

**Gender representation in four SADC high school Business Studies
textbooks**

By

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Declaration

I, Preya Pillay, declare that this dissertation is my own work. I also declare that it has not been submitted for degree purposes at any other University, and I have indicated and acknowledged all the sources used accordingly.

Student's signature



Date

20/03/2017

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Abstract

This study assumes that text – the printed word and visual representations – is never neutral; it is always embedded with ideological representations. Textbooks, which are the dominant defining authorities of the curriculum in schools, can therefore be regarded as a key contributor to the curriculum as a site of ideological struggle. Significantly, there may be limited understanding among educators and educational authorities of the ideological nature of the contents of textbooks. As instruments of socialisation, textbooks are important vehicles in the construction of beliefs and attitudes about gender that may not be immediately apparent to the untrained eye.

The purpose of this study is to understand the way in which gender is represented in four Business Studies textbooks selected from countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and to theorise their particular representation. More specifically, the focus of this study is to understand how gender is represented in the four SADC textbooks and to develop a theoretical explanation for how the phenomenon presents. This qualitative study is located in the critical paradigm and engages the tenets of feminist critical discourse analysis as the key analytical frame.

The purposive sample comprised four contemporary Business Studies textbooks from the last phase of schooling preceding tertiary education. Feminist poststructuralist theory was used in order to examine gender representation in the selected textbooks. Both semiotic and textual representations were examined.

The findings reveal that the representations of women and men in these textbooks are indeed ideologically invested and contribute to the perpetuation of patriarchal constructions. At a semantic level, the mention of the male pronoun first in sentences and conversation and not the female pronoun endorses the principle of the firstness and superiority of the masculine. In terms of representation, intersectionality of race, gender and disability is pervasive in the four textbooks. This reinforces the ideology of the able-bodied, heterosexually masculine and white person as the norm for entrepreneurial success. Management, leadership and entrepreneurial knowledge are scripted almost exclusively in favour of the male gender. Representations related to sexual diversity are also absent, thereby endorsing a construct of the idealised businessperson as a white, heterosexual, able-bodied male, excluding females, those of another race or gender, and the disabled.

In terms of 'ideal' business personality traits, women and others are constructed as relatively incompetent and dependant, while men are portrayed as assertive and forthright. Gender and race bias in occupational roles and careers is also evident in the texts, with women and 'others' shown in low-paid occupations or domestic settings, whereas white men are shown in high-paying, high-status, technological occupations, and are mostly absent from domestic settings.

The four textbooks promoted Western ideals in which the Western male white canons were reinforced as the norm for business success. These Western ideals are responsible for the different manifestations of marginalisation stereotyping, silencing and limited representation of women and minorities in exceptional roles. This may not be done intentionally – textbook knowledge appears to be constructed 'unconsciously' or in ways that reflect oblivion to institutionalised prejudice.

The implication of these findings is that development of a more gender-inclusive curriculum is needed, where there is not only representation of the idealised businessperson as a white, heterosexual male. This research suggests that teachers, pre-service teachers and learners may need to engage with the textbooks critically and examine how particular texts are written and why they are written in particular ways.

Teachers, pre-service teachers and learners are encouraged to interrogate textbook content. There is also a need for textbook writers to question their own ideological assumptions of gender. This demands a robust introspection of possible stereotypes and uncritical assimilation of regressive gender ideologies that may be perpetuated. It is only by reflecting on and reworking oppressive gender norms, that a gender-inclusive curriculum might be contemplated.

Key words: gender, ideology, representation, textbooks, feminist critical discourse analysis, Business Studies

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Singaram and Geetha Pillay. You have both raised me to be the person I am today. Thank you mum and dad for all the unconditional love, guidance and support that you have always given me! I thank you for all the sacrifices which you both made to ensure that I achieve my goals. Words cannot express the gratitude and love I have for you both. I am so thankful that God blessed me with you as my parents.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
CDS	Critical discourse studies
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DoE	Department of Education
EFA	Education for All
EMS	Economic Management Science
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
LGBTI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex
LO	Life Orientation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OBE	Outcomes-based education
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAERA	South African Education Research Association
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

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Chapter one: Introduction to the study

“We must learn to know ourselves and the ‘other’ who is different from us. This requires that the curriculum and the textbooks must be jointly revised so that they are free of discriminatory messages, prejudice and distortion.” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 3)

1.1 Orientation to the study – setting the scene

The purpose of this study is to understand how gender is represented in Business Studies textbooks from four Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. These books are available to teachers and pupils in the last phase of high school preceding tertiary education.

In this chapter, I present the background to and rationale for the study, its purpose and focus, as well as then give a brief description of the theoretical framework, research design and methodology. I then provide an overview of the textbooks under investigation. Finally, a synopsis of each chapter of this dissertation will be provided.

Textbooks play a vital role in the educational system, since they are one of the main tools used to educate the students. Textbooks (the programmatic curriculum) are designed to meet the official curriculum objectives (Figure 1.1). They are thus a key item of reading material prepared for learners and specifically intended for their use (Schmidt, McKnight, Valverde, Houang, & Wiley, 1997; Valverde, Bianchi, Wolfe, Schmidt, & Houang, 2002). According to Sadker and Sadker (2009, p. 88) students in many countries spend as much as 80–95% of classroom time using textbooks, and teachers make most of their instructional decisions based on the textbook. Brugeilles and Cromer (2009, p. 15) state that textbooks are “still the cheapest of available media, and they are easy to carry and use”.

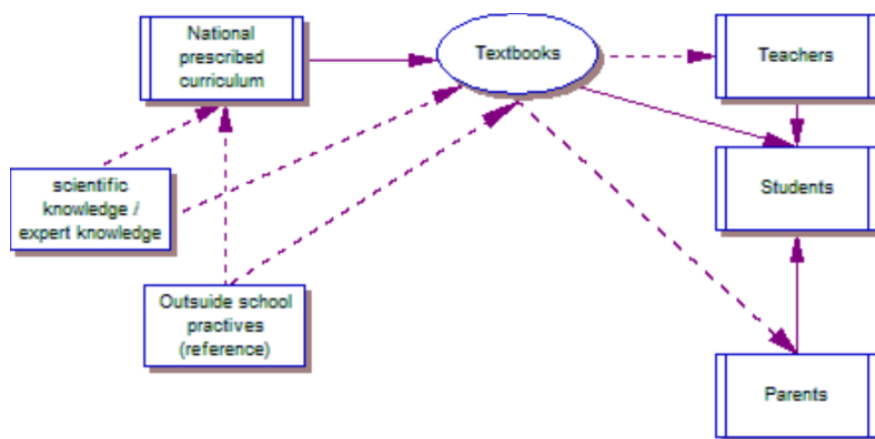


Figure 1.1. Textbooks are at the core of a process: from the prescribed curriculum to the enacted curriculum (Eric, 2011, p. 4).

The arrows indicate determining relationships; the dotted lines indicate blurred relationships. The official curriculum determines the content of textbooks, and textbooks influence teachers' practices and determine students' learning. In this perspective, the official textbooks 'tell' what students should learn and what teachers should teach. Therefore, the production of textbooks, from conception to distribution to use, is a politically and educationally contentious activity (Eric, 2011).

Textbooks have an influence beyond their primary role of facilitating learning, "by directly or indirectly transmitting models of social behaviour, norms and values" (Brugeilles & Cromer, 2009, p. 14). They are a means of socialisation, providing representations of the world that can influence attitudes and orientations. According to Burstyn and Corrigan (2011, p. 36) textbooks mirror society; they may distort or present only a segment of the whole picture, but they provide a way to assess what a society wishes to pass on to its children. Piengpen (2008) adds that textbooks reflect a society's educational priorities and needs and a culture's political and social norms. Textbooks are therefore a tool for both education and social change.

As far back as the early 1990s, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) warned that textbooks are never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge. Textbooks are part of a selective tradition – someone's selection, and some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. They are produced out of the historical, cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organise and disorganise people (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 22). Textbooks are often regarded as sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance (Zilimu, 2014).

Perhaps most important for authors and readers to determine is what goals the textbooks are designed to achieve: “Are they to be primarily sources of information, builders of reading, writing and critical thinking skills, purveyors of ethical models, or promoters of patriotism?” (Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012, p. 16). As such, school textbooks are likely to serve particular agendas, which are not always obvious to the ordinary teacher (Maistry, 2015).

Concerns have been raised regarding the role played by ideology in Business Education textbooks, particularly those that uncritically support and promote gender inequality (Pillay, 2013; David & Maistry, 2011; Blumberg, 2007). Ideology may be viewed as a subtle yet powerful mechanism for systematic cognitive distortion and manipulation of subjects’ constructions of how society should be understood, thus serving a legitimizing function for maintenance of relations of power (Beaton, 2007).

Gender is one of “a microcosm of ideologies, values, and beliefs” (Taylor, 2003). Messages about gender roles and gender identity transmitted through textbooks are thought to affect the future behaviour of the children who consume them as they formulate their own roles in society (Eisenberg, 2002). Textbooks have the ability to both “promote certain beliefs and certain forms of behaviour while discouraging others” (Khurshid, Gillani, & Hashmi, 2010, p. 18).

Across many studies, representations within Business textbooks trivialised the accomplishments of women, reinforcing the image of the “corporate male” (Hamdan, 2010). Writers of textbooks often propagate ideologies that serve to maintain the status quo as it relates to the order of the economic world (Cameron, Ireland, Lussier, New, & Robbins, 2003). The discourse of the corporate male in Business textbooks has become pervasive to the point of representing ‘common-sense’ notions of the way gender is viewed (Oyebola, 2003). This kind of silent knowledge, or ‘common-sense’, of the different possible and acceptable ways of being in the world for men and women – that pupils are overtly and covertly taught – can be understood with the help of the concept of hegemony (Wodak, 2001a, p. 2). In short, hegemony means a pervasive, dominant way of seeing the world that is taken for granted, and seen as self-evident and natural – even though it is in fact just one possible worldview: that of the dominant social group(s) (Koivisto & Uusitupa, 2004, p. 68). These specific, dominant meanings and values may be expressed through dominant, hegemonic discourses everywhere in the society. This is supported by Mir (2003, p. 737), who adds that textbooks engender hegemony and therefore attempt to shape our cognitive and affective interpretations of the world through their ideological apparatus.

The content cleansing process to rid textbooks of prejudicial content continues to unfold in many SADC countries, as evidenced by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), UNICEF Policy on Gender Equality, Empowerment of Girls and Women (2010), Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality 2005-2016 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). However, there is still a dearth of knowledge as to the ideological subtexts of school textbooks. Mutekwe and Modibe (2012) argue that imperative issues are at stake and that textbooks do not deserve their reputation as impartial tools that simply teach students facts and skills. Nor should it be assumed that they manifest gender neutrality. Of significance is that there is limited understanding of the nature of the content selection that textbook authors invoke and the subtext thereof.

There has been quite a lot of controversy around the appropriate use of the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ (Amini & Birjandi, 2012). Generally, sex is seen as a biological distinction of male and female based on their reproductive potential, and gender refers to the social traits and characteristics associated with each sex (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 10; Golombok & Fivush, 1994, p. 3). Gender, unlike sex, should not be viewed as something people are born with or have – it is something people do (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126), something they perform (Butler, 1999, p. 33). Textbook authors ought to be aware when writing, as gender bias in textbooks may take many forms and is subtle and difficult to detect. Textbooks need to be reviewed critically at the production stage and in class with a gender perspective in order to provide balanced and gender-sensitive education (Pillay, 2013). Unless texts are debunked, learners can be misled into embracing dominant ideologies where one social group benefits over another (McGregor, 2003).

1.2 Rationale for the study

Historically Business Studies has been labelled as a masculinized subject, with entrepreneurship education scripted towards the male gender (Swainson, 2013). In my previous research (Pillay, 2013) I found a prevalence of gendered representations in two South African Grade 10 Business Studies textbooks, with women in subordinate positions compared to men. Entrepreneurship was scripted towards the male gender. Although the content cleansing process continued to unfold to rid South African textbooks of prejudicial content, my Master’s studies (Pillay, 2013) revealed that efforts to write Business Studies textbooks that are gender inclusive have not succeeded. Having a wider sample of four SADC textbooks (from South

Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Lesotho) can provide a sturdier analysis of gender representation in Business Studies textbooks and a deeper analysis of entrepreneurship.

As a Business Studies teacher, I became conscious of differential representation of gender in Commerce textbooks and its potential to reproduce inequalities and limit girls' possibilities in the classroom and future employment. However, my knowledge of the extent and impact of this differential representation was limited. The information included in textbooks and the manner in which it is present positions males and females differently, and often unequally. This is especially problematic when women are mentioned only sporadically and in stereotypical roles. Getting to grips with representations of gender in Business Studies textbooks and seeking to arrive at a deeper understanding of the intricacies surrounding these gender issues was in itself a strong motivation for me to embark on this investigation.

Reading widely and researching on the subject of gender representation in commerce textbooks made me realise that gender education should be integrated into different subject areas, particularly those that were historically male dominated. However, such hopes are less likely to be realised while they continue to be contradicted by classroom textbooks. This point is highlighted in a UNESCO (2006, p. 6) report which emphasises that school textbooks remain an "important and indispensable resource for both teachers and learners in schools. Any bias reflected in school textbooks could have negative impact on learners". My interest in gender in general, together with my position as a Business Studies educator, piques my interest in exploring the representations of gender in Business Studies textbooks. It is therefore my intention to provide deeper insights around gender representation in Business Studies and in textbooks in particular.

Through my research, I could provide guidelines to pre-service teachers and teachers. The findings from this study could lead to improved methods of teaching and better-informed curricula that would encourage more analytical and critical thinking about gender issues in textbooks.

Review of the literature showed that Commerce Education texts have great potential to promote ideologies in keeping with patriarchy and discrimination (McPhail, 1996; Collison, 2003; Zhang, 2012). In spite of these concerns, few studies have been conducted on analysis of Business Studies textbooks across the selected SADC countries, and none in the last phase of

high school. I therefore hope to address this gap, with particular emphasis on gender ideologies perpetuated in Business Studies textbooks in four SADC countries.

1.3 Focus and purpose of the study

The focus of this study is on gender representation in textbooks and the way this manifests in four SADC Business Studies textbooks. The purpose of this study is thus to understand how gender is represented in the four SADC Business Studies textbooks and to attempt to theorise current representations.

The four SADC countries have introduced various policies on gender equity, one being the 50/50 policy underpinned by the CEDAW providing guidelines and procedures for gender equity (Mukundan & Nimehchisalem, 2008). It is important to examine the extent to which the principles outlined in such policies permeate into Business Studies school textbooks.

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

1. How is gender represented in selected SADC high school Business Studies textbooks?
2. Why is gender represented in this way in these textbooks?

The first research question will interrogate the ‘how’ part. For this question, Machin and Mayr’s (2012) and Fairclough’s (2001) framework will be used show how text represent gender and what message they hold for the users, in this case Grade 12 learners (the year preceding tertiary education). The second research question deals with the ‘why’ part and is related to the development of theory.

1.4 Theoretical framework

In my study, I draw on feminist poststructuralism to inform my exploration of gender representation in Business Studies texts. I draw on key poststructuralist theorists such as Weedon (1997), Foucault (1978), Althusser (1969), Derrida (1981) and Butler (1997), among others, to theorise gender representation through discourse. The feminist poststructuralist approach seeks to challenge dominant understandings about gender that are typically rooted in the assumption that masculinity and femininity are ‘natural’ outcomes of being male and female respectively. Importantly, textbooks are a social construct of knowledge. Therefore, this study will provide a critical examination of the way gender is represented in textbooks through

a feminist poststructuralist lens. Understanding of socially constructed differences and social inequality are key to providing a high-level explanation of gender representation in textbooks.

1.5 Research design and methodology

I approached this study from a qualitative perspective, because this allowed me to examine how gender ideologies are formed. This approach emphasises how and in which ways particular worldviews of gender are punted and reinforced in the selected textbooks.

This research is rooted in the critical paradigm, a perspective that holds that the “social world is characterized by differences arising out of conflict between the powerful and powerless” (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001, p. 20). In my study, I hoped to understand and reveal how gender is represented in the four SADC Business Studies textbooks. A critical paradigm was used to expose underlying assumptions and ideologies that served to conceal the power relations via ‘representations’ in the textbooks, through use of feminist critical discourse analysis (CDA).

The methodology for this study is feminist CDA, which emerged from the tenets of CDA. CDA as a methodology is primarily interested in analysing discursive dimensions of power and resulting injustices and inequality (Van Dijk, 1993). The core of CDA is explanation and critique of how dominant discourses influence socially shared knowledge, including facilitating the formation of specific social representations (Van Dijk, 1993). Like CDA, feminist CDA focuses on how dominant discourse perpetuates inequalities, but through an intentionally gendered lens (Lehonten, 2007; Lazar, 2005; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002).

Methods followed by feminist CDA are diverse and extensive, but the general essence of this approach is that it relies on traditional linguistic approaches such as critical linguistics of CDA (Lehtonen, 2007). In this case, feminist CDA was based on the methods presented by Fairclough (2001). In my use of the description phase of Fairclough’s model, I adapted Machin and Mayr’s (2012) representational framework. Key constructs appropriated for this study were foregrounding, backgrounding and embellishments, assumptions, silences and omissions, nominalisation, modality, presupposition, pronoun versus noun, nomination/functionalisation, impersonalisation, personification/objectification, honorifics, aggregation, synecdoche and register. The above framework of constructs is a useful tool to assist examining power relationships and ideologies embedded in the selected texts. A framework by Nene (2014) was

also adapted for use in analysis of the visuals, where concepts such as connotation and denotation served as key drivers.

Open coding was used to categorise the data into distinct units of meaning (Moghaddam, 2006). This means I had to read and reread the data to identify a series of codes or themes, which were eventually grouped together under various categories, to form the themes to be discussed as the findings of my study. Machin and Mayr's (2012) framework guided this process.

The textbooks were purposively sampled, based on their popularity and endorsement by the Ministry of Education. I chose to analyse only the topic of entrepreneurship in these textbooks. Although textbooks are in the public domain, their identities would remain anonymous to avoid ethical or litigious issues.

1.6 Field of study

The four textbooks were selected from four SADC countries, namely South Africa, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Lesotho, in the last phase of high school preceding tertiary education. Each textbook is underpinned by the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan, a comprehensive development and implementation framework guiding the regional integration agenda of SADC over a period of 15 years (2005-2020). These regional plans attempt to provide clear strategic direction for SADC programmes, projects and activities on gender equity in line with the SADC Common Agenda and strategic priorities, as enshrined in the SADC Treaty of 1992.



Figure 1.2: The Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Van de Bosch, 2016)

1.7 Overview of the education systems of the four SADC countries, with a specific focus on gender

1.7.1. Education in South Africa

Prior to 1994 education in South Africa was organised on racial and gender lines. South Africa has a long history of patriarchy (Valero & Skovsmose, 2002). White men held positions of power in the wider society and in the household. Men were (and still are) dominant and dominated women by making the decisions and providing for the family. African women and men, on the other hand, were not only subjected to inferior education but also had limited opportunities for progression (De Wet, 2011). The need for a complete overhaul of the education system under apartheid was identified as a priority for building a new, democratic South Africa (Valero & Skovsmose, 2002).

Assumption of power by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994 resulted in the political transformation of South Africa. Transformation in education was singled out for specific attention. Education not only had to be transformed, it had also to play a key role in transformation of the South African community (Duvenhage, 2006, p. 125). The Democratic Government of South Africa recognised that women had been subordinated throughout their lives and that there was a need to take measures to ensure gender equality.

The Constitution also affirmed the right of individuals to enjoy equality, regardless of sexual orientation:

The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth (Bill of Rights, The Constitution of South Africa)

In his opening speech in Parliament in 1994, former President Nelson Mandela of the ANC stated, “Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.” In order to implement gender equity the former Minister of Education, Professor Bhengu, appointed a Gender Equity Task Team (GETT) in 1996. Terms of reference of the Task Team were to investigate and advise the Department of Education (DoE) on establishment of a permanent Gender Equity Unit in the DoE.

Since then there has been a symbolic attempt by government to promote gender equity by enacting, amongst others, the South African Constitution, South African Schools Act,

Employment Equity Act and Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act. The 1996 White Paper for Education and Training (National DoE, 1995, p. 4) stated this vision as follows:

It should be a goal of education and training policy to enable a democratic, free, equal, just and peaceful society to take root and prosper in our land, on the basis that all South Africans without exception share the same inalienable rights, equal citizenship, and common national destiny, and that all forms of bias (especially racial, ethnic and gender) are dehumanising.

