisation, sourcing and moral

judgments to explain and understand events of the past (Maposa and Wassermann, 2009).

Yet even as Saunders (2007) warns that in spite of the growing tension in this inter-relationship between heritage and history, the two are different and they must neither be confused nor must they remain opposed to each other. Fundamentally they build on one another and as a result the two can greatly benefit from this symbiosis. For example, writing on the situation of school history in post-1994 South Africa, Siebörger (no date) states that in recent years history as a discipline has suffered neglect in a world that is witnessing economic and social transformation and where the concerns of the past have been taken over by the needs of the market, competition and the world of work. Seemingly, the heritage sector has not witnessed the same fate and some professional historians have welcomed the boom that has characterised the post-1994 South African heritage enterprise as a “life line for history departments experiencing declining enrolments” (Baines, 2007, p. 170). With this decline in the study of history, some historians found refuge in the heritage sector which was only made possible because of the common features of both that makes it possible to swop roles and blur the theoretical and conceptual boundaries in the process.

Summarily, despite first impressions heritage and history have much to learn from each another and share much in common as they are related fields dealing with issues of the past. Kros (2003) suggests that if the tensions that seem to characterise the heritage/history partnership persist, the discipline of history might become impatient with the easy gratification afforded heritage and heritage would be indifferent to what history has to say. This will not be doing justice to the past. The question therefore ought not to be on a shift from one to the other or even on which is the custodian of the past. Rather, more emphasis should be placed on protecting, preserving and memorialising the past so that it can be bequeathed to future generations, and an acknowledgement needs to be made for such a past to be critiqued and interpreted within their specified contexts.

The literature reviewed in this section revealed that while some scholars are of the opinion that the two fields are closely related and the gap between them is so slim that the two can be compared to the two sides of the same coin, other schools of thought and opinions have suggested that the gulf between heritage and history is so wide that

it seems unfathomable. However, this relationship is officially driven and empowered by policy; in this case the NCS-History which serves to override the academic debates on the topic.

2.2.3 Heritage Education

This section of the literature review surpassed the theory as outlined above to the actual implementation of heritage in which literature on the state and value of heritage education, locally and internationally was reviewed. It further explained some of the challenges that hinder the smooth implementation of heritage education and proposed solutions from the literature that could help curb or completely neutralise such challenges. Finally, there is an emphasis on the role of heritage education in the context of a post-conflict society like South Africa, which is the context that informs this study.

The meaning of heritage education is no less ambiguous than the heritage concept itself. In the view of Maturu (2005), education in general and heritage education in particular is the key to personal fulfilment, development, conservation, peace and wellbeing. He notes that through heritage education, young people can find new ways to build commitment and strengthen action in favour of preserving cultural and natural heritage, tangible and intangible heritage and local and world heritage.

According to Alder, et al, (1987) heritage education seeks to introduce the built environment directly into the education process. Consequently, the argument is that heritage education focuses primarily on aspects such as older and historical man-made structures and environments while promoting their use in the curriculum as visual resources for teaching knowledge and skills, as artefacts for the study of a continuum of cultures, and as real and actual places that students of all ages can experience, study and evaluate first hand. This mean that heritage education has to do with the integration into the curriculum of studies of historic sites, landscapes, structures, objects and how these inherited resources, known as heritage, could help to enrich learning.

As already identified in chapter one, heritage has played a key role in fostering peace efforts in post-conflict societies. The post-World War II era has seen a dramatic increase in heritage awareness internationally as a panacea to most of the problems that resulted from the lack of value for world heritage and lack of unity amongst the

nations of Europe. The result of this increased awareness is that many international organisations have put heritage education high up on their agendas and educational departments of many, especially first world countries, have integrated heritage education in their national curricula and at times in the history textbooks (van Wijk, no date).

Article 27 of the International Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage provides evidence of the international concern and consequent promotion of heritage education. The document states that “state parties to this convention shall endeavour by all appropriate means and in particular by educational and information programmes, to strengthen appreciate and respect by their peoples of the cultural and natural heritages [as defined by this convention]” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13). A further illustration of world heritage education as a UNESCO priority is the launch through its World Heritage Centre in 1994 of the World Heritage in Young Hands (WHYH) project (UNESCO, 2005). This project, according to this world body, is the “flagship programme for promoting education relating to the World Heritage Convention and Sites” (UNESCO, 2005, p. 3). It is claimed that WHYH has been an influential asset for heritage education because it has produced a resource kit that clearly demonstrates how teachers can realise the objectives of heritage education both within and outside their classrooms. This UNESCO interest in heritage education is an indication of how heritage could be used as part of UNESCO efforts, of world peace and security.

In the context of Europe, heritage education according to van Wijk (no date) is a key element in history curricula and history textbooks. The number of school visits to heritage sites has steadily increased in most European nations. For example, research conducted in the United Kingdom (UK) reveal that heritage education is the most popular activity with an estimated three million educational visits to historic sites in England in 2005 to castles, houses, gardens, churches and monuments, mostly by primary and secondary schools but also from colleges and universities, (Borman, no date). The indication here is that in Europe the value of heritage education has been established over a period of more than 10 years and policy makers have been united in

their efforts to make it possible for this interest to translate into the curriculum documents.

In Africa, Alexander (2011) submits that the continent with its millennia of human history has been and still is a plethora of local heritages. This means that in this context the UNESCO impact of heritage is less compared to other places like Europe. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the subsequent African Union (AU) have over the years been working in collaboration with UNESCO to use education as a tool to improve the situation of the continents common heritage that had been marginalised for decades by the forces of colonisation (UNESCO, 2005). This has resulted in different countries within the continent adopting legislation for the protection of heritage resources such as the National Policy on South African Living Heritage (Department of Arts and Culture, 2009) amongst others. The result is also the inclusion of heritage in the NCS-History of South Africa that acknowledges heritage as one of its outcomes. In this study, such interest in heritage education has led to its inclusion in history textbooks. Therefore heritage and the associated education is a global phenomenon, driven by a host of factors, which culminated in its inclusion in the official intended curriculum.

The agenda behind this is encapsulated by Borman (no date). He submits that heritage education has an important value in that it enables young people to understand, enjoy and care for their historic environment as part of their citizenship obligations. He explains that good citizens are people who are sensitive to the environment irrespective of their political inclinations and social choices. Therefore, if such sensitivity towards the protection of the environment, which is a common heritage, is not awakened in a child or if the child is indifferent towards the significance of heritage, the environment is more likely to be destroyed. This view is shared by van de Kaaij (2004) and Wilhelm (2004). They both contend that there is a strong affinity between heritage education and a number of contemporary issues such as democracy, citizenship, cultural diversity and mutual understanding. In their view, appreciating heritage through education will generate emotional involvement and ensure people recognise and accept their differences. As such, they argue that heritage education can serve as the catalyst that will help channel this emotional involvement beneficially, see differences in a positive

light, and reconcile and strengthen similarities. The result of all these attributes will, in their view, be the creation of an authentic citizenship and as it is said “citizens are not born, they are formed” (Copeland, 2004, p. 69). The formation of a proto-type citizen might well be the knowledge acquired through education that equips people with the ability to appreciate their heritage.

Apart from enhancing the citizenship obligation of children, Adler, et al (1987) suggests that heritage education can also help provide young people with a very effective window on the past. They argue that through buildings, for example these children can observe evidence of family life in former times, of older industrial and technological innovation and the growth and development of institutions. At a time when there seems to be a common lack of recognition of the value of the past as evident in the drop in history enrolments in most high schools and universities (Baines, 2007; Kros, 2003 & Siebörger, 2000), a combination of active sensory activities such as visiting historic sites which are an important aspect of heritage education (Borman, 2004; no date), can make the study of the past more enjoyable and help revive history as a discipline.

However, in spite of this professed value of heritage education, there are still some barriers to its smooth application. A major concern as identified by Borman (2004; no date) are the challenges that most schools face in taking visits to historic sites. These challenges comprise a combination of pressures of time and resources and the health and safety risks that make it challenging to undertake these visits. This does not imply that heritage education outside the classroom is the only prerequisite for a successful heritage education programme, but that the value of such visits as a means of inspiring students of all ages and enhancing their understanding of history cannot be over emphasised.

2.2.4 Towards a conceptual framework of heritage

From the reviewed literature, it is evident that heritage as a concept has numerous meanings based on context, time and ideology. Whilst some schools of thought place more emphasis on tangible objects such as monuments to comprise heritage others are of the firm view that heritage surpasses the tangible and includes aspects that are intangible. These two opinions largely characterise discussions on the meaning of

heritage and have rendered it difficult to establish a dichotomy for heritage. Other terminology that forms part of the heritage discourse are natural, cultural, movable, immovable and living heritage. However, all these different forms of heritage can be well contained under the tangible/intangible conceptual heritage umbrella.

The purpose of this section of the literature review is to examine the different theories that have been advanced to understand heritage, with a view to providing a conceptual framework for heritage that will be used in this study. The importance of a conceptual framework in any piece of research cannot be over emphasised. Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 18) opine that a conceptual framework is a written or visual presentation that “explains either graphically, or in narrative form, the main things to be studied: the key factors, concepts or variables and the presumed relationship among them”. This study will make use of both the graphical and the narrative forms in order to conceptualise heritage. This framework will then be used as a tool to guide the data generation and analysis of this study. The methodology section of this study in chapter three provides a more vivid explanation of this.

From a simple understanding, the words tangible and intangible would mean, items that can be seen, touched and/or felt physically while intangible would refer to the opposite of the above. In relation to heritage, this knowledge seems to have an influence in the general understanding of the tangible and the intangible nature of it. Tangible heritage would be heritage resources that can be experienced, seen, touched, and walked around and through (Adler et al, 1987). Examples of such resources include historic architecture, artefacts in museums, monuments, buildings, graves, landscapes, remains of dwellings and military sites including memorials and battle fields that form part of the history of a given community.

Articles one and two of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO (1972) identifies two categories of tangible heritages, cultural and natural tangible heritage. In the first part, it considers cultural tangible heritage to be monuments, groups of buildings and sites and work of people or the combined works of nature and people that are of outstanding value whether from the point of view of history, art or science, or from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or even anthropological view point. The second part of the convention considers natural

tangible heritage in three dimensions, namely: as natural features consisting of physical and biological formations; as geological and physiological formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants and finally as precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding value from the point of view of science conservation and natural beauty. The connotation therefore is that tangible heritage could either appear in natural or cultural form. Copeland (2004) however, cautions that in whichever form it appears, it must be able to stimulate the imagination for it to be considered as heritage. It is also possible that some properties might satisfy more than one of these definitions. For example a property can be both a monument and a group of buildings. Furthermore, the conceptualisation above was enhanced since 1972 and the concepts of cultural and natural heritage have greatly expanded since that time even though the understanding has also been broadly interpreted to embrace the miscellany between the different forms of tangible heritage.

Regarding intangible heritage, a succinct meaning is provided by Deacon, Dondolo, Mrubata, and Prosalindis (2004). Their view is that intangible heritage consists of oral traditions, memories, languages, performing arts or rituals, knowledge systems and values and know-how that a family or community wish to safeguard and pass on to future generations. This involves the way of life of a people and is usually embedded in their customs, traditions and cultural practices. In other terms, it “refers to aesthetic, spiritual, symbolic or other social values that ordinary people associate with an object or a site” (Marschall, 2010, p. 35). Intangible heritage is also known as living heritage and can appear in cultural form (Bredekamp, 2004; Department of Arts and Culture, 2009). As with tangible heritage, some intangible heritage resources also have cultural properties which are sometimes called intangible cultural heritage.

Vecco (2010) points out that intangible heritage have gradually evolved out of the initial understanding of tangible heritage. His argument is that initially the historic and artistic values were the only parameters for understanding heritage. This meant that heritage at its outset was seen only from a tangible perspective. However, other additional parameters have since been added such as the cultural value of the object, its value of identity and the capacity of the object to interact with memory. The recognition of heritage is now largely based on the capacity of the object to arouse certain values that

led the society in question to consider it as heritage and not simply on the bases of its material aspect (Vecco, 2010). This development has led to the recognition of intangible cultural heritage as an important form of heritage to be protected and safeguarded.

This view reiterated by Yoshinda (2004, p. 109) further explains that intangible cultural heritage is the “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage.” He claims that intangible cultural heritage is the basis of human existence and may well be called the body of knowledge held by human beings which continuously constructs and reconstructs peoples’ sense of identity through various social interactions. Once the dynamism or this body of knowledge is ignored, the notion of intangible cultural heritage itself is also denied (Yoshinda, 2004). In this sense the often used phrase of ‘safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage’ should not be considered as the preservation of intangible cultural heritage in the sense of maintaining the heritage in an unchanged condition but should rather be considered as safeguarding or ensuring the dynamism of intangible cultural heritage.

One common aspect amongst researchers is the idea that all these different forms of heritage do not stand independent of each other (Bredekamp, 2004; Edson, 2004; Jones, 2009; Marschall, 2010; Munjeri, 2004). They are so interconnected to the extent that a study on one will require a systematic understanding of the other and vice versa. Whether tangible or intangible; natural, cultural or living; movable or immovable, it is evident that they all complement each other. Therefore a full understanding of heritage can only be achieved through a study of the multiple reciprocal relationships between the tangible and the intangible elements.

Intangible heritage therefore provides the larger framework within which tangible heritage takes its shape and significance (Munjeri, 2004). Within this framework as cited above, it is argued that:

Intangible heritage, because of its very nature as a map through which humanity interprets, selects, and reproduces cultural heritage is an important partner to tangible heritage. More important, it is a tool through which the tangible heritage could be defined and

expressed thus transforming inert landscapes of objects and monuments turning them into living archives of cultural values” (Arjun Appadurai cited in Munjeri, 2004, p. 18).

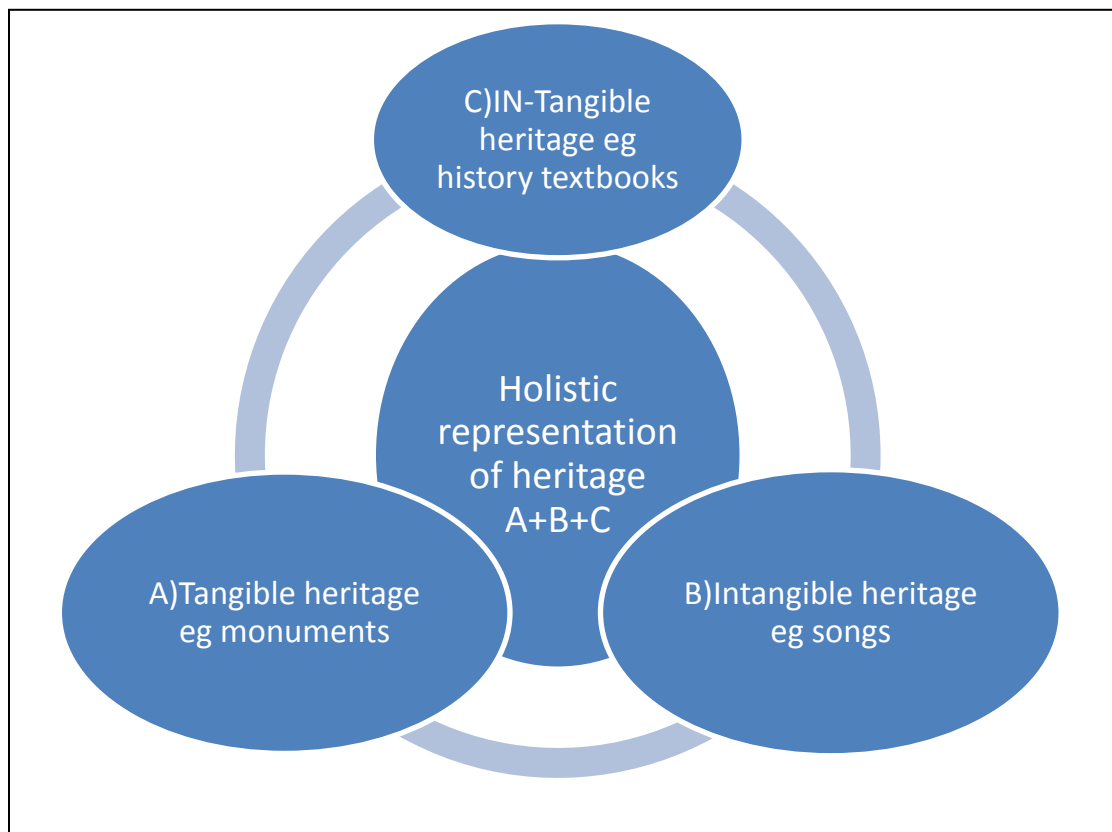
This means that tangible heritage can only have recognition because of the values that people give it which is those that form the intangible aspect of tangible heritage. In other words, objects, collections, buildings and other tangible heritage resources become recognised as heritage when they express the values of society and so the tangible can only be understood through the intangible, recognising that society and values are intrinsically linked. By extension, for tangible heritage to attain its true significance it must elucidate its underlying values and the intangible heritage must be made incarnate in intangible manifestations. Bredekamp (2004) provides an example of this partnership with specific reference to museum objects. He states that these objects are not ends in themselves. Even though they may have intrinsic value, they are manifestations of intangible relationships between people and things. They are therefore merely tangible embodiments of intangible ideas and practices.

It is this inter-relationship that I have termed the IN-Tangible heritage for the purpose of this study. This means that intangible can be part of the tangible with the former defining the latter. In the tangible is the intangible and the reverse might also be true. An example of this scenario is of distinctive cultural landscapes that have spiritual significance (Bredekamp, 2004). The landscape in this example is an IN-Tangible resource because it contains elements of both the tangible and the intangible through the physical landscape and its underlying spiritual significance. Another example could be the object of this specific study which is the history textbook.

At surface level, we see a tangible resource that could be termed heritage because it is an inherited pedagogic tool that has been passed on through generations. From this perspective, the textbook could for example be termed a tangible heritage resource. But at a deeper level, if we consider the intricacies surrounding the purpose of their production and their role in promoting a particular political and educational ideology and shaping the citizenry in a certain way, then we are experiencing the intangible aspect of the textbooks. Textbooks as a result are an example of IN-Tangible heritage. With the first example, the landscape can be best understood only if its spiritual component is

considered. This is equally true for the history textbook which is more than the tangible object that we see and touch. Both examples illustrate my concept of IN-Tangible heritage. The diagram below is a visual explanation of this conceptualisation.

Figure 2.1 Figure illustrating the manifestation of IN-Tangible heritage



In figure 2.1 above, A represents aspects of heritage that are tangible while B stands for the intangible heritage. C represents the relationship between A and B which is the IN-Tangible in this framework. The link attaching the three components symbolises their inter connected relationship as explained earlier. These three aspects together portray a holistic understanding of heritage.

My understanding of heritage is therefore a holistic one and embraces both the tangible and the intangible components of heritage. It is this approach that will serve as the conceptual framework for this study. Contrary to a reductionist approach, the holistic perspective is more inclusive (Perez et al, 2010). In addition to accommodating tangible and intangible components of heritage in cultural and/or natural forms, holistic heritage

also acknowledges heritage at personal, family, community, state and world levels. The table below is a representation of the holistic manifestation of heritage as identified by Perez et al (2010);

Table 2.2 Table illustrating the conceptualisation of holistic heritage as adapted from Perez et al, (2010)

INDICATOR		DESCRIPTOR
1	Symbolic-Identity heritage	Symbolic artefacts characterising a society.
2	Natural-Historical-Artistic heritage	Environmental artefacts. Archaeological items and documents. Examples of different stylistic movements. Associated landscapes.
3	Ethnological heritage	Traditional and significant artefacts responsible for social change. Associated landscapes.
4	Scientific-technological heritage	Objects and instruments contributing to the repository of scientific knowledge. Technical and industrial items triggering socio-economic change. Associated buildings and landscapes.
5	Holistic heritage	Comprehensive and inclusive consideration of all the above items.

According to Table 2.2, symbolic-identity heritage refers to aspects such as flags, anthems or songs; Natural heritage refers to resources such as mountains and rivers; Ethnology is known as the study of people’s lives and ethnological heritage will include symbols of heritage that illuminate the lives of people such as those who were incarcerated on Robben Island; Lastly scientific heritage refer to aspects of inventions such as Shaka’s spear and the Maxim gun. These different components can appear in either tangible or intangible form or both which is IN-Tangible. It represents the holistic understanding of heritage and will be used as the conceptual framework to study heritage and how it manifests itself in an intangible heritage object namely school history textbooks. However, it should be noted that this study acknowledges the complexities of categorisations and that the categories identified in the different indicators are not without the possibility of slippage which is discussed in greater detail

in the analysis section of this study. The section that follows will therefore review literature on the pedagogic and politico-ideological roles of such textbooks as heritage resources.

2.3 History Textbooks

The previous section reviewed literature on issues relating to heritage. It also dealt with issues surrounding heritage education globally before providing a conceptual framework for heritage that will be applied to this study. This section is aimed at reviewing literature on history textbook research. The purpose is to understand the nature of the textbook industry, especially in post-conflict communities in order to ascertain how these impacts on the kind of heritage represented in the textbooks and the implications of this on the learners. It should be noted that most of the themes that emerged in history textbooks are relevant to the bigger discourse of textbook research revealing that even though the focus of this study and this review is on history textbooks, literature on textbooks in general will also be considered as part of the larger scholarly picture. In this review, history textbooks and textbooks in general in most instances were used interchangeably because of the thematic similarities they share. The literature in this section is broadly reviewed in two sections following the overriding themes identified: The first section reviewed literature on the role of the history textbook as a vital and indispensable pedagogic material used in many classrooms and thus a heritage vehicle for the learners, and secondly, the political/ideological, moral, social, and economic dimensions of the history textbook are highlighted including the role of power in shaping the production of these textbooks. It is in this second part that the links with a post-conflict society such as South Africa were drawn.

2.3.1 Reviewing the Pedagogic Role of History Textbooks

History textbooks and textbooks in general have been widely acknowledged as very important instructional material produced for schools and other educational institutions to support teachers, lecturers, pupils and students in following a curriculum (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Lin et al, 2009; Johannesson, 2002; Romanowski, 1996; Schoeman, 2009; Sewall, 2004; and Wakefield, 2006). Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2011) emphasise that this situation has existed since the 1830's when the term textbook first appeared. The position taken by these authors is a suggestion that these

textbooks are responsible for maintaining educational quality and effectiveness in schools. Consequently, UNESCO, in its capacity as a UN specialised agency responsible for overseeing quality education in member countries, assessed the role of textbooks and reached the conclusion that textbooks are vital both as reading materials, for their content and for providing a solid basis for children's learning, and a means for gaining information and knowledge (UNESCO, 2006). In an effort not to compromise the important role of the teacher vis-à-vis the textbook in the classroom, the report suggested that education systems must strive to properly train and equip teachers who are not solely reliant on history textbooks in order to conduct their classes. However, in situations where there is a lack of qualified and experienced teachers, the textbook can provide a successful guide (UNESCO, 2006). The insinuation of this declaration in relation to this study is that the history textbook is a major player apropos education on heritage issues, from a purely pedagogic perspective. It is therefore essential to study these textbooks to appreciate the kind of heritage that is portrayed in them including their purpose.

In reference to the pedagogic role of history textbooks, Lin et al. (2009) remark that one of the primary missions of history, perhaps more so than any other subject in school, is to offer opportunities for students to cultivate a sense of national identity, common values and heritage. In this regard they argue that history textbooks, across international settings, are a primary source to provide pupils with an understanding about the history of their own country and other parts of the world thereby providing national pride (Lin et al, 2009). Even though textbooks have frequently attracted strong criticism from different sectors over issues relating to their partiality (this will be examined later in this section), the fact that they are still much heralded as indispensable as teaching materials speaks of their significance in instruction.

This importance is re iterated by Sewall (2004) who claims that in most classrooms, history textbooks remain the sole source of information about the subject for both teachers and students as they provide systematic ideas and information thereby structuring the teaching and learning of history. This is an insinuation that history textbooks actually define what is significant in a country's history. It is therefore the medium through which official history as sanctioned by the government is transmitted to

the public through the learners. Romanowski (1996) cites the example of the United States of America (USA) in this regard which he claims place great faith in textbooks as a means of providing their children with an understanding of American history. This implies that the material the American government and other governments prioritise as history (officially sanctioned history) and heritage is that which is included in the history textbooks for consumption.

Another example of the role of the textbook as an indispensable teaching and learning resource is provided by the research conducted by Wakefield (2006). The study conducted in USA schools revealed that 94% of secondary school teachers who taught social studies reported that they had students use textbooks in class at least once per week. Moreover, within the same context, only 66% of social studies teachers used print material other than textbooks in class. In South Africa, the government attachment to textbooks is also clear. This was evident in the 2011 State of the Nation address by President Jacob Zuma in which he coined the term “Triple T” referring to Teachers, Textbooks and Time, emphasising the government’s priorities in improving education. (Zuma, 2011). Zuma continued to emphasise that the administration must ensure that every child has a textbook on time. Such a firm utterance from the highest authority of the state is an indication of the gravity of the role of the textbook in pedagogy and the political intention of the government in South Africa to enhance quality education through textbooks.

2.3.2 The Political and Ideological Aspects of History Textbooks

However, even though textbooks are vital instructional materials as explained above, most scholars have questioned their neutrality. This view was greatly pioneered by Apple and Christian-Smith who have argued that, “... texts are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are at once the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interest. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power” (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 3). The implication here is that there are many issues at stake in the textbook sector and as such textbooks are not impartial tools that simply teach students facts, skills and heritage.

Consequently, scholars such as Lin et al (2009), Polakow-Suranski (2002), Engelbrecht (2006), and Nicholls (2003; 2006) have actually acknowledged that the content and perspectives presented in textbooks are not neutral and that history textbooks in particular incorporate certain attitudes and ways of looking at the world. Similar views on history textbooks is evident in a report by the Schools Council History Project (SCHP) in Britain (no date) which revealed many examples of biased accounts in the textbooks, notably in the treatment of women as well as in the attitudes to non-British states in international affairs. Similarly, a comparative content analysis of history textbooks from the USA, Japan, China and South Korea revealed gross inconsistencies and conflicting views on aspects of the Korean War such as the causes, the American and Chinese involvement, and the result of the war (Lin et al, 2009). This relates to the powerful role authorities have in determining not only that which should be included in the textbook but also how certain aspects of history and heritage must be represented.

A crucial debate on textbooks is at the level of the specific authority that holds the power and responsibility for deciding what should and should not be included. In this regard Romanowski (1996) believes that textbook authors have a great role to play. He submits that in making judgements about what should be included and excluded and how particular episodes in history should be summarised, textbook authors assign positive or negative interpretations to particular events thereby asserting a set of values. The fact that these values are not often declared explicitly does not make them less powerful. However, the power of textbook authors is still a contentious one when one considers the stringent nature of the process that usually precedes textbook publication. Authors therefore can often be bound by strict government policies on textbook production that leaves them with no other choice than to appease the authorities in order for their books to be published. It should also be noted that not all authors have taken this stance of biased historiography for commercial ends. According to Odendaal and Galloway (2008) some authors have resorted to the phenomenon of self-publishing as a means of controlling content without interference from either government or the publishers. Even though this practice is instrumental in the publishing industry in South Africa, it is still insufficient to challenge the power of government especially since such self-published texts are not officially approved and as a result they are not used in

official settings including the schools. Therefore it can be assumed that textbook authors have less agency than is generally believed.

Research into history textbooks has thus shown a link between history textbooks, power and politics (Rodden, 2009). This role which is most often championed by the government is manifested in different forms, at different levels and for different motives. Crawford (no date) portrays this scenario clearly when he describes history textbook knowledge as knowledge that is coded and classified, placed within contexts, assigned spaces and ranked in terms of status and meaning. The process of its manufacture is therefore political. Other proponents of this school of thought such as Romanowski (1996), Nozaki (2002), Salomon and Ket (2007) believe that history textbooks are used to foreground the ideals of the government and are as a result selective in terms of knowledge required by learners. One reason for this government control as identified is to promote a certain ideology and this can be in the form of communism, capitalism, apartheid, Nazism, democracy or in this study, heritage.

For example in the South African context the issue of ideology in history textbooks is one that has been frequently documented incising through the different ideological inclinations that have affected the country's history. Contrary to popular belief, bias in history textbooks in South Africa did not start with the introduction of Apartheid. A Ph.D study by Richard Chernis on South African history syllabi and textbooks from 1839-1990 suggests that the Afrikaner nationalist narrative in history textbooks can be seen as a reaction to forced Anglicisation policies and the imposition of British education norms following the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 (Polakow-Suranski, 2002). This is an insinuation that pro-British bias in history textbooks was prevalent long before the advent of Afrikaner nationalism. It resembles a justification for the re writing of this history by the Afrikaners with themselves this time as the protagonists after the establishment of the apartheid state in 1948. The primary function of the history textbook narrative in the apartheid era was therefore identity formation, legitimation of the current social order and national orientation that sustained their heritage. After the British therefore, it became the turn of the Afrikaners to make use of the history textbooks in a biased way for nationalistic purposes. Within this understanding, the

necessary question could be for what purpose are post-apartheid history textbooks written?