Hence, a central feature of transformation from an apartheid society to a democratic society has been the emergence and development of a new education curriculum that corresponds to political and social practices within a democratic milieu (DoE, 2006, p. 2). The Government symbolically used curriculum to signal progress and a commitment to transformation (Fataar, 1999). Curriculum 2005, underpinned by an outcomes-based approach, was introduced after 1994 with the hope to “heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights” (DoE, 2003, p. 1). Yet by 2011 a number of criticisms were being levelled against the outcomes-based education (OBE) curriculum, one of these being inability of the curriculum to address gender issues. Chisholm (2005, p. 16) argued that:

Despite the substantial inclusion of gender issues in the proposed National Curriculum Statement, an assessment of whether South Africa’s curriculum has achieved gender equality on the basis gender inclusivity criteria ultimately demonstrates only partial success ... Much more needs to be done.

This statement by Chisholm (2005) and similar findings by researchers (Carrim, 2002; Keet, 2005), prompted Minister of Education Angelina Motshekga to appoint the GETT to advise the DoE on changes to be made. A new curriculum called the Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS) then replaced OBE. The intention of this curriculum, like the National Curriculum Statement, is grounded on inclusivity, social justice and democracy.

CAPS attempts to improve the performance of South African learners (Moodley, 2013), including by reintroducing textbooks in classrooms as a central resource for students and teachers. The DoE’s *Curriculum News* for 2010 comments that “textbooks play a vital part in teaching and learning [and] must be used by teachers and learners to enhance their teaching and learning” (p. 6). Much money and time is now spent on equipping teachers for all learning areas, and many new textbooks are being published.

Despite making some recent superficial changes in content, overall publishers of South African textbooks continue to stress the part men have played in history (for example), only vaguely mentioning contributions of women as part of publishing criteria to get their textbooks accepted (Fardon, 2011, p. 9). There is a gap between democratic curriculum imperatives and praxis within schools (Fardon, 2011, p.10). Despite all the ideological changes made to the curriculum since 1994, and policy statements aimed at publishing textbooks that are gender friendly, the GETT Report (Wolpe, Quinlan, & Martinez, 1997, p. 23) identified a number of obstacles to transformation of the South African education system, one of which was the prejudicial content of textbooks (Biraimah, 1998, p. 44).

1.7.2 Education in Swaziland

Prior to independence cultural attitudes of Swazi people tended to keep girls out of the education system, as the belief was that they would get married and move away from their families (Kaunda, 2012). Boys, on the other hand, received formal education, which allowed them to work in the formal sector and earn a wage to support their families (Manson, 2008). The curriculum under British rule was loaded with patriarchal ideologies; men were reflected as superior and as the leaders in many study materials. These materials also largely informed structural and social organisation of the labour market, making it difficult for girls and women to be affirmed and to assume a non-subservient social status (Langwenya, 2013).

In 1968, when Swaziland became independent, creating a non-biased community was a priority. King Sobhuza II was elected to lead Swaziland, and he cancelled the pre-independence constitution and instituted a traditional system of governance known as the *Tinkundla* (Kaunda, 2014). The *Tinkundla* system, recognised in the current constitution, endorsed the powers of the King to make decisions regarding education as well as textbook selection. In this way, the King as *Ngwenyama* [Lion] has almost absolute power over the system of governance as the custodian of customary law of Swaziland. This system of monarchy has resulted in conflict between application of democratic principles and preservation of Swazi law and customs (Butcher, 2000). This political configuration of the monarchy is inherently oppressive, especially to women and sexual minorities.

In practice women, especially those living in rural areas under traditional leaders and governed by highly patriarchal Swazi law and custom are often subjected to discrimination and harmful practices (Perry, 2011). For example, the 1964 Marriage Act, which foregrounds normative

sexual relationships, stipulated that women married under civil law are subject to the “marital power” of their husbands. They cannot independently administer property, sign contracts, or conduct legal proceedings. Many Swazi women are disenfranchised by their husbands. Young women and girls are forced to take part in cultural activities like the Umhlanga Reed Dance, where they are forced to undergo virginity testing. Families of girls and young women who fail to take part in such cultural activities are often punished or fined by their chiefs (Phakathi, 2012). Traditional structures and practices prohibit women from speaking in public at men’s gatherings and present significant challenges for women’s political participation (Rooney, 2011). Violence against women is endemic (Wass, 2003).

While the Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland has been declared ‘the supreme law’ of the land, Swaziland had and still has a dual legal basis. There is a system based on the so-called ‘Western Constitution’ (Roman-Dutch law) and constitutive of ‘civil law’, which is controlled by the Magistrate’s Court and the High Court. Alongside this system, Swazi customary law (also known as ‘Swazi Law and Custom’) functions, “... which is enforced through the customary courts or ‘Swazi Courts’” (Manson, 2008, p.10). Customary law may, in most cases supersede the so-called ‘Western law’. Even the so-called ‘Western Constitution’ (Kingdom of Swaziland, 2005) gives the King radical immunity from:

... suit or legal process in any cause in respect of all things done or omitted to be done by him; and (b) being summoned to appear as a witness in any civil or criminal proceeding (p. 14, section 11)

This negates the notion that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Because the King is untouchable, his decisions about education and schooling stand; in fact, he is the highest law of the land. Swazi customary law refers to “social relationships and social actions which take as their point of departure age-old customs validated by the ideology of traditionalism and legitimised by the king” (Whelpton, 1997, p. 147). The custodians of Swazi customary law are not willing to accommodate changing social values, which should have consequences on the law itself, because they benefit from the system (Manson, 2008).

On the one hand, customary law is subject to the provisions of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution, implying that it may be challenged by guarantees of human rights such as gender justice and equality (Van Schalkwyk, 2006). On the other hand, customary law works as a mechanism “in which gender relations are subjected to the powerful ideological and political forces surrounding legal systems of governance and national identities” (Manson, 2008, p. 4). Scholars observe that a critical stress on customary law in Swaziland has reinforced and

perpetuated negative perceptions of women and minorities as inferior to and less human than men are (Langwenya, 2013; Manson, 2008; Van Schalkwyk, 2006).

Theoretically, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Swaziland subscribes to the fundamental ideals of democracy (Kingdom of Swaziland, 2005, p. 31) and guarantees the rights and freedoms of women:

Women and girls have the right to equal treatment and educational opportunities as men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities.

Similarly, the Kingdom of Swaziland acceded to CEDAW on 26 March 2004, attesting to the country's recognition of discrimination against women as a problem, and the Government's commitment to recognise and promote women's rights in the attainment of gender equality. Swaziland is also party to the newly adopted SADC Gender and Development Protocol, which seeks to address various issues pertaining to the rights of women in the SADC region. The Protocol places an obligation upon SADC member states to ensure the necessary changes to laws, cultures and practices to create an enabling environment for women to exercise their human rights on an equal basis with men.

Finally, the Government of Swaziland established a Gender Coordination Unit in 1997 to coordinate all gender-related activities in the country. One of its key mandates is to mainstream gender into all Government policies, programmes and activities. Through this Unit, the Government has developed a gender policy to facilitate the achievement of gender equity and equality in the country. At present, the draft policy has been finalised and is awaiting approval by Cabinet.

Despite several policies and statutory bodies to ensure gender equity, analysts argue that many laws and practices in Swaziland remain gender biased (Association of Corporate Treasurers of Southern Africa, 2010, p. 10). The Association of Corporate Treasurers of Southern Africa (2010, p. 10) argues that:

Despite the new Constitution, old laws have remained in the books pupils learn. The textbooks still contain messages that reinforce certain gender stereotypes. ... The textbooks continue to contain traditional gender stereotypes and to support unequal gender relations.

While a range of declarations and conventions provide written support for ideas about gender equality and human rights, ways in which these values can help put a curriculum into practice have hardly been considered (Aikman, Unterhalter, & Challender, 2010, p. 45).

Change has been slow due to the conservative nature of the privileged male elite, who invoke culture and religion to legitimate the position of women and men in society (Kaunda, 2014). Consequently, the role of women in Swazi society has largely been determined by traditional values, relegating women to a subordinate position. The school textbooks reflect cultural values and practices within Swazi communities, and promote unequal power relations between males and females.

Educationalists promoting gender justice recognise the complexity of the task, and the interconnectedness of gender injustice with economic, educational, political and social systems. One cannot deal with issues of gender injustice and inequality in education without also confronting economic and political issues sanctioned and perpetuated by social systems such as cultural and religious practices and beliefs.

Knowledge production needs to locate gender inequalities not in the individual or local community, but in the wider context of social and structural power relations (Smith, 1990).

1.7.3 Education in Zimbabwe

Prior to gaining independence Zimbabwe's educational system was underpinned by racial and gender divides (Gordon, 2004). Missionaries introduced formal education in 1867 when they opened the first missionary school. Both the missionaries and the white settlers shared a common vision and goals, primarily to establish and consolidate white hegemony. Mission schools were also designed to facilitate conversion of Africans to Christianity and train them for the emerging white economy. This early missionary education mostly catered to the sons of chiefs.

The curriculum in Zimbabwe was gender differentiated, with boys and girls being directed into different areas. Boys were offered subjects such as metalwork, building and technical drawing and encouraged to study the hard sciences. Girls were offered shorthand typing and home economics. Extracurricular activities such as sports were also gender differentiated. Participation in sports was considered essential for males, with rugby being considered the most 'masculine' and 'virile' of all sports (Gordon, 2004).

The formal curricula inherited by Zimbabwe at independence were thus modelled on the British education system, where girls were educated for domesticity (Wolpe, 1994) and boys for employment in the public sphere, fitting them into the role of family head and breadwinner (Davison & Kanyuka, 1992; Gordon, 1995).

After gaining political independence in 1980, the Zimbabwean Government acknowledged the existing unequal position of and discrimination against women in Zimbabwean society. Pressure to address gender disparities was a historical product, partly a result of women's involvement in the struggle for national liberation in Zimbabwe and throughout Africa (Makombe & Geroy, 2009). At independence, the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in its 1980 election manifesto declared that it would abolish sex discrimination in education and orient the education system to national goals. In 1980 education was declared a basic human right by Robert Mugabe, leader of ZANU, and the constitution changed to recognise primary and secondary public education as free and compulsory for all. Mugabe enunciated his government's educational policy as correcting the cultural alienation of the past, creating a united nation with all people having equal opportunities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008, p. 6).

As the ZANU-PF Government felt that the colonial education curriculum was not relevant and did not address the socio-cultural context of the Zimbabwean learner, steps were taken to reform education (ZANU-PF, 1980, p. 12). As a member of regional and international committees Zimbabwe had acceded to several declarations, conventions and protocols targeted at creating an enabling environment for the attainment of gender equity, including the 1965 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the 1979 United Nations (UN) CEDAW (National Gender Policy, 2004:1). Article 10 of CEDAW required states to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure that they enjoy equal rights with men in education. Article 10(c) provides that state parties are to ensure (UN Summit, 2010, p. 12):

the elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programme and the adaptation of teaching methods.

Many policies were put in place to advance gender equality, including the Gender Affirmative Action Policy of 1992, the 1999 Nziramasanga Commission, and the National Gender Policy

of 2004. The new Constitution of Zimbabwe (Final Draft: 1 February 2013) states that the State must promote full gender balance in Zimbabwean society. The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa 2003 ('the Women's Protocol') also, in Article 12.1(c), provides for the right to education and training for women and, in particular, maintains that state parties shall take appropriate measures to "eliminate all stereotypes in textbooks, syllabuses and the media that perpetuate such discrimination" (Mavhunga, 2007, p. 12).

However, since gaining independence school textbooks continued to play a large part in perpetuating exposure of Zimbabwean pupils to gender stereotypes (Brickhill, Hoppers & Pehrsson, 1996, p. 6). They studied 42 primary school textbooks used in Zimbabwe and found gender stereotypes that included:

... negative representations of women as housewives who cook and clean and nag their children and husbands ... an absolute preponderance of women associated with children and men associated with property ... In social studies teachers are openly advised to encourage gender stereotyping ... the father is the provider and takes important decisions. The mother is the housewife and supporter of the father. No other roles are even acknowledged.

Mavhunga (2007, p. 16) argues that

although government and other stakeholders' efforts through affirmative and gender sensitive policies have attempted to promote chances of access to education by girls and remove obstacles that hamper their participation, gender parity is yet to be achieved ... girls continue to be marginalized.

The above resonate with Chipunza's (2003) observation that women in Zimbabwe are being pushed into traditional structures that are the custodians of culture. The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training in 2000, led by the Nziramasanga Commission (1999), found lack of gender equity and equality in the education sector, hampering educational advancement of the girl child. This was also due to the gender stereotypes prevalent in most textbooks. For one and a half centuries, Zimbabwean books have been regarded as important sources for the transmission of culture, traditions, values and ideologies or societal beliefs, and more specifically for socialisation of children into their gender roles (Nhundu, 2007).

The President of Zimbabwe has also reinforced homophobic attitudes as well as prejudice towards lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex (LGBTI) people. He boldly declared as follows in *Pink News Africa* (23 July 2013):

Never, never, never will we support homosexuality in Zimbabwe. I would never worship a “homophobic God” and would rather go to hell ... During creation, God made Adam and saw that he was lonely, and he created Eve out of Adam’s rib and not another man ... I don’t believe that they [homosexuals] should have any rights at all.

The new Constitution in Zimbabwe, section 78(2), established in March 2013, reaffirms homophobic prejudice towards LGBTI: “Learning of the same sex is prohibited and schools should abide by this law ... Learning materials at schools must not compromise our tradition and tolerate homosexuality”. Homosexuality is viewed as an abomination, unnatural and against tradition, customs, values and norms (Sallar & Somda, 2011). Hence, in Zimbabwe homophobia is encouraged legally, politically and socially.

The learning materials and textbooks in most of the schools are not gender sensitive (Zimbabwe Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, 2000). They portray images of males and females in a gender-insensitive manner, which leads to values, attitudes and perceptions that are not progressive (Stromquist, 1990). This goes against the major human rights instruments to which Zimbabwe is a signatory, and puts especially the girl child in a disadvantaged position.

Given the role of textbooks in propagating gender ideology, the same books have the potential to alleviate dissemination of these gender role ideologies and stereotyping if appropriate measures are put in place (Nhundu, 2007).

1.7.4 Education in Lesotho

Historically Lesotho has been a patriarchal society (Morojele, 2013), prioritising men and characteristics associated with the masculine (Walby, 1990). This led to the subordination of women in Lesotho society and subordination within public spheres such as public employment could be seen right up until the 1960s. Women in Lesotho have historically occupied different roles to men, which have included largely domestic roles, such as child bearer and carer of children and elders, generally taking care of household chores and supporting men. The men in the household go out to work.

Furthermore, women have historically not been as educated as men have; these subordinated and marginalised women even further, thus limiting the world of paid employment for them (Morojele, 2013). 'Honour' is extremely important to men (Syngellakis & Lazaridis, 1995, pp. 96-97), and intertwined with symbolic, social and moral values. Men's ability to earn money and feed the family is central to their masculine identity, and in turn to the prosperity of the family. This notion of 'honour' is extended to the family and domestic life. The woman of the household and her sexual conduct represent the 'honour' of the household, which must be protected. Women must conduct themselves in ways, which do not bring shame upon the family and, by extension, their husbands. Therefore, women are seen as needing protecting, and the home is a place of protection and security.

The end of British colonial rule in 1966 provided an impetus for curriculum reform in Lesotho (Raselimo & Mahao, 2015). In 1977, 11 years after independence, Lesotho began a flurry of *lipitso* (public gatherings) with a view to soliciting input towards designing a curriculum that would respond to the needs of the young nation. One of its main objectives was to improve gender inequalities (Ministry of Education and Training, Lesotho, 2001) arising from the pervasive patriarchal ideologies in Lesotho schools and communities. In 1971, the Minister of Education had announced the Education Policy for Development in response to perceived limitations of the colonial education system. Running from October 1977 to March 1978, there was a series of 51 such gatherings across the country (Mosisili, 1981).

Following this consultation process a National Education Dialogue was held in 1978. The purpose of the gatherings, in part, was to relate education planning to overall National Development Plans and inform subsequent policy reforms with regard to gender equity and social justice. This policy recognised the central role of education in achieving economic growth and gender parity. The report of a task force was presented and adopted in 1982 as a policy document guiding education reform processes up to the year 2000.

The document's policy statements for secondary education emphasised the need for inclusion of more practical subjects, with the purpose of enhancing gender equity in school materials and preparing learners for a meaningful life in a changing society. Following the education for development policy, a number of reforms were introduced in Lesotho's education system to ensure gender equity.

The World Conference on Education for All (EFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, sparked off a new impetus (Morojele, 2013). The Amman Mid-Decade Review of EFA in 1996 reaffirmed commitment to the Jomtien resolutions. May 1999 saw declaration of the MDGs, which, among others, aimed to enhance access to formal education (Mundy, 2006). The MDGs set targets to ensure that by 2015 children everywhere – boys and girls alike – would be able to complete a full course of schooling (Bruns, Rakotomalala & Mingat, 2003). MDG 3 specifically refers to the empowerment and promotion of equality between males and females (African Union, African Development Bank & Economic Commission for Africa, 2008). Improvement of gender equality also features significantly in Lesotho's education sector strategic plan 2005–2015 (Ministry of Education and Training, Lesotho, 2005), although expressed in terms of gender parity rather than equality.

However, representations of women (and girls) and minorities in school learning materials, including textbooks, will remain constrained by the myths and stereotypes infused in Basotho culture, language and discourse, which continue to depict females in menial and subservient terms (Morojele, 2013). In its report to the UN on progress towards meeting MDG 3, which focuses on gender equality, the Lesotho Government reported facing serious gender-based cultural and legal constraints that militate against women and girls and sexual minorities (Government of Lesotho, 2014).

Dominant discourses are mainly reflected in school materials, which socialise and pressure girls and boys to perform gender in conformity to what is contrived to be a 'normal' state of affairs. In other words, a 'normal' way of being a boy or girl is promoted, thereby increasing the likelihood that existing gendered power inequalities will continue unabated (Morojele, 2013, p. 3). This is similar to Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1999, p. 127) statement:

Social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself 'as a fish in water', it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted.

The 'fish in water' metaphor reflects the embeddedness of humans in their social world. It also reflects how textbooks are intricately entangled in gender discourses to a point where learners might become uncritical of the prevalent inequitable gender relations, and see patriarchal reflections as normal. Against the background of pervasive patriarchal power in Lesotho, producing textbooks that reflect gender equity may prove futile if not supported by wider

society and teachers' intentions. There is a need not only to help professional educators understand the source of bias in textbooks used to educate children, but to empower them in class. Educators need the skills necessary to make a conscious effort to deal with textbook bias in terms of language use and selection of images (Zeece, 1997)

All four of these SADC countries have long histories of patriarchy. Men have always dominated and had control over women in both the private and public sphere. Men are still denoted as more important and worthy in all four, even though they all have new governments which intend to address gender equity in society and in education.

With regard to school textbook publication, the State is responsible for selection in all four countries (Eric, 2011). The textbooks that are endorsed by the State need to interpret and present knowledge in accordance with the contents and concepts listed in the prescribed curriculum of the country. The Department of Education in the selected countries scrutinizes the textbooks through a screening and quality assurance process (Eric, 2011). The Department then recommends changes to be made where necessary to ensure that textbooks cover the curriculum. The Department of Education across the four countries also has the power to veto sections in a textbook that do not fit the educational ideology promoted by the curriculum.

1.8 Structure of thesis

The structure of this study encompasses nine chapters, as outlined below.

Chapter one: In this chapter, I outlined the study as a whole. I placed the study in its context by reviewing the importance of textbooks and the issue of gender representation in textbooks, in particular in Business Studies, thereby indicating the significance of my study. The rationale and motivation of the study were discussed. The purpose and focus of the study were then delineated and the research questions were introduced. The methodology adopted in this study was also discussed. Finally, an overview of the area of study (four textbooks) was discussed. The importance of this chapter was to give a synopsis of the reasons for conducting the study as well as how to answer the research questions would be approached.

Chapter two: This chapter provides a review and analysis of literature on gender research in textbooks and on the theoretical framework employed. I begin with the origins of textbook research and then review related literature that underpins this study. The emphasis was on the nature of textbooks and how gender was represented both in written and visual form in Business

textbooks. The presentation was thematic, and the chapter concludes with a discussion of gaps in the literature that give relevance to my study.

Chapter three: I outline the theoretical framework used in the study. This study uses a feminist poststructuralist theoretical lens. I draw on key poststructuralist theorists such as Weedon (1997), Foucault (1981), Althusser (1969), Derrida (1981) and Butler (1997), among others, to theorise gender representation. Feminist poststructuralism challenges and disrupts dominant understandings about gender typically rooted in the assumption that masculinity and femininity are ‘natural’ outcomes of being male and female. The feminist poststructuralist lens provides a critical examination of how gender is represented in textbooks, and possible explanations as to why this is the case.

Chapter four: This chapter describes the research design and research methodology in detail. The meaning and implications of a critical paradigm, which formed the framework of my study, are discussed. An explanation of the consequences of the qualitative approach is then addressed. Feminist CDA was the chosen research methodology of the study. I clarify the critical discourse method of data analysis that I employed in detail. The method of sampling is then elaborated on as well as the textbook sample. I then consider issues such as validity and trustworthiness, limitations and ethical considerations, ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods were thoroughly interrogated.

Chapters five, six and seven: In these chapters I present the results of the data analysis, which were used to answer the research question of how gender is represented in the textbook sample. The various representations that I found in the textbook sample are analysed.

Chapter eight: In this chapter I address the question of why gender is represented in the way it was in the textbook sample. I refer to what the literature opines concerning the nature of gender representation in textbooks and in Business textbooks in particular. Finally, I refer to feminist poststructuralism to comprehend further why gender was represented in the way it was.

Chapter nine: I present an overview of my study, with a summary of the findings and conclusions made with regard to the research questions. The contribution of this study to academic research is described and the limitations are addressed. I also outline implications that this study has for future research.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter served as an introduction to my dissertation. I have explained the background and context of the study, my rationale and motivation for engaging in the study, the purpose and focus and the research questions posed. The research methodology employed was also highlighted. These served to set the scene for the next chapter, which is the review of the literature.

Chapter two: Literature review

“... a textbook is neither just subject content, or pedagogy, nor literature, nor information, nor morals, nor politics. It is the freebooter of information, operating in the grey zone between community and home, science and propaganda, special subject and general education, adult and child” (Johnsen, 1993, p. 330)

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the background to the study, statement of purpose, critical questions and rationale. This chapter reviews the literature relevant to my study and the conceptual framework that underpins it. McMillan and Schumacher (2001) define a literature review as a critique of the status of knowledge on a carefully defined topic. The purpose of a literature review is thus to set out the body of knowledge which already exists in relation to a given topic. Without a literature review “you will not acquire an understanding of your topic, of what has already been done on it; how it has been researched and what the key issues are” (Hart, 1998, p. 1).

This literature review is organised thematically, which means, “the complex nature of work in an area can be respected while at the same time bringing some degree of order and organisation to the material” (McLeod, 2003, p. 19). This review will discuss research in the following ways: firstly, textbooks: their purpose, pedagogical importance and ideology, historical review of gender and textbook research and a gendered perspective on entrepreneurship will be discussed. Secondly, intersectionality and representation of gender, including issues of marginalisation as it pertains to disability, sexuality, management and leadership, sexist language, gendered occupational roles, technology, personality traits and the way these notions are represented in [certain] textbooks.

2.2 Origins and purpose of textbook research

In the early years (late nineteenth century in the United States of America (USA) and Europe) of textbook production, textbook research was initially called “textbook revision” (Pratt, 1984). Textbooks were revised because educationalists recognised how historical images were being manipulated for nationalistic purposes (Pratt, 1984; Schissler, 1989). In Europe, textbook revision was prompted by an attempt to “calm down the conflicts between the powerful in Europe which led to the Great War” (Pingel, 1998, p. 38).

In 1949 after World War II, international efforts were deemed necessary to address the content of textbooks and investigate the implications of it. UNESCO published a guide for evaluating textbooks by looking at accuracy, fairness, balance and world-mindedness (UNESCO, 1949). State schooling systems in Europe were reconceived as systems in which curricula and textbooks were active contributors to the development of modern democracy (Johnsen, 1993). This trend continued into the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in the Western world, where a global perspective in terms of human rights and identity construction was intentionally promoted in textbooks and curricula writing (Lieven, 2000).

Although textbook research has led to considerable changes in curricula and textbooks, a major deficit in textbook research is that it lacks proper guidelines and theoretical underpinnings according to which textbooks are identified as “objects” of research (Hohne, 2003). Some researchers responded by offering structured guidelines for textbook analysts, with detailed methodologies and stages which may be used (for example, Pingel, 1999). Debate ensued where it was contended that these methods do not provide researchers with the necessary methodological skills to analyse textbooks (Nicholls, 2003). While there are internationally recognised technical processes for evaluation, development and production of textbooks (see, for example, UNESCO, 2003), no compatible theoretical systems have been established for textbook analysis as a field of research (Johnsen, 1993). The present study aims to make a substantial contribution to this debate.

2.3 The pedagogical importance of a textbook

Regardless of the use of other genres of informative texts, teachers still use textbooks more than any other supplementary texts in the classroom. A textbook-centred curriculum still prevails, since it is textbooks and no other sources that are placed in the hands of teachers and learners (Paxton, 1992, p. 129). As Husbands (1996, pp. 88–89) states:

the principal teaching tools we have to develop our learners’ understanding and awareness are words: their words, our words and the words of actors in the past as they are presented to us in documents or as textbooks. Textbooks are probably the first body of knowledge that learners are introduced to and thus as Praxton (1992) notes, the most common text with which learners are most *au fait*.

Because of their ubiquitous use in an uncritical manner, in the classroom textbooks are perceived to be authoritative and approved, while the public almost regard them as oracles on

a particular subject (see Apple, 1993; Wade, 1993; Down, 1988; Pingel, 2010; Fan & Zhu, 2007; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Crawford, 2003; Osborne, 2004).

Textbooks are foregrounded as the official and authorised texts by the State. Textbooks, then, have a major influence on how learners think and understand and how and what they learn, as well as the way teachers teach a particular topic or content. Textbooks are therefore powerful tools for society, as they signify particular constructions of reality and reflect the values and aspirations of society (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant, 1991).

There is general agreement about the importance of textbooks, yet the question of whose story is told has always been a delicate one (Morgan, 2011a, p. 33). As holding legitimised knowledge, textbooks are reliable mirrors of the political culture of societies, and therefore powerful political tools (Apple, 2001, p.169). They are particular constructs of reality, compiled for a particular purpose and agenda. For all these reasons, researching these educational tools is a matter of urgency.

2.4 Textbooks and ideology

Textbooks by nature tend to control knowledge as well as transmit it, and reinforce selected cultural values. Textbooks are therefore not only powerful but also embedded in ideological discourses used by the State and writers to promote a particular ideology. This ideological discourse becomes the official, State-sanctioned narrative from which learners are to learn certain values and beliefs (Engelbrecht, 2007). Textbooks do not stand as neutral entities espousing agreed or accepted “historical truths” (Foster, 2011), but rather as powerful cultural artefacts containing the ideas, values, and knowledge that influential elements in society expect students to know and embrace. They are “... conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests” (Apple, 2001, p. 46). Selection of textbook knowledge is therefore an intensely political activity, often leading to tension, controversy and acrimonious debates in the struggle to define what [or whose] knowledge is of most worth.

Textbooks are designed to sustain the implicit structure within society (Apple, 1991), and their ideological and cultural potency cannot be disguised (Foster & Crawford, 2006). It is evident from the foregoing that textbooks are inextricably linked to issues around power and ideology. Understanding this connection is useful for my study, especially viewing textbooks as the result of a complex set of social and cultural relations.

Textbooks present broad cultural ‘messages’ and in terms of their social function bear similarities to government policy documents (Ping, 2015). Their function is to “tell children what their elders want them to know” (Or & Shohamy, 2015, p. 120) and to “represent to each generation of students a sanctioned version of human knowledge and culture” (Ping, 2015, p. 78). As instruments of socialisation and sites of ideological discourse, textbooks introduce young people to an existing cultural and socio-economic order with its relations of power and domination.

Constructing textbook knowledge therefore involves a “selective tradition” from the vast store of available knowledge from which the school curriculum is manufactured, to reflect the values considered important by powerful groups (Pennycook, 2001). An author receives remuneration from the State if a chapter or unit of theirs appears in a textbook; thus, they are less likely to challenge the agenda of the State or publishing industry when compiling their material (Sewall, 2005).

For these powerful reasons, there can be no certainty that gender equity will be reflected in textbooks. Thus, the importance of reviewing textbooks to uncover the hidden, underlying assumptions and stereotypes within their content is imperative (Foster & Crawford, 2006).

2.5 Gender and textbook research – historical review

The early 1970s saw feminists at the forefront in condemning discrimination against females in the schooling system (Sprague, 2001). The concerns of the feminist movement reached many parts of the world, and prompted a number of countries to revisit their school textbooks to eradicate any sexist ideology.

In France, the pressure applied by feminists produced positive results. It led the Ministry of Education to launch a campaign against sexist prejudices in the curricula for all subjects and educational activities. This also happened in Norway, Austria and other countries.

One of the earliest content analysis studies conducted, ‘The image of women in EFL textbooks’ (U’Ren, 1971), examined 13 of the newest textbooks adopted for use in Grades 2 to 6 in Californian schools in the USA. The findings showed that textbook writers portrayed most females in traditional roles of cook, cleaner, and so on, while males were shown doing a variety of adventurous and interesting activities. The pervasive sexism in children's books and

classroom materials in a content analysis of two Grade 4 school textbooks was documented in a study by Nielsen (1997).

Other studies have come to the same conclusion of pervasive sexism, where females are represented as inferior to males (Arnold-Gerrity, 1978). The findings from these earlier studies prompted a number of countries to establish policies and guidelines to advance gender neutrality in school textbooks. UN organisations such as UNESCO, UNFPA, and UNICEF laid down their own strategies to eliminate gender bias, and adopted measures such as the CEDAW to prioritise education for girls and eradicate discrimination against women. Regarding textbooks, the convention (UN, 1979, p. 7) states that:

Any stereotyping concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education ... should be eliminated ... in particular by revision of textbooks and school programmes, and the adoption of teaching methods.

At the third UN World Conference on Women held in Nairobi (1985), a recommendation was passed requiring governments to take all measures necessary to eliminate gender-based stereotypes from educational materials. In the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA Forum, 1990), article 3 of the document ‘Universalizing access and promoting equity’ states that:

The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation. All gender stereotyping in education should be eliminated (p. 5).

In 1995, the fourth UN World Conference on Women held in Beijing found that gender stereotyping in textbooks had not been resolved, and further calls were made to give the matter urgent attention (UN, 1995, p. 52).

Gender bias in school textbooks is not a First World problem; many African countries face similar problems. UNESCO’s (2009) EFA Global Monitoring Report found that gender inequalities persist in sub-Saharan Africa, South and West Asia and the Arab States, where the gender parity goal has not yet been achieved. In September 2010, the MDGs’ Report prioritised the gender goal as of “great importance but a difficult one since the root causes of gender disadvantage and oppression lie in societal attitudes and norms and power structures” (UN Summit, 2010, p. 6).

A number of declarations have been promulgated in Africa, for example the Gaborone Plan of Action of Girls and Women as well as the Ouagadougou Declaration on the Education of Girls to revisit sexist language and visuals in school textbooks. In 2010, the SADC leaders committed themselves to enhancing women and men's access to quality education and removing gender stereotyping in the curriculum, career choices and professions.

Unfortunately, heightened focus on other agendas means that less attention has been paid to the educational integrity of textbooks. As a result, studies about women/gender relations in textbooks in many SADC countries have added little value to education, just as education has added little value to studies on women/gender (Rosenberg, 2001). This study therefore hopes to contribute to a deeper understanding of gender representation in school textbooks, thereby adding value to both gender studies and textbooks.

While the representation of gender in textbooks has been the focus to this point, gender is manifested in all areas of life. The section that follows discusses entrepreneurship as a gendered construct.

2.6 A gendered perspective of entrepreneurship as a focus of analysis

Gender studies have made an influential contribution in the last 30 years as important areas of study across all disciplines. During that time, there have been developments in the way gender is theorised (Acker, 1992, 1995; Wharton, 2005; Gatrell & Swan, 2008; Gatrell, 2008, 2011). Gender has been theorised in terms of traits and behaviours that are specifically associated with women or men, as a form of social construction and, more recently, as performance – produced through everyday practices and discourse (Richardson & Robinson, 2008). Despite several advances in gender theorisation, the gender system represented in media and textbooks is divided into two logics – dichotomy and hierarchy – that man is the norm (Swan, 2008, p. 18). The male norm governs the view of what characterises an entrepreneur, and how an entrepreneur works and functions in the media.

Mythical pictures of what is typically female and male have always influenced and continue to influence us (Wharton, 2005; Gatrell, 2011; Casson, 1982). These social constructions have an impact on everyday life and therefore who we perceive an entrepreneur to be, “We all of us know someone who is an entrepreneur. He may be a property developer, a small businessman, or just someone who knows how to ‘make a fast buck’.” (Casson, 1982, p. 1) Here the entrepreneur is irrefutably cast as male.

The gendered representation of entrepreneurship can be linked to power. Power can be seen as dominance, representing supremacy and subordination respectively. Power also creates our social world and affects what the world looks like, and what can and cannot be said (Foucault, 2002). Power is thus both delimiting and productive, since ‘some’ representations of entrepreneurship are left out or subordinated (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000). Representations of power are certainly evident in media and textbook production, as will be seen in the next section.

Studies have shown how the media or the press could be simultaneously cultural as well as hegemonic (Langowitz & Morgan, 2003). In portraying women as involved in mainly lower-value companies, the business press reinforces the attitude that women entrepreneurs “aren’t really serious” (Langowitz & Morgan, 2003, p. 114). Female entrepreneurship is constructed as a divergence from the male norm of entrepreneurship. The discourse on entrepreneurship reinforces patriarchy, producing and reproducing entrepreneurial ideas that give dominance to traditional male values. These representations are inscribed in business textbooks prescribed at schools, thus reinforcing them in a profound way.

In the media in the USA between 1989 and 2000, similar results were echoed. In examining shifts in the metaphoric portrayal of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, Nicholson and Anderson (2005, p. 163) concluded, “the entrepreneurial myth remains resolutely male. In particular, a strong emphasis was placed on businesswomen’s link to the domestic sphere. Female entrepreneurs were positioned at the interface between the public and private sphere. Their business achievements were framed in terms of the balance between their multiple roles as employees, primary caregivers of children and engagement in domestic work, and the pressure they faced because of this. However, the content never questioned why the pressures of caring for children and doing housework remained the sole responsibility of women. Instead, it simply validated that such roles were traditionally expected of women. This dominant ideology denies the economic contribution of women and obscures women’s economic activities.

Textbooks also propagate certain ideologies about entrepreneurship. An examination of Japanese business textbooks from both macro- (social practices) and micro- (linguistic discourses) level perspectives showed similar bias to the media articles (Thomson & Otsuji, 2003). The findings revealed that textbooks presented a stereotypical and exaggerated version of social practices of the Japanese business community, based on idealised native Japanese

norms. Female characters had less access to managerial positions and fewer opportunities to participate in business than they do in reality. Non-Japanese female characters were invisible in the textbooks.

A review of representation of gender in Introductory Accounting textbooks revealed similar findings (Tietz, 2007), with stereotypes of women and men being reinforced. The picture of the 'typical' successful businessperson that emerged is that of a man who is confident, cautious, and educated. Women were portrayed as emotional and as emphasising their physical appearance. According to this thinking, women are predominantly interested in and responsible for the private sphere, while men are neither. Finally, the message is that men's contributions to business and society have been valued more than women's are. Although the study used content analysis of the pictures, stories and homework material to justify concerns about gender stereotyping, analysis of the language would also give publishers and authors an opportunity to focus on how to depict gender differently and present balanced and unbiased reporting.

While textbooks and policies provide an air of impartiality, the use of CDA can unearth the hidden bias and subtexts. Davids (2012) conducted an exploration of the ideologies implicit in Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) textbooks using the methodological framework of CDA. The study revealed that entrepreneurship is gendered; the discourse (visual included) offered a taken for granted assumption that successful entrepreneurs are men. Men were represented as more capable of running successful businesses than women, and were frequently represented as having adaptable skills and potential to work outside their fields of speciality. Males were also represented as having the ability to create the conditions for women to be successful. They were constructed as strong, powerful, competent, innovative and capable figures, suitable for positions of authority. The study concluded that EMS was uniquely designed to serve a particular agenda. These findings are similar to those of a Jordanian study (Hamdan, 2010) and a study of the German media by Achtenhagen and Welter (2011). All of these studies point to the fact that gendered characterisations of entrepreneurship and subordination are institutionalised, stereotypical and normalised within prevailing discourses.

Similar to Davids (2013), the present study of SADC Business Studies textbooks using the framework of CDA will make transparent the hidden ideology used to facilitate a particular socio-political agenda regarding gender representation.

Portrayal of female entrepreneurs in Japanese business texts over a 25-year period, from 1990 to 2014, showed that despite increased variety in representations of female entrepreneurs, traditionally gendered discourses prevail (Bobrowska & Conrad, 2015). These position women as inferior in the entrepreneurship discourse specifically, and in the social order at large (Bobrowska & Conrad, 2015). The findings resonated with those of other research in Western contexts, and confirmed the male-gendered nature of entrepreneurship in Japan. The uncovered discourses appeared to hinge on evaluative assumptions about the social world and women's position within it, reflecting and reifying Japan's male-dominated capitalist ideology. The authors asserted that such portrayals shape societal attitudes, which are assumed to affect entrepreneurship levels; therefore, lack of progress in the media discourse is likely to affect female entrepreneurship levels negatively (Bobrowska & Conrad, 2015).

Study of the discourse of entrepreneurial masculinities (and femininities) reiterated that the dominant discourse of entrepreneurship in media is masculine (Eleanor, 2013). Entrepreneurs are represented in textbooks and media by a range of male stereotypes, whilst women are under-represented. When shown, women are linked to domestic concerns. Moreover, academic studies persistently rely on male experience to theorise entrepreneurship, while women are studied in terms of their difference. This enduring discourse results in feminine entrepreneurs being rendered invisible.

The research called for entrepreneurship researchers to engage with contemporary debates in gender, culture and media studies, and proposes a research agenda to challenge dominant discourses (Eleanor, 2013). This is pertinent to my study, as failing to present a range of explanations narrows the alternatives presented to students, leading to the economic experiences of minorities being marginalised. Authors should present all aspects of important issues, and it should be up to students to decide which positions they find most persuasive.

Despite many studies in the field of gender and entrepreneurship, limitations still exist. To date gender studies in entrepreneurship research have largely focused on the experience of women entrepreneurs (Baker, Aldrich & Liou, 2009). To address the invisibility of women in entrepreneurship research, studies have been trying to understand the 'differences' and potentially unique contribution of women entrepreneurs. This focus on women and entrepreneurship as a subset of entrepreneurship research is, however, too reductionist. This approach to gender studies "argues for understanding the unique experiences of women, and their so-called natural or socialized, feminine styles in the workplace" (Swan, 2006, p. 9). She

proposes adopting more discursive and poststructuralist approaches, where masculinities and femininities could be defined as ‘ways of being’ made available through discourses (Swan, 2006).

The literature about discourse and gender has focused on illustrating men’s domination of women in organisations, media, education and so on, but increasingly research needs to be devoted to understanding “the range of constructions/performances” of gender (Wagner & Wodak, 2006, p. 388). This view is supported in Pillay’s (2013) thesis ‘Gender representation of two South African Business Studies textbooks’, at the end of which she proposes an epistemological shift “to study how gender is accomplished rather than study what it is”. Ahl (2004, p. 192) asserts:

A poststructuralist stance has been critical to developing feminist debate which challenges the notion of female essentialism and assumptions of shared subordination arising from a homogeneous biological identity and socio-economic positioning. As such, the notion of gender as constructed through discourse is framed as a fluid, contextualised diverse performance.

The feminist critique offers an alternative perspective that challenges the normative institutional underpinnings, which constrain the possibilities of who can be recognised as an entrepreneurial actor and what constitutes entrepreneurial behaviour (Calás, 2009). As previous research lacks an explicit feminist perspective, these studies often neglect robust structural, historical and cultural features as well as a power perspective (Ahl, 2006). This study addresses the limitations of the scientific studies conducted to understand gender and entrepreneurship both in textbooks and the media. This study therefore seeks to reveal the gender subtext underpinning the discourse of gender and entrepreneurship as they are portrayed in textbooks, and open up a space to question it.

While gender and entrepreneurship is the central focus of this discourse analysis, studies on gender, disability, sexuality and race have proved useful for this study, as they highlight discourse issues common to all representations of that denoted ‘other’.