An example of such a biased account in apartheid history textbooks was found in *History for standard 6* written by C.J. Joubert in 1975. A study of this textbook by Polakow-Suranski reveal that the text devotes only one-third of its 156 pages to South African history and of this one-third, half is devoted to the Great Trek and white settlement (Polakow-Suranski, 2002). It is this situation that Charles Van Onselen has called the “Great Trek virus” and laments that this virus has so profoundly stultified the practice and teaching of history in South Africa (Du Bruyn, 1997, p. 137). The report insinuates that the section of the book that deals with black history devotes itself to legitimating the white presence in South Africa by advancing the theory that black South Africans are not actually from South Africa but they may have originated somewhere around the lake regions of Central Africa. This aspect of history textbooks carried some master symbols and stereotypes in order to create a consciousness of the social order among children and especially to promote the Afrikaner heritage that had been subjugated by the former British and was still deemed threatened by the black majority population.

This view of the nature of pre-1994 South African history textbooks is supported by Engelbrecht who submits that these textbooks presented history in a way that simply justified Afrikaner domination and Afrikaner struggle for self-determination and this struggle formed the core of the South African curriculum and history textbooks of the time (Engelbrecht, 2008). She justifies this with a 1983 study by Du Preez (1983) that analysed some 53 textbooks in use in black and white schools. A major outcome of the study was the identification of master symbols amongst which was the notion that “whites are superior and blacks are inferior” (Engelbrecht, 2008, p. 1). The implication of the study was that the textbooks were a massive contributor to the ideological conflict in the pre-1994 South African society in that the government of the time used history textbooks to promote and perpetrate discrimination as a corner stone of apartheid ideology.

With the introduction of democracy and a shift from the apartheid curriculum, Msila (2007, p. 151) noted that the main goals of the new educational system “are to create a

new South African identity that encompasses critical consciousness, to transform South African society, to promote democracy and to magnify learner involvement in education.” One would therefore expect contemporary textbooks to adhere to such lofty ideals. But this is not so as studies on current South African history textbooks reveal a reversal of the racial identities that were characteristic of the apartheid era. These textbooks now highlight silences and omissions regarding the white minority population; their aspirations and their leaders, and new stereotypes are deliberately presented to counter apartheid stereotypes (Engelbrecht, 2008). This argument implies that history textbooks have the power to manifest the government’s ideology and can promote a specific heritage that is sanctioned by the government regardless of time and context.

In 2004, the then South African Minister of Education Kader Asmal alluded to this when he declared:

In Africa, in the struggle between the hunter and the lion, the hunter has written the history. The lion, we have always hoped, will one day have its day. The lion will one day have its say. 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. But those books are so often also boring and stultifying. We now want to hear the lion's story. We now want to hear the lion's roar (Asmal, 2004).

The insinuation is that the government acknowledges that the history and heritage of black South Africans had been marginalized for a long time but with political power now achieved, it is time for this former marginalized group to start writing their own version of history. This concurs with Steve Biko’s stance on the need to debunk apartheid myths and to rehabilitate the history of South African blacks as is clearly expressed in his words: “... If we as blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness, we have to rewrite our history...” (Cited in da Cruz, 2005, p. 81). A study of selected contemporary South African history textbooks is therefore imperative in order to establish the kind of history and heritage that is presented in post-1994 history textbooks.

A different context is provided by Da Cruz (2005) who asserted that some post-1994 South African history textbooks can advance claims to some kind of neutrality. His

argument is that unlike white supremacist history that had flourished for centuries with a hegemonic paradigm and old grand narrative, the fragments of black history are paramount as they have never been told in South African schools – therefore “even if the beginnings of a vague black history exist somewhere in the new textbooks, black history as a historical narrative does not” (p. 83). However, he submits that when these contemporary textbooks are considered in a real world context, it becomes clear that they have made little effort to redress the “lingering injustices committed by its predecessors” (p. 83).

One recurrent discourse that appears from the review on South African history textbooks from both the pre and post-apartheid eras refers to the role of master symbols used to promulgate particular ideologies. According to Engelbrecht (2008) and Polakow-Suranski (2002), master symbols in history textbooks determine the socio-cultural generalisations of a society to the extent that they become part of society’s collective consciousness, that is, deeply rooted perspectives by which the world is interpreted. These symbols, just like stereotypes and mythologies, could play a central role in creating consciousness of the social hierarchy among children. For this reason, master symbols were largely used in history textbooks especially during the apartheid era in South Africa because the National Party saw them as ideal weapons to maintain their place in the South African social hierarchy. But when these master symbols are used over a long period, Chernis states, “they become so much a part of society’s collective consciousness that they are eventually regarded as irrefutable facts” (Polakow-Suranski, 2002, p. 8) and are carried into next generation despite the fact that the system has changed.

Evidence of the manifestation of political power in history textbooks is to be found in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) history textbooks from 1945. Rodden (2009, p. 268) noted that history textbooks in the GDR were “consciously and completely turned to propagandist purposes”. Ironically, the communist GDR government used history textbooks the same way as did the previous Nazi Government. The change in political power therefore also resulted to a shift in ideology from Nazism to communism and the history textbook was frequently used in the process. To ensure that this ideology was instilled in the GDR, Rodden (2009, p. 265) explains that “throughout the forty-four year

existence of the GDR (1945-89), the ministry of education controlled the content of history textbooks tightly, and the textbooks and teachers' guidebooks kept, in turn a tight rein on GDR teachers." Such strict control over history textbooks attests to its influence as government tools used with the purpose of creating an inimitable brand of citizenship, identity or simply to promote a particular ideology.

Conclusively, the literature has revealed the history textbook's role as a pedagogic resource widely relied upon for the teaching and learning of history and heritage. However, in spite of this role, the textbook has also been identified as a strong carrier and transmitter of political and ideological messages. In the latter role, the importance of language has been emphasised. The literature has produced examples of societies, including South Africa, whose textbooks have represented different ideologies during different periods. It is therefore important to illustrate how these different roles of the history textbook play out in a post-conflict society like South Africa, with particular reference to their representation of heritage through the use of language which is the focus of this study.

2.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an overview of the various perspectives of heritage and on history textbooks. The conclusion drawn from this review regarding history textbooks is that the content and motives are greatly influenced by the political landscape. The review indicated that in South Africa as in other countries such as Russia, Germany, Turkey, Japan or America (Engelbrecht, 2008; Ersanh, 2002; Nozaki, 2002; Rodden, 2009; Wakefield, 2006; Zadjja, 2007), history textbooks have frequently been used as ideological tools and nationalistic weapons. Even though supra – national organisations such as the UN and the Council of Europe have tried to encourage the highest standards of honesty and fairness in history textbooks and to eradicate bias and prejudice (Council of Europe, 1999) their contents have been scarcely neutral. History is not necessarily the product of the past, but often a product of the needs or requests of the present (Stolten, 2003). It is therefore the present generation who decide what constitutes its heritage and history and how this should be documented in textbooks. Subsequently, it is imperative to initiate a critical study on contemporary history textbooks. This is a necessity as such a study examines the nature of the

representation of heritage in selected post-1994 South African history textbooks in relation to heritage. The outcome of this study will give me the opportunity to understand the extent to which the conclusions of this literature are applicable to the context of this study. The next chapter unpacks the research design, methodology and methods used to analyse heritage in the selected history textbooks in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Even though researchers almost unanimously agree on the need for a research design and a methodology in any research endeavour, the scope of what this constitutes seems to be an issue of contention. Researchers often confuse research design and research methodology (Mouton, 2001). Mouton submits that they are two different aspects of a research project. Some of these different ideas advanced with regards to the above concepts will be reviewed in this chapter to distinguish and clarify them in terms of their use for the purpose of this study.

Christiansen, Bertram, Land, Dampster, & James (2010), Durrheim (2002) and Sarantakos (2005) all suggest that research design is a strategic framework for action on how the researcher will systematically collect and analyse the data as well as serve as a bridge between the research questions and the execution or implementation of the research. Their views suggest that research design should provide a plan that specifies how the research is going to be executed in such a way that it answers the research question. In relation to this, Durrheim considers that this plan should involve the multiple decisions about how the data will be collected and analysed to ensure that the final report answers the research questions (2002).

One could compare research design to building a house. In order for the building to be executed systematically, accurately and methodically, and to avoid making *ad hoc* decisions as the building process continues, it is essential that the builders initiate a working plan. In research, terminology such a plan is known as research design. This plan can be helpful in two ways: to ensure that the study fulfils a particular purpose and also that the research can be completed within the constraints of the available resources.

From the afore-mentioned, it can be deduced that research design is a combination of the entire procedure that will be undertaken in a research process from the data collection to data interpretation as well as the paradigms used in order to answer the research questions. This could also be seen as a logical sequence that connects

empirical data to a study's initial research questions and ultimately, to its conclusions. As a result the implication could be therefore that every type of empirical research has or should have implicit, if not explicit, a research design and it is my intention to adhere to this research practice in this study.

Conversely, Durrheim (2002) and Vos (2005) note that the strategic framework or research design that links the research question to the execution of the research is developed through a process known as the research methodology. It is here that the researcher describes how an individual will initiate gathering the information to address the research questions. This implies that the design and the methodology of research are inter linked in that the research design could be the umbrella that over arches the methodology. In the analogy of the building project explained in the preceding paragraph, the process of executing the plan, including the different methods and tools used to perform different tasks, would be the methodology. Mouton (2001) summarises this difference by stating that while the research design focuses on the end product, and what kind of result is aimed at, research methodology focuses on the research process and the kind of tools and procedures to be used. With regards to this study both the research design and research methodology will be concerned with the systematic procedure that I have used to attain the goals of this project which is to understand the nature of heritage representation in selected Grade 10 South African history textbooks.

According to the above pretext, this chapter sought to explore the research design, methodology and the methods that I employed in this study. In so doing, I considered the research questions attached to this study and the focus of the study which is a case study on the representation of heritage in selected South African Grade 10 history textbooks. I did this by examining aspects such as the appropriate research paradigm, the research style or approach, the sample choice and its size, the ethical considerations and a critical view on the critical discourse analysis (CDA) that I adopted as the methodological preference for this study. Data generation and data analysis methods and instruments are discussed. All these aspects of research design and methodology were interrogated first to identify their strengths and short-comings but most importantly, to justify their choice for and application to this study.

3.2 The Research Design

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

This study was approached from a qualitative perspective. As long ago as 1982, Bogdam and Biklen (1982) cited in Stevens, Schade, Chalk & Slevin (1993, p. 39) opined that:

We use qualitative research as an umbrella term to refer to several research strategies that share certain characteristics. The data collected has been termed 'soft', that is rich in description of people, places, conversations and not easily handled by statistical procedures. Research questions are not framed by operationalizing variables; rather, they are formulated to investigate in all their complexity, in context.

Close to three decades later, in 2011 this view of qualitative research still receives great approval. Gonzales et al (2008) cited in Cohen et al (2011) submit that this form of research is concerned with an in-depth, intricate and detailed understanding of meanings, actions, non-observable as well as observable phenomena, attitudes, intentions and behaviours. By implication, a qualitative study should produce findings that are not reached by means of quantification as with quantitative research. Rather this kind of research is centred on an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon. Considering the questions underpinning this study, this approach is ultimately the most apposite since it allows for an understanding of how heritage is represented in the selected history textbooks and why it is represented in any particular way. In this regard, Henning (2004) submits that these are the category of questions that qualitative researchers seek to investigate. Moreover, this approach is effective for this study because it is an exploration which involves the complexity of the heritage phenomenon and its depiction in scholarly material – history textbooks. Creswell (2008) affirms that in such studies, researchers tend to use qualitative research. Therefore, the purpose of qualitative research is to explore a phenomenon in order to obtain deep understanding. The focus of such studies is on depth rather than breadth, on quality rather than quantity. These two points serve to explain the difference between qualitative and quantitative research.

However, Steven et al (1993) argue that most qualitative researchers make use of some form of quantification when analysing their data. This stance is supported and reiterated by Atkinson et al (1988) who fervently suggest in Stevens et al (1993, p. 39) that “in a deeper sense, almost all qualitative research involves quantitative claims, albeit expressed in verbal rather than numerical form.” An attempt to reconcile this situation has resulted in the development of the mixed methods research (MMR) paradigm as a form of inquiry that recognises the need for a less confrontational approach to be adopted between the different research paradigms, a greater convergence between the two as well as dialogue to be engaged between them and their proponents (Alasuutari, 2010; Cohen et al, 2011; Fielding, 2010; Gwyther and Possanmai-Inesedy, 2009). Whilst these efforts have been significant to quell paradigm ‘wars’, it has also helped demoralise the incompatibility thesis - a propaganda which posits that qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, including their associated methods, cannot and should not be mixed (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

Emanating from this, it becomes important to foreground that although this study made use of some quantitative methods, it still adopted a qualitative paradigm taking into consideration the notion that the difference between quantitative and qualitative research “is not much that one uses statistical methods and the other does not, but rather that in quantitative research numerical values are central to the understanding of phenomena, while in qualitative research they are either incidental or of no importance” (Stevens et al, 1993, p. 40). Therefore, wherever aspects of statistical value are used in this study, such as in issues of sampling and data analysis, this research will still maintain its qualitative status because the focus is on the depth rather than the breadth of the heritage phenomena as it is represented in the chosen Grade 10 history textbooks.

3.2.2 Interpretive Paradigm

The qualitative approach lends itself to the interpretive paradigm which was adopted for this study. The link between the qualitative research approach and the interpretive paradigm is highlighted by Stevens et al (1993) who suggests that research carried out in the interpretive paradigm is called qualitative research. This is however, contradicted by Hart (2003) who cautions that it is a mistake to say that interpretive research is

wholly qualitative. This is further elaborated by Blanche and Kelly. They submit that “interpretivist research methods try to describe and interpret people’s feelings and experiences in human terms rather than through quantification and measurements” (Blanche and Kelly, 2002, p. 123). The implication here is that the interpretive paradigm relates to the qualitative rather than quantitative research approach. This paradigm assumes that people have authentic subjective experiences that must be taken seriously, and the ultimate method to understand these experiences is by engaging and interpreting them. Blanche and Kelly (2002) believe that qualitative research techniques are the most appropriate for completion of such tasks.

The focus of this research is to gain a depth of understanding in relation to the nature of heritage representation in selected Grade 10 South African history textbooks, This merges with the interpretive paradigm, especially considering Henning’s view that the core of the interpretive paradigm is not about the search for broadly applicable laws and rules, but rather it seeks to produce descriptive analysis that emphasises deep, interpretive understanding of social phenomena (Henning, 2004). As a result, this study will produce rich descriptions of the characteristics, processes, transactions and contexts that constitute the nature of heritage in the selected history textbooks as the phenomena being studied.

Three important descriptions of this paradigm are proposed by Stevens et al (1993). Firstly, that knowledge is produced inductively and concepts and theories emerge from the interpretation of phenomena. Secondly that data collected are interpreted by the researcher and have a high degree of subjectivity. Finally, that research within this paradigm is carried out in the contexts or situations in which phenomena occur. This study took into consideration the ambiguous nature of heritage. The literature reviewed had demonstrated the fact that heritage has been, and is still viewed from different perspectives in different contexts, different spaces, times and with different motives. The previous chapter produced a framework for conceptually understanding the phenomena, especially apropos its applicability to the context of this study.

Critics of interpretivism suggest that its major weakness is that it cannot address the factors and conditions from which meanings and interpretations, actions, rules and beliefs are deduced. Moreover, they believe that this paradigm “fails to acknowledge the

institutional structures, particularly divisions of interest and relations to power” and as a result presents incomplete accounts of social behaviour by their neglect of the political and ideological contexts of much educational research (Cohen et al, 2011 and Sarantakos, 2005, p. 24). Therefore, considering that this study was also concerned with how issues of power relations and ideology play a role in determining the kind of heritage in the selected history textbooks, one might assume that the choice of paradigm for this research is misguided and that the study would best suit the critical framework. This argument might be persuasive considering that the critical theory covers the weaknesses of interpretivism enumerated above, and even mentions that critical theory also seeks not only to understand situations and phenomena but to change them. In particular it seeks to “emancipate the disempowered, to redress inequality and to promote individual freedom within a democratic society” (Cohen et al, 2011, p. 31). It views reality as shaped by social, political, cultural, economic and other dynamics and so the need for research to bring about some kind of social change that will benefit groups who, because of their gender, race or class, are being understood to have little power or few choices and opportunity available to them (Christiansen, 2010).

Consequently, I as the researcher acknowledge that the issues of power, politics and ideology have enormous influence on the textbook industry, as seen in the review of literature in chapter two, particularly with regards to heritage, and as a result they are central to this study. However, the intention of this study was not a transformative one. The purpose was not to change the phenomena or society as is the main concern of critical research. But rather through diffuse descriptions, the scope of this study was limited to the acquisition of an in-depth understanding of the phenomena and the factors responsible for its representation in a particular way in selected history textbooks. Blanche and Kelly (2002, p. 124) disclosed that it is possible to describe a phenomena in “rich detail and present its findings in engaging and sometimes evocative language” and still be an interpretive researcher. This therefore justifies my choice to work with the interpretivist paradigm in spite of the outlined short comings as this paradigm will best accommodate the purpose and focus of my study.

3.2.3 Ontology and Epistemology

The choice of approach and paradigm for this research is also informed by the ontological and epistemological assumptions that I made. Henning (2004), and Sarantakos (2005), argue that a distinct difference exists between the two concepts. Hence ontologies help inform methodologies about the nature of reality or what comprises social research and the main question here should be: what is the nature of reality? They argue that epistemologies inform methodologies about the nature of knowledge or about what is considered as a fact and where knowledge is to be sought. The dominant questions researchers ask here are: How do we know what we know? And how do we recognise reality? In simple terms, epistemology is the philosophy of knowledge. Generally we see that ontological and epistemological prescriptions are packed in paradigms which guide everyday research (Sarantakos, 2005), and the interpretive paradigm in particular is characterised by a particular ontology and epistemology (Blanche and Kelly, 2002).

Accordingly, this study assumed the social construction of knowledge epistemology. The social constructionism world view is often combined with interpretivism and is typically seen as an approach to qualitative research (Creswell, 2009). This implies that heritage is understood within social and perhaps economic contexts with an emphasis on ideology and power. The reviewed literature has demonstrated that heritage means different things to different people at different times. These varied understandings of heritage are thus informed by the different social contexts in which the concept is used. Similarly, in an ontological sense, this study assumed that reality or the truth is imposed. In relation to history textbooks the assumption is that reality is a given and that because of the pedagogic and political nature of textbooks, as explained in chapter two, it is what is in these textbooks that is understood as heritage. This research therefore is based on the social construction theory of knowledge and the assumption that reality in history textbooks is imposed. In this situation, our knowledge of heritage is what is inherent in the history textbooks, rendering it imperative that these books be critically examined.

3.2.4 The Case Study

From the perspective of that which was previously discussed concerning the features of qualitative research, it is worth mentioning that a case study approach was also adopted as part of the research design for this study. Creswell (2008) indicated that different researchers have provided different interpretations of case study research. Some identify the case as an object of study while others consider it to be a process of inquiry. The different versions are briefly explained below but the focus is on the case that circumscribes this study.

According to Henning (2004), a major characteristic of a case study is that it is both a bounded system and a clear unit of analysis that enables it to truly capture the case in some depth. Christensen (2011) clarified this further by noting that a bounded system signifies that most cases have a boundary identifying what the case is and is not. To sum up, Henning describes a case study as a format that is characterised by the focus on a phenomenon that has identifiable boundaries (Henning, 2004). However, she cautioned that it will be folly to think that case studies can be defined only by their boundedness with regards to the unit of analysis of the topic as they can also be defined by their methodology. This view is shared by Nieuwenhuis (2007) who argued that even though the unit of analysis is a critical factor in case study research, this form of research is also used to describe a research method. He concludes that this method has been used across a variety of disciplines to answer how and why research questions.

The circumscription of a case study analysed above therefore justifies the use of the approach in this study. This justification is clarified by the fact that this study is a qualitative study based on interpretivism and social constructionism, which have been identified as typical characteristics of the case study research. Furthermore, the nature of the critical questions underpinning this study also contributes to imbue it with the status of a case study. Both questions contain the 'how' and the 'why' clauses, and the design and methodology literature, has revealed how researchers across a variety of disciplines have used the case study approach to process inquiries dealing with such questions. Further justification for the case study approach adopted here is due to the fact that this study adheres to the bounded system that informs such an approach. This

is evident in its presentation of a clear unit of analysis and object of study. Pertaining to this, the conceptual framework produced in chapter two defined the boundaries of the main unit of analysis for this study which is the heritage phenomena. Moreover, the bounded system also applies to the tools for analysis which are the three selected history textbooks. This will be elaborated on in the section reserved for sample examination. Therefore, the focus of the case study is on the dual aspects of heritage and the three selected Grade 10 history textbooks used in South African schools. Through detailed description and in-depth analysis of these books, I hope to expose the nature of heritage represented in them and possibly the rationale behind such a representation. As a result a case study approach will assist me to delineate the focus and the context of this study which is South African history textbooks at Grade 10 level. This implies that by virtue of being a case study, the outcome of this study could not necessarily be generalised to other contexts, but would be understood primarily within the context under which it was executed

The aim of applying the case study design was also conducive to one of the objectives of this project which is to inform policy and practice for future research in the area. Cohen and Manion (1989) note that a case study would also serve multiple audiences, as it involves anyone interested in the fields of textbook research and heritage education and it also involves stake holders responsible for policy making regarding heritage and history education in South Africa.

3.2.5 Ethical Issues

Considering that this study does not involve human beings, issues of ethics were not a serious concern. The selected textbooks are already commercially available in the public domain and so as no formal protocol was necessary I proceeded to obtain and analyse them. Notwithstanding, in keeping with the research policy of the university through which this study was conducted, ethical clearance was applied for and was granted with full approval by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the university of KwaZulu-Natal, with reference number: HSS/0283/011M (see appendix for copy).

3.2.6 The Sample

As this is an empirical study, the appropriate sampling methods and choice of sample were carefully and critically considered not only to enhance the quality of this study but also to increase the validity and credibility of the research findings. The need for careful sampling was also due to the need as it was essential to set clear delimitation posts as part of the process of delineating the inquiry (Henning, 2004) there was a need for careful sampling.

Christensen (2011) suggested that the two major types of sampling used in research are random and non-random sampling. In differentiating the two forms of sampling she argues that, when the purpose of the research is to generalise from a specific sample to a population, random sampling methods are preferred. This is because random sample methods produce representative samples. This implies that the basis for random sampling rests with the intention of the researcher to generalise directly to a sample population which should be based on the researcher's research results (Punch, 2009). Another visible characteristic of this kind of sample is that every member of the study population has an equal opportunity to be included in the sample. Experimental and survey researchers widely use this method of sampling because the aim of such research is to draw conclusions about the wider population from the survey. (Christiansen, 2010)

Christensen (2011) further explains that the other major type of sampling used in research is non-random sampling. This is the opposite of random sampling explained above and the aim should be to study phenomena and interpret results in their specific context. This implies that the primary concern of a researcher using this sampling method is not to generalise research outcomes to the entire population but to provide detailed descriptions and analyses within the confines of the selected unit of analysis known as the sample which is, in this study, the three selected Grade 10 history textbooks. As a result, this choice also connects with my choice of paradigm. As a researcher in the interpretive paradigm, statistical accuracy or representativeness of data to an entire population is irrelevant as the focus of this study is to generate rich qualitative data. Christiansen et al (2010) believe that for such studies, a sample of two or three units of analysis could suffice.

It is important to note that although we have seen that samples in non-random sampling research are not representative and therefore the findings cannot be generalised to a population, Henning suggests that readers “maybe able to extract from a well written report those elements of the findings that they find to be transferable and that may be extended to other settings” (2004, p. 11). However, this might greatly depend on the researcher’s ability to extrapolate a convincing argument from the text to ensure the validity of the findings. This rigour was applied to this study although my intention was not to generalise my findings outside the scope of my sample. Readers, however, have the freedom to make generalisations based on Campbell’s notion of proximal similarity – his notion has it that research results can be generalised to “different people, places, settings, and contexts to the degree that the people in the field are similar to those described in the research study” (Campbell, 1986, as cited by Christensen, 2011, p. 152).

The specific genre of non-random sampling used for this study was the purposive sampling method. According to Cohen et al (2011, p. 156), this kind of sampling is a feature of qualitative research in which “researchers hand-pick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement of their typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought”. This is in agreement with Sarantakos (2005, p. 164) who asserts that with purposive sampling, researchers “purposely choose subjects who, in their opinion, are relevant to the project”. He noted further, that for this reason, purposive sampling has also been referred to as judgemental sampling due to the fact that the judgement of the researcher is vital in making decisions on the suitability of a particular sample to a project. In relation to this study therefore, the only consideration for my choice of the selected history textbooks was that they meet my requirements with regards to their availability, their possession of the heritage phenomenon which is the concern of this study and also that they are all post-conflict, post-1994 and/or contemporary history textbooks (the notion, contemporary, as used in this study is subsequently explained). Though Cohen et al (2011) opined that this kind of sampling may not be representative and the outcome may not be generalisable, I hereby declare that this is not my primary concern as my focus is on discovering profound data from the relevant history textbooks. Therefore, it would have been of little benefit to adopt random sampling when most of the samples may lack the phenomena under

investigation. I also seek to clarify here that the specific selection of books contributes to only one aspect of my sample as the other, equally important aspect is the sampling that I carried out on the actual chapters contained in the selected textbooks. This second level of sampling is explained later in this chapter.

To some extent, this study employed a convenience sampling method. If one considers convenience sampling to involve “selecting haphazardly those cases that are easiest to obtain” (Welman et al, 2005, p. 69), it ensues that my study used convenient sampling as the books were handpicked from the list of available history books that met the before mentioned criteria. Consequently, the convenience selection only came after purposive selection. The table below is a summary of the three history textbooks selected for this study.

Table 3.1 The Research Sample

Author(s)	Date	Title	Place	Publisher
Dlamini, N. Haw, S. Macallister, P. Middlebrook, T. Nkosi, N. Rogers, A. Sithole, J.	2005	<i>Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book.</i>	Pietermaritzburg, South Africa	Shuter& Shooter Publishers (PTY) Ltd
Dugmore, C Lekgoathi, P. Pape, J. Weldon, G. Van Dyke, P	2005	<i>Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book.</i>	Sandton, South Africa	Heinemann Publishers (PTY) Ltd
Bottaro, J. Visser, P. Worden, N.	2005	<i>In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book.</i>	Cape Town, South Africa	Oxford University Press (PTY) Ltd

Another crucial factor considered in the sampling was the sample size. Christensen (2011, p. 267) states that once the decision has been taken as to which specimen will be used in the research study and after obtaining access to such a population, the researcher must then proceed to “determine how many participants are needed to test

the hypothesis adequately". Pertaining to this study, I decided to limit my sample size to three history textbooks. The rationale for this is firstly because this study is a masters degree dissertation, stemming from which there is a need for sufficient manageability of the study especially with regards to time, and limiting the sample size to three ensures that the study is completed within the expected time frame. Secondly, and more importantly it has previously been emphasised that this study is a qualitative case study and thus, the sample size is irrelevant since my interest is in attaining in-depth understanding.

Furthermore, my choice for history textbooks at Grade 10 level was informed by the fact that it is at this level onwards that history as an autonomous discipline is introduced in South African schools. Prior to this, learners were exposed to history only as part of the social sciences. Therefore, pre-Grade 10 South African classrooms do not use history textbooks exclusively; rather they use social science textbooks that contain sections on history topics. Moreover, at the Grade 10 level, it is expected that learners start maturing and gradually participate in active citizenship roles and responsibilities. They start seeking to understand who they are, and as a result begin questioning the material to which they are exposed in their textbooks.

The data for this study was generated from three history textbooks as indicated in Table 3.1. The focus areas were the heritage chapters. From *Shuters History: Grade 10. Learner's book*, the data came from Chapter 8 which is pages 222-240 of the book. From *Making history: Grade 10. Learners' book*, the study focused on chapter 7 which covers pages 230-244. Finally In, *In search of history: Grade 10. Learner's book*, pages 216-233 which forms chapter 7 provided the data for analysis. My rationale for sampling these chapters is that these are the sections that refer to the object of study, heritage, in the selected textbooks. I should also mention that the analysis does not include the teacher's guide, as only the learners' books were analysed because the emphasis is on the implications of the nature of representation of heritage on learners.

I would like to emphasise that the phrase, contemporary history textbooks, refers to those books published prior to 1994 and were, used as part of history in the NCS during

the apartheid era before the introduction of CAPS. In summary my research design will look as follows:

Table 3.2 Summary of the research design

Research approach	Qualitative
Research paradigm	Interpretivism
Epistemology and Ontology	Social constructionism
Research style	Case study
Research sample	Non-random (Purposive and convenient)
Time frame	Contemporary (NCS-History and post-apartheid South Africa)

3.3 The Research Methodology

As explained earlier, in this section I examined CDA as the methodological choice for this study., I began by clarifying the meaning of CDA before proceeding to describe the different CDA methods or instruments used to address the critical research questions posed to meet the objectives of this study. In my clarification of the meaning of CDA, aspects of discourse analysis (DA) and text analysis as a broader concept were unpacked, which helped to inform my understanding of CDA.