As a poststructuralist researcher, exploring the intersectionality of disability, race, class, gender and sexuality reveals the need to shift away from the dichotomous imagery of the oppressed and the oppressor. The reality is much more complex (Collins, 2004). An intersectional approach is needed that recognises that there are important differences *among* women and men rather than simply *between* them. Feminist scholars argue that gender, disability race, class and

sexuality are interconnected as “intersecting oppressions” (Crenshaw, 1989). They reveal how intersecting forms of discrimination and oppression create opportunities and social and material benefits for those “who enjoy normative or non-marginalized statuses such as Whiteness, maleness, heterosexuality, or upper class status” (Steinbugler, Press & Dias, 2006).

Researchers who use intersectionality are able to present a sophisticated, nuanced understanding of the workings of power relations. As Razack (1998, p. 12) argues, “it is important to explore in a historical and site-specific way the meaning of race, economic status, class, disability, sexuality, and gender as they come together to structure women and men in different and shifting positions of power and privilege”. Because intersectionality recognises relational constructs of social inequality, it is an effective tool for examining how power and power relations are maintained and reproduced across the four SADC textbooks in my study.

2.7 Representation of gender, disability and race

Disability is an ambiguous term that conceals a broad spectrum of physical and mental conditions ranging from slight to severe (Linton, 1998). The term denotes multiple meanings: lack of ability, differently abled, personal tragedies, medical and social problems, biological deficiencies, incompetence, adversities, and painful, accidental, troublesome and inconvenient conditions (Barnes & Mercer, 2010; Davis, 1995; Michalko, 2002; Striker, 1999; Titchkosky, 2006). The word ‘disability’ has echoes of the negative undertone associated with being different from the general population.

Butler (1990) claims that just like gender, disability can be seen as a social, political, cultural and discursive phenomenon rather than an individual or medical condition; that when considering disability one needs to think about how the bodies are represented, while noting the significance of the material and cultural context. Disability is a continuous process of negotiation and renegotiation of identity, so to understand its meaning one has to deconstruct the social interactions and language used to create the meaning (Butler, 1990). From this perspective, the body is viewed as a discourse of social knowledge and power relations that reflects social and cultural values. The importance of how culture, language and discourse construct disability and the disability experience is noted. According to this thinking, disability is a social identity and phenomenon that is continually constructed by the discourse of normalcy; this discourse in turn, is shaped by social, historic, economic and cultural forces that modify definitions of disabled and nondisabled (Titchkosky, 2006).

Regarding the representation of disability in texts, there is an obligation to examine this issue in textbooks critically in terms of who the social actors are (Bell, 2006). Gender and race are ‘taken for granted’ concepts – there is a need to link them and critically examine how disability interconnects in order to shift from this oversimplified, trivialised and dichotomous concept of disability. There is a need to see disability as a normal part of everyday experience, a social phenomenon and a social identity. Segregating the academic fields reinforces the notion that disability is an isolated, individualised and segregated experience, and upholds the dominant hegemony that sees disability as an individual, isolated incident (Bell, 2006).

Problematic representations of disability have long been identified in books for youth. Studies have shown that authors focused on the disability of the character rather than on the character themselves (Fiction, 1999). Some stories rely on the differences between children with and without disabilities rather than their similarities, thereby defining each character by his or her level of ability. The foci of these stories are subtle and can go unquestioned by the reader, because they are congruent with the hegemonic discourse of normalcy (the ‘given’) – and foreground the one characteristic that is outside the norm – disability. While an author may be ‘altruistically’ attempting to raise awareness about the issue of disability, the result is exclusion of the disabled character from the ambit of normalcy. The opposite effect is achieved – the disabled character is ‘othered’ and objectified. The message is clear: disability is outside the norm.

Characters in these stories have been defined by their disability and how hard they worked to defeat it. While the portrayal of masculinity is associated with strength and ability, this was not the case for disabled males, whose stories and representations focused on triumphs in overcoming their disabilities (Fiction, 1999). Women with disabilities were portrayed as tragic. This analysis revealed that disability is strongly associated with personal tragedy due to the persistent negative stereotypes perpetuated by authors (Fiction, 1999).

A study found to be useful for this project is a content analysis of texts and pictures in 27 Lithuanian language and literature textbooks and 9 Ethics textbooks for years 1 to 10 (Pocevičienė & Ruškus, 2000). The study portrayed the disabled as unhappy people who aspire to change the state of their disability. Furthermore, disabled persons – the majority of whom were female – were seldom presented as active and equal members of society. More often than not, a disabled person was excluded from joint activities and ascribed with negative features,

such as being lazy, problematic and incompetent. The visuals in the textbooks reinforced this message.

This distorted representation of people with disabilities was confirmed by a 2007 study, which analysed 4 561 images and 3 717 pages in 96 textbooks from selected schools in the United Kingdom (Hodkinson, 2007). The study criticised Pocevičienė and Ruškus's (2000) work as, in their use of Butler's theory of performativity, they neglected to view how gender, race and class intersect. Taking an intersectional approach, the findings revealed that only 0,16% of the images analysed represented disabled people. Mainly African maleness was the focus, with African males being portrayed as what Hodkinson (2007) calls "unproductive beings"; many were represented as in need of State support. African men suffered from double oppression: first their race and second their disability.

Of further concern was that the construct of disability was formulated within the realms of medical deficit. The study concluded that, "Disability marks the last frontier of unquestioned inferiority because the preference for able-bodiedness makes it extremely difficult to embrace disabled people and to recognize their unnecessary and violent exclusion from society" (Hodkinson, 2007, p. 11). The study further revealed that a "preference for able-bodiedness" is at the root of what is referred to as the "ideology of ability". However, in spite of the useful findings and suggestions, there was a need to incorporate the voices of racial minorities with disabilities into the study in order to avoid perpetuating their invisibility.

Scrutiny of texts generally reveals few instances of disability, the discourse overwhelmingly underpinned by the assumption that able-bodiedness need not be mentioned, as it is 'normal'. Similar findings were echoed in a quantitative and qualitative study, which sought to understand representation of disability in texts (Beigi & Cheng, 2012). In the three Iranian high school textbooks sampled, only one instance in the text and 10 of 321 images were found that possibly represented disability. Physical disability was again contextualised as medical deficit. In comparison to African men, white men were not represented as needy; some of them were employed in the formal sector and in many instances, they were portrayed as having success stories. However, in the case of African men with disabilities the ideology that happiness can never coexist with the social, physical and intellectual limitations of their disability was reinforced. The authors concluded that the texts are used to enshrine what hegemonic groups regard as official and authorised knowledge to serve their own interests.

An understanding of how gender was represented in two Grade 10 Business Studies textbooks in South African classrooms revealed that white men were depicted in the illustrations as strong, powerful, competent and successful individuals (Pillay, 2013). However, African women were presented as physically impaired and poverty-stricken individuals in need of support – even confined to a wheelchair in one instance – suggesting dire economic need (Pillay, 2013). In both textbooks, African women were constructed as disabled, burdened and destitute, reduced to a condition of dependence. This representation of African women was an insidious form of rejection, because “it turns disabled people into objects who only receive and who do not participate in the processes which shape their lives” (Pillay, 2013, p. 48). The study recommended that textbooks include more people with disabilities in terms of number, race and gender, as well as depiction of a greater range of impairments, avoiding hegemonic ideologies and patriarchy. However, it is impossible for textbooks to be ‘value neutral’, since the selection of teaching materials is influenced by value judgements that reflect the interests of the ruling class (Ya-Lun, 2008).

The historical critical method was used to explore the frequencies, categories, naming and portrayal of disabled people in elementary school textbooks in Taiwan from 1952 to 2003 (Su, 2014). Findings showed that, firstly, disabled people are underrepresented in the textbooks. The disabled figures were mostly African males and females with physical disabilities; people with mental illnesses were ignored. Secondly, the naming of people with disabilities changed from ‘the handicapped’ to ‘the disabled people’. Thirdly, people with disabilities were usually viewed as ‘the other’, who needed to be helped or who inspired ‘normal’ people. Fourthly, disability was defined as an individual problem instead of a social problem. Finally, disabled people were mostly voiceless. There was no discussion of the worldview of disabled people or disability, and very little addressing the diversity and multiculturalism of disabled people.

Intersectionality of race, gender, class, age, activity level and space can yield a more nuanced representation of disability. A study that bears this out is that of Martínez-Bello and Martínez-Bello (2015) in which, between 2009 and 2012, they examined eight Colombian early childhood education textbooks from three major commercial publishing houses. They found that the textbook authors and publishers had made an effort to promote equality between the genders, but only four disabled people were portrayed in the illustrations, most of whom were African women. The results also emphasise that the textbooks under investigation still firmly reinforced and legitimised the status of the ‘able-body’, and consolidated a view of able-

bodiedness as the dominant norm. However, their study could have scrutinised the relationships between disability, race, class, gender and sexuality to present alternative arguments that are largely absent in the current literature. Not many researchers have mentioned the fact that, in terms of disability and race and representation a further stereotype is seen, namely the stereotypical connection of disability with wheelchairs.

The matter of disability and its representation has been on the national agenda, with the result that the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (2015) undertook a research project for the Social Cohesion and Equity Unit of the Department of Basic Education, to explore whether discrimination and bias persist in textbooks used in South African public schools. The HSRC's study assessed 40 textbooks across all grades, which were chosen because of their accessibility and availability. Discrimination against disabled people was expressed through their being invisible in the texts. Images or photos of disabled people were found in only two books, with no attention to the achievements of African disabled athletes. They therefore constituted not only discrimination against disabled people, but also racial discrimination.

An investigation into the racial representation of images in Spanish Physical Education textbooks for secondary schools found similar results (Rey-Cao & Táboas-Pais, 2012). The findings revealed a racial homogeneity with majority representation of the in-group (White and Western), compared with minority representation of people from different races (the out-groups). These messages do not facilitate construction of racial diversity and shared identities. People with a different appearance (from the out-group – mainly African people) are only represented in a limited number of contexts that are stereotyped in accordance with conceptions of 'race'. Many social actors from the minority group, especially men, were represented as poor and unskilled as well as lacking the ambition and drive to perform and attain success, both physically and economically. White men, on the other hand, were portrayed as knowledgeable, advanced and physically competent. Images of African women were not present, but white women were represented as both physically and emotionally self-driven and goal-orientated (Rey-Cao & Táboas-Pais, 2012).

The authors reviewing the Spanish textbooks suggested that publishers had participated in a "cultural lobotomy" (Rey-Cao & Táboas-Pais, 2012, p. 14), but make little attempt to explore this definition critically. Like curriculum, textbooks always present a "selection from culture" (Apple, 2001). Similarly, the portrayal of gender may have a causal association with the writers' culture. They fail to expose learners to multiple perspectives, which may lead to

development of distorted knowledge legitimated by those with economic power – in this case the authors themselves. The study’s goal to expose gender bias in school textbooks may prove futile, as the very form of discrimination they wish to eliminate is subtly ignored in their own work.

Since 2012, things have not changed. Using content analysis of texts and images and with a focus on nationality, gender and race, the study by Roohani and Molana (2013) examined how different cultures were reflected in Interchange 1, Interchange 2 and Interchange 3, and whether cultural bias or inequality was present. Their analysis revealed that the white male group was dominant in all three textbooks. Like females, African characters were represented less often in all three English language Iranian textbooks. In some cases, where African characters were represented in the textbooks, a negative picture was depicted. This may show racial bias and cause misunderstandings about the African community in the English as foreign language learners’ minds. The authors assert that negative media stereotypes are demoralising and reduce self-esteem and expectations.

2.8 Heteronormativity as norm

Heteronormativity is the belief that people fall into distinct and complementary genders (man and woman) with natural roles in life. It also assumes that heterosexuality is the only sexual orientation or norm, and that sexual and marital relations are most (or only) fitting between people of opposite sexes (Hickman, 2012). Consequently, a ‘heteronormative’ view is one that involves alignment of biological sex, sexuality, gender identity and gender roles. The formation and reproduction of heteronormativity in school textbooks is largely a social and epistemic construction, resulting from curriculum practices that transmit a hegemonic notion of heterosexuality as the norm. Pedagogy transmits and perpetuates heterosexuality as standard. The most disturbing factor in this regard is how children (girls and boys) actively regulate gendered interactions through policing and shaming gender constructions/performances which do not automatically portray hegemonic notions of masculinities/femininities (Butler, 1997). In these cases, such constructions or performances of gender have real social and emotional consequences that are damaging for both boys and girls (Sanders, 2013).

Lingering heteronormativity and problematic representations of non-normative sexuality are implicit in a range of texts. In her article ‘People who are different from you: Heterosexism in Quebec high schools’ textbooks’, Temple (2005, p. 18) revealed that the definitions in the texts

dichotomised heterosexuality/homosexuality, setting the stage to see sexuality in terms of normal and abnormal. It was found that ‘traditional males’ were the ones society understands. The ‘non-traditional’ male, however, presents an unfamiliar package, even if the qualities he exhibits are seen as desirable, such as being an attentive, nurturing father. The texts ignored alternative sexualities, which is part of how heterosexual privilege is maintained. It is therefore recommended that textbooks should challenge heterosexism, not only to help break down the norms that confine everybody to rigid gender role stereotypes, but also to encourage students to develop the critical thinking skills to question presumptions and biases they encounter in their lives (Temple, 2005).

Temple (2005) revealed some useful insights regarding the predominance of heteronormative discourse; however, content and thematic analyses provide only limited insight into the social conditions of production. They do not illuminate how the discourses are constructed (Wilmot & Naidoo, 2011). It is for this reason that Wilmot and Naidoo (2011) applied the CDA approach. Just as the post-apartheid South African schooling system is foregrounded within a paradigm of social justice and non-discrimination (Mbelu, 2011), the Life Orientation (LO) curriculum has a specific commitment to social justice (DoE, 2003). Yet this was not evident in the study by Wilmot and Naidoo (2011), who investigated representation/construction of sexualities and sexual identities in a sample of South African Grade 10 LO textbooks. The findings reveal that LO plays a very powerful, regulatory role in terms of constructing and transmitting normative values. The textbooks that were studied were redolent with normalising judgements concerning behaviour deemed either acceptable or unsatisfactory. In particular, the textbooks provided – either implicitly or explicitly – particular versions of sexuality that were deemed prevalent and conventional, and sexualities that were seen as abnormal and disruptive. The textbook conveyed rigid and stable versions of sexuality, which did not promote inclusivity but rather homophobia.

Despite the findings of Wilmot and Naidoo (2011), South African textbooks have not changed regarding inclusiveness (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012). These latter authors examined selected LO textbooks for Grades 7 to 12 in South Africa, with the intention of establishing whether the curriculum encouraged full citizenship for sexual and gender minorities. Their findings showed inconsistency in the representation of these identities. Gay male identities were represented in some instances, lesbian and bisexual identities rarely, and transgender and intersex identities not at all. Two of the four series examined were almost entirely silent about LGBTI identities.

Compulsory heterosexuality sets itself up as the original, the true, the authentic, the norm; being homosexual was always a kind of miming, a vain effort to participate in the plenitude of naturalised heterosexuality.

Invisibility negates the different ‘ways of knowing’ of LGBTI learners, tending not to facilitate a critique of the discrimination, prejudice and social injustices faced by many LGBTI people, and lessening the importance of social justice and citizenship education in South Africa (Potgieter & Reygan 2012). These writers conclude that textbooks should problematise heteronormative positionings, arguing that education should break away from the ‘normative’ into the realm of discomfort. There is a need for governments to produce textbooks, which are relevant and appropriate for all. Heightened awareness is not simply about sensitisation – problematising textbooks could possibly lead to social change.

Globally, textbook content is “the result of competition between powerful groups who see it as being central in the creation of collective national memory designed to meet specific cultural, economic and social imperatives” (Bazzul & Sykes, 2011, p. 11). This intended ideology flows through the “educational discourse” within a particular context (Naseem, 2008, p. 25). Textbooks that are relevant and appropriate for all may conflict with the ideological jargon meant to convince the reader of benefits of a particular type of orientation in society (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012).

An investigation of heteronormativity in the McGraw Hill Ryerson Biology 12 textbook widely prescribed in Ontario schools found silence regarding same-sex attraction and divergent sexual identities and practices (Bazzul & Sykes, 2011). The study reported the invisibility of alternative sexualities in the text. It also lamented the fact that, despite heightened sensitivity to oppressive discourses in instructional materials, the textbook – selected based on its wide circulation – transmits binary representations of gender and sexuality and strongly heteronormative constructions of sexuality (Bazzul & Sykes, 2011, p. 265).

Representations of male and female social actors in selected Iranian EFL textbooks echoed these findings (Salami & Ghajarieh, 2015), endorsing the discourse of compulsory heterosexuality, an institutionalised form of social practice in Iran. They found that the texts frequently reinforce binary constructions of gender and sexuality, and either overtly or covertly reinforces “dominant heteronormative narratives of sexual dimorphism, male hegemony, and heteronormativity” (Salami & Ghajarieh, 2015, p. 6). It is necessary to question whether

textbooks deliberately disregard differences and seek to construct LGBT identities as 'just like us', based on the assumption that LGBTI people seek assimilation into traditional heterosexual institutions. It can be concluded that cultural and religious relativism negates social transformation, and often this is reflected in school textbooks (Salami & Ghajarieh, 2015).

2.9 Portrayal of management and leadership positions

In many societies, there is a general belief that men manage and women follow (Grint, 2005). The constructs of management and leadership represented in textbooks have carried the notion of masculinity and the belief that men make better managers and leaders than women (Kiamba, 2006). Kiamba's (2006) assertion is reiterated in Ozdogru, Cetinkaya and Dogan's (2002) study. The theorists who foreground leadership as a masculine trait are *all males*; textbooks can thus be seen as tools of propaganda. Textbooks often propagate ideologies that maintain the status quo and make them appear as 'natural', even though they actually engender hegemony through use of ideological devices (Cameron, 2004). This hegemonic discourse of management and leadership as masculine has become pervasive to the point of assuming 'common-sense' status in the way the world is construed.

Hegemonic constructions of leadership were shown in an earlier study by Evans and Davies (2000) on portrayal of gender characteristics in three elementary school reading textbooks from Georgia, USA. This research focused particularly on how males are portrayed. Using an evaluative instrument based on the Bem Sex Role Inventory, they examined Grade 1, 3 and 5 literature textbooks, in particular traits pertaining to masculine and feminine stereotypes in management. The results revealed that despite publishers' guidelines, males were still overwhelming shown to be aggressive, argumentative and competitive, traits seen as required to become successful leaders and managers. Women, on the other hand, are never mentioned in terms of any management or leadership roles. The pegging of a gendered personality to management and leadership roles may have an adverse effect on development when students begin to accept and enact a gendered personality (Evans & Davies, 2000).

Analysis of Turkish and Life Science textbooks for Grade 3 showed that men were depicted as more knowledgeable and experienced to manage and lead than women (Ozdogru et al.). A study of gender roles in Tanzanian primary school textbooks (Mkuchu, 2004) reflected women as occupying low managerial positions, and carrying out activities for the maintenance and care of family members.

In the textbooks studied, the authors often propagated ideologies of gendered personality that maintained the status quo of men as more active and forthright in business than women (Mkuchu, 2004). Traditional feminine and masculine personality traits were clearly demarcated. While men were seen as positive, strong and dynamic, women were perceived as negative, weak and sensitive. In addition, male characters were pegged in association with technology, which enabled them to carry out management and leadership activities with ease. Efforts to eliminate gender stereotyping in textbooks have been inadequate, as the emphasis was on producing textbooks that match the official curriculum (Mkuchu, 2004).

A study on the representation of gender in introductory Accounting textbooks revealed that 'the glass ceiling' was still in place, as evidenced by the low percentage of women in top executive positions (Tietz, 2007). The glass ceiling refers to an unfair system or set of attitudes that prevents some people, in this case women, from getting the most powerful jobs (Peter, 2013). The traditional expectations of women's major roles in life are those of wife, mother and homemaker (Tietz, 2007). Women workers still tend to bear the main burden of family responsibilities as well as paid and unpaid work; this double work burden hampers their upward movement to management positions. The increase in women's activity in the labour market has not been paralleled by a substantial increase in the domestic work done by men. In addition, men were depicted as problem solvers who took leadership roles and girls as subservient beings (Tietz, 2007).

In response to Tietz's (2007) findings, researchers have argued that the glass ceiling is at least partially constructed and reinforced in textbooks via stereotypes and beliefs about women and men (Ferguson, Collison, Power & Stevenson, 2005). Eliminating the glass ceiling will involve changing those beliefs and stereotypes on the part of both textbook authors and textbook users (learners). Unless textbook authors eliminate the glass ceiling effect, male students will continue to be encouraged to undertake a wider range of leadership occupations, while female students will receive the message that they have responsibility for the private sphere with fewer leadership occupations available for them to choose from (Paxton, 2007).

Gender representations in Japanese business textbooks showed stereotypical and exaggerated versions of the social practices of the Japanese business community, based on idealised native Japanese norms (Thomson & Otsuji, 2003). Female characters in the textbooks had less access to managerial positions and fewer opportunities to participate in business than was actually the case in reality. The study also highlighted the invisibility of non-Japanese female characters.

Female students using the textbooks were not provided with role models or spaces into which to acculturate. Similar studies on gender roles in textbooks in Hungary (Czachesz, Lesznyák & Molnár, 1996; Thun, 2001) showed them representing the experiences of men and boys (considered the norm), while the experiences, ways of thinking and knowledge of girls mean something ‘different’. They also found that males were depicted as assertive, authoritarian, competent and strong in management and leadership roles, whereas women were depicted as worried, subtle, emotional, stressed and incapable of leading or managing.

Analysis of two Business Studies school textbooks used in South Africa showed similar bias (Pillay, 2013). Findings showed that the multiple roles of women in the family, society and the workplace imposed a multiple burden, which hindered their career progress and advancement to managerial positions. However, there were a few instances when women were portrayed as managers; in a few of these, they were represented as incompetent. Women were also portrayed as having low educational attainment, whereas men were represented as having qualifications and experience. Furthermore, women did not possess the traits required to manage and lead. Women were portrayed as stressed and vulnerable, whereas men were represented as forthright and unemotional when it came to business. Leadership and management was thus an occupation “reserved for males” (Pillay, 2013, p. 55). Although useful, Pillay’s analysis did not critically discuss the intersection of gender, race and ability in the analysis of management, thus ruling out a more nuanced discussion.

2.10 Sexist language

To read language as having assumed common meanings can lead to very different interpretations. Words have not only explicit connotations but also implicit connotations. For example, does the word ‘man’ refer only to a biological being, or does it also imply moral characteristics, positions of power and legitimacy that go far beyond this? Analyses of words such as ‘discourse’ reveal that they are saturated with others’ meanings. Words do not contain a single, present meaning; they defer their meaning to other words in the language system. As a result, meaning is always slipping and sliding, and language is therefore not an accurate tool to represent reality (Foucault, 1991). Meanings will always be partial, contingent and contextual, and open up an endless play of interpretation. Sexist language entails exclusion, degradation and stereotyping of women.

Foucault (1991, p. 3) said “our discourse shapes our reality”, and his argument is that issues of power are invested in our discourse and languages. For Foucault, these symbols reflect power; male pronouns as a generic reflect society’s views of power. These regimes of power are reflected in our ways of speaking and writing about the world, and gender is one component of the way in which power and privilege interact with language.

As early as the 16th century, it was argued that males should be mentioned before females: “let us keep a natural order and set the man before the woman for manners sake”, for “the Masculine gender is more worthy than the Feminine” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 34). This ordering, reflecting a widespread perception of male supremacy, has been conventionalised and not questioned until relatively recently. The notion of the natural order has been criticised by various theorists (Butler, 1990; Sugino, 1998; Foucault, 1991) who refute the notion of ‘natural’, claiming that discourse is a reflection of cultural, ideological and political values of certain groups in society. “Discourses represent political interests, and in consequence are constantly vying for status of power,” according to Weedon (1987, p. 41). It is important to emphasise that Foucault does not just see power as repressive – it also has a productive side. Through webs of power, certain knowledge comes to be valorised and accepted as the norm.

A study of Australian and Commonwealth countries’ language textbooks revealed use of male pronouns as generic (Davis, 1995). This would mean that most references to the professions were to male persons (Davis, 1995, p. 9). The same was found on the use of ‘he’ as a generic term throughout the texts of Commonwealth countries in Asia. The author remarks that use of the generic ‘he’ would lead the readers to believe that all of the characters were males. The idea of selecting knowledge echoes the writing of Apple and Christian-Smith (1991), who stated that inclusion and exclusion of knowledge in textbooks constructs a distinct economic and historical reality. Textbooks spread ideologies while conveying facts under the guise of “historical legitimacy” (Davis, 1995, p. 12). Similar results were found by Festante (2004, p. 4).

The issue of firstness of pronoun began in Modern English when the meaning of ‘man’ was broadened: “In seventh-century the word ‘man’ originally included and was applied to both sexes. In Old English ‘man’ as a term meant ‘person’ or ‘human being’ and could not be used to identify a male person” (Festante, 2004). This author maintained that the ambiguous use of ‘man’, referring not only to humankind but also to a male person in particular, caused trivialisation and degradation of women. He maintains that using a generic form of the word

'man' diminishes women as being less important than men are. Even though there are alternatives to avoid the use of gender-marked items, authors still apply the word 'man' in its generic use.

Likewise, a study on gender stereotypes in children's literature in Japan and America revealed use of generic terms like 'he', 'man' and 'mankind' to represent human beings (Sugino, 1998). A masculine term was used as a generic term as proper form, thus tightly linking sexism with language (Sugino, 1998). Whenever a generic term is needed, the masculine term is used as a proper form, compared to lesser use of 'her' or 'she'. This often determines the elite and legitimate culture that textbook authors wish to pass on (Apple, 1991).

The findings on Iranian and Turkish textbooks (Skliar, 2007) and Swedish textbooks (Mustedanagic, 2010) reveal that the construct of the female businessperson is largely missing. It is therefore assumed as fact – and that it should be taught to children – that the world of business is a masculine space.

A more recent analysis of EFL textbook used in Iran reveals that 14 personal pronouns were used to refer to females, whereas 51 pronouns referred to males (Baghdadi, 2012, p. 69). Frequency of usage of pronouns shows that men were more frequently portrayed and described in the textbook, although there were several examples of the generic 'person' being used to refer to both males and females. States Baghdadi (2012, p. 69): "This education should prepare the person for the job he can do best" and "when someone fasts, it means he doesn't eat". Generic usage of 'he' clearly degrades females as inferior to males, in the sense that the masculine pronoun can be used as a general word, while the feminine pronoun specifically denotes that which is not masculine, and so is 'other'. Patterns favour masculinity as generic, with the dominant discourse of English language usage favouring men.

Firstness of pronouns is another feature of language where gender discrimination can easily be observed (Eckert & Ginet, 2003). This represents a common conviction that men are more important than women are in almost every society, meaning it is necessary to place them first everywhere.

'Firstness' refers to the linguistic feature where one particular gender is often mentioned first (Pillay, 2013). Males commonly come first in conventional patterns of English usage; for example, man and woman, husband and wife, and so on. This is a consequence of the historical

outlook that males are more worthy gender: "... let us keep a natural order, and set the man before the woman" (Gharbavi, 2012, p. 14).

Analysis of gender firstness in textbooks was first undertaken in 1978 in an investigation of several textbooks published over a period of 12 years (Hartman & Judd, 1978). The authors proposed that many texts presented needlessly stereotyped portrayals of men and women, whether through one-sided role allocation, overt put-downs, or omission (Hartman & Judd, 1978, p. 384). The order of mentioning two nouns, such as Mr and Mrs, brother and sister, and husband and wife, was investigated – and the masculine word always came first. This automatic ordering reinforces the second-place status of women.

Five years later a study sought to determine whether change had occurred since the Hartman and Judd analysis (Porreca, 1984). In his quantitative investigation focusing on female visibility and firstness in sentences, where 15 textbooks were evaluated, the findings confirmed those of Hartman and Judd, and indicated that sexism in EFL textbooks was still a problem. Women were mentioned half as often as men were, firstness for men was three times as prevalent as female firstness, and women were less visible in occupational roles (Porreca, 1984). She also noted that when two gender-specific nouns or pronouns appear as a pair, like mother and father or he/she, the one appearing first could be interpreted as having higher status. This, she maintained, reinforces the stereotypical notion of who is regarded as more worthy and important in society. Textbooks therefore have a way of telling less than the truth by reflecting the ideology of the dominant worldview.

Similar 'firstness' tendencies were found in a sample of Hong Kong textbooks (Lee & Collins, 2008). This ordering of the male first reinforces the second-place status of women (Lee & Collins, 2008), and these authors suggest mixing the order because female learners will feel weak and unimportant in comparison to male learners. The ideology of masculine superiority will also affect female learners' self-esteem.

Similar bias in EFL textbooks was evident: when masculine and feminine nouns occurred together, the male noun usually came first (Healy, 2009). This type of language usage was regarded as conventional usage (Bahman & Rahimi, 2010). Critically engaging learners in understanding that such usage is not restricted by grammatical rules, and that they are able to choose which gender to use first is encouraged by teachers (Healy, 2010). I agree with this

significant point by Healy, and am of the belief that ascribing gender is a choice that can be challenged at school level.

Finally, the analysis of Iranian high school EFL textbooks revealed that men are mentioned before women in the majority of cases (Amini & Birjandi, 2012, p.137). In one of the books, there were 12 first mentions of males and only two first mentions of females. The researchers explained this linguistic feature as representing the traditional patriarchal view of women in Iranian society; deeply rooted traditions show that men always come first and that women are subordinate to men. A key omission from the findings is the authors' failure to comment on how Iran, being a 'patriarchal' society, ranks equally with all the other countries in terms of gender inclusivity. This omission serves to conceal issues of power and ideology. To this effect, textbooks are described as "both pedagogical and political" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991, p. 215).

The foregoing examples serve to confirm the socially constructed nature of textbooks, as well as how textbooks should not be taken for granted, nor embraced with unquestioning trust.

2.11 Gendered occupational roles

Occupational roles are very commonly gendered (Bem, 1993), with the traditional division of labour bestowing certain characteristics on women and others on men, based on their roles in society. Historically women's tasks have included gestating, nursing and caring for infants and children, making it difficult for them to perform tasks requiring speed, long and uninterrupted periods of time, or travel (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). The resulting stereotypes and beliefs have created gender roles for people based on "assumptions made about the characteristics of each gender, such as physical appearance, physical abilities, attitudes, interests, or occupations" (Shaw, 1998, p. 24). These gender roles have developed over time and are reinforced through the media, educational system and social interaction. Since the 1970s both male and female researchers the world over have shown interest in the study of gender bias of occupational roles in educational materials, specifically school textbooks.

Say Sunderland, Cowley, Rahim, Leontzakou and Shattuck (2001, p. 252): "The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a flurry of content analyses of gender representation in foreign language textbooks". These studies found male characters to be overrepresented in comparison with females; men were generally shown in occupational roles that are more powerful, including a greater range of them, and both men and women were depicted in ways that reinforced a variety

of stereotypes (Sunderland et al., 2001). My study adds to this debate by applying CDA to unearth taken for granted assumptions of gender representations in Business Studies textbooks. The tools of CDA are useful in stripping away layers to reveal the hidden and less obvious messages.

Views on the matter do vary. Brickhill et al. (1996) question whether one can expect representation of gender equality “in the sense of gender-neuter (or unisex)” approaches to all roles in a context “where custom and culture still respect special and different roles for men and women in community and family” (p. 11). There is also the view that one cannot expect to escape differently gendered roles and the diverse reality of African men and women – which includes the role of African women in politics, as farmers and heads of households, in a variety of income-generating and professional occupations – should be represented in textbooks in Southern Africa (Brickhill et al., 1996). These writers stress the need in African contexts to address perpetuation of stereotypes through cultural beliefs. Therefore, a gender-neutral construct is not feasible as culture constrains and enables the production of knowledge, permitting certain ways of thinking about reality and excluding others. The social is forever caught within the play of hegemony (Baxter, 2004).

To elaborate further on the gendered nature of occupation representation, textbooks used in schools in Tanzania, a developing African state, were studied (Mkuchu, 2004). This study found that the textbooks presented biased images, especially of females. The illustrations as well as contents depicted males as in the majority and in important social, occupational and political roles. The male characters were not only abundant in number but also portrayed as leading instruments of action. Females, on the other hand, were portrayed in the domestic sphere, doing household chores and looking after children. Moreover, women’s work was represented as unpaid and not requiring skills, whereas in many cases men’s work was accompanied by status and wealth. Overall Mkuchu (2004) discovered patriarchal images of both genders in the material used in schools.

Ideological representations of women in Taiwanese history in elementary Social Studies textbooks revealed similar results (Su, 2007). The study found that gender-neutral laws have failed to benefit women, because lawmakers neglected to consider the contingencies of most women’s social situations. However, the study does not critically unpack who (gender) the lawmakers are nor the implications of their decisions. Instead, Su (2007) provides superficial findings without interrogating issues of discrimination and patriarchy. Men were shown doing

work requiring more physical strength (building, wood and metal work) or anything that generally happens outside (gardening, taking care of animals), while women carried out household activities that required less strength (knitting, sewing, embroidery) and took care of children.

Content analysis of the roles of women portrayed in Australian primary school English textbooks largely reinforced the diminished positioning of women (Lee & Collins, 2009). However, a positive aspect of their findings was that there were some cases of unconventional treatment of gender and work; for instance, of women as boxers or filmmakers. Notwithstanding, the researchers maintained that the glass ceiling continued to exist in the textbooks, despite the few instances reflecting gender equity.

Gender sensitivity has also been evaluated in a number of textbooks in the Zimbabwean secondary school curriculum, after which a focus group interview was carried out with a purposive and gender-stratified sample of students (Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012). The study revealed that the textbooks contained gender biases, imbalances and stereotypes and embodied many patriarchal values and ideologies. The interview supported the notion that textbooks shape the minds of learners, and showed that students were affected overtly and covertly by gender representations in textbooks. In the same year a study of English textbooks in Pakistan (Hameed, 2012) and of Iranian EFL textbooks (Amini & Birjandi, 2012) obtained similar findings.

Investigations into issues of gender have focused not only on written texts but also on visual representations. For example, a study scrutinised visual images of women in selected South African History textbooks: how they were depicted visually, what types of visual images were used, who the women who were depicted are, and why certain images were used (Nene, 2014). The focus of the study was selected Grade 12 History textbooks, which they underpinned with semiotic analysis. The findings showed that severe gender inequality existed in the visual images in the textbooks, contradicting both the Constitution of South Africa and the curriculum. African women specifically were portrayed in stereotypical roles as mothers and marginal figures, and in many instances as vulnerable and weak. However, exceptions also existed within their small sample of photographs, namely that white women were portrayed as powerful, independent and historical characters who were equal to men. White women were most often displayed for their beauty, obedience and self-sacrifice, and white men specifically for their bravery, intelligence and achievement in the workplace.

The study concluded that teachers and learners as users need to be sensitised about the patriarchal and racist nature of textbooks. Although Nene's study was useful in understanding the representation of women in textbooks, she did not show intersections of gender and race, but dealt with them in isolation. In my opinion, this did not allow her to provide rich and nuanced conclusions.

Studies on gender representations have also been conducted elsewhere in Africa. A Malawian study, which examined visual images found similar results to Nene (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015). The study was a specifically empirical, feminist study, premised on the assumption of the oppression and subordination of women in society. It investigated how and why women are portrayed visually in school textbooks, to see their subordination is implicitly sanctioned in visual representations of women. The findings confirmed that it was.

2.12 Portrayal of males as technology users and experts

An emerging category of textbook analysis with relevance for the current study deals with identifying author bias in textbooks. Apple's (1993) proposal for an exposé of commercial and political constraints on text construction presupposes that the textbook is a cultural product. Textbooks are written by authors who are academics and curriculum specialists who have certain assumptions about which knowledge needs to be transmitted (Knain, 2001). In the representation of technology, authors frequently represent men rather than women as experts. This trend began as early as the 1980s.

This bias has been established in a range of studies, for example a study of three foreign language textbooks in Iran found gender bias in the representation of contexts around usage of technology (Rifkin, 1998). Men were represented as having technical knowledge to work, invent and fix technology, while women were not. Despite recommendations and guidelines that were available for gender-fair writing, the analysis indicated that bias against girls and women was still present in the textbooks, specifically in relation to technology. Women were depicted as backward, afraid and confused about technological trends. Moreover, the text emphasised that time was a factor that hindered women from keeping abreast with technological demands. It also found that women's reproductive duties could be a reason that they lag behind in technological advancement (Rifkin, 1998). This pervasive stereotype contributes to the misconception that men are technologically perceptive, reinforcing the idea of women's position as being at home and their incompetence in using technology.

This was reiterated in an examination of primary school English textbooks published in Kenya (Kobira, 2009). Females were portrayed as weak or incompetent in use of technology, both at home and at work. Women were also illustrated doing clerically orientated jobs, such as filing documents, effectively implying that females lag behind as far as technological advancement is concerned. Examination of textbooks across a range of curriculum areas, including Maths, Science, Agriculture and Social Science, found consistent gender bias (Obura, 1991). In relation to science and technology, the study focused on the extent to which textbooks reinforced alienation of females from this arena:

as the textbooks are addressed to higher classes, masculine context, masculine words and masculine illustrations multiply . . . men are associated with modernity and development while women are associated with domesticity and low technology (Obura,1991, p. 42)

Textbooks should be carefully examined for bias like this. If authorities fail to expose learners to multiple perspectives, then these textbooks may well lead to development of knowledge legitimated by those with economic power, thus perpetuating an unequal system.

A more recent study on gender representation in school textbooks in Iran showed similar bias (Foroutan, 2012). Content analysis through assessment of language, content focus, verbal content and pictorial content was used to see if gender bias was still prevalent. Women were mainly portrayed as doing domestic chores and therefore having little or no time to understand and learn how to use technological equipment. The underlying assumption seemed to be that women were not interested in the field of technology. Mechanisms to eliminate gender stereotyping in textbooks were inadequate, as emphasis was on producing textbooks that matched the official curriculum (Foroutan, 2012).

Yet researchers are not unanimous on this subject. In his study 'Rethinking the relationship between gender and technology: A study of the Indian text', Gupta (2014) argues that research from developing countries shows different findings to those from others. Gupta argues that the relationship between technology and gender is not static; rather, it alters with changes in socio-cultural and economic context. The Indian example shows that a dynamic phase of society and the economy has provided a veritable mix of factors propelling an upsurge of women into computer-related courses and professions. This was shown in the text and visuals that were investigated. However, this is not an indication of a radical revolution of gender relations in society; rather, it encapsulates the transition within developing countries like India and reflects

continuity as well as change (Villar & Guppy, 2015). These authors maintain that textbooks in other countries continue to exhibit gender segregation.

The study outlined in ‘Gendered Science: Representational dynamics in British Columbia Science textbooks’ established that women were depicted as incompetent in use of technology (Villar & Guppy, 2015). Representation of gender was analysed by scrutinising images and text used in Grades 7 to 11 textbooks. The findings represented women as relying on men for assistance to use technology and develop their skills. The authors conclude that although gender equality has improved in Science textbook representation, the push toward equality still requires more effort.

This type of gender segregation in the context of technology contributes to the commonly held idea that some roles are ‘for men’ while others are ‘for women’. Villar & Guppy (2015) argued that stereotypes inhibit women from pursuing careers in stereotypically male-dominated fields. Arguing that more needs to be done in textbooks to ensure gender equity in relation to technology, the authors make some useful recommendations for the revision of such materials and put forward insightful implications.

A key study of two South African business textbooks showed that the uses of technology were rigidly divided into either masculine or feminine (Pillay, 2013). Men were presented as the predominant users of technology and as more knowledgeable and competent in information technology. The data revealed that men are more disposed to use the latest technology when attending business conferences. Men were more frequently seen as using technological equipment, such as smart boards, computers, laptops and iPhones. Conversely, women were seen as using traditional posters and charts when presenting data. The broader implication is that today, as in the past, men dominate in both the technological and the economic arenas as the main users of advanced technological equipment, and are more technologically advanced than their female counterparts (Pillay, 2013).

2.13 Stereotypical personality traits in textbook characters

For any idea to prevail, all that is needed is for its perception to become totally entrenched as common sense; it will then be regarded as a taken for granted assumption (Harvey, 2007). Gender stereotypes consist of ‘common-sense’ beliefs about men and women’s specific gender roles where certain traits or characteristics are deemed socially appropriate and acceptable for one gender and not the other.

Earlier researchers also questioned the representation of personality traits in school textbooks in an attempt to unearth gender bias. In a study of portrayal of personality traits in 19 Arabic textbooks in use in seven Arab states (Egypt, Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and Yemen) (Michel, 1986), the findings indicated that women were still presented according to the traditional image of being dependent on men for economic welfare and status. Women and girls were depicted as weak, submissive, emotional and dependent. According to UNESCO, a study in France yielded similar results, with men portrayed as strong and muscular and women depicted primarily as mothers confined to child raising. The vast majority of children's storybooks ignored active women (Michel, 1986, p. 27); child raising was the only activity where women were portrayed, while men were shown in strenuous and physical, well-paying occupations.