According to Bloor and Bloor (2007), and van Dijk (1997) as cited in Bloome et al. (2008), the notion of discourse is essentially poorly-defined This view stems from the fact that there appears to be a range of conceptualisations of discourse and as shall be later discussed, these multiple conceptualisations are also partly responsible for the variations in the understanding of CDA. Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and Joseph (2005, p. 369) submit that the word discourse comes from the Latin word *discursus* which means “to run to and fro”. They therefore claim that since discourse is seen in the CDA tradition as language used as social practice, the implication is that discourse moves back and forth between reflecting on and construction of the social world. Seen in this way, language cannot be considered neutral because it is enmeshed

in political, social, racial, economic, religious, cultural, and other formations. The power of language also means that textbooks are not neutral vis-a-vis the motivation for this study which is to examine the role of language in promulgating a specific form of heritage in South African Grade 10 history textbooks.

The conceptualisation that refers to discourse as practice maintains that whilst such practice is reflected in human verbal and non-verbal signifying systems, it also embraces a range of human activities (Locke, 2004). This can be understood to mean that discourse implies ways of being and doing including ways of signifying. This aspect of discourse is captured by Gee, as cited in Locke (2004, p. 7):

Discourses, then, are ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are acceptable as instantiations of particular roles (or types of people) by specific groups of people, whether families of a certain sort, lawyers of a certain sort, bikers of a certain sort, business people of a certain sort, church members of a certain sort, African-Americans of a certain sort, women or men of a certain sort, and so on through a very long list. Discourses are ... ways of being in the world; they are forms of life. They are thus always and everywhere social and products of social histories. (1996, p. 8)

Gee's stance on the discourse of discourse is a suggestion that discourses include much more than language.

This view is to some extent shared by Bloome et al. (2008) who suggested three conceptualisations that they consider to be crucial to understanding discourse as a form of social practice. These include definitions of discourse that are closely allied to language use, texts, and face-to-face social interaction. This means that discourse can be considered as part of social activities within social practice. There are also conceptualisations of discourse that are associated with ways of being, regimes of knowledge and the structures of social interaction; and finally there are conceptualisations of discourse as a noun and as a verb.

Discourse as used in this study encompasses all three conceptualisations identified above. This is because my emphasis is on the use of language as a source of power to disseminate a particular kind(s) of heritage and to shape learners understanding of it. In

making this claim, I assumed that “social actors [in the form of government authorities, textbook authors, and/or the textbook publishers] within any practice produce representations of other practices as well as representations of their own practice in the course of their activity within the practice” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 31). The implication is that different social actors and social structures will understand, interpret and present heritage differently based on how they are positioned within the practice. Thus there is a need for analysis of the selected textbooks to gain an understanding of how the ideologies of these different social actors permeate into the history textbooks in the form of heritage. However, due to the inter-related and multidisciplinary nature of discourse, Bloome et al. (2008) cautioned that one’s position ought to be tentative with acknowledgement of the contribution of other conceptualisations and insights from the use of multiple views on discourse.

It is expedient to note that in adopting the constructionist view of knowledge as the epistemological inclination to anchor this study, I assume that social reality is constructed through and within language, and that all language use designed to represent reality necessarily entails decisions as to which aspects of that reality to include, and how to arrange them (Galasinski, 2011). With reference to this study, which refers specifically to heritage, the history textbook serves as an ideal platform where such a reality is constructed for learners Galasinski (2011) cites Hodge and Kress (1993) who support this view of language in social reality by opining that both the content and lexico-grammatical forms of selections made in the construction of a message carry its share of implicit assumptions so that the reality presented is ideologically constructed.

Rogers et al. (2005) traced the history of the critical study of discourse back to language philosophers and social theorists such as Bakhtin (1981), Du Bois (1903/1990), Pecheux (1975), Volisinov (1930/1973) and Wittgenstein (1953) amongst others. However, it was only in the 1970s that linguists recognised that traditional linguistics needed to consider questions relating to society which led to a transformation of linguistic theories and methods in the social sciences from traditional linguistics, to interactional linguistics and subsequently to critical linguistics. But the intellectual work

of combining social theories with linguistic work in order to theorise what is currently known as CDA, emerged only in the early 1990s when scholars such as van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress, Leeuwen and Wodak theorised the methods of discourse analysis and specifically CDA (Rogers et al., 2005 and Wodak, 2001). That these scholars came from diverse academic backgrounds ensured they confronted each other with distinct and different approaches and CDA as we know it reflects their interdisciplinary approach (van Dijk, 2001 cited in Rogers et al., 2005).

It should be noted that there is a distinction between the capitalised term Critical Discourse Analysis (represented by the abbreviation CDA) and critical discourse analysis (in lower case). Gee (2004) cited in Rogers et al. (2005) argued that the former refers to the brand of analysis that was informed by Fairclough and others as outlined above. On the other hand, the lower case critical discourse analysis includes the works of other discourse analysts and scholars specifically in the USA but also in other places, who “are conducting critical oriented forms of discourse analysis but do not specifically call their work CDA” (p.367). As a result of this disparity, it should be clarified that the use of CDA in this study refers to that which was informed by van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress, Leeuwen, and Wodak at the Amsterdam symposium as outlined above.

The overarching theme derived from the literature reviewed on CDA is the idea that it is concerned with the analysis of how language and discourse is used to achieve social goals and also in the part the use of language plays in social maintenance and change. Even though this broad idea of language, power and social relations permeates most scholarly works on CDA, there is a lack of uniformity in the methods of carrying out the analysis and difficulty defining the boundaries of CDA as a methodology. As a result, some authors have decided to give it other names for example van Dijk (1997a) cited in Bloor and Bloor (2007) prefer the term Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and Michael Halliday preferring Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). However, Fairclough (2003) contends that in as much as CDS and SFL focus on the language of a text, their perspectives vis-à-vis CDA do not coincide precisely because of their different aims. To illustrate this, Fairclough (2003) argues that SFL is profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life. Moreover, its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character

of texts. Consequently, SFL best serves as a source for CDA but cannot be synonymous with it.

According to Wodak (2001), CDA may be understood as fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In this regard, the aim of CDA could be to critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, and legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse). This definition gives credence to Habermas' claim that "language is also a medium of domination and social force which serves to legitimize relations of organised power. [And] in so far as the legitimations of power relations ... are not articulated ... language is also ideological" (Habermas, 1997: 259, cited in Wodak, 2001, p. 2).

However, Fairclough (2003, p. 3) cautioned that the emphasis on language in CDA is not a matter of reducing social life to language or to express everything as discourse. His view is that CDA is not merely the linguistic analysis of text. as it also entails some form of detailed textual analysis which specifically includes a combination of "interdiscursive analysis" of texts and both linguistic and other forms of semiotic analysis. The implication for this study is that the nature of heritage in the selected history textbooks and the reasons for its representation in any particular way will be greatly understood but not limited only to the use of language. The literature reviewed on heritage requires that its analysis must consider the complex, interdisciplinary and multidimensional nature of the heritage phenomenon. The section on research methods provides more detail on how the methods for analysis incorporate both issues of the language of the text in the history textbooks and other non-linguistic aspects that are also crucial in analysing texts using CDA. As a result, the link between these two concerns, that is, a focus on the language of specific texts and a focus on the social structuring of language which is itself one element of the durable structuring and networking of social practices, is established through the way texts are analysed in CDA. In this regard, Fairclough (2003) adds that CDA is concerned with continuity and change at a more abstract and more structural level, as with occurrences in particular texts.

Meyer (2001) provides an argument that clarifies the language-in-CDA discourse. He submits that CDA, unlike other approaches to text and discourse analysis (for example, content analysis and conversation analysis), strongly relies on linguistic categories. However, he notes that this does not mean that other topics and contents play no significant role, but that “the core operationalizations depend on linguistic concepts such as actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation, and so on” (p. 25). It is against this backdrop that the understanding of CDA as a concept was employed as a methodology in order to understand the nature of heritage in Grade 10 South African history textbooks as the focus of this study.

3.3.1 Methods

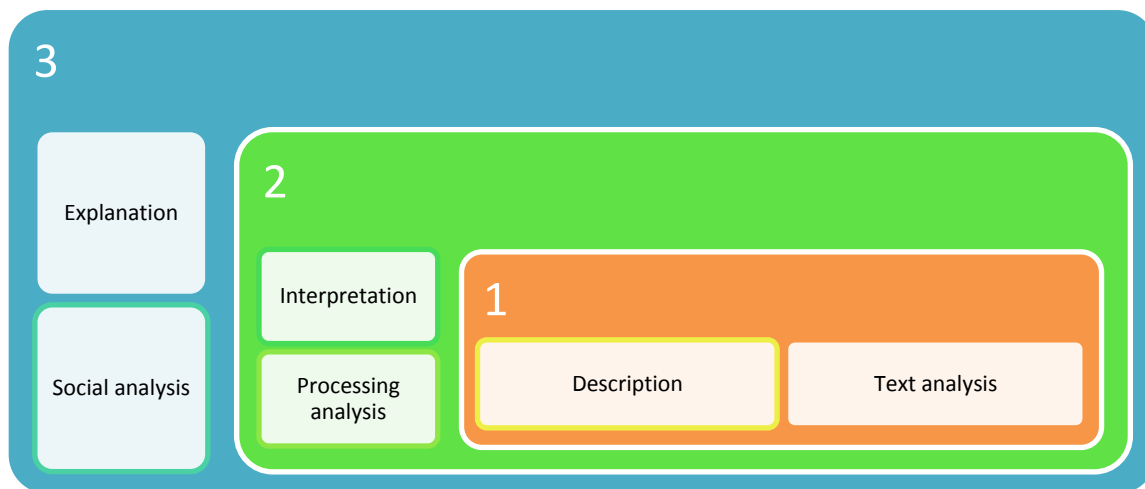
CDA must not be understood in the context of this study as a single method but rather as an approach or in broader terms as a methodology, which constitutes itself at different levels, and at each level a number of selections have to be made. These selections are what I refer to as the methods. Meyer (2001) succinctly captures the notion of methods. He submits that the term method denotes research pathways. These pathways link the researcher’s own theoretical assumptions to the collection and interpretation of the data that will answer the research question(s). Meyer (2001) posits that methods that are systematically chosen have the following research merits: they can help both the addressees of research findings to reconstruct the researchers’ argumentation and can help other researchers to see the starting point differently, and even to decide not to go back but to find other more interesting starting points; and lastly, methodical procedure will make it easier to record research findings and to compile reports of experiences.

The broad and complex nature of discourse itself and CDA in particular also means that there are many methods involved in using it for analysis. More importantly, it also means that in any practical sense, it might be very difficult, if not impossible to do a complete CDA due to the fact that a full analysis of a short passage might take months and fill hundreds of pages. This is supported by van Dijk (2001) who re-iterates that complete analysis of a corpus of text or talk is totally out of the question. By implication, the need to make choices in CDA methods becomes a condition *sine-qua-non*. However, these choices cannot be made in a haphazard manner. According to van Dijk (2001; 2008), knowledge of the text-context link must inform any choice because the

link tells which properties of discourse may vary as a function of which social structures. Therefore, for closer analysis in CDA the structures that are selected have to be as relevant as possible to the study of the social issue in question, specifically heritage, for this study. Moreover, Meyer (2001) and van Dijk (2001; 2008) suggested that whether these choices are linguistic or structural, it is imperative that the specific research questions of the study be considered when making them. Their argument is that even in those discourse structures that are contextually variable, some are marginally relevant and others are more significant, depending on the research questions one asks.

With this in mind, the choices made for analysis in this study are borrowed from both Fairclough’s idea of the structure of the text and Halliday’s notion of the grammatical aspects of the text otherwise known as interactional analysis, which deals with the linguistic features of the text (Meyer, 2001). These two aspects that are illustrated in Figure 3.1 below constituted the method I used to analyse the data for this study. However, it should be noted that these models are part of the analytical dynamics of the discursive material as a whole (Fairclough, 2003).

Figure 3.1 Figure illustrating three dimensional configurations of discourse and discourse analysis as applied to this study



In his analytical framework for CDA, Fairclough proposed three dimensions of analysing texts that include description (text analysis), interpretation (processing analysis), and explanation (social analysis) (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, cited in Locke, 2004, p. 42 and Rogers et al., 2005, p. 371). As Figure 3.1 indicates, the first goal therefore was to deal with the internal mechanisms of the text and the focus was on aspects of text

analysis that include grammar and vocabulary, as influenced by Halliday. In this regard, individual words or articulated expressions and some language properties that are made clear in the text in relation to heritage were described. The main purpose of this section was to identify and fundamentally describe the lexicons used in the text in relation to heritage.

In the second level of analysis which is interpretation, the goal was to interpret the data captured and described in the previous section. This was done in relation to the conceptual framework in such a way that the indicators in the framework served as signifiers in the analytical instrument. I proceeded by checking the aspects of lexicalisation against the indicators in the conceptual framework. The final nature of representation of heritage in the history textbooks analysed was based on my conceptualisation of heritage. Table 3.3 below is an example of the instrument recruited for my step two analysis. It is important to note that each section of the history textbook chapter analysed carries a separate instrument for analysis and this applied to all three textbooks. Finally, each instrument will also contain a column for comments on the nature of heritage in terms of whether it is tangible, intangible, or IN-Tangible as explained in the conceptual framework on pp. 33-35. Table 3.3 below is a sample rubric for data analyses at step two.

Table 3.3 Example of instrument for analysis for step 2 (interpretation)

Indicator		Signifiers/ Lexicons	Tangible, Intangible or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural heritage			
Cultural heritage	-Symbolic-identity heritage		
	-Ethnological heritage		
	-Scientific-technological heritage		

Finally, the last step of analysis is the level of explanation known as social analysis. At this stage, data obtained from the description and interpretation of the textbooks was compared and contrasted to each other with the purpose of establishing the trends and

patterns of heritage representation as obtained in the three textbooks across the publications. This stage answered my first research question, namely to understand the nature of heritage representation in Grade 10 history textbooks.

The second research question is addressed in chapter five where the findings from the previous chapter are discussed in relation to the theoretical and research literatures the context underpinning the study namely being a post-conflict society. This level of analysis therefore provided reasons why heritage is represented the way it is in the selected Grade 10 history textbooks.

Moreover, the methods considered for analysis in this study also included an examination of issues of gender, race, and geography within the selected textbooks as part of CDA. This was inspired by van Dijk (2001) who suggested that CDA is mainly interested in the role of discourse in the abuse and reproduction of power and hence particularly interested in the detailed study of the interface between the structures of discourse and the structures of society. The implication here is that discourse has social effects and functions especially when it in turns contributes to the formation or confirmation of social attitudes and ideologies. This is therefore linked to this study in that issues of race and sexism for example are “not merely abstract systems of social inequality and dominance, but actually ‘reach’ down in the forms of everyday life, namely through the beliefs, actions and discourses of group members” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 117-118)

Summarily, the analysis progressed systematically from description to interpretation and then to explanation of the data, in order to show how discourse constructs and deconstructs versions of the social world and as Rogers et al (2005) disclosed, it is this movement that serves as the point where CDA departs from other analysis frameworks such as discourse analysis and socio-linguistic analysis.

3.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter commenced with the clarification of the concepts of research design and methodology before discussing the specific design and methodological choices adopted in this study. Both design and methodology were informed by the critical research questions. With regards to the research design, it was revealed that the study is a

qualitative case study that is approached from the interpretive paradigm perspective. In defending my paradigm choice, I argued that the purpose of the study is neither to transform nor to change the phenomena or society as is the main concern of critical research. Rather, the scope of this study is limited to an in-depth understanding of the heritage phenomena and those factors responsible for its representation in any particular way in the selected Grade 10 history textbooks. Furthermore, purposive sampling, a genre of non-random sampling, is also exposed as the sampling preference in this study. Finally, the second part of the chapter focused on CDA and its particular methods that were used as instruments for analysing the data. Therefore the data, analysed by means of CDA, will be allowed to 'speak' in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS: THE NATURE OF HERITAGE IN SELECTED GRADE 10 HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the instruments developed and explained in the research design and methodology section are put into practice with the view of answering one of the research questions namely – to determine the nature or kind of heritage represented in the selected South African Grade 10 history textbooks. Considering the data for this study is available in the history textbooks selected for this study, the focus is to analyse this data using the CDA method explained in chapter three, taking into consideration the context underpinning this study, namely South Africa as a post-conflict society.

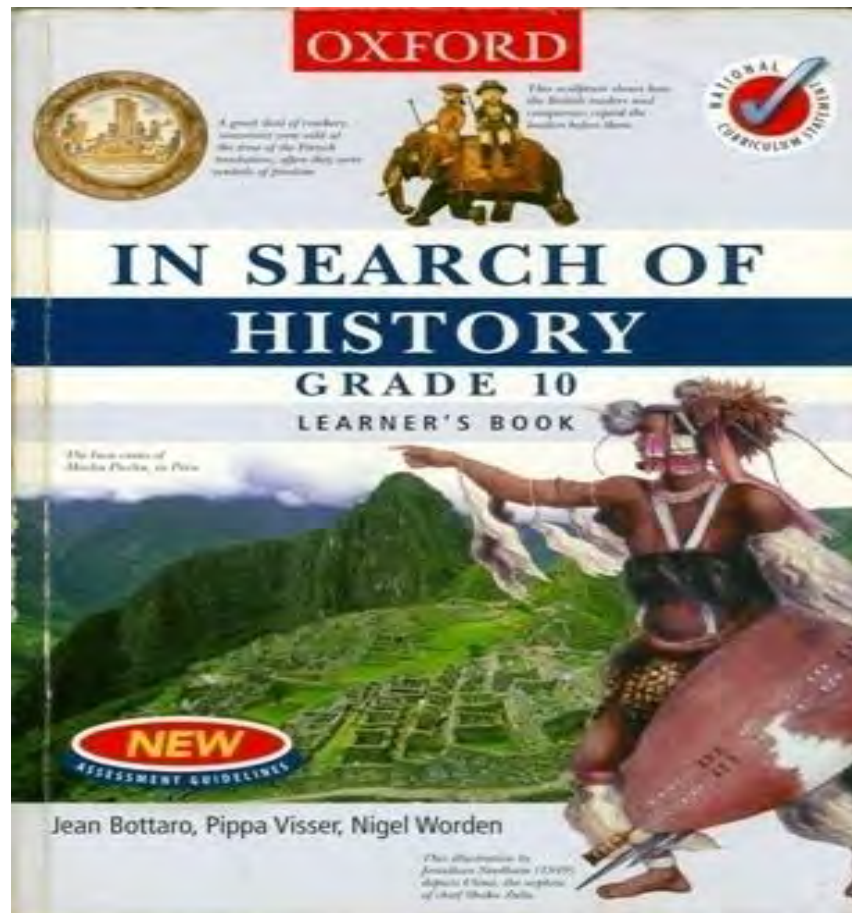
The conceptual nature of heritage was determined by an analysis of the textual elements of the different chapters. By textual I am referring to all aspects of data in the text with the exception of visuals (photos, paintings, cartoons, etc.) and their captions. The analysis was done in three stages: a description of the text in terms of the linguistic implications of the heritage represented; an interpretation of the findings that emerged from the description; and finally an explanation by means of comparing and contrasting the findings from all three textbooks.

It is necessary to emphasise that the first two elements of my CDA framework, description and interpretation, were applied separately for the different textbooks, whereas the explanation stage was done across the three textbooks. Subsequently, each textbook was analysed in detail in terms of the description and interpretation of the data as encapsulated in the chapter on heritage. The reason for conducting the explanation phase for the three textbooks collectively is because each textbook provides learners with a different conceptualisation of heritage. The implication is that each of the products is unique and presents heritage from a different perspective, despite the recommendations of the NCS–History and the textbook review process of the then DoE. By employing comparison and contrast the larger discourses that emerged from a linguistic analysis of the heritage represented in all three textbooks, were exposed. It also highlighted the conceptual differences that learners are exposed

to when using the different textbooks. By proceeding in this manner I was able also to establish the extent to which the three textbooks agree and differ from each other with regard to how they deal with the heritage theme and the nature of the heritage that was promoted.

4.2 Analysis of heritage – *In Search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book*

Figure 4.1 Cover page of *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book*



Chapter seven of Bottaro et al. (2005) deal exclusively with issues of heritage. The chapter runs from page 216 to 233, and is divided into three sections: the introduction which is the section that conceptualised heritage; followed by unit 7.1 and 7.2 which are case studies of heritage in Zimbabwe and humans on display respectively.

The analysis follows the three sections of the chapter as stated above. Whilst the first level of analysis revealed the nature of the conceptualisation of heritage in this textbook, sections 7.1 and 7.2 analysed the nature of heritage representation in the two case

studies mentioned. At the end of the chapter analysis, the conclusion examines the extent to which the conceptualisation of heritage in the book relates to the findings of the two case studies and the nature of heritage representation in the textbook in general. It is against this background that I used the three layers of my CDA methodology framework and lexicalisation as the method to analyse heritage representation in *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book*.

4.2.1 Description of heritage in the conceptualisation

As per the methodology outlined earlier, the description follows the lexical choices used in the conceptualisation of heritage. These choices involve the use of nouns and pronouns. The nouns are further divided into proper nouns and common nouns whilst the pronouns are divided into the personal, possessive or objective.

This book connotes heritage as an inheritance from the past that should be passed on to future generations. However, it notes that not all that is inherited can be seen as heritage. It is only heritage when “we identify with it and see that it has helped to make us who we are today” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 217). This means that heritage is also a construction of the present by groups of people or whole nations. In this process, “they often turn an aspect of the past into an icon that is something which becomes symbolic of wider ideas, beliefs or feelings which are important to them” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 217). The word icon is therefore crucial in the understanding of heritage as presented in this book. The text specifies different kinds of heritage icons: heritage icons in the form of particular places or buildings; particular events that are usually commemorated as public holidays or memorials; people from the past, as well as icons in the form of monuments or museums. The lexical proper nouns advanced as examples to illustrate these different heritage icons include: the Taj Mahal and the Elmina fortress for places or buildings; the Bastille Day in France; the Fourth of July in the USA, the Haitian Bicentenary and Columbus Day for particular events; Shaka and Toussaint l’Ouverture representing people from the past that sometimes become heritage icons; the Voortrekker Monument and the Liverpool Maritime Museum as examples of monuments and museums; and finally the category of heritage that cannot be physically touched-intangible heritage, such as songs and stories, with examples for this category being the

songs and stories told by former slaves in the United States, or the idea of a ‘laager mentality’ in South Africa.

With regards to pronouns, there is an emphasis on the use of the first person plural, personal pronoun to conceptualise heritage. The excerpt below is illustrative of this trend:

We say we have inherited something when it has been passed down to us from someone in the past. Our heritage is both what we have inherited from the past, and what we will pass on to those who come after us. But we don’t see everything in the past as part of our heritage. We call it our heritage when we identify with it, and see that it has helped to make us who we are today. So we construct our own heritage out of the past in ways which make sense or are useful to us. For example, we remember the heroes among our ancestors, and not their failures (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 217).

The citation above shows the use of the personal pronouns in the first person plural and in three different forms: the subject (we), the object (us), and the possessive (our). The interpretation of this lexical choice of pronoun is elaborated on in section 4.2.2 below.

This book therefore conceptualises heritage as the inheritance of the past but also as a construction of the present. Heritage is viewed in the form of icons that include: places or buildings; events, people; monuments and museums. The use of the first person plural pronouns also suggests that heritage is a shared and inclusive phenomenon.

4.2.2 Interpretation of heritage in the conceptualisation

Table 4.1 below provides a detailed interpretation of the data captured and described in the previous section above.

Table 4.1 Interpretation of heritage in conceptualisation – *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book*

Indicators		Signifiers/lexicons	Tangible, Intangible or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural heritage		-N/A	N/A
Cultural heritage		-Bastille Day -Fourth of July -Haitian Bicentenary -Columbus Day	Intangible heritage

	Symbolic-identity heritage	-Shaka -Toussaint l'Ouverture	Intangible heritage
		-Voortrekker monument -Liverpool Maritime Museum -Taj Mahal -Elmina fortress -Monuments -Museums -Buildings -Memorials	IN-Tangible heritage
		-Heroes -Ancestors -Ex-slaves	Intangible heritage
		-Public holidays -Songs -Stories -Ideas -Beliefs -Feelings -Laager mentality	Intangible heritage
		-Icons -events	Intangible heritage
	Scientific-technological heritage	-N/A	N/A
	Ethnological heritage	-N/A	N/A

Table 4.1 illustrates how if the lexicons arising from the descriptive data are compared with the conceptual framework, and thereby the nature of heritage representation in the textbook is clearly exposed. A glance at the Table indicates that not a single heritage lexicon is mentioned in the text that relates to natural heritage. The implication is that *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book* does not expose learners to natural heritage as one of the indicators of heritage. This mean that heritage from the view point of the producers of this textbook is purely a cultural concept.

Even though cultural heritage is prioritised in the conceptualisation of this textbook, there is still evidence that not all the forms of cultural heritage are given equal preference. As can be gleaned from Table 4.1, symbolic-identity heritage is the form of cultural heritage that dominates the conceptualisation. This genre of cultural heritage is represented in the text by the portrayal of heritage icons in terms of places or buildings;

particular events and people of the past; and other resources such as songs and stories (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 217).

Symbolic-identity heritage is also evident in the choice of examples advanced to illustrate the different heritage icons cited above. These examples are Bastille Day in France, as a symbol of victory by the French over the absolutism and oppression of their monarchy; the Fourth of July and Columbus Day which are both symbolic days in the USA, as reflections of independence and the 'discovery' of America by Christopher Columbus respectively; and finally the Haitian Bicentenary that commemorates the abolition of slavery on that island (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 217). The emblematic and epithetic traits of these selected lexical examples justify the claim that this textbook conceptualises heritage as being of symbolic-identity nature.

The focus on symbolic-identity heritage in this conceptualisation comes at the expense of other aspects of cultural heritage identified in the conceptual framework, namely scientific-technological heritage and ethnological heritage. The fact that these two indicators do not feature is further indication of this textbook's preference for symbolic-identity heritage.

Apart from the above analysis, the lexical choices applied also conjure other relevant themes and discourses worthy of analysis. These include issues of race, class, gender, and geography.

Initially, there is evidence of a portrayal of international heritage. This is seen in the fact that the icons selected as examples (Table 4.1) generally represent the different geographical regions of the world. For example, the Voortrekker monument and Shaka are representative of South African heritage; USA or North America is represented by Columbus Day and the Fourth of July commemorations; Europe is represented by Bastille Day and the Liverpool Maritime Museum of France and the UK respectively; India is represented by the Taj Mahal; the Caribbean islands that are represented by the Haitian Bicentenary commemoration; and finally there is the Elmina fortress to portray African heritage. This representation of the different geographical spaces of the world in the conceptualisation of heritage has the effect of portraying heritage as an international concept.

However, with regards to gender, the conceptualisation of the nature of heritage shows evidence of bias in favour of masculinity. Although this claim could be disputed in the argument that women are implicitly represented through the use of lexicons such as ancestors and ex-slaves, the fact that masculinity is not implicitly but overtly expressed through the use of heritage icons such as Shaka, Toussaint l'Ouverture and heroes contributes to justify the claim that the conceptualisation of heritage in this textbook promotes a masculine perspective.

Continuing the theme of bias, there is evidence of disparity in racial representation within the textbook. Considering the racially diverse context of South Africa society, one would have expected a reflection of this racial diversity at the level of South African heritage. But Table 4.1 reveals a penchant towards the heritage of the Afrikaners and Zulus at the expense of the other South African groups. The following examples from the data justify this claim. The Voortrekker monument and the idea of a laager mentality used in the text as examples of heritage icons are both symbols of Afrikaner heritage whilst, the choice of the representation of Shaka is used as a reflection of Zulu heritage or to a larger extent the heritage of black South Africans. Therefore the conceptualisation of heritage in this textbook is not representative of the South African ethno-racial landscape and fails to do justice to other racial or ethnic groups within South Africa.

Furthermore, still with reference to representation of symbolic-identity heritage, I concluded the majority of the heritage lexicons applied in the conceptualisation are intangible in nature. The conceptual framework in chapter two showed that heritage can appear as tangible, intangible or it can be both tangible and intangible (IN-Tangible). With the exception of the sub category of: Voortrekker Monument, Liverpool Maritime Museum, Taj Mahal, Elmina fortress, memorials, museums, and buildings, that show evidence of both tangible and intangible heritage, the remaining lexicons are intangible in nature. Two excerpts cited from the text suffice to show the representation of intangible heritage: "Heritage can also be less tangible, such as the songs and stories" and "that is something that becomes symbolic of wider ideas, beliefs or feelings which are important to them" (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 217). In the examples cited above, songs; stories; ideas; beliefs; and feelings are all aspects of intangible heritage.

Conversely, the Voortrekker Monument and the Liverpool Maritime Museum are IN-Tangible because of their association with intangible meaning. The conceptualisation of heritage in this text therefore supports the view of the conceptual framework that heritage is IN-Tangible.