In studies that are more recent, textbooks in many countries reflected similar bias to those in the 1980s and 1990s (see Evans & Davies, 2000; Morales, 2008; Saarikivi, 2012; Mustapha, 2012). The fact that these results are still being seen in current studies indicates that little change has taken place. The need to foreground these issues is now more urgent. This hegemonic discourse in the way that social actors are represented has become pervasive to the point of being entrenched within concretised common-sense notions.

2.14 Implications of the literature

Gender representation in textbooks has been analysed across a number of disciplines, including reading, art history, economics, psychology, foreign languages and science, with evidence of consistent differentiation between depictions of males and females. Most of the studies found that white males are portrayed with status and high paying occupations while African females are portrayed negatively, in low paying, low status occupations. The studies also found that school textbooks displayed sexism by featuring males more often in both written text and illustrations.

Desktop and database searches revealed evidence of limited research on gender representation in Business, Marketing and Economics textbooks. This gives relevance to my study, which focused on addressing this gap in the research. Moreover, to my knowledge very few studies have been conducted in South Africa, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland on the representation of gender in Business Studies textbooks in the last phase of high school preceding tertiary education. This gives my study the opportunity to address this gap.

In addition, many studies did not take a CDA perspective; most employed content analysis with regard to gender representation. Despite the fact that they reveal some useful insights, content analyses provide only limited insight into the social conditions of production and interpretation, and do not illuminate how the discourses are constructed (Fairclough, 2001). It is for this reason that CDA will be applied in this study. By using CDA and adapting Machin and Mayr's (2012) representational framework, greater depth can possibly be added, giving thick and rich explanations for gender representations in the selected Business Studies school textbooks. The CDA protocol will be used to unearth the subtext of school textbooks.

Theoretically, the aforementioned studies viewed gender as binary opposites. Feminist post-structuralism is used in this study as a theoretical lens to move beyond binaries of male and female and 'essentialising practices', to provide nuanced explanations for the representation of gender in the selected textbooks. Lastly, issues of gender, race, disability and class can also be seen from the literature review, but there no intersection of these with studies on Business Studies textbooks. I hope that my study will address that gap.

The gaps identified from the literature review provided a justification for my study. In addition, the results of the previous studies as reviewed in this chapter would be useful in discussing the findings of my study.

The following chapter will discuss the theoretical framework of this study. Feminist poststructuralist theory is used to explain why gender is represented in particular ways in the previous studies in the literature, as well as in mine. I therefore turn to the theoretical framework used to understand the representation of gender in this study.

Chapter three: Theoretical framework

“There is no such thing as truth, only regimes of truth.... Statements about the social world are only ‘true’ within specific discourses. Society decides what is acceptable to believe and what is unacceptable, the latter of which is to [be] suppressed or merely ridiculed” (Foucault, 1981, p. 52)

3.1 Introduction

I utilise a feminist poststructuralist perspective as a theoretical lens to examine gender representations in school textbooks. Working within a feminist CDA methodology (discussed in the following chapter), I uncover the role of discourses in constructing dominant gender ideologies. I do this by drawing on key poststructuralist theorists such as Althusser (1969), Foucault (1981), Derrida (1981), Butler (1990) and Weedon (1997), amongst others, to create a theoretical framework to theorise gender representation through discourse.

First, the background of poststructuralism is described, and then the different approaches in feminist poststructuralism, which informs this study, are discussed.

3.2 Background of poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is not specific to a single school of thought or academic discipline (e.g. Barthes, 1973; Derrida, 1982; Foucault, 1984; Kristeva, 1984), and is part of the broader postmodern movement, a broad collection of approaches that developed in the 20th century in response to modernist ideologies which tended to uphold the idea of absolute truth. Postmodernists questioned the ‘grand narratives’ which explain the nature of reality and re-examined interpretations of concepts which previously went unquestioned. The rise of feminism saw these grand narratives being revisited and reinterpreted to foreground the dynamics that operate to construct and uphold masculine power.

The poststructuralist movement of the 1960s and 1970s questioned the ‘structures’ posited by structuralists and see ‘text’ as referring to a representation of any aspect of reality (Agger, 1992). Poststructuralism arose from dissatisfaction with the deterministic and universalistic nature of structuralist theories, such as those of Saussure, Marx and Levi-Strauss (1857–1913), who argue that the full significance of any entity or experience cannot be perceived unless and until integrated into the structure of which it forms a part. To them, such structures are self-

sufficient (Hubbard, Kitchin, Bartley & Fuller, 2005). They saw structures as deterministic in that people's position in society is determined primarily by their relationship to various structural arrangements which are universal and where human agency is limited (Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

Poststructuralist theory accounts for the relationships between the individual and the social and the binary oppositions therein. It not only looks at forms of social organisation and associated values, but also enables theorisation of the actions of the individual (Longhurst, 2011). Poststructural theory rejects the possibility of absolute truth or objectivity; knowledge and meaning are regarded as transient and unstable, closely associated with power constructed within the social and material world.

There are different forms of poststructuralism in terms of practice and political implications, but they agree on certain fundamental assumptions about language, meaning and subjectivity (Weedon, 1997, p. 20). Poststructuralists advocate that the world is constructed by our understanding of it, and therefore completely dependent on our perceptions. According to this premise, any differences between genders are outcomes of particular social constructions based on factors such as culture and time.

3.3 Why a feminist poststructuralist theory?

The feminist perspective brings to poststructuralism the ability “to address the question of how social power is exercised and how social relations of gender might be transformed” (Weedon, 1997, p. 20). A poststructuralist feminist standpoint thus provides a robust lens to analyse how discourses reflect, re-inscribe and possibly resist hegemonic patterns. Inherent in feminist poststructuralism is attention to issues related to selves and identities: “Feminist poststructuralism consciously challenges the social silences in order to disrupt and fracture the ideologies that justify power, especially gender ideologies” (Hollingsworth, 2006, p. 29).

According to feminist poststructuralism, the truth of what ‘being a man’ or ‘being a woman’ means can never be objectively established, because knowledge about gender is produced and reproduced within a patriarchal social order. Hence the structures which underpin this knowledge are binary not unitary – and understood differently by a particular gender. It therefore holds that meanings associated with ‘male’ and ‘female’ are not fixed or static; rather, understandings of gender are contextually (culturally, historically and locally) specific.

Another defining feature of feminist poststructuralism is deconstruction, with its intention to set up procedures to demystify structures and open them up to scrutiny and analysis (Barrett, 2005, p. 80). A feminist poststructuralist lens can thus interrogate how taken for granted aspects of language function to fix certain meanings and legitimate certain knowledge. Through use of this lens it is argued that “no longer am ‘I’ the simple sum of a set of fixed experiences; instead, ‘I’ shifts and changes as I gain access to new sets of meanings” (Francis, 1999, p. 383). The self’s identity is a constantly renegotiated effect, an ongoing process rather than a predetermined essence. In terms of gender the repudiation of a fixed self by implication means gender is also not fixed, but that ‘self’ is positioned within a gendered discourse (Francis, 1999, p. 383).

Poststructural feminists are also concerned with power and institutions. Their analysis seeks to reveal "how gender power relations are constituted, reproduced, and contested" (Weedon, 1987, p. vii). They challenge dominant masculinist, patriarchal views of knowledge using strategies of opposition, resistance and deconstruction. Using a feminist poststructuralist theoretical lens in this study will allow for a critical examination of the way gender is represented in textbooks and provide possible explanations as to why this is so.

3.4 Language as a site for the construction and contestation of social meaning

The specific locus of interest in feminist poststructuralism is in language as a site for the construction and contestation of social meanings. Feminist poststructuralists believe that language (which includes visuals) provides the means for people to think, speak and give meaning to the world around them (Weedon, 1987, p. 12). Through language, people internalise social norms and social perceptions of reality, thereby becoming members of society. It is through language that gender is socially constructed, as gender differences dwell in semantics. Through language, the individual makes sense of social and cultural experiences and provides informative explanations of those experiences (Baxter, 2002; Wetherell, 1999).

When viewed as more than vocabulary and grammatical rules, language, becomes the way we construct meaning and understanding of our world (Scott, 1988). Feminist poststructuralism challenges gender categories as dual, oppositional and fixed, arguing that gender comprises shifting, fluid, multiple categories. Hence, stable definitions of gender are challenged (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005). Feminist poststructuralism seeks to explain the emergence, becoming or genesis of structures, or how systems such as language come into being, mutate through time

and give meaning to the world of a particular gender. Such systems are therefore neither fixed nor stable (Deleuze, 1988). As a common factor in any analysis of power, social meanings and construction of identities, language must be a central site of analysis. This is where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their social and political consequences are defined and contested. Crucially, language is where subjectivity – which feminist poststructuralism sees as a site of disunity and conflict – is constructed (Weedon, 1997).

Thus, a feminist poststructural lens provides an understanding of the way patriarchal power is maintained through knowledge and language, both of which are inextricably linked. Knowledge is created through the use of language and discourses generated by institutions of power, which privilege certain groups over others (Kirby, 2006). This perspective argues that people in positions of power have maintained their structures of dominance through producing the discourses, and thereby the knowledge, which are then used to influence public perception and understanding of gender relations. This process of discourse and knowledge production will be investigated to see whether it prevails in the case of Business Studies textbooks.

The act of writing is essentially a selection process. Writers decide what is included and what is excluded, what to make explicit or leave implicit, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is thematised and what is unthematized, what process types and categories will be used to represent events, characters and so on (Fairclough, 1995). Moreover, when the writer speaks or writes, a particular worldview is always taken (Gee, 1999, p. 2). People can be informed and controlled by language and, in turn, inform and control others. There is no neutral discourse because every word that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position (Fowler, 1991). This clearly includes ideological positions about gender; therefore, no representations in the written and visual media are gender neutral (Weedon, 1997). They either confirm or challenge the status quo through the ways they construct or fail to construct images of femininity and masculinity.

Derrida's (1981), Foucault's (1981) and Butler's (1990) theoretical perspective on language and discourse will be used in this study, as it provides a useful analytical tool with which to deconstruct the language of textbooks and expose gender and other constructs embedded in the discourse. The act of deconstructing texts reveals the constant performance of the different elements within language, and means interpreting a text by exposing what is usually suppressed.

Derridean deconstruction challenges binary systems, not by replacing unitary meaning with another, but by transforming terms to make visible their multiple meanings. These binary oppositions are subjective and constantly changing; they will eventually overlap and begin to contradict one another. Thus, the meanings of words are not in the words themselves, but in the differences between them. Hence, language is essentially a system of differences. Two terms cannot exist without reference to each other; therefore, meaning in language differs continuously in relation to other meanings. This phenomenon is termed *différance* (Derrida, 1981) and has already been highlighted in the literature review in discussion on representations of gender, race and disability in school textbooks.

The concept of *différance* is useful for this study as it disrupts binary thinking and offers a way of thinking about sexual difference that does not deny differences but does not create false hierarchies (Derrida, 1981). This binariness is seen in constructions like the term ‘woman’, which is trapped inside the metaphysics of presence and whose definition is only possible with reference to ‘man’. Derrida’s view is that “within the inherited discourse of the metaphysics of substance, gender proves to be performative, that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be” (1981, p. 33).

The model that I use maintains that women are equal to men, have the same status and identity as men, but are different from them. Thus, the word ‘woman’ needs to be deconstructed from a subordinate association and reconstructed through proving that women do not need to be rationalised by male dominance. Deconstruction allows one to see that a word’s meaning also shifts over time and place; it is highly context-dependent. Thus, deconstruction seeks to expose and then subvert the various binary oppositions that undergird dominant ways of thinking – presence/absence, speech/writing, and so forth. Derrida (1988, p. 32) maintains:

A text is not a text unless it hides from the first comer, from the first glance, the law of its composition and the rules of its game. A text remains, moreover, forever imperceptible. Its laws and rules are not, however, harbored in the inaccessibility of a secret; it is simply that they can never be booked, in the present, into anything that could rigorously be called a perception.

According to this thinking, every reading – no matter how subtle, sensitive or ironic – will have a trace of a different interpretation. This, as Derrida writes, is the power of a text. This view is useful for this study as it concerns itself not only with the way texts are constructed, but also with the way in which they are read. Meanings in texts are not fixed but are individual

reinterpretations every time a text is read. It is therefore vital to expose the representations of power and dominance in texts for the benefit of school readers.

Poststructuralism completely disrupts the notion that meaning can always be known: “We can never know exactly what something means – we can never get to the bottom of things” and “neither language nor philosophy can ever be the same” (St Pierre, 2000, pp. 481-482). Once it is seen how language is used to create reality rather than merely reflect it, greater possibilities for change are opened up. When language becomes a focus, we can investigate ways in which classroom language shapes not only how a discipline is represented, but also how it facilitates/limits the ways individuals make sense of their lives. Language is social and truly, as Weedon (1997, p. 23) states, “a site of political struggle”. Hence, a major concern for critical analysts is to demystify how texts can be representations of ideologies and contribute to social relations of power and domination.

3.5 The nature of discourse

This study takes the view that the contents of a textbook are not a neutral collection of words but constitute a discourse in which power relations are embedded in ways not always obvious to the reader. Language is a highly complex system and does not represent experience in a transparent and neutral way, but always exists within historically specific discourses.

A discourse is not a language or a text, but a historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs (Scott, 1988). Discourses are constructive and a form of social action: “Discourse builds objects, worlds, minds and social relations; it does not just reflect them” (Wetherell, 1998, p. 16). Discourses are often contradictory, offering competing versions of reality and serving different and conflicting power interests, which usually reside within large-scale institutional systems, such as education and media. A range of institutional discourses provide the network by which dominant forms of social knowledge are produced, negotiated, reinforced, contested or resisted. As discourses always represent and constitute different political interests, they are constantly vying for status and power.

For feminists, texts are far more than mere written artefacts; the body itself is a site of power struggle. However, this study concerns itself only with written texts. Power inheres in all discourses and norms, which are part of the minute practices, habits, and interactions of our everyday life. Thus, power is everywhere: it is “exercised from innumerable points, in the

interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations” (Foucault, 1980, p. 94). The operation of power is complex, operating through both production of knowledge and creation of a desire in those who consume it to conform to the norms that this knowledge establishes. This desire to conform leads people to sustain their own oppression voluntarily, through self-discipline and self-surveillance (Foucault, 1977). Self-monitoring is achieved on two interacting levels: practice and discourse. Individuals feel compelled to conform to norms and also to talk about what they ‘should’ and ‘should not’ do, and to ‘confess’ to any deviation from these norms. The type of knowledge produced influences the individual’s behaviour and has a controlling effect, such that knowledge is inseparable from power:

... power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (Foucault, 1977a, p. 66)

Power is by its very nature subversive. It must be able to mask itself in order to succeed. The degree to which it is hidden is proportional to its strength (Foucault, 1980). When power meets with resistance it is not overcome, it simply finds new ways of manifesting. According to Foucault, there is a constant interaction of power and resistance where power asserts itself, meets with resistance and responds by reasserting itself in a new guise. According to this thinking, there is no default position of neutrality, as power is always present and will always find a way of asserting itself in some guise.

Therefore, knowledge is not neutral either; conceptions of normality and deviance are manufactured to create the conceptions that society needs and to serve interests of power. This confirms Butler’s (1990) argument that gender is conceptually primary and shapes how we construct our identities. Discourses therefore produce ‘identities’ and subject positions, and are ‘institutional sites’ from which a person can speak or be addressed (Foucault, 1972, p. 51). Objects do not exist ‘anterior’ to discourse, ‘waiting’ to be discovered and objectively described (Foucault, 1977a). Rather, the discourse itself defines the limits of its domain and defines what it is talking about: “giving it the status of an object – and therefore of making it manifest, nameable and describable” (Foucault, 1972, p. 18).

Objects of social reality cannot be seen as independent of discourse, but can only be defined in and through the discursive elements around them. Thus, discursive practices give life to these objects through the existence of discourse. Discourses do not simply describe individuals, but rather offer up a variety of subject positions (Holiway, 1992). In line with

this, subjectivity does not come from within but is constituted and reconstituted in texts and talk (Wetherell & White, 1992). Hence, ‘identity’ can be conceptualised in terms of a multiplicity of different, shifting, often contradictory positions (Walkerdine, 1993). However, discourses do not simply produce docile, useful bodies – discourse and power/knowledge produces its own “plurality of resistances” (Foucault, 1977b, 1979).

While Foucault’s work, which has had a profound influence on thinking about sex and politics, has proven extremely useful for this study in enabling me to expose gender power dynamics in discourses, I am also aware of criticism of this viewpoint. For example, Hartsoek (1987) and Fraser (1997) accuse Foucault of being gender-blind and androcentric, maintaining that despite Foucault’s writing about sexuality he neglects the issue of sexual difference, and focuses on the male subject in discussing formation of the ethical subject. They hold that Foucault’s account of power is useless because it cannot/does not take into account systematic power relations (the institutional domination of men over women, for instance) (Fraser, 1997). This is because Foucault utilises a conception of power that completely homogenises itself, making the term ‘power’ so broad that it can be applied to anything, everything and nothing.

However, others are not as dismissive. Ramazanoglu (1993) argues that Foucault’s ideas of power, knowledge, the self and sexuality are not easily compatible with a range of feminist ideas. She rightly states that feminists cannot ignore Foucault because the problems he addresses and his criticisms of existing theories and their political consequences serve to identify problems in and for feminism. She believes that Foucault’s work has implications for a range of topics that are important to feminists, including issues of methodology, methods of historical investigations, and conceptions of the body, knowledge, power, identity, sexuality, subjectivity, ethics and politics. Foucault’s account of the subject and social norms provides an important link for individual experience and social change.

For my purposes, feminist criticism of Foucault’s work does not disqualify it from providing a very useful analytical tool to look at gender and other constructs, as they exist in textbook discourse. Foucault’s and others’ analysis of the complexities of discourse have informed the analytical approach taken in this work. Coupled with Derrida’s notion of *différance*, this analysis will use Foucault’s theory that gender is constructed by discourse, not independent of it, and will look at the way discursive elements around gender serve to realise the construct of gender in the text.

The analytical approach of this study is also informed by the powerful work of Butler (1997) and the earlier work of De Beauvoir (1952), who claim that “gender is a discursive construct, something that is produced, and not a ‘natural fact’” (Salih, 2002, p. 51). Butler bases her theory on De Beauvoir’s (1952) claim about gender performativity in *The Second Sex* – that one is not born, but rather becomes a woman (De Beauvoir, 1952, p. 51). Her distinction establishes a difference between biological sex and gender, suggesting that while biological sex is stable, femininity and masculinity are ambivalent. She sees cultural understandings of femininity as imaginary constructs and states that we explore the world in different bodies; however, these natural differences do not mean that our worlds are very different, but that society builds difference around relatively insignificant biological differences. This is the view taken in this study.

Like De Beauvoir, Butler has been powerfully influential in exploring contemporary notions of identity. However, while Butler does not dispute De Beauvoir’s claims about gender, she questions the extent to which our bodies are ‘natural’. She questions the link between the materiality of the body and the performativity of gender, and the extent to which the category of ‘sex’ figures within such a relationship (Butler, 1990, p. 36). Thus, “if ‘existing’ one’s gender means that one is tacitly accepting or reworking cultural norms governing the interpretation of one’s body, then gender can also be a place in which the binary system restricting gender is itself subverted” (1990, p. 36). She states (Butler, 1990, p. 8):

Simone de Beauvoir does not suggest the possibility of other genders besides ‘man’ and ‘woman’, yet her insistence that these are historical constructs which must in every case be appropriated by individuals suggest that a binary gender system has no ontological necessity. Butler argues that we do not have to divide people into men and women. Simone de Beauvoir’s ... strength of ... vision lies less in its appeal to common sense than in the radical challenge she delivers to the cultural status quo.

The idea that gender is constructed through discourse, and does not predate it is supported by a range of theorists, all of whom inform the approach of this study. For Butler, “there is no ‘natural body’ that pre-exists its cultural inscription” (1990, p. 62); thus, “gender is not a noun” (1990, p. 33), because “gender is not something one is, it is something one does, an act, or more precisely, a sequence of acts, a verb rather than a noun, a ‘doing’ rather than a ‘being’” (Butler, 1990, p. 20). This is precisely the view taken in this study, as borne out in the discussion in the literature review. This means that gender is ‘performative’. Like Butler, this study calls for ‘troubling the gender categories’ that support gender hierarchy.

It is important to note that it is not first- and second-wave feminist thinking that informs this study, since early feminism erroneously had already grouped women into a single category with common characteristics and interests. Butler's view is preferred, as she challenges the idea that "the term 'women' connotes a common identity" (1990, p. 6). She argues that these approaches create an "unwitting regulation and reification of gender relations" (Butler, 1990, p. 9), which do not take into account the factors of social location that influence gender relations, such as culture, geography and class. Earlier feminists, while rejecting the idea of an inherent destiny based on biology, nevertheless created discourses that upheld strict binary categories of male and female and did not open a space for difference or resistance.