Furthermore, the choice of pronouns used in the conceptualisation of the nature of heritage also reflects the intention to portray heritage as a shared and inclusive concept. This is evident in a repeated use of personal pronouns in the first person plural to conceptualise heritage. Moreover, these pronouns are used in their different forms, that is, subject (we), object (us) and possessive (our), as seen on the example cited in page 72 above. My interpretation of this lexical diction is an effort to discourage heritage at individual level but rather to present heritage as a shared and inclusive practice, nationally and internationally. Heritage is as a result portrayed as collective in nature. However, this idea is contradictory considering that the text has also shown evidence of heritage to be biased in terms of gender, race, class, and to a lesser extent geography. In these instances, some are included whilst others are excluded. The meaning of 'we' therefore becomes very ambiguous when there is evidence that heritage is not presented as being fully inclusive.

4.2.3 Description of heritage in case study 1 – “How and why is Great Zimbabwe an icon of Zimbabwean nationalism?”

This case study is covered under UNIT 7.1 (Bottaro et al., 2005, pp. 220-224) and it focuses on Great Zimbabwe as an icon of Zimbabwean nationalism as well as a heritage of modern Zimbabwe. The topic is treated under two sub topics: one being on the establishment of the modern state of Zimbabwe; and the latter centring on reasons why the symbols of Great Zimbabwe were chosen to represent the new state of Zimbabwe. The lexicalisations used to discuss these topics include proper nouns that relate to individuals, groups of people and places.

Reference is made to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba when explaining the myth around the origin of Great Zimbabwe (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 223). Other individuals mentioned include Cecil Rhodes to represent European imperialist interest (p. 220), and also Ian Smith in his role as leader of the white minority that engineered the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) (p. 224). With regards to groups of people, the text

cites the Shona and Ndebele people as “descendants of the builders of Great Zimbabwe” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220). This is despite the fact that the latter come from what is currently known as KwaZulu-Natal. The idea therefore creates a shared African heritage. There is equal mention of ancient Egyptians, Phoenicians and Arabs who are used as examples of foreign invaders thought to have been the builders of Great Zimbabwe (Bottaro et al., p. 223). Other proper nouns used in the text that fall within this category include: white settlers (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220); white minority, black majority, black people (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221); and African people (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 223), as seen in the following statement: “When Britain was giving independence to its former colonies, the white minority was determined to stop a black majority government from coming to power” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221).

With regards to places, in addition to the mention of the Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe and the modern state of Zimbabwe, there is also reference to “the area between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220), to illustrate the abode of the Shona people after the decline of Great Zimbabwe. Moreover, the two main liberation parties of Zimbabwe are lexicalised with the intention to show how these parties took names that portray Great Zimbabwe as a symbol of ‘their heritage’. These parties are the Zimbabwe African National Union – ZANU and the Zimbabwe African People’s Union – ZAPU (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221).

There is also clear evidence of common nouns in the lexical choices used in the text. The following sentence contains a list of heritage resources to confirm this assertion: “Censorship of guidebooks, museums displays, school textbooks, radio programmes, newspapers and films was a daily occurrence” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 222). The statement above was made by a one time member of the Museum Board of Trustees who claims that these measures were taken by the white minority government under Ian Smith as attempts to hold on to power and also to suppress the scientific evidence that Great Zimbabwe had been built by ancestors of the Shona people.

Finally, the text makes use of the personal pronoun in the possessive form and at the 3rd person plural. This is evidenced by the use of the word ‘their’ in the following sentence: “Although the power of Great Zimbabwe had declined many years before, many black people saw it as a symbol of their heritage” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221).

4.2.4 Interpretation of heritage in case study 1

Table 4.2 Interpretation of heritage in case study 1 – *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book*

Indicators		Signifiers/lexicons	Tangible, Intangible or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural heritage		-Limpopo and Zambezi rivers	IN-Tangible heritage
Cultural heritage	Symbolic-identity heritage	-Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe -Modern state of Zimbabwe -Queen of Sheba -King Solomon -Ian Smith -Cecil John Rhodes -myth -ZANU -ZAPU -Black liberation groups -British government -European imperialists -legacy -national identity -national symbols	Intangible heritage
		-guide books -museum displays -school textbooks -newspapers -radio programmes -films	IN-Tangible heritage
	Scientific-Technological heritage	-N/A	N/A
	Ethnological heritage	-Shona descendants -Ndebele people -African people -Ancient Egyptians -Arabs -Phoenicians -black people -white settlers -white minority -black majority	Intangible heritage

Unlike the conceptualisation that ignores natural heritage lexicons, this case study makes mention of rivers which is an aspect of natural heritage. For example, the text states that: “After the decline of Great Zimbabwe, the Shona descendants of the builders of Great Zimbabwe continued to live in the area between the Limpopo and

Zambezi rivers” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220). However, under scrutiny the context in which rivers is used in the citation suggests that the intention is not to portray and promote it as natural heritage but rather rivers are used as a form of human geography, to trace the settlement area of the Shona descendants of Great Zimbabwe. Therefore, in spite of the in-text citation of an aspect of natural heritage, the context of its use shows that there is no intention to promote natural heritage. More over the fact that no other mention is made of natural heritage throughout the text as seen in Table 4.2, justifies the view that natural heritage is not important in *In search of history: Grade 10. Learner’s book* and that the priority is on cultural heritage.

Symbolic-identity heritage is evidently a key benchmark of cultural heritage in this case study. These symbolic items comprise names of people, political organisations, as well as tools for heritage education. People mentioned include the Queen of Sheba, King Solomon, Ian Smith, and Cecil John Rhodes. Political organisations comprise of two black liberation movements; Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Zimbabwe African people’s Union (ZAPU). Heritage education tools include guide books, school textbooks, newspapers, films and radio programmes. Manifestly, symbolic-identity heritage is prioritised by the producers of this textbook in this case study. This reflection of symbolic-identity heritage as indicator also features highly in the textbook’s conceptualisation of heritage.

With regards to the representation of heritage in terms of geography, this case study simply focuses on heritage within Zimbabwe. Whenever mention is made of geographical spaces outside Zimbabwe, these examples are not intended to portray the heritage of these places, but rather to illustrate a point about Zimbabwe. For example, whilst relating the myth surrounding Great Zimbabwe the authors note that: “The myth developed that Great Zimbabwe had been built by some foreign invaders, such as ancient Egyptians, Phoenicians, or Arabs...” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 223). The countries cited above are not used in terms of their heritages but rather to reinforce the myth of Great Zimbabwe. As a result, even though the conceptualisation in this book has shown heritage as an international phenomenon, this case study does very little to promote this. The focus is limited to the representation of Zimbabwean heritage within Zimbabwe. But the inclusion of Zimbabwean heritage in the text could also be seen as a

turning point in which there is acknowledgement that Africans have left a legacy worthy of appreciation like that of Great Zimbabwe.

This is equally true of the racial representation of heritage in this case study. The resulting analysis places emphasis on black Zimbabweans and more precisely the Shona and Ndebele people as the descendants of Great Zimbabwe being the focal point of the case study. The whites mentioned in terms of race are only given secondary roles or as those undermining the heritage of Great Zimbabwe. For example Cecil John Rhodes is represented as a white imperialist who took advantage of the mineral wealth of the region to set up the British South African Company (BSA) to facilitate colonisation of the area by his home government. (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220). Ian Smith is also represented as profiting from the British desire to grant independence to its former colonies, and to declare UDI in favour of the white minority at the expense of the black majority (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221). The whites are therefore portrayed as colonisers and oppressors whilst blacks are shown as the authentic descendants of Great Zimbabwe, therefore true inhabitants of the land of their heritage. Evidence of this racial representation is also found in this source cited in the text: “The ruins of Great Zimbabwe constitute a national source of pride that is the legacy of all citizens, regardless of ethnicity. The ruins are the symbolic centre of the independent republic, a tribute to African agency and black pre-colonial civilisation” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221). The insinuation is that the heritage of modern Zimbabwe is so endemic to the Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe that other aspects of Zimbabwe history, such as its colonial era, are not to be considered. By implication, this case study is biased against the white people of Zimbabwe who do not seem to have any heritage worthy of celebration in Zimbabwe, unlike the blacks who are represented as heroes in the fight to defend ‘their’ heritage. Therefore the heritage presented in the case study of Zimbabwe with regards to lexicons related to the discourse of race show a very superficial effort of shared and inclusive heritage as seen in the above.

This racial representation is also evident in the choice of pronouns used to relate to heritage. Unlike in the conceptualisation where there is frequent use of “we” and “our heritage”, this case study makes use of “their heritage” as exemplified in for example this statement: “Although the power of Great Zimbabwe had declined many centuries

before, many black people saw it as a symbol of their heritage” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221). The allusion to Zimbabwean heritage as the heritage of blacks is a form of othering. It not only supports the view that the heritage of Zimbabwe presented in this textbook is not inclusive, but it also shows the contentious nature of the heritage concept. The question here might be: Is the heritage of the black people (their heritage), the heritage of the Shona people or the Ndebele people? Ironically, this reference to Great Zimbabwe as the heritage of the black people is contradicted by the statement that “The ruins of Great Zimbabwe constitute a national source of pride that is the legacy of all citizens, regardless of ethnicity” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 221). Evidently this is a fallacy as the text has clearly shown that Great Zimbabwe is represented more as black heritage than as a national heritage of all Zimbabweans. Therefore, in spite of efforts to portray Great Zimbabwe as the shared and inclusive heritage of all Zimbabweans from a racial perspective, the text still makes use of lexicons that suggest Great Zimbabwe as the exclusive heritage of the black Zimbabweans.

In terms of gender, there is an attempt to portray women in this case study, unlike the conceptualisation that is completely silent on this. There is the use of a variety of lexicons that could be taken to implicitly include both gender categories. These include the Shona and Ndebele people; African people; ancient Egyptians; white settlers; Arabs; or black majority. However, in addition to these, lexicons are used to refer to specific gender such as King Solomon, Ian Smith, and Cecil John Rhodes to represent men. On the other hand, the choice of the Queen of Sheba could be seen as an attempt to represent women. Notwithstanding, two issues are worth noting in terms of gender representation. The first is that a woman is mentioned only once as opposed to the three male lexicons which indicate a masculine orientation of heritage. Secondly, the name of the female figure is not mentioned. She is only given as monarch of her area of jurisdiction – Sheba. On the contrary, the male figures are all referred to by their names including the example of the king that is known as Solomon. Although reference to the Queen of Sheba could be historical parlance, yet the choice of this example suggests the secondary role of women in heritage representation in this case study.

Ethnological heritage manifests itself in lexical choices that relate to the ethnologies of certain groups of people. The examples mentioned in this unit include the Shona and

Ndebele people. There is also mention of the Phoenicians, the ancient Egyptians, the Arabs as well as African people. This is, however, in contrast to the conceptualisation that is silent on ethnological heritage. For example, the two ethnic communities of the Shona and Ndebele are cited as the descendants of the builders of Great Zimbabwe and the main ethnic groups that continued to live in the area of Great Zimbabwe after the demise of the kingdom. This denotes that even though European imperialists later came and settled in the area, the heritage that is represented is largely that of the Great Zimbabwe and the Shona and Ndebele people. The other ethnological communities mentioned in the text are only used to illustrate the myth that developed behind the building of Great Zimbabwe, and not actually intended to portray them as part of the heritage of that region.

Therefore this case study presents three indicators of heritage of my conceptual framework being: natural heritage; symbolic-identity heritage; and ethnological heritage, with the only exception being the silence on scientific-technological heritage. However analysis of the data shows a focus on symbolic-identity heritage as a key benchmark. The case study also emphasises the heritage of the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups implying a bias on the representation of other ethnic and racial groups within Zimbabwe. From this point of view therefore, the heritage represented is not inclusive across racial and ethnic lines.

4.2.5 Description of heritage in case study 2

The second case study of chapter 7 of *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book* (Bottaro et al., 2005, pp. 225-233) presents the display of humans as a form of heritage. The focus is on two issues: The demise of Saartjie Baartman and problems involving the exhibition of plaster casts of Khoisan people also known as the diorama, in the Natural History Museum of Cape Town. The lexical choices used in this case study involve the use of pronouns in terms of names of individuals, particular groups of people, names of places, and examples of places used for preservation of heritage resources. The text also makes use of common nouns.

In describing the background to the display of humans, the textbook authors emphasise the role of Columbus who “on his return to Spain, brought back Arawak people to be

paraded at the court of Queen Isabella” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 225). These exhibitions became more popular in the 1800s and included Europeans who were considered as physically abnormal such as the “Elephant Man and indigenous people from the colonies” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 225). However, it is the case of the display of Saartjie Baartman that is over emphasised. She is derisively depicted as a southern African woman who was taken to England then to France where she was displayed naked in freak shows and usually in a cage (Bottaro et al., 2005, pp. 226-227). Her lowest point is seen when upon her death, she was dissected and a cast made of her brain and genitals. In 2002, her remains were returned to South Africa and buried in the Eastern Cape (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 227).

The diorama is also explained as another case of humans on display in South Africa. This was a large painted scene of life-size plaster cast statues of real Khoisan people that were displayed at the Natural History Museum in Cape Town (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 228). Objections to the display forced authorities to dismantle it. The main objections against the display were that it reinforced racist stereotypes, and reflected little awareness of the complexity of Khoisan culture and that it also romanticised the Khoisan way of life and showed no real understanding of them as people.(Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 228). The text further reveals that the casts for the diorama were made by scientists who wanted to make an exact record of what they called the “Bushmen and Hottentot races” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 229).

Also featuring in this case study is a segment on indigenous knowledge and intellectual property rights. Here it is disclosed that the value of indigenous knowledge is starting to be recognised as part of South African heritage, with the government creating laws to protect the intellectual property rights of those who have specialised local knowledge, such as traditional healers because it is part of “their” heritage (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 231).

Finally, the text makes use of personal pronouns in both the first and third person plural as in (our) and (their) respectively to refer to heritage. The former is used to refer to the value of indigenous knowledge that is said to be recognised as part of “our South African heritage” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 231). This pronoun is also used in source G that cites a Cape Town resident who defends the diorama exhibition by claiming that it

is “part of our heritage” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 230). On the other hand, the pronoun ‘their’ is used in the context of specialised local knowledge such as those of tribal leaders which the text describes as “part of their heritage” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 231).

4.2.6 Interpretation of heritage in case study 2

Table 4.3 that follows provides the interpretation of the data on the second case study of heritage in this textbook as described in the preceding section.

Table 4.3 Interpretation of heritage in case study 2 – *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book*

Indicators		Signifiers/lexicons	Tangible, Intangible or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural heritage		-N/A	N/A
Cultural heritage	Symbolic-identity heritage	-Shaka -Saartjie Baartman -Columbus -Queen Isabella -Asa’na Akoh -Sibongile Pefile -the Elephant Man	IN-Tangible heritage
		-Khoisan culture -African identity -La Musee de l’Homme -Natural History Museum -South African Heritage Resource Agency -San cultural centre	Intangible heritage
		-exhibitions -performances -dance -ceremonies -freak show spectacles -language -culture -ancestors -indigenous knowledge -specialised local knowledge -body parts -skulls -sexual organs -skeletons -human heads -brain -genitals -bones -mass graves	IN-Tangible heritage

		-plants -wildlife -statues	
	Scientific- Technological heritage	-N/A	N/A
	Ethnological heritage	-Arawak people -Bosjesmans -African women -African people -Khoisan people -Bushmen and Hottentot -Europe -America -England -Spain -The New World -South Africa -Southern Africa -France -Eastern Cape -Namibia -Cameroon -Cape Town -the colonies	IN-Tangible heritage IN-Tangible heritage

The benchmark of natural heritage does not feature in this case study. The silence on natural heritage is evidence that heritage in the view of the producers of *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* is a cultural phenomenon, implying that cultural heritage is the form of heritage that is recognised and promoted in this textbook.

The two benchmarks of cultural heritage represented in this case study are the symbolic-identity and the ethnological heritage sub categories. Symbolic-identity heritage is represented through the depiction of names of individuals such as Saartjie Baartman, Shaka, Queen Isabella, Columbus and the Elephant Man. Baartman, for example, is represented as a symbol of Khoisan and African identity, but also a symbol of the vulnerability of African woman in the early nineteenth century. Symbolic-identity heritage is also represented in terms of names of heritage preservation sites such as la Musee de l’Homme in Paris, the Natural History Museum of Cape Town, the South African Heritage Resource Centre and the San Cultural Centre. These sites are also symbolic for their roles in the dissemination of heritage. This benchmark of heritage is

also represented through symbolic heritage activities such as dance, ceremonies, freak show spectacles, indigenous knowledge, and performances. Finally, since the focus of this heritage case study is on the display of humans, it is not surprising that symbolic heritage is also represented through human body parts. The body parts mentioned include skulls, sexual organs, skeletons, human heads, brains, genitals and bones. The text states that thousands of such body parts remain in the collection of European museums to this day (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 226).

With regards to ethnological heritage representation, reference is mostly made to the Khoisan and African origins of Saartjie Baartman who is the main protagonist in this section on the display of humans. Apart from Baartman, the Khoisan ethnic group is further represented through the diorama as described in (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 13). The controversy generated by the diorama forced authorities to dismantle it out of respect for the Khoisan. Apart from Saartjie Baartman and the diorama, ethnological heritage is also represented through the examples of the Arawak people, the Bosjesmans and the Bushmen and Hottentot. Other ethnological communities such as England, Spain, America, France and Namibia are also lexicalised in the text even though this latter group is used more in a supporting role to explain their inclusion in the activities surrounding Sarah Baartman and the diorama, rather than to portray them as heritage icons in their own right.

Moreover, the two benchmarks of symbolic-identity and ethnological heritage explained above were also analysed in terms of their representations of other themes or discourses relevant to post-conflict societies such as: gender, race and class as well as issues of geography. With regards to gender, there is evidence of male and female representation in the data. Unlike the previous two sections, this case study is less biased in terms of gender. Evidence of this is the fact that the main protagonist chosen to illustrate humans on display is a female. However, it can be argued that the use of a female in this example is intended to express the powerlessness of this gender. But such a claim can also be contested by the fact that the text also makes reference to a female personality in the person of Queen Isabella. In this example a woman is not used in a secondary role as her name is not withheld as with the example in Zimbabwe where reference is only made of the queen as “Queen of Sheba” and not by name.

Therefore this case study adopts a more equalitarian approach in the representation of heritage from a gender perspective.

Basically, two racial groups are represented in the text. There is the black group that is shown as victims of humans on display while the whites are portrayed as the perpetrators. This black group is represented mainly by the Khoisan people of Southern Africa. The story of Saartjie Baartman is an example. She was a Khoisan woman who was “stripped of her native, her Khoisan, her African identity and paraded in Europe as a savage monstrosity” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 227). Again the Khoisan is portrayed as victims of the display of humans in the scenario of the diorama. The display attracted much controversy and was discontinued in 2001 after much public debate (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 228). Moreover, the Khoisan people are also mentioned in the context of indigenous knowledge as heritage. Similarly, it is stated that the Khoisan community won a court case against a pharmaceutical company in Namibia after claiming the intellectual property rights of a medicinal plant as their heritage (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 231). The representation of white people seems to be intended to show their responsibility in the act of displaying humans. For example the text notes that “Europeans have exhibited people they saw as ‘other’ ever since their first contact with indigenous populations of the New World and Africa” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 225). American and Europeans are portrayed as guilty of exhibiting people in the 1800s. Columbus is also cited as having brought back with him on his return to Spain some Arawak people to display to the court of Queen Isabella. Therefore humans on display are represented in this textbook from a perspective that gives responsibility to Europeans and Americans who indulged in this as part of their “scientific” heritage. Above all, the lexical representation of different racial groups in the text could also be seen as a historiographical turn in which history is seen and written not only from a white man’s perspective but efforts are made to include the experiences of people of colour in the history curriculum.

This case study also shows that heritage exists at different levels as evident in the choice of pronouns used in the text. These pronouns in some instances refer to heritage as “our heritage” and at other times as “their heritage”, thereby contradicting the point on bias discussed in the previous chapter. For example, the text states that “the value of

indigenous knowledge is starting to be recognised as part of our South African heritage” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 231). In this example indigenous knowledge is a shared heritage that includes everybody in South Africa. But then even within South Africa, people claim different heritages that are not shared by the whole society. This is so with those who have specialised local knowledge such as traditional healers. The text clearly states that such people need laws to protect their intellectual property rights because “this is part of their heritage” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 231).

From a different perspective, these levels of heritage could also be understood in the context of the different geographical representations of heritage in the text. Mention of places such as America, South Africa, France, Eastern Cape, Cameroon, Cape Town, England, Spain, and Africa, also implies the heritage of these individual places or their people as linked to humans on display as in the story of Baartman. As a result, different places or people have different heritages but when interest in a particular heritage is common to places and people across national borders, it gives rise to world heritage as is the case with the examples of the Taj Mahal and the Elmina Fortress cited in the conceptualisation.

4.2.7 Conclusion

In its conceptualisation of heritage, this textbook ignores natural heritage as a form of heritage. This is evident in the absence of lexicons relating to this indicator of heritage. Emphasis is therefore on cultural heritage, with symbolic-identity heritage being the main form of cultural heritage represented in the conceptualisation. The other indicators of scientific-technological and ethnological heritage are also absent. The implication, therefore, in this textbook, is that heritage is a cultural concept of a mainly symbolic-identity nature. This trend is also replicated in the two case studies of heritage in the book with lexicons of symbolic-identity nature prioritised over other indicators. However, with the case study on “Great Zimbabwe”, mention is made of natural heritage resources namely “the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers” (see Table 4.2). Yet the context in which natural heritage is used in the text does not seem to promote this form of heritage but rather it is used within the framework of symbolism and identity as it only serves to locate the habitat of the Shona people who are seen as “descendants of the people of builders of Great Zimbabwe” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220)

The analysis of the above indicators also revealed the nature of representation of other discourses relevant to post-conflict societies such as gender, race, and geography. Although in some of these instances, I noted some discrepancy in the nature of these representations, this could also be seen within the context of a historiographical turn in post-conflict South Africa with attempts to make heritage and history more inclusive as required by the constitution and sanctioned by the NCS-History. Therefore to a large extent, the representation shows an attempt to portray shared, inclusive and international heritage from the perspective of the indicators noted above.

Furthermore, the textbook's view of heritage also concurs with my conceptual framework on heritage as being tangible, intangible or IN-Tangible. Even though the findings show more affinity towards intangible heritage, some aspects of tangible heritage are also mentioned. However, evidence from the textbook suggests that heritage cannot be purely tangible – it can only be intangible or IN-Tangible. This claim is made based on the lexical examples used in the conceptualisation and the two case studies. For example, monuments and historic buildings are tangible but they are only heritage icons because of what they represent, which is intangible – meaning they are both tangible and intangible.

Attempts to present heritage as a shared and inclusive practice is also true illustrated by pronoun choices. At the level of conceptualisation, the text makes use of personal pronouns as the first person plural form such as 'we', 'our' and 'us' to refer to heritage.

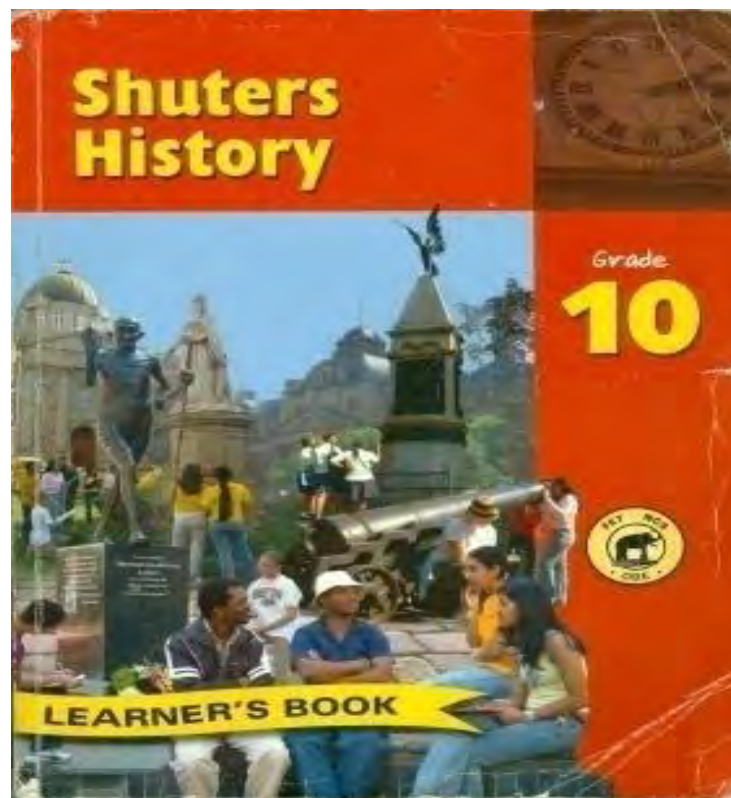
Therefore by means of CDA, the analysis of this textbook revealed that it views heritage as a cultural concept of mainly symbolic-identity nature. Through the choice of pronouns used the book attempts to portray a shared and inclusive heritage in terms of geography, gender and race. However lexicons such as 'their heritage' are also used to imply that not all heritages can be shared, and this confirms the complex nature of the heritage concept itself.

4.3 Analysis of heritage – *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*

The book is authored by the following: Nsiziwa Dlamini, Simon Haw, Pater Macallister, Trish Middlebrook, Nomsa Nkosi, Adam Rogers, and Jabulani Sithole. It is edited by

John Deane and Gareth Thomson who also served as consultants for this publication. *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book* was published in 2005, in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, by Shuter & Shooter Publishers. The data for analysis here is from chapter 8 of the book which serves as the heritage chapter. The title of the chapter is "Heritage: Things from the past". It is the last chapter of the book and runs from pages 297 to 321. The following aspects of heritage that are covered by this chapter formed the basis from which the data was analysed with a view of understanding the nature of representation of heritage: the meaning of heritage, how heritage is constructed and how it is protected and conserved. This textbook is also highly source based with the sources mostly visual in nature. However, these visuals, their captions and the activities related to them were not considered for analysis because the focus of this study is on textual material.

Figure 4.2 Cover page of *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*



4.3.1 Description of heritage in conceptualisation

There is a very superficial attempt to conceptualise heritage in this textbook. This textbook's version of heritage is largely embedded in the case study examples within the text.

The text commences by paralleling the role of heritage with that of history which is to understand events in the past. The goal of the chapter is then stated as understanding the meaning of heritage, how it is constructed and how it is protected and conserved. The lexicons used in this conceptualisation are predominantly of the common nouns category. There is mention of important events, symbolic days and people from the past as celebrated heritage icons (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 297). Heritage is also said to be an individual or a group's inheritance with examples of photographs, street names and stories (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 298) advanced as important aspects with the implication that these need to be understood and conserved.

In terms of pronouns, the textbook makes use of the first person plural (we and our) in the conceptualisation. This can be seen in the following sentence: "Our heritage is always around us. Our photographs ... are all important parts of our heritage" (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 298).

4.3.2 Interpretation of heritage in conceptualisation

The table that follows is a display of the kind of heritage that is conceptualised in *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*.

Table 4.4 Interpretation of heritage in conceptualisation – *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*

Indicators		Signifiers/lexicons	Tangible, Intangible, or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural heritage		N/A	N/A
Cultural heritage	Symbolic-identity heritage	-Symbolic objects -Photographs -Street names -Inheritance	IN-Tangible heritage
		-Icons -People from the past -Stories told by people about the past -Important events	Intangible heritage
	Scientific-Technological heritage	-N/A	N/A
	Ethnological heritage	-N/A	N/A

The conceptual analysis evokes the tension between history and heritage as explored in the literature (pp. 21-24). The chapter opens by underscoring one of the purposes of history being to understand events that happened in the past. This is followed by a statement that “Heritage, like history, also helps us understand the past” (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 297). Such a comparison of heritage to history in this textbook denotes that the understanding of heritage cannot be detached from an understanding of history. But it also rekindles the debate on where to draw the line between the discipline history and the concept or phenomenon of heritage, even though the book itself does not explain this.

Moreover, the lack of an extensive conceptualisation of heritage in this book implies that the textbook’s understanding of heritage is not amply fore-grounded, but rather the readers are left with the responsibility to deduce for themselves the meaning of heritage from the case studies used in the text. Notwithstanding, the data captured from the conceptualisation as depicted in Table 4.4 reveal an emphasis on symbolic-identity heritage. The absence of all other benchmarks of heritage in the conceptualisation also implies that heritage according to the producers of this textbook, is not just purely cultural, but is mainly symbolic-identity in nature implying that the true nature of heritage representation in *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* could only be construed after analysis of the case studies.

4.3.3 Description of heritage in case studies

The case studies of heritage representation in this textbook are intertwined. For example the study of photographs is linked to the study of paintings and drawings, and the study of museums is linked to that of humans on display. For this reason, the case studies are not analysed independently as was the case with *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book*. Rather, the data was captured, coded and interpreted collectively in order to establish the nature of heritage that the case studies jointly represent.