Butler (1990) in her book *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, and others proved more useful to the study as they argue that being male or female is not inherent, but is created by narratives and should be flexible, fluid and on a continuum. They call for resisting 'performativity' – culturally sustained, socially coerced gender performances. Butler proposes parodic practices as performative subversions to trouble gender, to denaturalise and resignify bodily categories beyond the binary frame (Butler, 1990, p. xxi). It is the challenge of the notion of biological sex, which feminists see as the source and cause of the unequal social treatment and status of women, that underpins my approach. Feminist thinking tends to see biological sex as an effect (Butler, 1990) rather than the cause of social gender difference, and that the fiction of a stable core gender identity has been maintained through socially coerced performances of gender. For example, for Butler "gender is not a noun, but neither is it a set of free-floating attributes, for we have seen that the substantive effect of gender is performatively produced, and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence" (1990, p. 34). This concept posits that gender is the outcome of acting and repetition; it is constantly changing based on our actions.

Thus, while social constructionist accounts of gender have long since abandoned the notion that gender is biologically fixed, biological sex too is a social construction. The goal of such destabilisation is to make visible the performativity of gender, to render it evident that neither gender nor sex is a natural category – indeed, that the very idea of a 'natural' category is simply an effect of discourse (Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2002, pp. 105-106). These approaches see gender as "the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a 'natural' kind of being" (Butler, 1990, p. 32). Gender is therefore not something that is

acquired once and for all at an early stage of life, but an ongoing accomplishment, a reification of the concept produced by one's repeated actions (Cameron, 2004).

Accordingly, "identities can come into being and dissolve depending on the concrete practices that constitute them" (Butler, 1990, p. 22). The relationship between identity and gender is clarified by Butler's discussion of the doer and the deed. What is important to note in writings like Butler's is that gender performance is not a theatrical performance, so "it is not an action that is done by a volitional agent who is free to select her/his gender 'styles'" (Butler, 1997, p. 91). Gender is not chosen each morning as one chooses clothes; rather the individual, as subject, is 'done' by gender, the actor is 'done' by those acts (Butler, 1997, p. 91).

West and Zimmerman (1987), on the other hand, postulate that gender is enacted or performed in interaction, while for Butler gender is enacted in discourse. Butler's radical proposition, that gender is a discursive formation that fundamentally shapes or produces the sexed body's 'naturalness', is foundational to the approach of this study. Thus for the feminist poststructuralist the notion of a pre-existing and natural gender is discredited, because gender is "a sequence of repeated acts that harden into the appearance of something that's been there all along" (Salih, 2002, p. 66).

Norms concerning femininity and masculinity obtain insofar as they are continually re-enacted through corporeal activity. One takes on a gender, over time, insofar as one acquires "a contemporary way of organising past and future cultural norms ... an active style of living one's body in the world" (Butler, 1989, p. 131). Over time these corporeal 'styles' or re-enactments shift the meaning of norms concerning gender in relation to changing socio-historical circumstances and constellations of power relations.

Having said all that, Butler, like Foucault, is not interested in an ontological question about what a woman is, nor with an epistemological definition of how a woman can be recognised. She instead questions the category of woman in terms of genealogy: How does a woman come into being? She argues that there "is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; ... identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler, 1997b, p. 25). In essence, gender is an ideology and ideology is imaginary, manifesting only in performing what is expected of prescribed and predetermined identity, specifically gender identity: "identity sees or rather does not see 'identity' at all, but produces

the subject as a fictive accomplishment of ‘identifications’ made in and against the law of the ‘heterosexual matrix’” (Butler, 1997b, p. 35).

The ‘heterosexual matrix’ is a system that is constituted by heterosexuality and confines the understanding of one’s behaviour to either be in line with or against a prescribed identity (male-female), making it impossible to exist entirely outside of that framework. In other words, the ideological system that constitutes gender and sex expectations is a heterosexual one, in which heterosexuality is the normative behaviour belonging to a man or a woman. Gender and heterosexuality are so dynamically interrelated that by not performing normative masculinity and femininity, subjects’ heterosexual identity is easily questioned (Renold, 2006). The “hegemonic heterosexual performances are maintained through the shaming and policing (or ‘othering’) of ‘abnormal’ or other (i.e., ‘unintelligible’) sexual/gender practices” (Renold, 2006, p. 493).

Butler’s definition of the subject focuses very much on recognition: How to ‘become’ a subject is to be acknowledged as one by an external power. In describing this process of the creation of subjectivity by external power, French philosopher Louis Althusser coined the term ‘interpellation’, which he defines as the way in which ideas get into our heads and have an effect on our lives. Thus, cultural ideas come to have such a hold on us that we believe they are our own. In defence of his theory of interpellation, he poses the following question (Althusser, 1970, p. 132):

What do children learn at school? They go varying distances in their studies, but at any rate they learn to write and to add.... But besides these techniques and knowledges, and in learning them, children at school also learn the ‘rules’ of good behavior ... rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means the rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination.

Interpellation is thus a process in which one encounters the values of one’s culture and internalises them. Althusser would agree that being ‘hailed’ as a subject (male or female) by the process of ‘interpellation’ is to be implicitly repressed and will result in one of two productions: what is acceptable or not acceptable to ideology (Althusser, 1970). For Althusser (1970) and Butler (1990) ideology and language work together and, despite resisting ideology, one cannot escape it. In other words, children are born into a system of language and social expectation, which indoctrinates the incumbent laws of social order, leaving gender as just

one of many things to be decided by society. These conditions influence children so early on that they will accept them as universal, prelinguistic, and ‘proper’ (Butler, 1990, p. 116).

Language is thus highly potent and formative: language and ideology have created men and women, boys and girls, rather than nature itself (Butler, 1990). Gender is therefore performative and does not exist outside of that performance; it is the result of an idea, a social construct. As such, it behaves like and is an ideology.

A counter-position to Butler’s sees reducing gender to discourse as ignoring embodied reality. In *Unbearable Weight* Bordo (1993, p. 290) writes that for Butler “there is one correct, unimpeachable position: it is that any conception of the ‘natural’ is a dangerous ‘illusion’ of which we must be ‘cured’”. From there, Butler shifts “to offering discursive or linguistic foundationalism as the highest critical court, the clarifying, demystifying, and liberating truth” (p. 291). Bordo (1993) notes that “Butler’s world is one in which language swallows everything up” (p. 291).

For Butler (1997a, p. 68) “the body ... bears on language all the time”. Boucher (2006) further argues that by concentrating only on the individual (body) in an abstract way, Butler does not take into account structural influences such as economics and crisis tendencies in the social system. Butler’s conception of materiality of the body is also questioned, and her idea of performativity is felt to be too pure to account for identity (Digeser, 1994). In viewing the gendered individual as purely performed, Butler ignores the gendered body, while Bordo (1993) argues that the gendered body is extremely important. There appears to be consensus among these critics that neither an essentialist nor a performative notion of gender should be used in the political sphere, as both oversimplify the concept of gender.

Despite the critiques, Butler’s work on gender performativity is crucial for my study as it raises important issues of gender performance and identity. Her theory of performativity gives a rich, nuanced explanation of the ways gender is represented in discourse. In her theory of performativity, she diminishes the validity of what is considered ‘normative’, gender-appropriate behaviour by postulating that it is only ‘performative’ behaviour. Butler’s work on gender performance, together with that of Weedon (1997), Foucault (1978), Althusser (1969), and Derrida (1981) on how discourse constructs gender will aid in my analysis, as it deconstructs the binary oppositions of male/female gender roles, and masculinity and

femininity. This can help provide a high-level explanation of gender representation in textbooks.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed feminist poststructuralism as a theory, which informed the study. In my study, I continually draw on feminist poststructuralist thinking about gender to enhance my exploration of gender representation in Business Studies texts.

It is because gender norms are so often taken for granted that they can be overlooked. Poststructuralist thinking seeks to challenge dominant understandings about gender that are typically rooted in the assumption that masculinity and femininity are ‘natural’ outcomes of being male and female respectively.

In the next chapter, I discuss the research design, methodology and methods used to generate the data.

Chapter four: Research design and methodology

4.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to describe and discuss the research methodology applied in this research. This chapter consists of six sections. In the first section, I describe the research design, explain the research approach and research paradigm that guided the study, and critically analyse shortcomings in these. The second section deals with the methodology, namely critical discourse analysis (CDA), which utilises the principles of feminist CDA. Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional model of CDA and Machin and Mayr's (2012) representational framework will be utilised to examine the representation of gender in the four textbooks to uncover the ideology behind this. In the third section, I describe the sample of the research, explaining how purposive sampling was used to select the textbooks. In the fourth section, I discuss issues of trustworthiness, and in the fifth, I discuss the ethical issues considered before, during and after data production. In the sixth and last section, I discuss limitations experienced with the method of data production.

4.2 Research design

In this section, I explain the approach of the study, which is qualitative in nature. I then discuss the research paradigm used. While I have chosen to draw on principles of critical theory to guide this study, I am aware of the critique levelled against critical research. I engage with this critique to explain how the principles of critical theory were managed in the current study.

4.2.1 Qualitative approach

I chose to carry out a qualitative study because this would allow me to examine how gender ideologies are formed through the social experience of the writers. The way I framed my research questions could best be answered by qualitative research. This allowed a rich description of data that could have many possible meanings, and also allowed me to give an in-depth description of authors' interpretations as to how and why gender is represented in a particular way in the four SADC Business Studies textbooks (Ary, Jacobs, & Razavieh, 2002; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011; Henning, Van Rensburg, & Smit, 2009). In this way, a deeper and more thorough understanding of gender representation in the four SADC textbooks was sought. The qualitative study also allowed me greater flexibility in exploration of ideologies in the chapters I chose to examine.

4.2.2 Critique of qualitative analysis

Post-positivist researchers argue that scientific research underpinned by the quantitative approach produces precise, verifiable, systematic and theoretical answers to the research question, which are neutral and can be universalised to all historical and cultural contexts. In contrast, Bryman and Bell (2007) argue that in the qualitative approach precise, systematic and theoretical answers to complex human problems are not possible. They assert that every cultural and historical situation is different and unique and requires analyses of the uniquely defined, particular contexts. The specific social, political, economic and cultural histories of writers and the cultures in which they produce text mean findings cannot be generalised; however, they do bring us greater clarity on how people make meaning of a phenomenon in a specific context, thus aiding greater understanding of the human condition (Neill, 2007). Using a qualitative approach in this study allows me greater flexibility in exploring gender ideologies in the texts I chose to examine.

4.2.3 The critical paradigm

The paradigm that guides this study is the critical paradigm, developed from critical theory. Critical theory emerged in the 1920s from the Frankfurt School, the circle of German-Jewish academics who sought to diagnose and provide help to combat societal problems, particularly oppression and capitalism (Mahlomaholo, 2009, p. 5). The critical paradigm believes that reality is constructed or shaped by political, cultural, economic and social forces in society (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). For this reason, what can be known about the world is always subjective, as it is influenced by the values and social positioning of the dominant groups in society (Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). From this positioning, I viewed the Business Studies textbooks under study to be subjective, as there is no knowledge that is neutral (as explained in Chapter two). As a researcher working in the critical paradigm, I approached analysis of the Business Studies textbooks with “a suspicious and politicised epistemological stance” (Blanche & Durrheim, 1999, p. 6).

Critical theory continues to open up eclectic ways of knowing about how gender is represented. For critical theorists, school textbooks and the messages they portray as well as their production, distribution and use express the unequal social and economic relations and agendas of the wider society they are located in (Apple, 1979, 1986). The paradigm argues that sometimes the way power operates in society is so structural that it is not easily noticed. The critical paradigm therefore critiques excesses of power as the outcome of hegemonic and

repressive factors that operate over another group's freedom (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2009). This paradigm also identifies forces or interests that place a social group in a position of relative powerlessness (or power), and questions the legitimacy of that position. For this reason, I had to consider appropriate methods that would assist in my analysis of the textbooks, to expose any injustices (overt or latent) within them.

This study uses critical discourse analysis (CDA), which has its roots in critical linguistics, which, besides describing a discourse, analyses why and how a discourse is produced. Through critiquing and encouraging critique of discursive practices and reflecting upon their role in production of the social world, the researcher provides 'explanatory critique' and raises 'critical language awareness'. Consequently, researchers within CDA do not strive for political neutrality or 'objectivity' in a traditional sense. Rather, they openly take the side of oppressed social groups and declare a commitment to social change (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2008, pp. 63-64; Walsh, 2001, p. 29).

It is for these reasons that CDA is the most appropriate and useful approach for my purposes, as it is these very 'unequal power relations', mediated through texts, that this study seeks to uncover and interrogate. CDA can reveal how certain ideologies are dispersed through discourses of the education system at the micro-level of Business Studies textbooks and the macro-level of a social agenda or political intervention. I use CDA to explore the existence of covert ideological assumptions in the selected textbooks.

I also draw from the principles of critical theory to debate, ask questions and raise awareness of factors that contribute to gender-related issues in textbooks. Critical theory scholars recognise the way that discursive practices are ideological, and "help produce and reproduce unequal power relations" (Fairclough, 2011, p. 358); their focus is on the implications of social practices for status, distribution or attribution of social goods and power, and whose interests are served or subjugated (Gee, 2011). Critical theorists therefore argue that some relationships in the world are more powerful than others are (Henning, 2007).

In my study, I hope to understand and reveal the ways in which gender is represented in four SADC Business Studies textbooks. Critical theory is used in my research as a means of exposing underlying assumptions and ideologies that serve to conceal power relations via the 'representations' in the textbooks. In this way, awareness of gender equality in textbooks can be raised to address possible gender issues in learning of Business Studies.

4.2.3.1 Limitations of critical theory

Critical theory has been criticised for its elitism, in that by assuming that everyone needs to be emancipated, critical theorists assume that they themselves have been emancipated and are better equipped to analyse society and transform it (Fay, 1987, p. 23). There is also a lack of evidence of what happens when one becomes emancipated and gains a critical consciousness. Fay (1987, p. 61) argues that there is no evidence to show that once someone attains a critical consciousness, he/she stops perpetuating the inequalities that subtly oppress people. Positivists criticise critical researchers for their deliberate political agenda and the fact that they eschew the objectivity and neutrality required of a researcher (Alvesson, 2001).

Despite the criticism, researchers who position their research under this paradigm are unapologetic, maintaining that no research method is objective (Bloch, 1992). In almost all research, politics and inquiry are inseparable (Creswell, 2009). For this study, I used various methods to ensure trustworthiness, including member validation, open coding and an audit trail to overcome possible political or personal bias. I drew on aspects of the critical paradigm to unearth discourse in action within textbooks. This research does not strive to be universal in its claims as it is undertaken in a particular context at a particular period in time, providing an analysis of gender representation in four SADC school textbooks.

Although not action research, this study will seek to create awareness through future publication of its findings. This awareness could inform education stakeholders on gender issues, enabling them to develop assessments to identify gender stereotypes in textbooks and hence a more gender-inclusive curriculum with men and women equally represented in all areas of Business Education.

4.3 Methods of data production

The methodology used for this study is feminist CDA. Feminist CDA emerges from critical discourse studies (CDS). Practitioners of feminist CDA are concerned with issues of power and language and the way power relationships are expressed through discursive texts (Locke, 2004; Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Therefore, to understand feminist CDA better, a brief overview of CDS is necessary.

4.3.1 Difference between CDS and CDA

Van Dijk (1998) maintains that it is important for scholars to understand the difference between CDS and CDA and has criticised many linguistic scholars for using the terms interchangeably. He maintains that, unlike CDA, CDS is a more general term that suggests not only critical analysis but also critical theory and critical applications. CDS rather than CDA designates a multidisciplinary field of scholarly activities not limited to analysis of 'text and talk' (Van Dijk, 1998). He further asserts that CDS is not a method but rather a critical perspective, position or attitude within multidisciplinary Discourse Studies. The critical approach of CDS characterises scholars rather than their methods. This study shows the distinction between CDS and CDA through its application.

4.3.2 The goals of CDS scholars

CDS scholars are typically interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power/abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist this. CDS does not encompass any social or political research (as is the case in social and political sciences), but is premised on the fact that some forms of text and talk may be unjust (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). One of the tasks of CDS is to formulate the norms that define such 'discursive injustice'. The first goal of the analyst is to describe relationships among certain texts, interactions and social practices; the second to interpret the configuration of discourse practices; and the third goal to use description and interpretation to explain why and how social practices are constituted, changed and transformed (Wodak, 2008, p. 371).

CDS thus aims to expose and help combat injustice. It makes transparent to readers and listeners the devices texts use to manipulate them, with the aim of disrupting 'common-sense' acceptance (Luke, 1996, p. 19). CDS scholars maintain that their approach is problem-oriented rather than discipline- or theory-oriented. This means that my research does not focus on linguistic units per se, but on the complex social phenomena of gender that have a semiotic dimension (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Such research presupposes an ethical assessment, implying that discourse, as social interaction may be illegitimate according to some fundamental norms, for instance those of international human and social rights.

As a criterion, CDS scholars call any discourse unjust if it violates the internationally recognised human rights of people and contributes to social inequality (Wodak, 2001a). At the same time, critical analysis should be aware of the fact that such norms and rights change, and

that some definitions of ‘international’ may well mean ‘Western’. CDS scholars are socio-politically committed to social equality and justice, showing this in their scientific research, for instance in formulation of specific goals, selection and construction of theories, use and development of methods of analysis, and the social problems and political issues they choose to study (McGregor, 2003).

4.3.3 CDA and ideology

CDA is a research methodology, which analyses the relationship between language and society critically (Cameron, 2004). CDA comes out of the older methodology known as discourse analysis, differing from “its parent methodology in that it examines the use of language within historical, social, cultural and political contexts, rather than breaking down language use into discrete parts for analysis without taking such context into account” (Fowler, 1991, p. 13). CDA emerged in the 1980s in Europe in discourse investigations led by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Theo van Leeuwen, Gerlinde Mautner and Teun van Dijk. Theoretical influences that informed these critical researchers include Marx, Foucault, Moscovi and Halliday (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). CDA could be considered an academic movement comprising scholars specifically interested in analysis of fundamental social problems such as “the discursive reproduction of illegitimate domination” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 18). For critical discourse analysts, public and widely available discourses (such as those presented in school textbooks) are overt or covert evidence of relationships established in negotiation of power relations and the possible struggles that may arise from them. The idea of critical analysis within CDA inevitably links the social and the political in its intention to investigate how language use expresses, signals, constitutes and legitimises social inequality in discourse (Wodak, 2002).

The main standpoint of CDA is a strong, dynamic and multifaceted relationship between social and linguistic structures – that is, between language, thought and society – because “every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 273). I aim to explore the relationships between the social and linguistic structures in the textbooks under study, as these are crucial agents in perpetuating prevailing norms so long as they remain unrevealed.

A major concern for critical analysts is how texts can be representations of ideologies and contribute to social relations of power and domination. Hall (1982, p. 194) describes

ideology as not being representative of any intentional biases, but instead a reproduction of dominant discourse which, through repetition, comes to be viewed as common sense that is natural and comprehensive rather than partial and selective. This ongoing discourse and ideological statements made by individuals take place not outside of ideology, but from within it (Hall, 1999, p. 397). Discourses are thus considered crucial in the reproduction of ideologies, which in turn is seen as central to establishing and sustaining social identities and inequalities (Wodak, 2001b, p. 10). Stubbs (1996, p. 93) states that:

It is necessary to identify the linguistic mechanisms which convey ideology. Ideology may also be viewed as a subtle yet powerful mechanism for the systematic cognitive distortion and manipulation of subjects' constructions of how society should be understood; thus serving a legitimizing function for the maintenance of relations of power.

Ideologies are basic frameworks of social cognition shared by members of social groups, constituted by selections of sociocultural values and organised by a schema that represents the self-definition of a group (Van Dijk, 2011, p. 248). Besides their social function of sustaining interests of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organising the social representations (attitudes, knowledge) of the group. Thus, indirectly they monitor group-related social practices, and hence also the text and talk of members. In this sense Van Dijk (2011, p. 18) asserts, "ideologies ... are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize ... socially shared attitudes". Ideologies thus "indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members" (p. 19) in their comprehension of discourse. He calls the mental representations of individuals during social actions and interactions 'models'; for him "models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others" (p. 2).