The heritage topics discussed in the text can be broadly divided into the following categories: photography as heritage (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 299); drawings and paintings (Dlamini et al., 2005, pp. 303-304); role of museums in heritage conservation

(Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 305); the display of human remains (Dlamini et al., p. 307); oral history as heritage (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 308); names as heritage (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 309); public holidays as heritage (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 311); monuments (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 312); rock arts (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 315), national consciousness (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 318); and heritage under the sea (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 320). The lexical examples used to explain these different categories can be explained in terms of places, names of people, groups of people, and heritage conservation. These categories are analysed below.

Pertaining to heritage conservation sites and bodies, the following examples are mentioned: the Robben Island Museum; the Natal Museum; the South African Museum; the National Monuments Council; the Historical Monuments Commission; and the South African Heritage Resources. The text further identifies three broad categories of museums namely: military history museums; natural history museums and social history museums. It is explained that “museums not only house heritage but can also be carriers or transmitters of particular ideologies or world views” (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 306). An example cited in this regard is that of the South African Museum in Cape Town whose display of the Bushman diorama was seen as racist (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 306).

Reference is made to Saartjie Baartman and El Negro as names of individuals to represent victims of the display of human remains whilst James Stuart is used as representative of Europeans who had settled in southern Africa and helped record oral histories of Africans. A list of countries in Africa and Europe are equally mentioned in the text. Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Lesotho and South Africa are used to illustrate the origins of the Khoisan through the presence of rock paintings in these places. The text also treats heritage as an important element in unifying people. To exemplify this, the ancient civilisations of Great Zimbabwe and of Mapungubwe are cited. Through the work of archaeologists, it is possible to learn about these past kingdoms and societies and their ruins and remains have become significant in the building of new nations (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 318).

It is evident that this textbook presents heritage in a mostly visual form and through the use of sources. However, data retrieved from the textual elements of the textbook

depicts heritage in different forms namely: photographs; drawings; paintings; museums; human remains; oral history; names; public holidays; monuments; rock art; national consciousness; and heritage in the sea. The interpretation of these different representations is provided below.

4.3.4 Interpretation of heritage in case studies

This section provides an interpretation of the representation of heritage as described in the previous section above. Table 4.5 captures the interpretation of the nature of heritage representation based on the benchmarks provided for analysis. Nonetheless, the analysis also included aspects of heritage representation not provided by the benchmarks but important for understanding post-conflict societies such as issues of gender, race, class and geography. This textbook presentation is mostly source-based and dominated by visuals, in the form of pictures, and is supported by sources and activities. In spite of this, as previously explained, the analysis remained true to the focus of this study which is an analysis of the textual representation that excludes both the visuals and their captions. Generally speaking, heritage is almost absent in the text of this book which poses a challenge in that the visuals fall beyond the analysis framework for this study as explained in chapter 3.

Table 4.5 below represents the data from *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*, captured under the indicators of the conceptual framework for this study.

Table 4.5 Interpretation of heritage in case studies – *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*

Indicators		Signifiers/lexicons	Tangible, or heritage	Intangible, IN-Tangible
Natural heritage		N/A	N/A	
Cultural heritage	Symbolic-identity heritage	-Names -Public holidays -Heroes of the past -Historical events -Oral history	Intangible heritage	
		-Ship wrecks -Secret sites -Sites	IN-Tangible heritage	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Robben Island Museum -Natal Museum -South African Museum -National Monument Council -Historical Monuments Commission -South African Heritage Resources -Natural history museums -Social history museums -Buildings -Military history museums -Rock art -Photographs -Paintings and drawings 	IN-Tangible heritage
	Scientific- technological heritage	-N/A	N/A
	Ethnological heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Khoisan -El Negro -Saartjie Baartman -Zulu People -Bushmen -Mapungubwe 	Intangible heritage

Natural heritage is not evident in this textbook and is omitted in the conceptualisation. Subsequently the case studies make no mention of this heritage benchmark. With the absence of natural heritage representation in the textbook, the case studies simply focus on cultural heritage. Table 4.5 points to a detailed representation of all the forms of cultural heritage, that is, symbolic-identity, ethnological and to some extent scientific-technological heritage.

Symbolic-identity heritage manifests itself in the category of names, public holidays, historical events, oral history, ship wrecks, heroes, and secret sites. This category also features a list of museums and monuments given as examples of heritage. which includes the Robben Island Museum; the Natal Museum; the South African Museum; natural history museums; South African heritage resources; social history museums; and military history museums. These museums are presented as being symbolic in terms of their ability to preserve the heritage and history of a people.

Even though not categorised separately in Table 4.5, scientific-technological heritage is evident in the text with examples such as rock art; photographs; and paintings and drawings advanced to reflect this form of heritage. All the above mentioned signifiers

contain elements that render them eligible in this category such as the science and technological skills involved in their productions. For example whilst rock art is symbolic in determining the Khoi lifestyle and identity, it simultaneously shows “their wisdom and understanding of the natural world, their knowledge of plant and animal life, and their skill and artistry” (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 315).

Ethnologically, heritage is represented in the textbook through the examples of the Khoisan and Zulu people, El Negro and Saartjie Baartman, as well as the examples of Great Zimbabwe, the Bushmen and Mapungubwe.

Evidently, the categories are not very rigid because of the general difficulties involved with classifications. It will therefore be possible to find some indicators that could be contained in other categories. As a result it can be deduced that heritage in this textbook is a body of knowledge rather than a concept.

The analysis of content of the text also revealed that in terms of geography, this textbook’s focus is on South Africa and the southern region of Africa. This is largely due to the interest in representing the heritage of the Khoisan people. An interpretation of this could be seen as an attempt to portray a type of social history that seeks to give voice to the voiceless or to speak for the disempowered. For this reason, southern African countries such as Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and South Africa are cited because of their links with the activities of the Khoisan people. For example, the rock art sites recorded in this region are valuable in understanding the Khoisan life style. Apart from the Khoisan people, southern Africa is also represented through the depiction of the Great Zimbabwe ruins, the ancient civilisation of Mapungubwe as well as the South African Coat of Arms. The absence of international examples to illustrate heritage, is indicative of this textbook’s purpose to expose Grade 10 learners to pre-colonial southern African regional heritage as opposed to a universal heritage.

Issues of gender are minimally represented in the text by means of reference to Saartjie Baartman. In this case, reference to Khoisan people, Zulu people, Great Zimbabwe, Mapungubwe and the indigenous people could be taken to indiscriminately imply the men and women of these societies. However, in the case of museum displays, the choice of El Negro and Saartjie Baartman who are male and female respectively,

suggest an attempt to balance the representation of gender. As a result, it can be concluded that this textbook attempts to show a heritage that is free of gender bias.

The heritage/history partnership and controversy identified in the conceptual analysis is also evident in the case studies contained in this book. The language used in the text denotes that heritage cannot be divorced from historical language which is exemplified by the use of lexicons like “oral history” and “historical events” as part of heritage (Dlamini et al., 2005, pp. 308 & 312). Both examples are established forms of history, and their use in the text to illustrate heritage makes it difficult to distinguish the history and the heritage elements in them and also furthers the debate about their (inter)relationship. The most noticeable characteristic of history used in the text is historical time as the entire text is entrenched in the effects of historical time on people and on communities. The heritage represented in the different case studies, whether in the form of photographs, drawings, paintings, museums, monuments, names or rock art, is only a present day re-enactment of events that happened in historic times and this shows the dishevelled and entwined nature of the heritage/history relationship in this book.

Even though the race and space analysis showed a limitation on the heritage of the black population especially the Khoisan of South Africa and the entire southern African sub region, the choice of pronouns used in the case studies suggests an inclination towards a shared and inclusive heritage. This is exemplified by the reference to “our heritage” in almost all the case study titles. Paradoxically, the level of inclusiveness is not elucidated, leaving the learners with doubts on whose text is referred to as “our”. This is compounded by the fact that the text speaks of different kinds of heritages. For instance Dlamini et al (2005, p. 300) mention other forms of heritages such as family heritage and South African heritage. Considering the racial ambiguities noticed in the analysis, the notion of a South African heritage becomes contentious. Is South African heritage the heritage of the black people of South Africa and the Khoisan people or it is the heritage of multiracial and multicultural South African society? It can therefore be concluded that fundamentally, this textbook appears to expose an ideal form of heritage that is shared and inclusive. However, the analysis of the textual content shows a heritage representation that is generally in favour of the black people, and

geographically limited to South Africa as a country and the southern region of the African continent.

4.3.5 Conclusion

Summarily, the following findings were reached after analysis of lexical choices applied in this chapter:

The first realisation was that this textbook has no clear narration or discourse that runs through the heritage chapter. It is published in the form of visuals (pictures) and other sources, with assessment activities to support and enhance meaning in the textual content. This style has an implication in the way the book presents heritage because in this sense, heritage is seen as a highly contested and sometimes controversial concept whose presentation must be backed by relevant sources and evidence – therefore the choice of this book to provide as many sources to support its use of lexicons in portraying heritage.

Moreover, findings from this book on the concept of heritage show a limitation of heritage representation to South Africa and the southern African region. International heritage in this book therefore manifests in the representation of geographical spaces of these regions only. This dimension of heritage is also supported by the choice of pronouns used in the text, such as ‘we’ and ‘our’. The choice of the first person plural pronouns also indicates collective, shared and inclusive heritage, in the South African and southern African region, but also that heritage is an inclusive and shared concept that could and should be understood beyond individual perspectives or national frontiers.

But this inclusive and shared form of heritage is unfortunately weakened by the fact that there is evidence of unequal representation of lexical indicators of heritage linked to issues of gender and race. For example, in most instances throughout the book, with the exception of Saartjie Baartman, women were only implicitly expressed while masculinity was overtly used in more than one occasion to illustrate examples of heritage icons. Regarding racial bias, a case in point is the South African context where the choice of examples selected is not fully representative of the South African diverse ethno-racial landscape. Generally, there is an emphasis on southern African heritage

with examples of the Khoisan represented by Baartman, El Negro and rock art, advanced to illustrate this. It is also portrayed in the example of Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe.

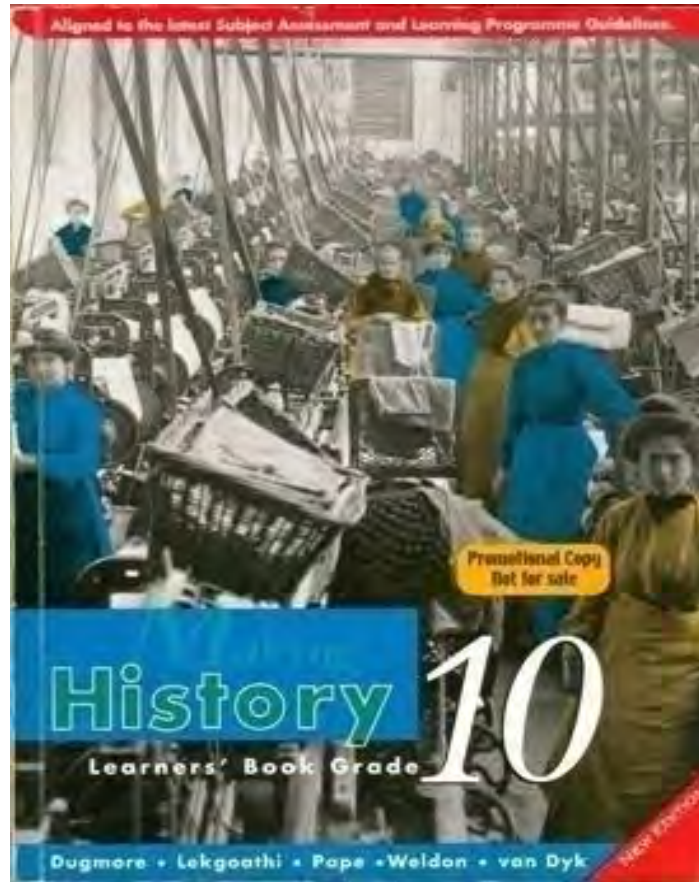
Apropos the heritage conceptual indicators, the conceptualisation and the case study analysis of this book show evidence of a lack of representation of lexicons of the natural heritage category, resulting in a focus on cultural heritage. In this regard the different indicators of cultural heritage are applied in different proportions and subsequently, symbolic-identity heritage as a category of cultural heritage is promoted at the expense of other indicators of the same category such as ethnological heritage and scientific-technological heritage, which are used sparingly.

Furthermore, the textbook's representation of heritage also concurs with the conceptual framework on heritage as being tangible, intangible or IN-Tangible. Even though the findings show more affinity towards intangible heritage, some aspects of tangible heritage are also mentioned. However, evidence from the textbook suggests that heritage cannot be purely tangible – it can only be intangible or IN-Tangible. This claim is made based on the choice of lexicons used as examples in both the conceptualisation and the case studies of heritage in the text. For example, monuments and historic buildings are tangible but they are only heritage icons because of what they represent, which is intangible – meaning they are both tangible and intangible (IN-Tangible).

4.4 Analysis of heritage – *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book*

Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book was written by five authors: C. Dugmore; P. Lekgoathi; J. Pape; G. Weldon; and P. van Dyk. It was published in 2005 by Heinemann Publishers (Pty) Ltd. The book comprises eight chapters with chapter seven being the area of interest in this study since it deals with heritage. Chapter seven runs from pages 230 to 244.

Figure 4.3 Cover page of *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book*



Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book fails to foreground the meaning of heritage. Rather in this textbook, the meaning of heritage is implicit in the case studies. The implication is that the producers of this textbook leave the responsibility of conceptualising heritage to the Grade 10 learners and teachers who are guided in the process by the case studies. The three case studies of heritage treated in this book are: public holidays as heritage; the celebration of the heritage of Great Zimbabwe and the Bastille; and museums depiction of humans or humans on display. By implication, these case studies could be regarded as the book's conception on heritage. These case studies, as in the sample of the previous books, are described, and interpreted using the CDA benchmark for analysis in order to establish the kind of heritage that is represented in this history textbook. The conceptualisation of heritage is derived directly from a description of the case studies as opposed to the previous books that conceptualises heritage prior to the case studies. The implication is that format as

discourse was critical in this study in that each book expresses different meanings so that heritage will also be experienced differently in the different books.

4.4.1 Description of heritage in case study 1

Three public holidays are examined in this section: Columbus Day; Van Riebeeck Day; and the Day of Reconciliation. Each of these days is discussed in the text in relation to their significance and the circumstances that brought about their celebration and/or commemoration as a public holiday.

With regards to Columbus Day, Christopher Columbus, and the following former USA presidents – George Washington (1789-1797); Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893); and Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) are identified as the architects of the Columbus Day celebrations. However, the celebration of this day is presented as being contentious and based on ideology. This is evident in the declaration that English settlers never celebrated Columbus' landing but rather celebrated Christian holidays such as Christmas and Easter in lieu of Columbus Day (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 232). Later,, the declaration of America's independence was celebrated as the most important public holiday for Americans. It is noticeable that presently, "Americans are no longer celebrating Columbus Day and an indigenous Americans Day was declared on the same date" (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 233) to celebrate the culture and heritage of Native Americans also referred to as Amerindians. The ideology informing the celebration of this day was based on the desire to unite Americans and instil a sense of patriotism. Likewise, the text notes that Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed and encouraged the day to be celebrated as a public event as a means of bringing Americans together after the Great Depression (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 232). , Lyndon B. Johnson who ruled as president of the USA between 1963-1969, declared the day a federal public holiday to instil a sense of patriotism in Americans during the "darkest years of the Vietnam war" (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 232). The textbook therefore notes that Columbus Day was a creation of the twentieth century with a largely political and ideological agenda.

The second public holiday considered is Van Riebeeck Day to celebrate his landing at the Cape in 1652. This Day was celebrated in honour of Jan Van Riebeeck who "was

depicted until quite recently in South African textbooks as the heroic founder of South Africa as a nation” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 233). The history of this public holiday is explained below and reveals much controversy regarding the ideology that is inherent in its commemoration. Two instances are portrayed where the day was ignored for ideological motives: The first was when the British took over the Cape in 1806 (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 234) and the second was when the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 235). In both instances, the British saw the celebrations as part of an Afrikaner Nationalist movement (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 235) and refused to identify themselves with the day. However, it is explained that the day was revived in 1952 after the National Party came to power. Its scope was broadened to include English-speaking white South Africans in order to create a white South African identity (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 235). Moreover, the name of the day was later changed to Founder’s Day and then to Settler’s Day because of the attempt to attract sympathy among coloured and Indian South Africans (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 236). Black South Africans in particular were never considered for the celebrations, which explains why “the African National Congress and other black political parties held a number of anti van Riebeeck protests and meetings” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 235).

The last of the three public holidays described in this case study is the Day of Reconciliation. This day is seen as a commemoration of the peaceful co-existence that exists between the Afrikaners and the Zulu people following a long acrimonious history. The protagonists behind this animosity mentioned in the text were: Dingaan and Mpande from the Zulu ranks; and Piet Retief; Andries Pretorius; and P.W. Botha from the ranks of the Afrikaners. The culmination was the Battle of Blood River of 16 December 1838 in which an estimated Zulu army of 10 000 warriors was thoroughly defeated by a few hundred trekkers adjacent to the Ncome/Blood River (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 236). This was a sequel to an earlier confrontation in which Dingaan had ordered the execution of trekker leader, Piet Retief as well as trekker men, women and children (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 236). It was the Battle of Blood River that was later declared a public holiday by the Executive Council of the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 237). The text states that the Day was later “known as Dingaan’s Day not to celebrate the Zulu king but rather to commemorate his defeat” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 237). With the formation of

the Union of South Africa in 1910, Dingaan’s Day became an official national public holiday in an effort to unite English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking whites. The Zulus therefore had to endure a holiday that celebrated their defeat. Further changes were made to the name of the Day: initially it became known as the “Day of Covenant” in 1952 (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 237) and then “Day of the Vow” in 1980 (Dugmore et al., p. 238) both with the purpose of instilling a sense of Afrikaner nationalism and uniting Afrikaners behind the policy of apartheid (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 237). After the 1994 democratic elections, 16 December was maintained as a public holiday but the name was changed to Day of Reconciliation. The reason for maintaining this day as a public holiday and giving it its present name could be seen in the context of this study being a post-conflict society with efforts geared towards ameliorating the wrongs of the past. This means an acknowledgement by the post-1994 leadership of the heritage wealth of this country in terms of public holidays, and also that unlike in the past, this heritage could be used as tools for peace, reconciliation and harmony for this diverse nation.

4.4.2 Interpretation of heritage in case study 1

This section seeks to clarify the description provided in sub section 4.4.1. In Table 4.6 below the data are categorised into the different conceptual indicators of heritage in order to establish the nature of heritage representation based on these different benchmarks. In other words, the points discussed in the description phase above will be seen through the lens of the benchmarks of heritage as per the conceptual framework so as to understand the nature of heritage representation of heritage in this book from the perspective of these benchmarks.

Table 4.6 Interpretation of heritage in case study 1 – *Making history. Grade 10. Learner’s book*

Indicators	Signifiers/Lexicons	Tangible, Intangible, or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural Heritage	-Table Mountain -Ncome River	IN-Tangible heritage

Cultural Heritage	Symbolic-Identity Heritage	-Columbus Day -Van Riebeeck Day -Indigenous American Day -Founders Day -Settlers Day -America's independence day -Day of Reconciliation -Day of the Vow -Dingaan's Day -Day of Covenant	Intangible heritage
		-Columbus -George Washington -President Benjamin Harrison -Franklin D. Roosevelt -President Johnson -Jan van Riebeeck -Dingane -Piet Retief -Andries Pretorius -P. W. Botha -Mpande -Cecil Rhodes	Intangible heritage
		-America -United States -Asia -England -South Africa as a nation -Boer Transvaal Republic -Transvaal and Free State Republics -Union of South Africa -Republic of Natalia -Columbus circle in New York City -Voortrekker Monument	Intangible heritage
		-Christian holidays -Christmas -Easter -Dutch Reform Church -Jameson Raid -Afrikaner Nationalist Movements -Afrikaner identity -Volksplanter -White South African Identity -Anti van Riebeeck meetings -'Weenen -Battle of Blood River -Umkhonto we Sizwe -Voortrekker Monument	Intangible heritage
		-South African textbooks	IN-Tangible heritage

	Scientific-Technological Heritage	-N/A	N/A
	Ethnological Heritage	-English settlers -Native Americans or Amerindians	IN-Tangible heritage

Symbolic-identity heritage is prominent as the benchmark of heritage that is prioritised in this case study. This form of heritage is depicted through the portrayal of symbolic individuals as well as of important days that have been celebrated and commemorated as public holidays. Such individuals and days are seen as a reflection of the identity of a group of people or of a particular nation at given times. As a result, the text notes that “the celebration of events or people is a constructed activity that serves a specific purpose, usually the development of national identity” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 231).

Making history. Grade 10. Learners’ book exemplifies this by presenting the controversy surrounding the celebration of three public holidays, that is, Columbus Day in the USA, Van Riebeeck Day and Day of Reconciliation in South Africa. Columbus Day is termed a “creation of the twentieth century” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 232). This is because the day was proclaimed as a public event by Roosevelt and declared a federal public holiday by Johnson, both twentieth century presidents respectively who wanted to unite Americans after the Great Depression and during the Vietnam War. This controversy around Columbus Day implies that heritage in general but symbolic-identity heritage in particular is only meaningful to a particular people at a particular time based on a desire to portray and defend a given identity.

Similarly this controversy is also true of Van Riebeeck Day. From the portrayal of Van Riebeeck Day, it is clear that the day was not only instrumental in the consolidation of Afrikaner unity and the construction of Afrikaner identity, but also as a means to construct a general white identity. This is seen in the example given of the National Party that included English-speaking white South Africans in festivities commemorating 300 years of Van Riebeeck’s landing (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 235). The later change of name to Founders’ Day and then to Settlers’ Day respectively was equally symbolic because it was an attempt to further attract English but also to attract the Coloured and Indian South Africans to identify with this holiday. Black South Africans were generally

excluded from the celebrations except in a “humiliating, supporting role” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 235), which is why the text states that the African National Congress and other black political parties held a number of anti-Van Riebeeck meetings and protests to challenge this anti-black holiday and heritage. Finally the day was abandoned altogether following the election of a democratic government in 1994. Through the example of this day, *Making history. Grade 10. Learners’ book* is exposing the controversial nature of heritage and how it can be utilised as a tool to promote nationalism, identity and unity, but also to create segregation.

The last example of representation of symbolic-identity heritage through public holidays is the Day of Reconciliation. The presentation here is a narration of the events that led to the Battle of Blood River. The anniversary of this battle was subsequently declared a public holiday and took different names. As highlighted in the description, the day was initially named Dingaan’s Day, not to celebrate the Zulu king but rather to commemorate his defeat (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 237). Therefore by this time, the day was considered the heritage of the Boer trekkers. The later changes to Day of Covenant and Day of Vow were both intended to instil a stronger sense of Afrikaner identity and unity. However, with the advent of democracy in 1994, the day was re named “Day of Reconciliation” which symbolically gives the day a more inclusive status than its predecessors.

Symbolically, the three examples used in this case study clearly reveal the power of public holidays and heritage in general in promoting ideology and cementing identity of one group while at the same time excluding another. The data showed how public holidays have for example been given different names over time to meet particular agendas. For example, the Van Riebeeck Day was also called ‘Founders’ Day’ and ‘Settlers’ Day’ while the Day of Reconciliation was at various stages called ‘Day of the Covenant’, ‘Day of the Vow’ and ‘Dingaan’s Day’, for different motivations.

In the holidays used in the case study, black South Africans were not involved and they “had to endure a holiday that celebrated their defeat and colonisation” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 237). This means that from a racial perspective, the choice of these three examples could be interpreted as an attempt to expose the dominant heritage of whites in the past. Columbus Day celebrated the subjugation and dissolution of the culture and

heritage of the Native Americans or Amerindians, by Christopher Columbus during his voyage of 'discovery'. Similarly, the Van Riebeeck Day celebrations were augmented to include all white South Africans so that Van Riebeeck could become a symbol of white rule in South Africa. It is evident therefore that in the examples cited in this case study, that whites have always been in control of public holidays and other races have been 'under dogs'. Since no other examples are given to show the contrary, it can be assumed that this is the message the *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book* is sending out to its readership through this case study.

As seen in Table 4.6, symbolic-identity heritage dominates the data to the extent that the other heritage benchmarks, though mentioned in a few instances, only serve to illustrate a point of symbolic heritage. This is the case with the lexical inclusion of "English Settlers" and "Native Americans or Amerindians" in the data. These are both elements of ethnological heritage but their use in the context of this case study is symbolic because it is only intended to illustrate the role of public holidays as a heritage resource, and not to actually uncover the ethnologies of these groups of people as heritage. However, it is important to note that this particular case study entertains some elements of natural heritage albeit very limited. As espoused in Table 4.6, the benchmark of natural heritage is represented in the data through the presence of Table Mountain and the Ncome River. Yet as explained above, the fact that natural heritage and other heritage benchmarks are seldom espoused in the text implies that the focus of this textbook is on symbolic-identity heritage and not natural heritage.

The inference from this case study with reference to gender issues is that there is little or no explicit female representation in the text. All three public holidays used as examples in the text have strong masculine connotations. Both Columbus Day and Van Riebeeck Day are the result of the activities of male figures. The circumstances leading up to the commemoration of the Day of Reconciliation, although not directly influenced by the activities of male figures are to a large extent masculine. This includes as can be seen on Table 4.6, such names as Dingane, Piet Retief, Andries Pretorius, and Mpande. All these figures played decisive roles in the events that came to be commemorated as 'Day of Reconciliation', notably the Battle of Blood River. However, this male representation could also be seen as a reflection of the highly patriarchal

nature of society at the time. Nevertheless, considering that this book is written for a 21st century market that is very gender sensitive, a total non-representation of women in any history textbook is a serious challenge.

Conclusively, in this case study the heritage that is depicted is symbolic-identity heritage. Other benchmarks of how heritage is portrayed is seen in Table 4.6, but the context in which these are used suggest that they are meant as support for symbolic heritage rather than to espouse them as heritage in their own right. Moreover, the choices of examples for this case study suggest a white heritage representation from a racial point of view, namely Van Riebeeck Day and Columbus Day that excluded other races. Also the Day of Reconciliation was initially meant to celebrate the defeat of the Zulu at the Battle of Blood River. The lexical choices used in explaining these holidays have also proven this representation in the text. Furthermore, the entire case study is made up of male characters, which suggests that masculinity is very vital in explaining and understanding heritage in this book. Even though I considered this to be a reflection of a patriarchal society of the time, the democratic values of our present day society, reflected by the South African constitution which informs the NCS-History, mean that such heritage representations are a continuation of a patriarchal hegemony.

4.4.3 Description of heritage in case study 2

The second case study of heritage in this textbook is on the celebration of the icons of Great Zimbabwe and Bastille as heritage. The main focus of the text is on how and why these two icons have become central to the nationalisms of Zimbabwe and France respectively. Both these examples are presented in this book with the purpose of exposing how different contexts have constructed their heritage over time.

The proper nouns used in describing the heritage of Great Zimbabwe include: Great Zimbabwe; Zimbabwe Plateau; Great Tower; Zimbabwe Ruins; Shona and Ndebele; and Rhodesia. Whilst on the other hand, common nouns identified included: grazing lands; arable lands; timber resources; shield; coat of arms; national symbol; soapstone bird; ruler's sceptre; national flag; and indigenous knowledge systems.

Great Zimbabwe is depicted as a once vast state that existed between 1200 and 1450 AD, and stretched across the modern day Zimbabwe plateau. The kingdom was

blessed with grazing land; arable land and timber resources. But once these resources had been exhausted due to high population pressure, the kingdom started its downwards spiral (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 239). Present day Zimbabwe has identified itself strongly with the former ancient kingdom by incorporating elements of its heritage into the national symbols of modern Zimbabwe. These elements include: the Great Tower that is depicted in the centre of the shield of Zimbabwe’s coat of arms (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 239); the ‘soapstone birds’ found at the “Ruins of Great Zimbabwe” that are today depicted in both the coat of arms and the national flag of Zimbabwe. The text states that the birds were also on the old Rhodesian coat of arms and their inclusion in the new coat of arms is a gesture of reconciliation for the young nation and a potent symbol to “unite all Zimbabweans, black and white, Shona and Ndebele” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 239)

On the other hand, the Bastille is portrayed as a hated symbol of tyranny and oppression that was stormed by the Paris mob during the French Revolution (Dugmore et al., 2005, pp. 239-240). A year after the storming of the Bastille, a huge celebration was held called “Fete de la Federation” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 240). Two years after the storming, France was declared a republic and acquired its own flag (*Le Tricolore*) and its own national anthem (*Le Marseillaise*). The Bastille had since become a symbol of the revolution and each year commemoration takes place to mark its fall. Bastille Day was declared a national holiday in 1880 and today it is celebrated with fireworks at the Eiffel Tower, with the French president leading a military parade past the Arc de Triomphe (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 240). The Bastille no longer exists but its memory is presented as a powerful symbol of French nationhood and heritage.

4.4.4 Interpretation of heritage in case study 2

Table 4.7 that follows is a tabular presentation of the data captured with help of the indicators of the conceptual framework of this study.

Table 4.7 Interpretation of heritage in case study 2 – *Making history. Grade 10. Learner’s book*

Indicators	Signifiers/Lexicons	Tangible, or heritage	Intangible, IN-Tangible
	-Zimbabwe plateau	IN-Tangible heritage	

Natural heritage		-Grazing land -Arable land -Timber resources	
Cultural heritage	Symbolic-Identity heritage	-Great Zimbabwe -Zimbabwe ruins -Indigenous knowledge systems -National holiday -Bastille -Arc de Triomphe -Hector Belioz -Fete de la Federation	Intangible heritage
		-Coat of arms -Soapstone birds -Ruler's sceptre -National flag -Eiffel Tower -Shield -The Great Tower	IN-Tangible heritage
	Scientific– Technological heritage	-N/A	N/A
	Ethnological heritage	-Shona and Ndebele -Rhodesia	Intangible heritage

This second case study representation of heritage focuses on the aspect of nationalism and the two examples used to illustrate the role of this ideology in heritage, or vice versa, are Great Zimbabwe and the Bastille of France. Compared with the benchmarks of heritage, the data shows a representation of all the heritage benchmarks albeit that they are unequally represented.

Symbolic-identity heritage is one benchmark that is dominant in this case study as can be viewed in Table 4.7. Taking the example of Great Zimbabwe, The Great Tower as one of the Great Enclosures at the Zimbabwe Ruins is depicted as a symbol of strength and might, evident from its width, its height and its solidity. In a similar note, the soapstone birds are represented to symbolise the power and authority said to have been characteristic of the era of the Great Kingdom as part of a ruler's sceptre (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 239). The strategic placing of these birds on a white triangle on the Zimbabwe national flag, symbolise the peace and unity of the modern nation.

In the case of the Bastille, the text mentions that the Bastille was initially a symbol of tyranny but the commemoration of its storming turned it into “a symbol of the revolution

and its values of liberty, equality, fraternity” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 240). The implication of this representation is that heritage is a symbolic force that is useful for the identity and unity of a nation as shown in the two examples of the Great Zimbabwe Ruins in Zimbabwe and the Bastille of France.

The benchmark of natural heritage on the other hand is represented through the choices of the Zimbabwe plateau as well as the depiction of the grazing land, the arable land and the timber resources of Great Zimbabwe. These elements of natural heritage are portrayed as vital for Zimbabwean nationalism as they played significant roles in both the growth and demise of the Ancient Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe, seen as an icon of the nationalism of modern Zimbabwe. The use of this benchmark, accentuates the importance of protecting and sustaining natural heritage which is one of the heritage outcomes of the NCS-History. It also implies that sustaining natural heritage can play a contributory role in sustaining societies themselves as evident in the example of Great Zimbabwe.

The lexicalisations of the ethnological groups of the Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe, underscore the role of ethnology in the understanding of heritage in this case study. Both groups are represented as the two main forces of the Zimbabwe society that were made to unite through the potent symbol of the soapstone birds from the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. Their representation is significant in that it sends a message of unity in diversity. The implication that people might come from different ethnological backgrounds as in South Africa, but identify with one common heritage as did the Shona and Ndebele people of Zimbabwe, can greatly contribute to the unity of these different groups of people within a community.

With regards to tangible and intangible representation of heritage, Table 4.7 indicates that heritage can only be either intangible or it can be both simultaneously tangible and intangible. This is due to the fact that there seem to always be an intangible and symbolic meaning attached to elements of tangible heritage. For instance, the natural heritage represented in Table 4.7 is fundamentally tangible but it contains intangible elements pertaining to the strength and decline of the Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe. This form of heritage is captured in the conceptual framework on chapter 2 as the IN-Tangible heritage, referring to the tangible in the intangible or vice versa.

Therefore through the examples of Great Zimbabwe and the Bastille of France, this case study presents heritage as a concept that is largely of symbolic-identity nature but that also has elements of natural heritage as well as ethnological heritage. The symbolic aspects of the two examples include: the ruins of the kingdom of Great Zimbabwe that has been incorporated into some icons of modern Zimbabwe such as the flag and the coat of arms; and the significance of the storming of the Bastille on the French people even in modern times.

4.4.5 Description of heritage in case study 3

This section is the last heritage case study of this textbook that focuses on the display of humans. The two examples considered by the textbook to illustrate the topic are the stories of Saartjie Baartman and that of El Negro. The former was a woman of Khoisan descent who was taken to Europe in the 1800s and displayed in public. After her death, her remains became part of museum exhibitions until serious objections led to her repatriation and burial in South Africa. El Negro's story is similar to that of Saartjie Baartman's. According to the book, El Negro was a member of the Batlhaping community that lived at the confluence of the Orange and Vaal rivers. Two French taxidermists stole his body, mummified it and exhibited it in their shop in Paris as a Bechuana (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 241). The body was later taken to Spain by Francesc Darder and it was exhibited at the World Exhibition in Spain and at a museum in Banyoles before it was returned to Africa where it was finally laid to rest in the Tsholofelo Park, in Gaborone, Botswana. The depiction of Saartjie Baartman and El Negro highlights the controversies surrounding the display of human beings in museums and other similar institutions involved with this practice.

4.4.6 Interpretation of heritage in case study 3

In this section, the lexical choices used in the description above are matched against the conceptual benchmarks of heritage in order to understand the kind of heritage that is represented in this case study based on these benchmarks. In other words, this section is as with the previous books an interpretation of the data discussed in the previous section. The interpretation set out in Table 4.8 categorises the data into the different heritage benchmarks.

Table 4.8 Interpretation of heritage in case study 3 – *Making history. Grade 10. Learner’s book*

Indicators		Signifiers/Lexicons	Tangible, Intangible, or IN-Tangible heritage
Natural heritage		-Tsholofelo Park -Orange and Vaal rivers	IN-Tangible heritage
Cultural heritage	Symbolic-Identity heritage	-Saartjie Baartman -Khoekhoe woman -El Negro -Frencesc Darder -Europe -South Africans -French taxidermists -Spanish naturalist -Spain -Banyoles -Africa -Botswana -Gaborone	Intangible heritage
		-Museum exhibitions -Cleaned skull -Grave	IN-Tangible heritage
	Scientific-Technological heritage	-Scientific racism	Intangible heritage
	Ethnological heritage	-Bechuana -Batlhaping community -Tswana	Intangible heritage

As can be seen in Table 4.8, symbolic-identity heritage is the dominant representation in this case study. This representation is illustrated through the use of personalities and also through places. The symbolic personalities used are Saartjie Baartman, El Negro, and Frencesc Darder. The first two are symbolic because they represent the cruelty involved in the display of humans from the perspective of the victims. Whilst the third, Darder represents the perpetrators of these displays. In terms of identity, Saartjie Baartman and El Negro are representative of the Khoisan and Tswana communities of southern Africa, but also an African identity in a larger context. Their depiction highlights the nature of European activities in Africa in the 1800s and the effects these had on African communities such as the Khoekhoe. Table 4.8 also shows symbolic-identity heritage in the form of places. The places mentioned here are symbolic in understanding the journey of Saartjie Baartman and El Negro from their places of origin

in Africa, to their tours in Europe and then finally their burials back on African soil. In conclusion, symbolic-identity was seen in terms of its portrayal and representation of gender.

Although the case study refers almost exclusively to symbolism and identity, a few elements of other heritage benchmarks also appear and are captured in the data as seen in Table 4.8. This reflects natural heritage that is represented by the mentioning of the Tsholofelo Park and the Orange and Vaal Rivers. Scientific-technological heritage is represented by inference to scientific racism as a practice that the Europeans had adopted in the 1800s, purportedly to prove that human beings could be ranked in a hierarchy of superior and inferior races (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 241). With regards to ethnological heritage, there is mention of ethnological communities of Bechuana (a member of the Tswana), and the Batlhaping people. However, the contexts in which these other heritage benchmarks are applied in this case study suggest that they are only used to better explain the symbolic-identity heritage, rather than to portray them in terms of their heritage potential. For example, the Orange and Vaal Rivers are used to identify the geographical area and community where El Negro lived and not for the purpose of appreciating the river as a form of natural heritage. This is equally true of the ethnological communities mentioned in the text that serve the same purpose of corroborating the identity of El Negro. As a result, it can be said that this case study represents only one of the benchmark of heritage which is symbolic-identity heritage.

The lexical choices used in this section also provide relevance to interpret the data from a racial view point. Similarly it can be said that the white man is presented from a particular perspective. He is guilty of the theft of El Negro's body by the French taxidermists (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 241); he is the racist as seen in the practice of scientific racism in the 1800s (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 241); he is inhuman as seen in the treatment given to Saartjie Baartman before and after her death. It is stated in the text that "... the treatment of Saartjie Baartman was not an aberration or a mistake but was rather a systematic racist belief that was prevalent in Europe in the 1800s" (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 241). On the other hand, the blacks, represented through the Khoisan people are portrayed as helpless in the face of white cruelty. They are simply victims. The text fails to indicate if other people from other races were also victims of

such public displays of human beings within a similar time frame. This could also be interpreted as the idea that people, irrespective of who they are, especially in terms of race, colour, gender, creed or other differences should not be exploited, abused and/or exhibited.

4.4.7 Conclusion

In this section, I synthesised the findings of the different case studies with the purpose of establishing the nature of heritage representation in *Making history. Grade 10. Learner's book*.

There is no distinct conceptualisation of heritage in this textbook; rather the meaning of heritage is deduced from the nature of heritage representation in the case studies. The three case studies have as themes: the celebration of public holidays; the celebration of the heritage icons of Great Zimbabwe and the Bastille; and finally issues around humans on display. Therefore the first impression is that these three case studies are priority heritage aspects considered by the producers of this book. However, a detailed understanding of heritage was only possible through a CDA analysis of the textual content of these different topics.

Through this analysis, it was realised that there is major emphasis on symbolic-identity heritage as opposed to the other benchmarks of heritage that are either scantily or not represented at all. Even when they feature in the data, the context of their use suggests that they are only mentioned to support the representation of symbolic-identity heritage. Generally, the three case studies present heritage differently. The examples used to present the heritage of public holidays suggest an emphasis on the heritage of whites. This is evident in the choice of Columbus Day, Van Riebeeck Day and Day of Reconciliation, which all have strong white racial connotations, as well as the lexical choices used in the text to illustrate these days, namely the activities of white personalities such as Cecil Rhodes, Andries Pretorius, and P.W. Botha. However, there is role reversal in the case of humans on display whereby whites are seen as perpetrators of cruelty on black people who are simply portrayed as helpless victims without agency.

Moreover, from a gender perspective, except with the solitary case of Saartjie Baartman, there is a strong masculine presence in the heritage portrayed by this textbook. All the major characters exemplified are males. They are portrayed as founders of nations, as kings, presidents, successful warriors and heroes. In contrast, the only time a woman is used as a major character is when she is humiliated through public displays and in museum exhibitions. Such a skewed representation of women is incompatible with present day norms and values of gender equality.

There is an attempt to portray heritage as an international concept that incises nations and continents. The choice of examples and the case studies themselves illustrate this. Columbus Day is an American holiday; Van Riebeeck Day and Day of Reconciliation are South African. Zimbabwe is depicted through the heritage of the Ancient Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe while the Bastille represents France. El Negro represents the heritage of Botswana and together with Saartjie Baartman; they represent the plight of the Khoisan people of southern Africa in particular but of Africans in general. Therefore the thesis of this textbook is that heritage is inclusive in terms of geography. It is intricately inter twined and complex that one group's or country's heritage cannot be understood and/or appreciated without comparison with the heritage of the other.

Summarily therefore, the textbook fails to conceptualise heritage but through the case studies it is possible to deduce its view on and understanding of the concept. The focus is on heritage as public holidays; as icons (Great Zimbabwe and Bastille); and as humans on display (Saartjie Baartman and El Negro). Applying the benchmark for analysis, symbolic-identity heritage is prioritised while other benchmarks are either scantily applied or used out of context. Even though emphasis is occasionally on African heritage and the Khoisan in particular, sub texts speak greatly of white heritage.

4.5 Explanation of heritage in all three history textbooks

In this section, I reviewed the findings that emerged from the interpretation of heritage in the different textbooks analysed, remembering the topic of this study is: *Heritage in contemporary Grade 10 South African history textbooks: A case study*. In so doing, I also compared and contrasted the findings from the various textbooks with the purpose of establishing the similarities, differences, patterns and main discourses that emerge in

the heritage representations in the different books. Exclusively, the aim of this section is to answer one of the two critical questions that inform this study which is: How is heritage represented in contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks?

Initially, the style of the textbooks is such that heritage is depicted as conceptualisation and as case studies. This is however true only of Bottaro et al. (2005) and Dlamini et al. (2005). In Dugmore et al. (2005), the understanding of heritage is implicit in the case studies. However, this style of presentation is an indication that heritage is not only about the personal, that is 'my heritage', it is also about the heritage of other people, other places and other things. Therefore, the heritage espoused in these textbooks is not only about the heritage of the Grade 10 learner's as consumers of these books, but it also alludes to the heritage of the world.

The different views adopted in the textbooks with regards to foregrounding the conceptualisation of heritage are elaborated on below. *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book* makes a worthy attempt to clarify its understanding of the meaning of heritage as well as define its delimitations prior to engaging in the case studies. The idea of a clear conceptualisation is also foregrounded by the producers of *Shutters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*. However, the effort in the textbook is meagre and the bulk of the understanding is implicit in the case studies. The *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book* on the other hand makes no attempt to foreground the meaning of heritage. Therefore, with the exception of *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book*, the other two textbooks assume an understanding of heritage and do not provide any clear conceptualisation. This denotes heritage as a poorly reasoned body of knowledge that can be integrated into disciplines such as history or tourism. The divergent views in the textbooks on the issue of foregrounding the heritage as a concept as seen through the textbooks' application of lexicalisation are an indication of the complex nature of heritage itself. This implies that when the conceptual meaning is not foregrounded it is assumed that the learners' will have their own interpretations using the case studies provided.

Symbolic-identity heritage is the heritage benchmark that is predominant in all three textbooks as can be seen in the data captured and coded in the different Tables (4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7; and 4.8). Symbolic-identity heritage is portrayed through the

choice of lexicon used to refer to “important” individuals of the past, events and places of the past that have contributed to the development of a particular heritage and the identity of a people. Other forms of cultural and natural heritage are sparingly represented or completely absent in these textbooks. For instance, *Making history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* uses examples of lexicons related to natural heritage in its case studies. These are: Table Mountain and Ncome River (Table 4.6); Zimbabwe plateau, grazing land, arable land, and timber resources (Table 4.7); Tsholofelo Park and Orange and Vaal Rivers (Table 4.8). Apart from a suggestion on Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers, Bottaro et al (2005) and Dlamini et al (2005) are silent on the representation of natural heritage. However, the contextual interpretation of the natural heritage lexicons as used in the instances cited above, suggests that they are meant to support an aspect of symbolic-identity heritage rather than to portray the kind of heritage element in them thereby confirming the dominance of symbolic-identity heritage representation in the textbooks.

All three books depict aspects of heritage from an ethnological perspective. Whilst this is not evident in the conceptualisation of *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* (Table 4.1), the two case studies portray lexicons of ethnological heritage (Tables 4.2 & 4.3). This is also true of *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* that elaborates in the case studies the ethnological routes of the Zulu people, the Bushmen, and the Khoisan (Table 4.5). Whilst in *Making history. Grade 10. Learners’ book*, there is also a depiction of ethnological heritage in the case studies. Case study 2 (Table 4.7) depicts the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups while case study 3 (Table 4.8) discusses the Tswana, Batlhaping, and Bechuana ethnic communities as heritage icons.

The least represented indicator is the scientific-technological heritage. The only book that clearly makes use of this indicator is *Making history. Grade 10. Learners’ book* with its allusion to “scientific racism” (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 241). Notwithstanding, it should be noted that some elements categorised under symbolic-identity heritage could as well fit into this category. The implication is therefore that the heritage benchmarks as outlined in the conceptual framework are not rigid. They can be interlinked as a result of some heritage elements having the possibility of being classified under more than one heritage category. For instance, the examples of monuments, museums, and

building cited in all three textbooks as heritage, are understandably aspects of symbolic-identity heritage and are captured as such. However, the scientific knowledge involved in them, constitutes aspects of scientific-technological heritage. This implies a possibility for the creation of other benchmarks for analysis that will be a merger of two or more present categories. However, this option was not considered for this study and I accept any lapses in categorisation as a limitation to this study. Yet, even with the possibility of a new category, symbolic-identity heritage is still dominant. As a result, the textbooks fail to present a holistic heritage as described in the conceptual framework, in chapter two (pp. 32-34). Therefore, according to the producers of the selected textbooks, the goal of heritage at Grade 10 level is to expose learners to a predominantly symbolic-identity heritage at the expense of other heritages, namely: scientific-technological; ethnological; and natural heritage.

In terms of the nature of heritage as being tangible, intangible or IN-Tangible, all three textbooks portray lexicons that contain elements of both. However, there is a realisation from the analysis that heritage cannot exist in a purely tangible form. It can only be either intangible or tangible but with intangible properties, making it IN-Tangible. This is because all tangible objects do have significances that appear in intangible form. For example, the textbooks as the objects of study in this research are tangible heritage materials that are made IN-Tangible through certain ideologies they represent. IN-Tangible heritage representation is corroborated by the fact that symbolic-identity heritage has been identified as the dominant indicator in the three textbooks. This implies that the tangible elements of symbolic heritage are made IN-Tangible by design through the substance of their symbolism.

With regards to gender, all three textbooks show a certain bias in their representation of women. This is evident in both the numerical representation of the different genders as well as the roles given to them in the textbooks. In terms of numbers, there are far more lexicons involving male figures than women-this will not be explored since this study is not quantitative in nature but it is essential to highlight this bias. A few examples here will suffice: The men are depicted as orchestrators of activities worth commemorating as public holidays such as Columbus and Van Riebeeck; they are the powerful kings such as Shaka and Dingaan; they are the political figures such as George Washington,

and Presidents Roosevelt and Johnson of the USA; they are also the great warriors such as Toussaint l'ouverture, Andries Pretorius and Mpande. In contrast, the only instance where a woman is represented in a significant role is mentioned In Bottaro et al. (2005, p. 225) that makes allusion to "the court of Queen Isabella" – implicating the female Isabella as a monarch. Apart from this exception, women are barely explicitly represented with the only other case being that of the humiliating experience of Saartjie Baartman in the illustration of humans on display (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 227; Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 307; Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 241). Therefore the implication is that what is portrayed in the tangible and intangible takes on a predominantly masculine form in the text as evidenced for example by the 'ghettoised' Saartjie Baartman.

Geographically, there is a desultory attempt to portray the international nature of heritage. This is nonetheless approached differently in the different textbooks. For example, in conceptualising heritage, Bottaro et al. (2005) appear to be very conscious of geographical representation, which can be seen as the idea of a common or shared heritage. This is evident in their use of the following examples that match different world geographical spaces: Taj Mahal (India); Elmina fortress (Ghana); Bastille (France); Fourth of July and Columbus day (USA); Haitian Bicentenary and Toussaint l'ouverture (Haiti); Shaka, Voortrekker monument and the idea of a laager mentality (South Africa); Liverpool maritime museum (United Kingdom). Unfortunately, the choice of case studies in the book is not on a par with the impression created of heritage as a shared international phenomenon. The two case studies on Zimbabwean nationalism and Saartjie Baartman are geographically limited to the southern region of Africa. Therefore this book conceptualises heritage as an international phenomenon but provides case studies of heritage that is limited to southern African. Dlamini et al. (2005) on the other hand makes no contradiction in conceptualising one thing and replacing it in practice. The book is clear and consistent in its focus on the heritage of pre-colonial South Africa and by extension the sub region of southern Africa that is manifested through the depiction of the rock art of the Khoisan, as well as the ancient civilisations of Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe. The focus of this book therefore is on the local heritage of southern Africa. In contrast, *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book* is more international in its representation. Though not conceptualised, the choice of lexicons linked to Columbus Day, Van Riebeeck Day, Battle of Blood River, the Bastille, Great

Zimbabwe, as well as the stories of El Negro and Saartjie Baartman, are representative by implication of the heritage of the different geographical regions and people in the world. As a result it can be affirmed that the three textbooks highlight the difficulties of a shared heritage from a geography point of view – be it at international, regional, or local levels.

In addition, the race discourse was also considered for analysis. In this regard, the three books depict a paradigm shift whereby history is no longer only written by and for a particular race. The main trend in the three books is their portrayal of whites as perpetrators with power while the blacks are seen as helpless victims without agency. This is very evident in the case studies linked to humans on display. These case studies depict the “white man” as perpetrators of the treatment of Saartjie Baartman and El Negro, who both represent the helpless condition of the black people at the time. *Making history. Grade 10. Learners’ book* captures this trend further through its choice of lexicons in the presentation of the activities of Christopher Columbus; Van Riebeeck as well as the Battle of Blood River. These examples show lack of autonomy and agency for black people while portraying the “white man” as having full control. *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* presents a slightly different scenario from the one cited above. Here the focus is on the heritage of Africa as seen from the activities of pre-colonial Africa. The extensive emphasis on the art work of the Khoisan people appears to be an attempt to counteract the myth of white supremacy.

Furthermore, as a repository of heritage and culture as well as a prism through which heritage is shown, the choice of language used in the selected books was also important in understanding the nature of heritage representation. Some of the major discourses and trends in the texts were embedded in the use of language. The specific form of language here is the use of pronouns. *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* makes use of personal pronouns in the first person plural and in different forms. For example the subject (we), the object (us), and the possessive (our) are the different forms used in the book to refer to heritage (see page 70). Similar pronouns are also evident in *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner’s book* in the conceptualisation section. The choice of these form of pronouns reflect the publisher’s desire to present in the textbook a shared and inclusive heritage. However, Bottaro et al. (2005, p. 231)

makes use of 'their heritage' to refer to specialised local knowledge as the heritage of tribal healers in South Africa. The insinuation is therefore that even though the textbooks attempt to present an inclusive and shared form of heritage through the kind of language used, there is evidence that heritage cannot be inclusive at all levels. This realisation only adds to the complexity of the heritage concept.

Another perspective considered in the analysis was the views promulgated in the textbooks as well as the positions adopted on the heritage/history relationship. Consequently, all three textbooks present heritage as a recreation of the past whether in the form of people, events, objects, and places. This similarity is established in *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book* by suggesting that "heritage, like history, also helps us understand the past" (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 279). In *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book*, the title of the heritage chapter is captured as *history and heritage*, to signal a relationship between the two. In spite of these similarities, the textbooks also maintain that the two are not identical. Therefore it could be affirmed that Phillips's (2006) view of heritage as a concept that fails to accept the historicity of events and denies historical time and distance (see page 21) is evident in the selected textbooks with regards to heritage and history. In relation to this, Dlamini et al. (2005, p. 297) submit that the purpose of the chapter on heritage was to understand how heritage "is constructed and how it is protected and conserved". A similar opinion is expressed in Bottaro et al. (2005, p. 217) where they state that "we construct our heritage out of the past in ways which make sense or are useful to us". Even though *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book* is not explicit on this discourse, the analysis of the case studies portray heritage as established in the two books cited above, in a similar trend. Therefore the selected textbook's conceptualisation and representation of heritage is on a par with history from the stance that both are concerned with issues of the past. However, the textbooks distance themselves from history at the level where they conceptualise and present heritage as a construction of the present, that refuses to accept historical time and distance.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the findings from the analysis of the heritage chapters of the selected Grade 10 history textbooks namely: *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book*; *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*; and *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book*. The analysis shows a dominant representation of symbolic-identity heritage making it an essential benchmark of heritage as indicated in the analytical framework for this study. Natural heritage is not considered a key benchmark and this applies to scientific-technological as well as ethnological heritage. The implication therefore, is that the representation of heritage in the textbooks is far from being holistic (see pp. 32-34). The selected textbooks were also analysed in terms of race, gender and geographical representation of heritage. As evident in the section 4.5 above, there is an attempt to portray a shared and inclusive heritage even though such an attempt seems half-hearted and not uniform across all three textbooks.

In the next chapter, I discuss these findings in line with the research and theoretical literature as well as the NCS-History. The NCS-History, though a policy document is used in this section as literature because it is the official guideline and provides the heritage outcomes expected at Grade 10 level of history studies. Therefore it is important to determine the extent to which the representation of heritage achieved in chapter four meets the requirements of the NCS and the role of this kind of representation in a post-conflict society such as South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview and discussion of issues emerging from the study of the nature of heritage representation in the selected Grade 10 South African history textbooks. The previous chapter answered the first research question of this study namely: How is heritage represented in the selected history textbooks. The main aim of this chapter is to address the second research question underpinning this study being to establish the reason(s) why heritage is represented the way it is in the selected textbooks.

Therefore this chapter can be seen as the second level of analysis whereby the findings from chapter four were discussed in relation to the research and theoretical/conceptual literature of chapter two. This helped me differentiate the significance of the convergence of knowledge in the literature as opposed to the divergence in the literature which resulted in new knowledge. In other words, this chapter will propose the thesis in this study by troubling, enhancing, influencing and questioning the findings from the first level of analysis to try to understand why heritage is presented the way it is in the selected South African Grade 10 history textbooks

5.2. The conceptualisation of heritage

The selected textbooks presented heritage in very different ways with regards to understanding the concept. This was achieved in the books either by explicit provision of their understandings of the concept in a section for that purpose or it was achieved implicitly through case studies. The *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book* is the only textbook among the three that attempted to acknowledge heritage in terms of concept clarification. According to this book, heritage refers to particular places, people of the past, events, and objects of the past that the present generation has inherited and should pass on to future generations. These icons help shape the identity of the people who have inherited them. However, the book also stated that heritage is not solely about the past in simple terms, but it also entails a construction of the past in ways that

are useful to the people inheriting it. For example in the book it is stated that “we remember the heroes among our ancestors and not their failures” (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 217). This explains that heritage is also concerned with making choice of what to inherit from the past. These different views from this textbook are then encapsulated in both case studies, in the form of, Zimbabwean nationalism and Saartjie Baartman (a case of humans on display).

Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner’s book also attempted a clarification of the concept though very superficially. Here the focus was still on inheritance (individual or groups) that helps to understand the past. This is also in the form of events, symbolic objects and people from the past that are celebrated as heritage today. Finally in *Making history. Grade 10. Learners’ book*, there was no attempt to conceptualise heritage. Rather the meaning of the concept is to be deduced from the examples and choices of lexicons used in the case studies within the text. In this regard, the textbook’s reference to the following: public holidays; important battles; Great Zimbabwe and the Bastille; and to humans on display, is an indication that in this textbook the views on heritage are expressed from the perspectives of examples or as a broad body of knowledge outside the conceptual parameters.

Therefore, the understanding of the concept of heritage in the three textbooks could be summarised as follows: That heritage is about important people, days, places, and events that people have inherited from the past. But not everything from the past is considered heritage, so heritage is also about how the present generation construct their past in ways that make meaning and are useful to them; above all, it also means that according to the textbooks, heritage cannot be expressed in a single meaning. It is understood and expressed differently in different contexts and space – hence the differing views from the different textbooks in South Africa as a post-conflict society.

These findings concur with the literature reviewed in chapter two on the conceptualisation of heritage. Fundamentally, the literature acknowledged the fact that the concept of heritage is a very malleable one, largely ambiguous, very difficult and debatable and full of paradoxes (see page 14). Different authors and scholars cited in the literature, conceptualised heritage in different ways with each conceptualisation having its own specific focus. For example, Vecco (2010) submits that the concept of

heritage has been characterised by expansion and semantic transfer through the years. (See Table 2.1, pp. 15-16). The implication is that the different meanings attributed to heritage in the different textbooks are in accordance with the revelation from the research literature about the difficulties of conceptualising heritage.

Furthermore, the textbook's position that heritage is a construction of the past in the present correlate the views of Saunders (2007) and Copeland (2004; 2010). While the former viewed heritage as what is created in the present to remember the past, the latter simply suggests that the process of heritage alludes to making choices on what to inherit and what to discard from the past. The link between both views in relation to this particular finding from the textbooks is that, heritage is not merely about everything that happened in the past. It is a present day construction of the past based on particular choices made by the present generation (by textbook producers in this instance) on what is valuable about their past that merits to be celebrated as heritage, and what should be discarded. However, it must be noted that this process of choice according to Copeland (2004; 2010) is not a straight forward, linear one. It evolves over time and in space and this is largely based on the temporal historical context – which is the selected textbooks for this study; a post-conflict South African society explaining the contemporary context within which heritage is conceptualised with the NCS-History and the constitution providing guidelines for the conceptualisation and implementation of heritage in the education milieu.

Moreover, heritage according to the textbooks also comprises buildings and other structures such as monuments, museums and memorials for the preservation of icons. Examples of such structures used in the texts include buildings such as Taj Mahal and the Elmina fortress; monuments such as the Voortrekker Monument, the Diaz Cross and the monument commemorating the Zulu participation in the Battle of Blood River; museums such as the Liverpool Maritime Museum, and the Apartheid and District Six museums; including statues such as Van Riebeeck in Cape Town. The structures listed above are all important in the preservation and conservation of heritage so that this can be bequeathed to future generations. This resonates with Nora's argument that links the idea of recreating the past in the present to the discourse of memory (Nora, 1898). He argues, as quoted by Phillips (2006), that memory is always a phenomena of the

present and for this memory to be celebrated, there is the need for a place for the recreated past called *lieux de memoires* or sites of memory (see p. 19). There are these places or sites of memory that are represented in the textbooks in the form of museums, statues, memorials and other similar buildings and infrastructure of historical value and significance.

Therefore, with reference to the conceptualisation of heritage, the findings from the analysis of the textbooks are confirmation of the trend reviewed in the literature. Apropos this discussion, the following points are advanced to account for why heritage is conceptualised as such in the textbooks:

Firstly, it is because of the complexity of the heritage phenomena itself as identified in the literature. Hence heritage is obliged to be understood from different perspectives since the origin of it as well as its evolution, including its delimitations is highly contested. As a result, the textbooks' representation of the conceptualisation of heritage could be seen within the context of the ambiguous nature of heritage from the point of its inception up to its present use.

Secondly, the different conceptualisations of heritage in the textbooks are also a result of the inability of the policy documents to clearly define what heritage must encapsulate. For example, the NCS-History that purports heritage as one of its outcomes is very superficial and passive on the conceptualisation of heritage. Although this document states what is expected of learners in terms of heritage in the different grades, the inability to clearly define what heritage is leaves the different textbooks with the opportunity to fill the gap with their own different views. Such is the situation of the textbooks selected for this study whereby heritage is conceptualised in different ways.

Thirdly, the producers of these textbooks are destined to make certain pedagogic moves, such as was seen in the analysis of the selected textbooks, recollecting that these textbooks are commercial entities that also determine how and what learners think and learn. Therefore the different conceptualisations of heritage in the selected textbooks are a result of the textbook's producer's desire to impose on learners what to think and learn through the history textbooks.

5.3 The nature of heritage

By the nature of heritage in this section, I am referring to aspects related to the conceptual indicators of heritage identified in my conceptual framework of heritage in chapter two, that also served in this study as the framework for analysing the data. This corresponds with the extent of representations of natural, symbolic-identity, scientific-technological, and ethnological heritage in the textbooks. It also involves the representation of tangible, intangible, and IN-Tangible heritage. The combination of the above aspects constitutes the holistic view of heritage as previously referred to in chapter two (see Figure 2.1, p. 34 and Table 2.2, p. 35). The indicators are broadly discussed here in two broad categories, namely natural heritage and cultural heritage, with the latter category further divided into symbolic-identity, scientific-technological, and as ethnological heritage.

From a rudimentary perspective, natural heritage would imply aspects of 'valued' inheritance that are purely gifts of nature, and not made by human effort. These would include amongst others rivers, mountains, animals and plants. Their consideration as natural heritage depends greatly on their being appreciated as such by the generation, community or group that is endowed with them. Table 2.3 shows natural heritage as one of the indicators in the conceptualisation of holistic heritage. The UN Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, cited in chapter 2, page 17 defined natural heritage in three categories namely: as natural features consisting of physical and biological formations; as geological and physiographical formations constituting the habitat of threatened species of plants and animals; or as natural sites and areas of outstanding value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty (UNESCO, 1972). The convention also stipulates that natural heritage appears in tangible form and is therefore an aspect of tangible heritage. Despite this, the significance of this heritage on a given people is usually something of an intangible nature, thereby qualifying them as both tangible and IN-Tangible heritage at different moments in time.

The review of literature on the origin and semantic evolution of the concept heritage reveals that emphasis on natural heritage only became relevant in the last quarter of the

twentieth century. Prior to this period, heritage was understood entirely from a cultural perspective, and the emphasis was on the physical/tangible heritage of cultural value such as historical monuments and buildings. As per the analysis, natural heritage is largely underrepresented in the textbooks. The nature of its representation suggests that it is not a priority for learners at Grade 10 level. However, this is not to say there is a complete disregard for natural heritage in the textbooks. For instance, *Making history. Grade 10. Learner's book* mentions the following natural heritage resources: Ncome River; Table Mountain; Zimbabwe Plateau; Orange and Vaal Rivers; and the Tsholofelo Park (Dugmore et al., 2005, pp. 236/239/234/239/241/242) respectively. *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book* on its part refers to the Limpopo River and the *Hungwe* (a Shona word for rainbird) (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 318). While, in *In Search of history. Grade 10*, there is the lexical use of the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 220).

The examples cited above are evidently resources from the natural heritage category. However, the context in which these resources are used in the textbooks do not seem to project their qualities of natural heritage but rather they are used either in support of a different indicator of heritage that is fore grounded by the textbook or simply as an attempt to elaborate further on an assertion. In the examples above, the Ncome River is only used as an illustration of the battle of Blood River while the soap stone birds are assigned to highlight the link between the symbols of the Ancient Kingdom of Great Zimbabwe and the new state of Zimbabwe. None is included with the intention of promoting their natural heritage potential. This applies to the other natural heritage resources recorded in the textbooks. Therefore I draw the conclusion from the analysis that natural heritage as a benchmark of heritage is not represented in the textbooks and is not a conceptual priority for Grade 10 history learners according to the producers of these books.

The lack of natural heritage representation comes despite the significance placed on this by the government through relevant policy documents such as the constitution and the NCS. Consequently, the NCS-History for Grade 10, states in its learning outcome 4 that the aim is to “engage learners critically with issues of heritage, public representations of the past and the conservation of heritage. Learners will also be

expected to engage with issues around knowledge systems, including indigenous knowledge systems” (DoE, 2003, p. 14). Even though natural heritage is clearly not stipulated as one of the aims of the document, it can be understood that it is implicitly stated especially with the inclusion of the clause on ‘conservation’. In this regard, the textbooks seem to have failed in transmitting one of the requirements of the NCS-History.

On a similar note, the Constitution of South Africa, which informs the NCS, also has a clause that relates to the protection and promotion of natural heritage. Chapter 1, section 24, state in sub section ‘a’ and ‘b’ that everyone has the right “to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing; and “to have the environment protected for the benefit of present and future generations” (Republic of South Africa – constitutional law, 1996, pp. 1251-1253). Considering that the environment forms part of the natural inheritance, it is evident that the constitutional clause cited above seeks to protect and promote natural heritage.

Therefore the importance of natural heritage is clearly evident in the fact that it is used as provisions of both NCS-History and the constitution. Ironically, the textbooks that have been described in the literature as pedagogic tools aimed at carrying the aspirations of the policy into the classrooms are clearly not foregrounding natural heritage based on the findings from this study. This implies a lack of communication between the requirements of official policy on heritage and its practical implementation on the ground with specific reference to issues of natural heritage in history education.

The second heritage category is that of cultural heritage. According to the literature, two approaches were advanced to understand cultural heritage. The first view from the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage – UNESCO (1972), described cultural heritage in the form of monuments, groups of buildings or sites (tangible resources) that are of outstanding value whether from a historical, aesthetic, ethnological and even anthropological point of view. The second dimension augments the above by describing heritage to include oral traditions, memories, languages, performing arts or rituals, knowledge systems and values and knowledge (intangible resources) that a family or society want to safe guard and preserve for future generations (Dondolo, Mrubata and Prosalindis, 2002). This second

dimension has also been referred to as living heritage (Bredekamp, 2004). These two broad dimensions of heritage formed the bases of the conceptual framework of heritage in this study (holistic heritage) that I engaged with to produce the cultural heritage indicators for the analytical framework.

Subsequently, it should be remembered that of the three forms of cultural heritage employed for analysis, symbolic-identity heritage was evidently the most dominant. This was observed through the use of lexicons related to symbolic names of people of the past, of places, of objects, as well as of events of the past. All three textbooks invested much effort in portraying and promoting certain identities through their emphasis on certain symbolic icons. Usually the heritage presented centred on heroes or great figures that contributed to nation building. For example, symbolism and identity is depicted in *In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book* through the following lexical examples: Shaka and Toussaint l'ouverture as symbols of resistance against oppression and quest for identity; Great Zimbabwe as a reflection of the identity of the Zimbabwe people; Saartjie Baartman as a symbol of bravery, courage, and man's inhumanity to man but also a reflection of the plight of the Khoisan people.

A similar rhetoric of symbolic-identity heritage can be noticed in the other two textbooks. For instance, in dealing with public holidays as heritage, *Making history. Grade 10. Learner's book* focuses on certain symbolic individuals and their contributions to these public holidays. Some of these individuals include: Christopher Columbus and Presidents Roosevelt and Johnson of the USA, regarding Columbus Day; Van Riebeeck and Cecil Rhodes for van Riebeeck Day; and Dingane, Piet Retief, Mpande and Pretorius with regards to the Day of Reconciliation. All the above personalities are doubtless symbolic icons considering their different roles in defining identity for their respective people through activities that culminated in the declaration of the public holidays linked to their names.

Moreover, the representation of symbolic-identity heritage as a form of cultural heritage in the textbooks also exposed the complexities of certain discourses related to issues of race, gender, as well as 'big/famous and small or less important people'. For example, all three textbooks depict icons such as Christopher Columbus and Van Riebeeck as famous individuals through activities linked to them. While on the other hand, Saartjie

Baartman, El Negro, the Arawak and Khoisan people are represented as less important or 'small people' in society as seen in their roles in the 'display of humans'. Therefore these are other aspects of symbolism and identity that are addressed in the textbooks under heritage.

Other aspects of cultural heritage such as scientific-technological heritage and ethnological heritage are minimally represented but not completely absent. The point is made that these indicators are usually only aimed at emphasising symbolism and identity. To conclude, in terms of cultural heritage, the focus of the selected textbooks is largely on symbolism and identity.

Symbolism and identity therefore are concerned with the quest and desire to promote citizenship, nation building, unity and patriotism, especially in the context of post-conflict societies. This is because this form of heritage emphasises the role played by specific individuals in nation building and also on certain activities and events that have contributed to a nation's current status. On the other hand, this form of heritage also embraces the responsibility of society for the plight of the less powerful and the voiceless with regards to gender and race within society. Therefore the reason these textbooks portray heritage in this way is because of the present day need in a post-conflict society to cherish and preserve these symbolic heritage icons as a sign of love and respect for the nation. In this regard, the quest for nation building and citizenship through the representation of symbolic-identity heritage in history textbooks could be regarded as part of a political agenda in the context of South Africa as a post-conflict society.

The literature confirms this link between symbolic-identity heritage, nation building and citizenship, through the works of Van de Kaaij (2004) and Wilhelm (2004) who contend that there is a strong affinity between heritage education and certain contemporary issues such as citizenship and democracy. This concurs with Van Wijk's (no date) hypothesis that after the Second World War, as a post-conflict society it was necessary for people to identify a common heritage – globally and locally before they could unite and build their own nations and a better world. Post-apartheid South Africa could therefore be seen from this perspective whereby the history textbooks as a vehicle can

promote post-apartheid and post-conflict nation building and citizenship efforts through a representation of symbolism and identity.

As a result it could be said that the dominant presentation of symbolic-identity heritage coincides with the desire to promote citizenship and nation building through the identification of common heritage icons. Nation building will by extension lead to greater unity amongst the nations of the world (van Wijk, no date) and specifically in post-conflict South Africa.

5.4 The choice of language in the selected textbooks

Another critical finding from the textbooks was the choice of language used. This particular finding is very important because the specific CDA method employed to analyse the data for this study was lexicalisation. Authors such as Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), Crawford (no date); and Engelbrecht (2008) have emphasised in the literature the role of language in discourse. Regarding the specific ideological role of textbooks, it was revealed that the kind of ideology presented in history textbooks is usually masked by language. Hence, language determines the socio – cultural generalisations of a society and forms a part of society's collective consciousness. This is the form of language that Engelbrecht (2008) and Polakow-Suranski (2002) referred to as the master symbols because, as with stereotypes, language in the form of master symbols could play a central role in creating consciousness of the social hierarchy. Crawford (no date) describes the role of language in a more intriguing manner when he refers to history textbook knowledge as knowledge that is coded and classified, placed within contexts, assigned spaces and ranked in terms of status and meaning. The implication is that the process of manufacture of such knowledge is political and largely reliant on the choice of language. This role of language in history textbooks also implies that the kind of heritage presented in them will be confused in the language dilemma. Therefore, the discourse of heritage is voiced in the textbooks mainly through the use of language.

Two categories of language use are identified in the data. The first is the use of specific kinds of pronouns while the second relates to the choice and use of discourses other

than the pronouns, but that contribute in understanding to the nature of heritage presented in the selected textbooks.

With regards to pronouns, the textbooks mostly made use of the first person plural to describe aspects of heritage. This involves the use of lexicons such as 'we', 'our', and 'us'. The use of such lexicons reflects the desire to present heritage as a shared and inclusive concept that must cut across societal lines, including but not limited to gender, race, and ethnicity with a purpose in South Africa to explore and understand the role of language in the kind of heritage that is represented in textbooks within the context of a post-conflict society. It also highlights the view of heritage as a universal phenomenon to be seen transcending geographical lines.

This is equally espoused in the view of van Wijk (no date) in which he attributes the increase in international interest on heritage to post Second World War Europe whereby the identification and promotion of common heritages were outlined as necessary pre requisites for post war unity in Europe. Therefore, in this study, the emphasis on the use of the first person plural pronoun could be seen to advance the quest for national unity following post apartheid transformation and efforts towards that goal, as highlighted for example in the constitution and the NCS-History.

However, in spite of the elaborate use of pronouns in the first person plural, there is evidence of some instances where pronouns are used in a context that do not suppose shared and collective heritage. An example of this is the reference to "their heritage" referring to specialised local knowledge as the heritage of traditional healers (Bottaro et al., 2005, p. 231). Even though such cases are isolated and scarce in the textbooks, their presence nonetheless is a reflection of the apparent tension in what heritage, either as a concept or as a phenomenon should represent as a shared notion implying that not all forms of heritage are inclusive or can be shared at all times. There is heritage that belongs to certain people or groups of people making it 'their heritage'. Similarly, the dominant language used in the textbooks with regards to choice of pronouns is the first person plural which shows the intention of the textbooks' stake holders to promote a shared and inclusive heritage as a means of promoting national unity and consciousness and internationalisation as seen in the literature.

The second category of language identified in the textbooks refers to language that is embedded in discourses of ideology other than the use of pronouns. This is seen mostly through the choice of lexicons used to refer to heritage in terms of places, people, events and names. The selection of language in these examples largely deciphers the kind of ideology portrayed in the textbooks. In the textbooks analysed for this study, this language portrays an inclination towards symbolism and identity thereby promoting symbolic-identity form of heritage. The following examples from *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book* is an illustration of this form of language in the textbooks. In the section on "What is the Day of Reconciliation?", this particular textbook makes use of different lexicons to refer to the different military groups involved: The trekkers are referred to as the 'commandos' whilst the Zulus are either called 'warriors' or simply 'fighters'. The British on the other hand is not given any military name as seen in this excerpt, "During the South African War of 1899-1902, fought between these Boer Republics and Britain, the day was celebrated with particular fervour as the Boer commandoes [soldiers] prayed for victory over the British" (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 237). Moreover, in the same text the size of the Zulu army is mentioned – 10000 warriors and their death toll at the Battle of Blood River also estimated with some precision at 3000. Conversely the Boer commando force is recorded only as "a few hundred trekkers" with their number of casualties listed as only three sustaining minor injuries (Dugmore et al., 2005, p. 236).

The examples cited above are instances of knowledge that are coded through the use of language as explained by Crawford (no date), with the purpose of promoting a particular agenda or ideology. In this portrayal of the trekker military as mighty and superior over the Zulus and the British through giving them superior military connotations (commandoes) and as over emphasising their victory over the Zulus in the Battle of Blood River whilst simultaneously downplaying in the same text their defeat to the British in the South African War of 1899-1902. Engelbrecht (2008) and Polakow-Suranski (2002) refer to such language use as master symbols. They submit that these symbols in history textbooks determine the socio-cultural generalisations of a society and, as with stereotypes and mythologies, these symbols could play a central role in creating consciousness of the social hierarchy among children.

In conclusion, it can be said that language is universalistic. Its role is vital for this study because it is essentially a prism through which heritage is depicted in the selected textbooks thereby serving as a repository of heritage and of culture as a whole. Succinctly, this role of language explains the reasons language is used in a particular way in the selected textbooks. But more specifically, the kind of language used in the textbooks can be attributed to the following factors: Firstly, there is a need to use heritage as a vehicle to achieve unity and nation building in a post-conflict South African society through the extensive choice of first person plural used in the textbook to represent shared and inclusive heritage. Secondly, there is the political and ideological role of language as explained with the example of the Day of Reconciliation, cited in *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book*. In this instance, the textbook producers' use of language simply adheres to the political and ideological nature of history textbooks as demonstrated in the literature. But in the particular case of the selected textbooks and in the context of post-conflict South Africa, such choice of language is a revelation that the shadow of apartheid still lingers.

5.5 The pedagogical design of presentation of heritage in the selected textbooks

Similarly as with the conceptualisation of heritage, the selected textbooks presented the heritage phenomenon in different ways with regards to design, reinforcing how the same content as prescribed by the NCS-History is approached via language in a different pedagogical manner. This involves the way the following components are treated: presentation of conceptualisation, textual content information, narration, visuals, case studies, sources, and activities. It must be kept in mind that the scope of this study was limited to lexical representations of heritage in the textual content. Other aspects such as the visuals and the activities, even though important in understanding the heritage phenomenon in these textbooks, were not considered for analysis as they were extraneous to the focus of this particular study. However, these aspects are briefly mentioned at this point due to the need to espouse the implication of the different designs of presentation on the kind of heritage represented.

In search of history. Grade 10. Learner's book presents the heritage topic in three broad components namely: a conceptualisation phase and two case studies. The chapter opens with a conceptualisation in which the textbooks' understanding of heritage as a concept is provided. This understanding is then presented practically in the form of two case studies – on Great Zimbabwe as an icon of Zimbabwean nationalism and on Saartjie Baartman as an example of the practice of display of humans. The content information is supported by visual images of the different heritage icons presented. This adds colour to the textual information and lends authenticity to the presentation. The text also provides sources to serve as evidence for the information provided. Finally, assessment activities are provided under the different sub topics in order to test the achievement of the stipulated learning outcomes. It should be noted that this textbook still succeeds in presenting information in a narration despite it being highly source-based.

Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book also begins with a brief conceptualisation section. From there, the book progresses to the case studies that are presented in the form of sub-topics. Each sub-topic covers a particular aspect of heritage. The choices selected for the different case studies include: photographs; paintings; museums; oral history; names; public holidays; monuments; rock art; sacred heritage sites; and national consciousness. Evidently, this textbook barely provides a clear narration. The content presented is largely juxtaposed with a variety of sources in the form of visuals as well as a series of activities and continuous assessment tasks for teachers, peers, groups, and for self.

The difference in presentation design is very evident with *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book*. The most noticeable difference is that there is no section for the conceptualisation of heritage in this latter book. Here heritage is presented as a body of knowledge under different case studies. The case studies take a largely narrative format with few sources and visual images and activities that accompany this narration.

The different pedagogic choices used in presenting the heritage phenomena as seen in the three textbooks are evidence of the textbooks as commercial products that expose different pedagogic possibilities, but also show a lack of the harmonisation reality within the history textbook industry. As a result it could be argued that a major reason for

these differences has to do with the very nature of the textbook enterprise in general. From an ideological and political view point, Apple and Christian-Smith (199, p. 31) pointed out the naivety in considering the content of history textbooks as a neutral collection of knowledge. They argue that these textbooks “are a result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises that are conceived, designed and authored by people with a vested interest. They are [as a result] published within the political and economic constraints of the market, resources and power”. The implication is that even though history textbooks have been seen in chapter two as vital pedagogic tools through which ‘official history’ is transmitted to the public through the learners (Sewall, 2004), what is actually considered to be ‘legitimate’ or ‘official’ knowledge is the result of complex power relations which signal more profound political, economic and cultural relations as well as histories.

Consequently, the different designs of presentation and pedagogic choices could be interpreted as the stake holders’ involvement in the power relations with the quest of achieving the ideological objectives as cited above. This is explained further by Romanowski (1996) who submitted that in making decisions on what to include and exclude in history textbooks, authors assign positive or negative interpretations to particular events thereby asserting a set of values. Notwithstanding, a certain degree of lack of agency could be attributed to these authors when one considers a variety of other dynamics that come to play such as the power of the government authority, the desire to meet demands of publishing houses and the need to meet the taste of the learners and the general public who are the consumers of these products. It is therefore for these reasons that the selected history textbooks present heritage in different ways with specific regards to design and pedagogic choices.

Pedagogic choices have been a frequent concern in history textbooks. For this reason, authors such as Lin et al. (2009), Polakow-Suranski (2002), and Engelbrecht (2006) acknowledged that the content and perspectives presented in textbooks are not neutral but rather these textbooks incorporate certain attitudes and ways of looking at the world. A typical example lies in the inconsistencies and conflicting views on aspect of the Korean War such as the causes, the American and Chinese involvement, and the result of the war as revealed in a comparative content analysis of history textbooks from the

USA, Japan, China and South Korea (Lin et al., 2009). Therefore pedagogic choices are an indication of the role of language as well as the power relations that exist in history textbooks and in heritage enterprise. These power relations involve authors, publishers, and government authorities with these different officials having different levels of agency with regards to deciding the pedagogic choices made in history textbooks. For instance, while Romanowski (1996) concedes that authors have a great deal of agency in making judgements about what should or not be included and how these choices should be summarised and presented, other scholars such as Odendaal and Galloway (2008) suggest that authors are powerless agents as the real power to make pedagogic choices in history textbooks lies with other stake holder such as government and publishers. Consequently the above cited scholars argue that some authors have resorted to the phenomenon of self-publishing. The literature therefore provides ample evidence that the nature of history textbooks is very complex and this complexity is seen in the design features of the textbooks whereby the different textbooks made different pedagogic choices with regards to their design of presentation of heritage especially in terms of conceptualisation and the content.

Another reason for the different pedagogic choices made in the textbooks could be the fact that the curriculum itself is open to interpretation by allowing for different voices. The NCS-History, as the policy document that describes what and how history must be taught, allows textbook producers ample leeway to interpret the guidelines. This leaves the textbook producers with ample room to explore the curriculum in terms of content and pedagogy and an opportunity to interpret it in different ways and also to present their different interpretations in different forms as seen in the textbooks selected for this study. Therefore the different designs result from the diverse interpretations of the curriculum by the different textbook producers.

5.6 The heritage/history partnership

The selected textbooks also reflect the difficulties that exist in trying to differentiate between heritage as a concept and the discipline of history. The bone of contention in this relationship seems to be which of the two is the guardian of the past, considering that the main concern of both is about events of the past. The scholarly works of both

Lowenthal (1996) and Phillips (2006) were very important in establishing the inter relationship of the two. According to the former, historians base their claims about the past on the quest for truth backed by evidence, while heritage is viewed as not a very testable account of the past but rather simply concerned with the declaration of faith in the past. In the view of Phillips (2006), heritage could be described as a way of seeing the past that denies historical time and distance. The primary concern of the heritage practitioners is the domestication of the past and not a systematic study of the events of the past, which is the interest of historians. In spite of this difference, their relationship is still an uneasy one and in most instances one is taken to signal the same as the other and vice versa.

This uneasy partnership between heritage/history is also portrayed in the selected textbooks. Even though the selected chapters clearly stipulated that the concern is on heritage, the language in the textbooks and the content choices made are a hindrance to clearly differentiate the heritage/history dichotomy. An example of this situation is presented in *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book*. This textbook commences by providing a similarity between heritage and history before disclosing that the chapter is about heritage (Dlamini et al., 2005, p. 279). The obvious question should be why the chapter is focused on heritage and not history if the book acknowledges that the two are similar or even the same. Moreover, the content presented in the case studies is all relevant in terms of history. The textbooks therefore fail to provide a clear explanation of the relationship between heritage and history as presented in the chapters for that purpose. This renders valid the words of Bundy (2007, p. 78) in the context of this study that "history, as interpreter of the past, cohabits uneasily with its common-law partners, heritage and commemoration".

The reason for this dilemma could be explained in the context of the NCS-History that does not differentiate clearly between heritage and history in the stated outcome. This outcome simply specifies aspects to be covered under heritage in the specified Grades. Therefore, it is obvious that the textbooks are a replication of the vagueness of the relevant policy document to demarcate the boundary line and explain the relationship between heritage and history.

In addition, textbook producers in South Africa seem not to be abreast with the debate on the heritage/history partnership. The discourse seems to be so contentious and controversial that South African scholars seem to prefer to ignore the debate. (Carruthers, 1998). This has resulted in an apparent and noticeable lack of scholarship on the heritage/history dichotomy particularly in South Africa, with the resulting effect that there is an absence of a benchmark to follow for various stake holders – textbook producers, authors, and the government, as well as the heritage practitioners and historians, when dealing with issues related to the concept heritage, the discipline history and the history textbook.

In addition to the lack of proper understanding of the heritage/history debate, another reason is the tension that exists between the two fields of heritage and history which the textbooks do not seem to have bridged in their own language use. The works of authors such as Lowenthal (1996); Nora (1989) and Slekar (2001), have been instrumental in espousing this tension. The bottom line of their scholarship has been that the difference between the two fields lies in that history is concerned with the quest for truth based on evidence in the forms of documents and/or artefacts, whilst acknowledging historical time and distance. In contrast heritage is viewed as an emotive discipline that is concerned with the ‘domestication’ of the past mostly for commercial purposes. Despite these differences, the authors maintain that both fields share many similarities – the reason why they are sometimes conveniently taken to mean one and the same thing. Therefore for this study, the textbooks’ failure to differentiate clearly between heritage and history is an indictment of the stake holders’ inability to grapple with the conspicuous tension that exists between both fields.

5.7 Gender and race

From a gender perspective of heritage, except for a few exceptions, the findings revealed a large penchant towards male as opposed to female representation. Whilst in terms of race, the analysis of the textbooks revealed some sentiments of bias in favour of and against certain race groups in the textbooks. This is seen in the choice of language as well as in the choice of examples used to present heritage (this point has been stressed in the last section of chapter four). Ironically the unequal representation

of both gender and race in the textbooks is however masked by the choice and repeated use of pronouns in the first person plural form to indicate shared and inclusive heritage. Therefore this means that to some extent, the textbooks make use of lexicons that could be equated to the master symbols that du Preez (1983) cited by Engelbrecht (2008) referred to in a study of 53 history textbooks used in black and white South African schools during the apartheid era. The reason for this form of gender and race representation could be seen echoed in the present day struggle to reconcile the patriarchy as it existed in apartheid South Africa. Although current society is entrenched in a post patriarchal era as seen in legislations and policies that speak firmly against the practice, such textbook depictions of issues of race and gender are a suggestion that the shadow of apartheid still looms in this post-conflict South Africa.

However, this kind of representation is against the spirit of the constitution of South Africa and the NCS-History. An important link between these two documents is that the NCS-History is informed by the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). The introduction to the NCS-History captures excerpts of the preamble of this constitution namely:

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 foundation of an 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. (DoE, 2003, p. 2)

The above clauses could therefore be seen as the intention to achieve social transformation and social cohesion through education and heritage education in particular. However, the implementation of these is not easily achieved with regards to issues of gender and race because, as explained above, society seems to be haunted by the shadow of apartheid whereby patriarchy was the norm and the race discourse informed the pulse of society.

Therefore the reason for such a representation of heritage from a certain gender and racial point of view, irrespective of the lofty demands of policy documents, could be seen as a struggle by the textbook producers and other stake holders in the heritage

sector to move beyond the apartheid and colonial past of South African society with regards to issues of patriarchy and race. This past in question being: a patriarchal society with regards to gender; and a society where people still define their identities largely along racial lines rather than a nation, and with the belief that some race groups are inferior or superior to others. Certainly, this evokes a tension in the history textbook industry relating to the idea of a new heritage versus the continuation of the past with reference to the gender and racial representation of heritage. In this debate, the stance of the policy is clear through the constitution and the NCS-History, whilst that of the textbooks is evident through the findings from the analysis that I may say engages with it in a rather crude and ambiguous manner.

5.8 Heritage education in history in the context of South Africa as a post-conflict society

All the above discussions were also considered within the context of South Africa as a post-conflict society with certain characteristics related to such societies and South Africa in particular. The purpose is to gain an understanding of how, why and to what extent are post-conflict permutations within South Africa responsible for the nature of heritage representation in the selected textbooks and the implications thereof.

According to Weldon (2010, p. 353), one of the priorities of societies emerging from identity based conflict is to “signal a new society, with values that stand in stark contrast with the old”. One such value evidently is education. In this regard, Poppema (2009, p. 383) cites the example of the post-cold war peace efforts in which he notes that “nearly 70% of the 43 full peace agreements that were signed between 1989 and 2005 included education in some way”. This implies that education is generally considered to play an important role in the reconstruction process of post-conflict societies. The introduction of curriculum reforms in post-1994 South Africa, from curriculum 2005 to the NCS and the present CAPS, is testimony to this claim. Therefore it could be argued that education has the potential to contribute to post-conflict peace building efforts by using the curriculum for example to cultivate tolerance and inclusivity.

However, in spite of the above considerations, a study conducted by Hilker (2011) in Rwanda under the theme “education, conflict and peace in Rwanda”, concluded that

education also has the role to exacerbate the factors that lead to violent conflict if for instance the curriculum is manipulated for political reasons. The conclusion that can be drawn from the situations cited above is that education in a post-conflict society can achieve any of the following three possibilities: firstly it can serve as a unifying factor for the previously belligerent groups; secondly it could contribute to divide the society even further; and finally it can lead to a situation that blends the two extremes – a scenario of no war and no peace but permanent suspicion and tension.

This typology can be applied to heritage in a similar way. The apartheid ideology of the pre-1994 South African society ensured that there were imbalances in the promotion of the heritages of the different groups within society. Because this discrimination was official policy, it was implemented in education circles and as a result history textbooks were used as a fundamental tool to forward this agenda. The willingness of the apartheid regime to implement policies by use of force, that promoted Afrikaner and white heritage on the one hand, and on the other hand, the desire by the disadvantaged group to resist such policies, resulted in a situation of conflict. An example of such a conflict is the 1976 Soweto uprising that was triggered by the government's decision to make Afrikaans a language of instruction in African schools within South Africa (Marschall, 2006).

Against this background, many concerns have been raised about the role of heritage in post-conflict South Africa. For example scholars such as Collier, Hoeffler, and Söderbom (2008) have questioned whether contemporary heritage representation is facilitating the process of reconciliation or is it merely masking an unwanted past and reifying a new geography of the excluded. They have therefore sought to understand how heritage can satisfy the needs of today's population and yet function as sustainable solutions, such as the quest for unity-in-diversity, and the desire for nation building in post-conflict societies. On the other hand, Davies (2004) has simply challenged the reliability of the textbook as a conductor and/or monitor of post-conflict heritage. The idea that runs across the scholarship cited above is that even though individuals might make individual interventions with regards to heritage in post-conflict situations, they tend to operate within a larger framework or within a shared collective experience such as the textbooks, the NCS, the constitution, and the established or emerging ideology of

the time. By implication, the role of heritage in promoting the desired post-conflict social cohesion is both controversial and contested. Therefore, it can be said that one reason for the kind of heritage represented in the selected textbooks is the desire by the stakeholders of the textbook industry to rebuild and unite a nation that has emerged from years of conflict. This is seen in the attempt by the textbooks to present shared and inclusive heritage from the point of view of race, geography and gender. However, the fact that the analysis of the selected textbooks also shows instances of bias and personal heritage actually mirrors the intentions of textbook producers whilst at the same time indicating that the requirements of the NCS-History can only be achieved in a certain way. There is therefore a limitation of what the textbooks can do even in ideal conditions, in terms of heritage and reconciliation.

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the findings from chapter four were discussed in relation to the research and theoretical literature. It should be noted that the Constitution of South Africa and the NCS-History were both consulted as literature because of their relevance for this discussion in terms of testing the level of compliance of the heritage represented in the textbooks to the requirements of official policy. This chapter also discussed the nature of post-conflict societies with South Africa as a case-in-point. The main goal of this chapter however, was to address the second research question for this study namely: Why is heritage represented as it is in the selected contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks? Below is a synopsis of the reasons that were advanced and discussed, as answer to the second research question:

Firstly, there appears to be a desire for textbooks to promote citizenship and nation building in post-conflict South African society. This desire is manifested in the textbooks through the choice of pronouns used to refer to heritage. The emphasis on the first person singular such as 'we', 'our' and 'us' not only signify the universalistic nature of language, but also the efforts to promote shared and inclusive heritage. Moreover, the desire is also manifested through an emphasis on symbolic-identity heritage as opposed to other forms of heritage. Through this form of heritage, symbolic icons such

as important personalities, places and events of the past are portrayed. These icons can to a certain extent help create identity and a sense of nationhood.

Secondly, there is the aspect of the complex nature of history textbooks in particular and the textbook industry in general. Studies have proven that these textbooks are not neutral transmitters of knowledge (Dudu, Gonye, Mareva, and Sibanda, 2008; Engelbrecht, 2006/2008; Stoffels, 2007). Though widely used as pedagogic tools, these textbooks are also renowned for being political weapons and carriers of particular ideologies. This factor was used to clarify the reasons for the different pedagogic choices used in the selected textbooks with regards to their content and design. It must be noted here that the choices made at this level are also linked to the agency of the textbook stake holders such as the authors, the publishers and the government.

Thirdly, there is an apparent lack of understanding by the textbook producers of debates surrounding the heritage/history partnership. Although this sector abounds with scholarship there is still much contestation and counter contestation on the heritage/history dichotomy. This state of affairs leaves the textbook producers with little choice than to transmit the perplexity into the textbooks. The result is therefore that the heritage presented in the history textbooks is not clearly distinguished from the discipline of history. Moreover, the NCS-History as the policy document that stipulates the pedagogic content and design for history education, also failed to draw a clear line between the two fields.

Finally, with regards to the representation of heritage in terms of gender and race, there is difficulty in relinquishing the apartheid and colonial past. This is seen in the patriarchal domination of gender in the textbooks as well as the racial portrayal of historical figures – both of which were typical features of the apartheid era. This follows that despite efforts of the post-conflict South African authorities to establish a non-sexist and non-racist society, the shadow of apartheid society is still present as reflected in the textbooks

This chapter notes the tension that exists between the ideas of a new heritage and a continuation of the past but that this tension can be surmounted if the theoretical diction of the policy documents is transformed into practice in the history textbooks. In this

process, language plays a vital role, especially within post-conflict societies where the main focus is on nation building and social cohesion.

The next chapter deals specifically with the conclusions of this study, whereby the thesis is proposed through revealing the major findings. The limitations of the study, as well as recommendations and possibilities for further research on the topic are discussed.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

Post-conflict societies worldwide face a number of challenges in dealing with their fragile and hard earned peace and unity. Consequently, such societies have resorted to the adoption of a number of measures aimed at avoiding a return to anarchy and conflict. At the heart of these measures lies education. With the scars of apartheid still fresh and its shadow still looming, South Africa is a perfect example of a post-conflict society that is struggling to progress beyond its bitter past.

Subsequently, efforts are being effected from different quarters, championed by the government, to promote a stable and united society. Education is key to such endeavours. Education has been known for its capacity to achieve many purposes – it can be used to build people cognitively as well as to perpetrate hatred amongst people. The possibility for either of these to happen rests, amongst other factors, on the choice of language used in the education milieu such as for example, textbooks. The choice of language could greatly determine the ideological inclination of a society and predict its future. As a result, it is important to critically study and analyse textbooks in order to establish at what stage their content may be detrimental to society at large.

Therefore the purpose of this study was to analyse the chapters dealing with heritage of three purposively selected South African contemporary Grade 10 history textbooks (NCS-History and not CAPS) with the aim of understanding the manner in which the concept of heritage is represented in them. In order to achieve this, two research questions were formulated namely: How is heritage represented in selected contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks? and, Why is heritage represented as it is in selected contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks?

The purpose of this final chapter was therefore to conclude this research project by synthesising the main arguments and to present my thesis. This process was achieved through an examination of the following components: A systematic presentation of the content of the different chapters of this study; a statement of the research problem, the rationale, purpose, focus and the critical questions underpinning this study; a summary

of the conceptual framework and research methodology; and a summary of the research findings including my thesis. Moreover, some limitations of the study were addressed and recommendations for addressing the challenges as acknowledged in the findings were offered. Finally suggestions for future research are provided.

6.2 Summary of chapters

The structure of this project comprised six chapters. The different chapters are connected in that subsequent chapters build on the previous ones through trends, patterns and themes. Despite this, the chapters are still different as each maintains a distinctly different focus as described below:

Chapter one introduced the study and provided the context underpinning it – being pre-1994 and post-1994 environments with the latter also referred to in this study as post-conflict South Africa. These two contexts relate differently to two eras of South African history whereby heritage was understood, represented, and promoted differently based on the different ideological inclinations of both eras. The apartheid regime of pre-1994 South Africa ensured that the promotion of the heritage of the Afrikaner and other white South Africans remained a priority at the expense of the heritage of other racial groups. Even though heritage was never a clearly stated intended outcome of the apartheid-era curriculum, educational resources such as history textbooks were explicitly and effectively used to promote a particular heritage as identified earlier. Language became most instrumental in achieving this goal as this was occasionally achieved through the use of master symbols also known as ‘coded language’ However, the dismantling of apartheid ushered in a new ideology in 1994, namely a liberal democracy. The basis of this ideology, as encapsulated by the new constitution promulgated to that effect, were amongst other things, to heal the wounds of the past and establish a non-sexist, non-racial society that was based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights. This was the birth of the new South Africa, dubbed by Archbishop Tutu as the “Rainbow Nation” (Boaduo, 2010, p. 131). Unlike the apartheid curriculum, the NCS-History, designed to carry the aspirations of the new nation into the education sector, clearly identified heritage as an outcome to be achieved. This therefore informed the relevance of this study which is to understand the nature of heritage represented in

selected educational resources – the Grade 10 history textbooks with the aim of establishing the extent to which their representation of heritage meets the goals of the NCS-History as well as that of the post-1994 post-conflict South African society. Other issues addressed in this chapter included the focus and purpose, the rationale and motivation, the research questions, and the general layout of the study. The extent to which these other concerns of chapter one were addressed and achieved in this study are further discussed below.

Chapter two reviewed research literature related to the main discourses of the study namely heritage, heritage education, history textbooks, and the heritage/history relationship. The review of literature, expressed in a thematic manner, was important in identifying the main academic discourses related to the topic of this study and to identify the gaps in knowledge, if any, so as to establish where this study belongs. The outcome of the literature review was the realisation that heritage as a concept is ambiguous, contested, debatable, and full of paradoxes and is understood differently at different times and contexts (see pp. 14-16). It was also revealed that the concept has greatly evolved semantically over time and space from when it was first coined (Vecco, 2010). From its initial focus on tangible resources such as historic buildings and monuments, the scope of heritage has today taken a more holistic approach that includes both tangible and intangible resources of symbolic nature that people or societies wish to safeguard for posterity. This holistic nature of heritage, borrowed from Perez et al (2010), informed the conceptual framework adopted for this study – involving the following indicators: Symbolic-identity heritage; Natural heritage; Ethnological heritage; Scientific-technological heritage; and Tangible and Intangible heritage. The indicators of this framework were later used as benchmarks in the analytical instrument that sought to understand the nature of heritage represented in the selected Grade 10 history textbooks. Within the context of a post-conflict society, it was revealed that heritage can be used as a source for nation building and citizenship as was the case in post World War II Europe (van Wijk, no date).

The review of literature on textbooks revealed two distinct features of: the pedagogic and the political/ideological roles. On the one hand textbooks are used as instructional materials that are highly responsible for maintaining educational quality in schools (see

pp. 37-38). This means that from a purely pedagogic perspective, the history textbook is plays a major role in the transmission of knowledge especially on heritage issues. However, in spite of this role of the textbook, the literature also revealed that the textbooks are not neutral transmitters of knowledge. They are conceived, designed and authored by people with vested interest and published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power (see pp. 38-39). Therefore, using the indicators of the conceptual framework, this study analysed selected Grade 10 history textbooks to understand the manner in which heritage is presented in them, considering that the textbooks themselves are an example of a heritage resource.

Chapter three is divided into three sections that respectively discussed the research design, the methodology, and the research method adopted for this study. In the design section I explained that the study adopts a case study approach and is a qualitative study approached from the interpretivist paradigm. Other issues explained included the research sample and ethical considerations. The second section of chapter three elaborated on CDA as the methodological choice. Here, literature on CDA was reviewed and a rationale provided with the aim of ascertaining the relevance of the methodology to this study. Finally lexicalization as a form of CDA method was employed to analyse the pre generated data from the selected textbooks. This was carried out in conjunction with Fairclough's (2003) idea of describing, interpreting and explaining the text in order to understand the role of language in the nature of heritage representation in the selected textbooks.

Chapter four served as the first level of data analysis whereby the methodology, method, and instruments developed and discussed in chapter three, and Fairclough's (2003) ideas of CDA were put into practice. Each textbook was analysed independently and findings arrived at are presented at the end of the analysis of each book. However, following a requisite of the methodology, the findings from the three textbooks are compared and contrasted against each other at the end of the independent analysis with the purpose of having a bigger picture with regards to the nature of heritage presentation across the selected textbooks. This phase of the analysis was known as the 'explanation' phase. By the end of this chapter therefore, the first research question was successfully addressed being: How is heritage represented in contemporary Grade

10 South African history textbooks? This will be dealt with in the summary of the findings.

Finally, chapter five served as the second level analysis whereby the implications of the findings from the previous chapter, on post-conflict South Africa were discussed. This was done through an examination of these findings in relation to their convergence and divergence to both theoretical and research literature. Interaction with the literature produced the answers to the second research question namely: Why is heritage represented the way it is in contemporary Grade 10 South African history textbooks? This too is dealt with in the summary of the findings in this chapter.

6.3 Summary of key findings

The following key findings are the outcome of the analysis of the selected history textbooks as previously explained. They are evaluated and discussed below in terms of their relation to the research questions as well as their implications to this study and to the broader society as well as on the debates identified in the literature review. The perspectives that these findings offer are evaluated remembering that this was a qualitative study carried out in the interpretive paradigm. This sub-section is concluded by my presenting what I regard as my “thesis.”

Fundamentally, there is a total disregard of natural heritage in the presentation of heritage in the selected textbooks. Despite the literature emphasising the importance of this particular indicator of heritage, the selected textbooks are almost completely silent on this. A few aspects of this form of heritage were noticeable in the data but the context in which they were used did not suggest the desire to promote the natural heritage quality in them. Rather they were used in a manner that helps explain forms of heritage other than natural heritage. As a result it is obvious that the purpose of heritage in history education at Grade 10 level is not to expose learners to natural heritage. Instead the focus is on heritage under the (cultural heritage) category and specifically (symbolic-identity heritage) as the most dominant. Almost all the lexical examples used in the text, whether linked to icons such as individuals, places, or events of the past, are mostly symbolic and identity in nature. However, the different textbooks representations of this form of heritage differ to some extent. For example while *Making history. Grade*

10. *Learners' book* placed great emphasis on the role of 'big' and influential individuals of the past to establish identities, *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book* in contrast focused on the less powerful people in society such as the Khoisan people and their role in creating and protecting identity for themselves and for the societies they lived in. In spite of these noticeable differences, the evidence across all three textbooks shows that the focus of heritage is on symbolism and identity even though the manner of presenting these might be very different.

Therefore, in relation to the research questions for this study, this particular finding insinuates that heritage is not natural but cultural and specifically of symbolic-identity nature. This correlates with the conceptualisation of heritage adopted by the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites – Charter of Venice of 1964, that emphasised cultural heritage in the form of historic buildings and monuments (Ahmad, 2006; Vecco, 2010) (see pp. 17 and 18). Implying that, even though other organisations such as UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage held in 1972 subsequently broadened the scope of heritage to include natural heritage resources (Ahmad, 2006), the selected textbooks preferred to stick to a dated meaning and not move with the conceptual progress as it developed .

This supports the view that heritage is understood and conceptualised differently in different times and contexts with each conceptualisation having its own specific focus based on what it aims to achieve. Therefore the textbooks evoke some tension between the initial meaning of the concept heritage and its contemporary understanding with regards to conceptualisation. But the reason for this stance recorded in the textbooks seems to be linked to post-conflict ideologies. Hilker (2011) noted that one characteristic of such societies is their desire to seek a new identity by mostly identifying themselves with symbolic icons of their struggle and their history. This is achieved in the selected textbooks through a focus on symbolic-identity heritage as a form of heritage over other forms of cultural heritage and over natural heritage most especially.

Moreover, the choice of language in the textbooks also revealed the desire to present heritage as a shared and inclusive practice. This is with particular reference to the kind of pronouns used. Consequently, the analysis indicates many instances where heritage

is conceptualised with the help of pronouns in the first person plural category, such as 'our', 'we' and 'us'. The insinuation with such lexical choices is that heritage should be understood beyond individual and personal perspectives perhaps for the sake of post-conflict nation building. This lofty initiative is however contradicted with instances within the text where heritage is given personal or individual connotation through the kind of pronouns used. The example where indigenous knowledge systems are referred to as the heritage of traditional healers ('their' heritage) supports this claim. However, examples of the latter category are isolated indicating a possibility that their inclusion only confirms the tension and controversy surrounding both fields – history textbooks and heritage.

Language has always played a great role in determining the nature of heritage and in defining and supporting certain ideologies in textbooks. The semantic evolution of the concept heritage for example was largely informed by the choice of language (see Table 2.1). Whether used with the intention of conceptualising heritage or to encourage a certain ideology in a textbook, the choice of language is most often masked in what Engelbrecht (2008) refer to as 'master symbols'. The previous chapter (pp. 132-133) highlighted some master symbols used in the textbooks. These symbols together with the choice of personal pronouns indicated in the paragraph above signal to me that the textbooks' attempt to promote and portray inclusive and shared heritage is tenuous possibly brought about by the fact that the meaning of inclusive is still being negotiated in post-conflict South Africa.

Another key finding is the portrayal of inclusive practices notably the dominance of lexicons linked to issues of patriarchy. Seen from a gender perspective, the textbooks placed more emphasis on masculine icons than on feminine ones. Apart from the numerical superiority of representation of men over women, the quality of the representation was also analysed to reach to this conclusion. In this regard it was noted that male icons were depicted as people with power and authority as exemplified by their roles in activities such as public holidays in which individuals such as Christopher Columbus, Van Riebeeck, and Piet Retief were conspicuously cited. On the other hand, very few lexicons linking women to heritage icons were depicted in the textbooks. In the few relevant cases, the women were given roles that suggested their powerlessness

vis-à-vis the men and other forces of society. This is for example the situation with Saartjie Baartman who is targeted as the focal point to exemplify the humiliation surrounding the display of humans. This claim is justified from another angle to show the powerful nature of men over women as the textbook producers ensured that all the men are referred to by either their names or their titles and their names. Examples include reference to President Roosevelt and to King Shaka. On the contrary in the very few instances where women are portrayed with positions of power, they are not referred to by their names but simply by their titles – example is the reference made to the Queen of Sheba. These, as well as other lexicons used in the textbooks suggest an inclination towards the apartheid and colonial societies where patriarchy was the norm rather than the exception.

The findings of this study have confirmed the view expressed in the literature of heritage as a highly controversial and contested phenomenon that is difficult to assign to a specific conceptualisation. This is evident in the differences with which the selected history textbooks for this study presented heritage both in terms of style and content. The implication for this inability to harmonise the textbooks' stance on heritage mean that Grade 10 learners using the different textbooks are expected to adopt these different attitudes. This is amplified by the fact that textbooks and history textbooks in particular, as with heritage, are known to be used for motives other than simply pedagogical ones. The literature reviewed in this respect revealed that history textbooks are never neutral. They always have an agenda (political, ideological or otherwise) and always promote these within certain contexts of space and time and in this particular instance it is promoting a specific ideology as seen in the findings from this study, within the context of a post-1994 or a post-conflict South African society.

This understanding of the purpose and nature of heritage and of history textbooks, to an extent facilitates our understanding of why heritage is presented in an inconsistent manner in the selected history textbooks in this study. The scenario therefore can be described as one of a complex and ideological phenomena (heritage) in a complex and ideological material (the textbook) in a complex and ideologically diverse post-conflict society. Against this back ground my thesis is presented below.

Post-conflict societies negotiate their heritage with the result that they achieve a form of 'new heritage' in a 'new country'. By extension history textbooks as powerful pedagogical, political/ideological as well as commercial products are only partially ideal for this 'new heritage'. This specifies that textbooks as educational resources are themselves fallible in the sense that they carry the subjective ideas and opinions of their producers and as Apple and Christian-Smith (1991, p. 3) state, they are also "published within the political and economic constraints of market, resources and power" which means that any expectation that textbooks will be infallible is not realistic. It is important to note that as commercial products, these textbooks create a brand to sell with the resulting effect being that they ultimately represent heritage in a particular way, as explained in the findings of this study, whereby the concept is approached differently in terms of conceptualisation and pedagogy. In this regard, the findings reveal tension in the conceptualisation of heritage between the different books as well as the way these textbooks relate to and interpret the NCS-History. For example, while *In search of history. Learner's book. Grade 10* foregrounds a clear conceptualisation of heritage, *Making history. Grade 10. Learners' book* chose not to do so. Within the latter book the meaning of heritage can only be deduced from the case studies. *Shuters history. Grade 10. Learner's book* on its part foregrounds the conceptualisation of heritage but the explanation is very rudimentary to the extent that much of the understanding can only be inferred from the examples advanced in the text to explain heritage. This is also true of the choice of examples and case studies used in the different books to explain heritage. Consequently, it can be said that the different textbooks understand and interpret heritage differently from their commercial and pedagogical points of view of foregrounding the meaning of the concept and of presenting it in the case studies. This tension between the different textbooks could also be explained from the perspective of the different ways in which the textbooks relate to policy and their interpretation of it, especially the NCS-History.

The conclusion reached is that each textbook is rather unique in both its understanding of heritage and its interpretation of the NCS-History. The reason for this in my view is that heritage is a foreign and ambiguous concept within post-conflict South Africa whereby in trying to understand it a healthy tension is created. This tension is manifested in several ways including the manner in which heritage is espoused, as well

as in the hidden curriculum – this last category involving issues of gender, race, ethnicity, geography and class as it relates to heritage and as it is represented in the textbooks. The implication here is that the difficulty in addressing the pedagogic concerns of heritage suggests that South Africa as a post-conflict society is in a state of limbo or flux in that the heritage of this country is still being negotiated and constructed with the position not yet attained, to achieve a clear heritage identity for a “new South Africa”. Contrary to what might be rashly assumed, the tension in this case is beneficial for a “new nation” that is still in the process of constructing a heritage identity. As has been identified in the findings, this process sometimes involves a combination of aspects of the old heritage ideology (pre-1994) with the new or intended one (post-1994 or post-conflict). Within this context, Bundy (2007, p. 80) proposed three discursive projects and over-arching attempts to position the nation. He submits that: “In short hand, these maybe thought of as the rainbow nation (or “unity in diversity”); as the African Renaissance (or “African hegemony in the context of a multi-cultural and non-racial society”); and as ethnic particularism (or the assertion of sub-national identities as primary).”

With reference to the above and considering the post-conflict context within which the selected textbooks were created, a partnership exists between commercial publishers and government to bring about an educational product. My conclusion in this debate is that if the concept of a rainbow nation is taken to mean “unity in diversity” then the heritage depiction in the selected textbooks shows a certain diversity but not necessarily unity. Therefore no fully-fledged all inclusive harmonious or hegemonic heritage in the context of a multi-cultural and multi-racial society was achieved by the selected textbooks. This was so because of the general and commercial nature of textbooks, different interpretations of the heritage outcome in the NCS-History by the textbook producers and the DoE and the various conceptual meanings attached to heritage as a phenomenon. Within this ambiguity a broadly agreed upon heritage in history textbooks in post-conflict South Africa is still under construction.

6.4 Limitations of the study

No study is without limitation and mine was no exception. Due to the fact that this is a case study on three selected history textbooks immersed in interpretivism and social constructionism the findings from the study are rather partial to the selected sample. There is therefore a limitation in terms of the transferability of findings to contexts outside the scope of this study. This implies that the findings here may not necessarily be a true reflection of the nature of all Grade 10 South African textbooks with respect to their representation of heritage. Although produced for a similar readership, that is Grade 10 learners, these textbooks are authored and published by different authors and produced by different publishers each with their own views on the topic and the pedagogy needed to master it. Consequently neither the scrutiny by government appointed textbook review committees nor compliance across all books can ensure uniformity.

Another limitation of this study is that it is undertaken in a context that is foreign to the researcher. Having resided in South African for barely three years prior to the commencement of this dissertation I feel that I was disadvantaged in comparison to those who has interacted with South African history textbooks, society and the educational system both as a learner and a teacher. My knowledge of these intricacies is limited to the literature I acquired over time on the topic through reading and my experiences during a three-year period. However, this unfamiliarity with the South African context can also be seen as an advantage to this study as it placed me in a position of neutrality as that of an outsider looking in.

Furthermore, the categories in the conceptual framework as applied to the analytical framework can also be seen as a limitation to this study. The categories are not rigidly defined and as a result there is the possibility of some signifiers fitting in one or more of the categories. A peculiar case is with signifiers of scientific-technological heritage that also have symbolic-identity elements. Consequently the decision on where to place such signifiers was a very difficult one. Whilst I acknowledge that this can impact negatively on the reliability and trustworthiness of this study, this must be understood from the perspective of general challenges involved in making any categorisation.

Despite this, the categorisation was decided with the view of limiting these challenges to the lowest level possible. In addition, the conceptual framework for heritage explained in chapter two contained six indicators of heritage as has been exemplified in the literature, heritage has a variety of meanings that evolved greatly over time and space. Therefore it must be pointed out that the indicators adopted for this study cannot be seen as the ultimate answer to the conceptual challenges facing heritage. Similarly, it must be indicated that the categorisation does not ensure that the different categories of the conceptual framework can be seen as unassailable entities. Notwithstanding, these different categories were used in the analytical framework as instruments for analysis. Therefore, the findings on the nature of representation of heritage in the selected textbooks are informed by the conceptualisation of heritage from the point of view of the choice of indicators used in the conceptual framework.

A critical look at the methodology was also considered. CDA as explained in chapter three is a very broad methodology within which there are many methods that are applicable to data analysis. Some of these methods include: lexicalization; choices of modality or polarity and patterns of transitivity (Fairclough, 2003). These methods are very effective when used to analyse both the textual and visual components of a text. However, two limitations are obvious with the use of CDA in this study. Firstly, only one CDA method (lexicalisation) was considered for analysis and secondly, the study did not take into consideration the visual elements of the text. The implication of this limitation for this study is that more CDA methods and inclusion of visual analysis could perhaps have produced different results. However, as explained in the appropriate section in chapter three, the study could not include all these elements partly due to the time frame accorded the project as a masters degree. Moreover, it is imperative to note that the findings of this study should be seen within the framework of the methodology and methods that were used to achieve them as different methods might have produced different outcomes.

6.5 Recommendations for further research

Further research is recommended especially in the following areas:

- How do teachers and learners use the history textbooks to teach and learn heritage.
- How is heritage represented in other history textbooks from those not selected for this research?
- How can the same phenomenon in history textbooks be investigated using research methods other than those used for this research that is CDA and lexicalisation?

6.6 Conclusion

This study focused on the heritage outcome of the NCS-History and the way this outcome is manifested in selected contemporary South African Grade 10 history textbooks through the choice of language used in the texts (lexicalisation). Therefore, through a critical analysis of the lexical content of the selected history textbooks, this study attempted an understanding of the nature of the representation of heritage, as well as the reasons for its representation in a particular way. In concluding this study, the following comments related to the purpose of this research are made: Firstly, this study provided an opportunity to review the curriculum translation of heritage into selected Grade 10 history textbooks and to understand the different discourses around the curriculum and the history textbooks with regards to history and specifically heritage within the context of post-conflict South African society. Many challenges exist such as: post-conflict tension; the heritage/history debate; the complex nature of history textbooks – used as pedagogic tools but also as ideological weapons. Subsequently these textbooks are seen as powerful objects that deal with powerful concepts and shape what teachers teach and learners learn. The shadow of the apartheid past and the constraints of the market with regards to publishing of textbooks, also account for the nature in which heritage is represented in the selected history textbooks as seen in this study.

This study also examined the complexity and ambiguity of the heritage concept. Although I produced a conceptual framework for understanding heritage based on the

holistic approach, it is still worthy to understand that the malleable nature of heritage ensures that it be understood within specific contexts and times frames – in this study, the context is that of a post-conflict South Africa.

Undertaking this study was a personal quest towards understanding the role of textbooks with regards to their depiction of ideological issues such as heritage. This was motivated by the fact that my experience as a history teacher in Cameroon revealed to me that even though the country is as blessed as South Africa in terms of cultural and natural heritage resources, heritage is not given the same value in the history curriculum as is the case with the NCS-History. Even the history textbooks are deficient in this regard. The study has, as a result served to equip me personally, professionally, and conceptually with a profound understanding of the intricacies surrounding the neglect of the rich Cameroonian heritage as a stipulated outcome in the history syllabus and evidently in history textbooks. This study has also served to broaden my knowledge and strengthen my understanding of the main discourses underpinning this study being: heritage; history textbooks; post-conflict societies; as well as the NCS-History.

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Appendix – Ethical clearance certificate from UKZN Research Ethics Committee



Research Office, Govan Mbeki Centre
Westville Campus
Private Bag #54001
DURBAN, 4000
Tel No: +27 31 260 3587
Fax No: +27 31 260 4609
mohunji@ukzn.ac.za

3 June 2011

Mr FR Nkweni (209530158)
School of Social Science Education
Faculty of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr- Nkweni

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0283/011M

PROJECT TITLE: Heritage in contemporary Grade 10 South African history textbooks: A case study

In response to your application dated 31 May 2011, 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.

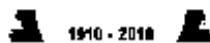
PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

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

Yours faithfully

Professor Steven Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

cc. Supervisor, Prof I Wassermann
cc. Mr N Memela/Miss T Mntsi



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