Of crucial importance here is that, according to Van Dijk, mental representations "are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" (2011, p. 22). Van Dijk's social cognition model therefore not only seeks to sustain the attitudes and beliefs of one group over another, but also to perpetuate beliefs which position one group's view of the world as dominant over another. The representations of beliefs continue to reproduce social practices and inclusion of social actors who signify ideological positions by facilitating definitions of the self, which foster actions and values that emanate from the ideology itself.

Critical discourse analysts therefore openly adopt a political position and aim to detect problematic (i.e. from their own normative, ethical backgrounds) properties of discursive practices (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 31). The political position of most critical discourse analysts empathises with those most disadvantaged by inequality (Van Dijk, 2011, p. 352). With this in mind, it can be claimed that the general objectives of CDA spin around political interests, by attempting to make individual language users aware of the reciprocal influences of language and society (Titscher, 2000; Wodak, 2002). In so doing they aim at demystifying discourse by unveiling underlying ideologies permeating discourse practices by means of interdisciplinary research.

In the present study, the school textbooks are understood as part of their context: not as isolated texts, but as part of social processes. Textbooks are socially conditioned, for example, through the factors influencing the publishing and editing process (Haines, 1994, p. 130), educational goals set in the curriculum, political processes behind those goals, and students' and teachers' responses to the textbooks. What is in the textbooks can be regarded both as traces of the process of production and cues that serve as a basis for interpretation (Fairclough, 2013, p. 25). School textbooks reflect the reality, traditions and ideology as perceived by the authors, whether the people contributing to the product are conscious of it or not.

4.3.4 CDA and hegemony

'Hegemony', which was formulated by Antonio Gramsci (1971), is important in exposing issues around ideologies (Van Dijk, 2011; Fairclough, 2011). The definition of hegemony refers to a ruling ideology, emphasizing "the winning of consent in the exercise of power" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 17). In this sense hegemony tries to explain how the dominate genders in society can remain dominant and still have the support of the subordinate group (Lull, 2000). According to Lull's notion of hegemony, this state of affairs is attainable because dominant groups produce and circulate ideas through various channels in the existing society (Lull, 2000). Textbooks play a significant role in this production and circulation of ideas, since they are influenced by powerful interests in society, which seek to maintain their status and culture.

Ideology is thus understood as central to struggles for hegemony, which in turn is the organizing principle through which elite classes exert cultural and political direction in order to gain consent for their interests from subordinate groups (Boggs, 1976; Gramsci, 1971; Hall, 1997; Jones, 2006). As hegemony aims to manage the mind of the dominated gender and create

consensus to sustain the power of dominant genders, this process is largely achieved through articulation and discourses.

Van Dijk (2009, p. 255) addresses the hegemonic gender as a “power elite” who are privileged to make decisions and manage others’ minds. Fairclough’s argument, which is supported by Van Dijk (2009, p. 252), claims that the focus of CDA is on dominance and inequality. Recognising that power and unfairness are often sustained and legitimated by the hegemon, CDA specialises in unmasking concealed values and strategies (Paltridge, 2006, p. 178). Following the principles of CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 2008), it is appropriate to conceptualise discourse as a “sphere of cultural hegemony” (Fairclough, 2009, p. 95) where significant ideological struggles take place.

Conceptually then, hegemony can be divided into rules of *inclusion* and rules of *exclusion*. Rules of inclusion determine what is included and what the aspects and strategies for representation are. The claim to dominate by use of these rules may be overt or covert. Aspects of representation may also be included just to disempower ‘the Other’ – the dominated group – by depriving it of access and rights and taking control of its representation. The rules of exclusion are the rule of repression, marginalisation of underdogs and centring of the dominant interest (Althusser, 2014, pp. 53-59). Hegemony can therefore be argued to be a process whereby certain definitions of reality attain dominance in society (Knain, 2001; Althusser, 2014).

For this study, I appropriated the sense of hegemony as perceived by many writers: as ideas, values and beliefs, which entrench the dominance of the more powerful over the less powerful, or a view of the world transmitted by language, which influences what is written and how it is written (Giddens, 1993; Cross & Orminston-Smith, 1996; Knain, 2001).

Thus, hegemony is the social and cultural struggle for whose ideas are to prevail, and who is to form the common-sense view for the majority of society’s members. It describes the general predominance of a dominant class, and the political and ideological interests in a society. However, as in the case of ideology it is a ‘conspiracy’ by neither a ruling group or class nor a passive subordination of the group that is dominated. Instead, since there are competing and varying interests, hegemony is exercised by the ruling class as far as its interests are recognised and accepted as prevailing (White, 1992, p. 167). This study, in line with the tenets of CDA,

seeks to resist this hegemony and does so by using CDA to expose the power struggles and interests of who might be the dominant group.

Ideology is, in this sense, intertwined with language use and set in a dialectical relationship with the social and material context surrounding it (Fairclough & Wodak, 2008). Textbooks produce “fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete” (Gitlin & Hashmi, 1980, p. 2). CDA is therefore the expedient approach to examine dominant ideologies and hegemonic assumptions, because it helps to validate worldviews that dictate our attitudes and behaviours, and especially values of power and control (Allen, 2011, p. 32). Left unchallenged, these values reinforce the initial ideology that shaped them, and the cycle of power continues (Fairclough, 1989). Through understanding the nature of hegemony and ideology, researchers are better able to explore how hegemonic beliefs operate in school textbooks and how they influence social identity.

4.3.5 Towards a feminist CDA methodology

Like CDA, feminist CDA focuses on how dominant discourse perpetuates inequalities, but through an intentionally gendered lens (Lehonten, 2007; Lazar, 2005; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002). Feminist CDA emerged from the criticism levelled against CDA by feminists. Language scholar Clare Walsh (2001) directs criticism against earlier versions of CDA, among them Norman Fairclough’s, for prioritising class as a category of analysis. Consequently, she argues that a feminist version of CDA needs to be especially sensitive to questions of gender (Walsh, 2001, p. 27-28). Similarly, feminist critical discourse analyst Lazar (2005, p. 11) claims that a feminist analysis of the discursive constitution of the social world should focus on:

how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are (re)produced, negotiated and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people’s social and personal identities in text and talk.

In agreeing with Walsh and Lazar, it is problematic if the importance of gender is downplayed and gender-sensitive analyses are subordinated to analyses of discursive and social practices related to other axes of power. Moreover, some feminists (Lazar, 2005; Cameron, 1998) have expressed reservations about CDA. Cameron (1998, p. 960-970) argued that the founders and dominant figures in CDA are all white, straight men, although what is striking is that most feminist research in CDA is undertaken by a diversity of women (not all of whom are white and heterosexual) in a wide range of geographical locations.

It is therefore necessary to establish a feminist politics of articulation within CDA which stresses the need to theorise and analyse the particularly insidious and oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices (Lazar, 2005, p. 3). Thus, feminist CDA as a political perspective on gender, concerned with demystifying the interrelationships of gender, power and ideology in discourse, is equally applicable to the study of texts as well as talk, and offers a corrective to approaches that favour one linguistic mode over another (Lazar, 2005, p. 5).

4.3.6 Why feminist CDA is used in this study

Lazar uses feminist CDA as opposed to ‘regular’ CDA, which adopts a critical view of gender relations among other forms of intersecting social oppressions, inequalities and injustices (Lazar, 2005, pp. 2-3). Keeping gender in mind as a key form of social oppression, feminist CDA seeks to understand how social power, dominance and inequality are produced and reproduced, negotiated and contested (Lazar, 2005, p. 11). Feminist CDA is concerned with demystifying the interrelationships of gender, power and ideology embedded within discourse and text (Lazar, 2005, p. 5). Feminist CDA, following Lazar (2005), also accounts for the extent to which discourse sustains and creates a (patriarchal) gendered social order.

This methodology attempts to bring CDA and feminist studies together in proposing a ‘feminist critical discourse analysis’ (or ‘feminist critical discourse studies’), which aims to advance a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in sustaining (hierarchically) gendered social arrangements (Lazar, 2005). This is all the more pertinent in present times, when issues of gender, power, and ideology have become increasingly more complex and subtle. The aim of feminist CDS, therefore, is to show up the complex, subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) ways in which frequently taken for granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated and challenged in different contexts and communities (Lazar, 2005). Such an interest is not an academic deconstruction of texts and talk for its own sake, but acknowledges that the issues dealt with (in view of effecting social change) have material and phenomenological consequences for groups of women and men in specific communities (Lazar, 2005).

A feminist CDA perspective is interdisciplinary in nature. On the one hand it contributes a perspective informed by feminist studies to (critical) language and discourse studies, and on

the other hand it suggests the usefulness of language and discourse studies for investigation of feminist issues in gender and women's studies. This methodology is therefore ideal for my study as it critically investigates language and gender in school textbooks.

Feminist CDA will assist me to demystify common sense and hegemonic notions that deny, justify and legitimise inequality and structures of domination in the arena of gender, and thoroughly interrogate and deconstruct powerful cultural messages, discourses of power, and the discursive strategies used to maintain them. Feminist CDA also facilitates investigation of the ideological messages and attitudes circulated and reinforced in and through discourse as natural and commonsensical in Business Studies school textbooks (Lazar, 2005, p. 7). Finally, it encourages the deconstruction of power and dominance as discursively produced and resisted within the arena of textbooks (Lazar, 2005, p. 10).

Unfortunately, I have found that very few studies use CDA to examine gender representations in school textbooks. Those studies that do, do not do so from a feminist perspective, and often leave social oppressions related to gender unproblematised. In sum, the marriage of feminism with CDA can produce a rich and powerful political critique for action.

4.3.7 Methods of data analysis

The specific methods followed by feminist CDA are diverse and extensive, but the general essence is the fact that it relies on traditional linguistic approaches such as critical linguistics of CDA (Lehtonen, 2007). In this case, feminist CDA was based on the methods presented by Fairclough (2001) and Machin and Mayr's (2012) representational framework in analysing both textual and visual data. I adopted the main principles of CDA presented by these authors and interpret them from the perspective of feminist CDA. A subtle or slight degree of difference was the strong gendered lens based on principles of feminist CDA in using the analytical tools.

Importantly, both CDA and feminist CDA maintain that all social practice is tied to specific historical contexts and is the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served. Questions pertaining to interests relate discourse to relations of power: How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of this positioning?

In addition to using Fairclough (2001) as well as Machin and Mayr's (2012) representational framework, the following basic steps for using CDA as outlined by Huckin (1997) guided my

initial analysis. Firstly, I read the chapters selected in the textbook in an uncritical manner. Then I reread the chapters in a critical manner by raising questions about them and establishing how they could be constructed differently. In the next step, I looked for the perspective being presented, which is referred to as framing the details into a coherent whole. Finally, I closely analysed sentences, phrases and words, looking for (among other things) language that conveyed power relations, insinuations, and tone – three linguistic elements between which CDA particularly seeks to identify connections.

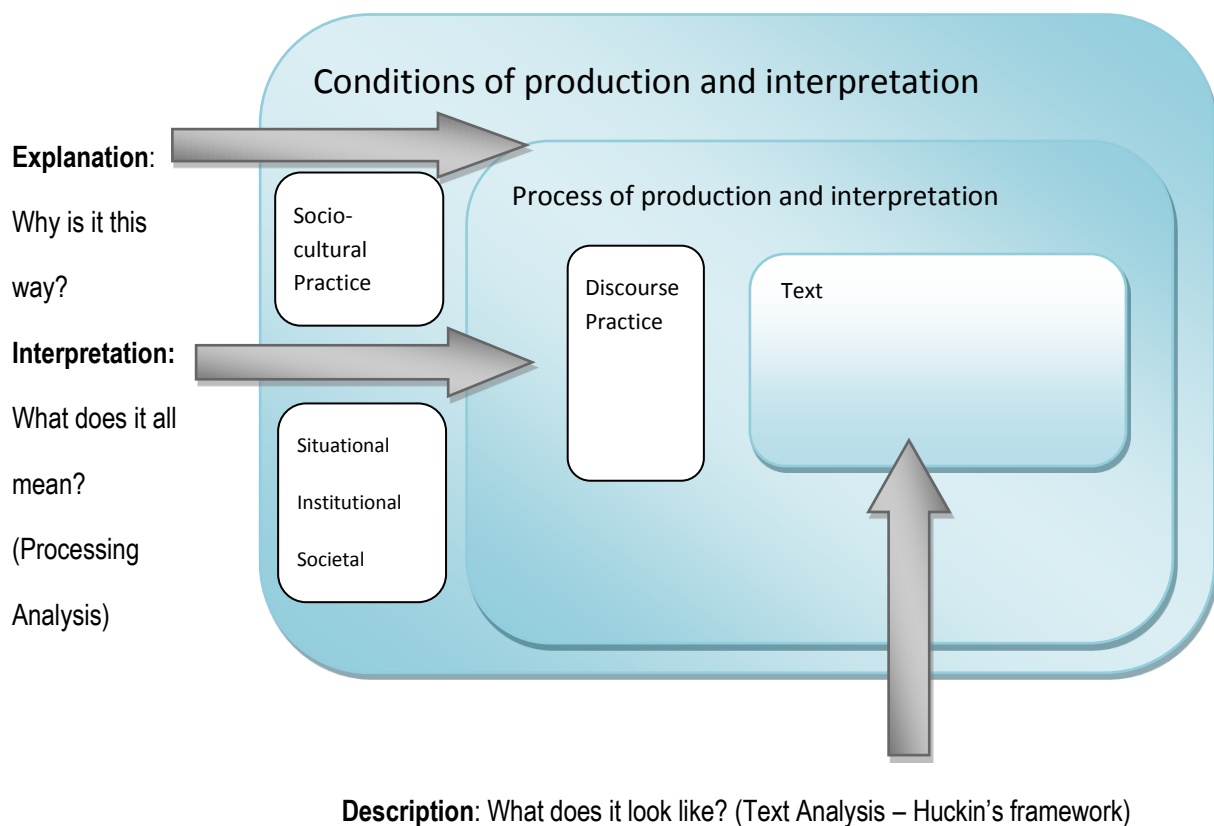


Figure 4.1: Dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis: A description of CDA (Fairclough, 2001, p. 98).

The above diagram describes Fairclough's (2001) belief that language is an irreducible part of social life. This is the main part of his framework. The dialectic relation between language and social reality is realised through social events (texts), social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough attempts to uncover ideological and power patterns in texts. I adopted his method of analysis because he is the only CDA scholar who defines the relationship between power and language (social power and ideology) (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional framework used for analysis of text and discourse in this study are: 1) linguistic description of the formal properties of the text; 2) interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes/interaction and the text, where text is the end product of a process of text production and a resource in the process of text interpretation; and lastly, 3) explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality.

Importantly for this study, Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional framework analysis goes beyond the 'whatness' of the text description towards the 'how' and 'whyness' of text interpretation and explanation. There are certain underlying assumptions behind selections of discourse, which is important to expose in my study. These assumptions are never value-free and innocent; rather, they are ideologically driven and motivated. By studying the forms of the language using Fairclough's three dimensions I can discover the social processes and the specific ideology embedded in the texts. This leads to exploration of power relations and more specifically gender relations. As Fairclough (2001, p. 87) correctly argues, textbooks have a "hidden agenda" of producing dominant hegemonic and ideological assumptions.

The *description* phase of Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis of texts will be done using a specific framework adapted from Machin and Mayr (2012), selected because of the benefits it offers in categorising choices made within discourse via socio-semantic rather than lexicogrammatical meaning. For Machin and Mayr (2012) social actors are influenced by the policies and decisions of powerful organisations, which either include or exclude them from the centres of power.

Fairclough explains the principal ways in which social actors can be represented in discourse, closely relating his concepts to gender representations. In this view, CDA offers a lens on impact of power structures on production and/or reproduction of knowledge and its effect on the identity and subjectivity of members of the community/society at large. This is a method to analyse language and discourse in relation to production, reproduction, dissemination and

interpretation of knowledge, in line with researchers' goals. As Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 6) state:

[Discourses] not only represent what is going on, they also evaluate it, ascribe purpose to it, justify it, and so on, and in many texts these aspects of representation become far more important than the representation of the social practice itself.

Machin and Mayr's (2012) framework consists of the main sections identified below, which I will use in my analysis. Using the CDA protocol (Table 4.1) qualitatively, I hope to reveal the ideological, gendered positioning hidden in the Business Studies texts.

Table 4.1: Selected categories from the Social Actor Network and their representative meaning
(Machin & Mayr, 2012)

CDA PROTOCOL ADAPTED FROM THE WORK OF MACHIN AND MAYR (2012)	
Representation	Underpinned by two systems of representations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Mental representations</i>: Ideas and concepts we carry around in our heads about a particular gender. • <i>Systems of representations</i>: Not individual concepts but different ways of organising, clustering, arranging and classifying concepts, and of establishing complex relations between them.
Personification / objectification	Personification means that human qualities and abilities are assigned to abstract or inanimate objects. This can obscure actual agents.
Honorifics	The way people are represented through what they do can be achieved using 'functional honorifics'. These are terms that suggest a degree of seniority or a role that requires respect. In short, it signals the importance of a social actor or specialisation (e.g. President, Lord, Sir).
Aggregation	When participants are quantified and treated like statistics.
Synecdoche	Where the part represents the whole. This has the important function of allowing the author to avoid being specific.
Modality	The tone of the text conveyed by the use of modal verbs, adverbs and adjectives. Modality can also be associated with hedging terms, such as 'I think', 'kind of', 'sort of', 'seems' or 'often'. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Epistemic modality</i>: To do with the author's judgement of the truth of any proposition. In other words, epistemic modals show how

	<p>certain the authors are that something will happen, or is the case (e.g. “I think this might be the correct procedure”).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Deontic modality</i>: To do with influencing people and events. Deontic mode is about how we compel and instruct others (e.g. “Students must do the activity”). • <i>Dynamic modality</i>: This is related to possibility and ability, but is not subjective in the manner of the first two modalities (e.g. “You can do your homework”). Here the author is not so much expressing her/his judgement or attempting to influence others, but indicating ability to complete an action or the likelihood of events.
‘Taken for granted’ words and assumptions	Using certain words that take certain ideas for granted. A reader is therefore unlikely to question what is known to be common knowledge. This is presented as having no alternative and obscuring what could have been stated, and assigning a meaning without exploring any other meanings, because people are products of their cultures, experiences and society. Assumptions are statements that imply that the meaning of what is written is taken as true or is sure to happen, although there is no factual proof of this.
Register	Single words can suggest that words that are spoken ring true.
Omissions/lexical absences or suppression	Leaving out certain things; a silence on pertinent issues. Omissions are identified through the exclusion and suppression of information that can be motivated politically or socially.
Nominalisation	Changing a verb into a noun often used to generalise an issue. Nominalisations are also used to connote and imply a meaning through metaphors and figures of speech. Investigating metaphorical metaphors can be an effective tool in researching and identifying a particular ideology of a social system, as we use metaphors in our daily lives to explain events or things to others and ourselves.
Embellishments	Using diagrams and sketches to get the reader’s attention. These can also be used to imply that the content is scientific, thereby adding weight to their arguments.
Foregrounding, backgrounding	Using keywords to emphasise certain concepts. A writer can use titles and keywords to stress the importance of certain ideas by placing them in a prominent place textually to influence the reader. This is called foregrounding , but if there is minimal mention of a concept, it is called backgrounding .

Presupposition	Using words that take certain things for granted, as if there is no alternative.
Pronouns versus noun: the ‘us’ and ‘them’ division	Pronouns like ‘us’, ‘them’ and ‘we’ are used to align us alongside or against particular ideas. Text producers can evoke their own ideas as being our ideas, or create a collective ‘other’ that is in opposition to these shared ideas.
Nomination or functionalisation	Participants can be nominated in terms of whom they are or functionalised by being depicted in terms of what they do. Functionalisation connotes legitimacy.
Impersonalisation	Impersonalisation is used to give extra weight to a particular sentence (e.g. “Business wants staff to stop striking”). It is not a particular person but a whole institution that requires something. Agents are concealed.
Overlexicalization	The availability of many words for one concept, and it indicates the prominence of the concept in a community's beliefs and intellectual interests.

Although the CDA protocol is extensive, it gives me an opportunity to interrogate aspects of gender representations portrayed in the four selected school textbooks. Each category is not going to be an independent theme but rather used interchangeably in analysis of my data. Each category has a specific gender focus, which means that the themes identified in my analysis will have a rich, nuanced interpretation and explanation. The above protocol together with Fairclough’s (2001) model will uncover the ideological and hegemonic discursive formations at work within texts.

4.3.8 Analysis of visuals

The discourse analytical term ‘multimodality’, as embodied in the works of Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), Kress and Van Leeuwen (1999) and Kress and Jewitt (2007), has become the most widely accepted approach to text analysis and creating meaning. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) emphasised the importance of incorporating visual images into textual analysis, arguing for a broader, multimodal conception of discourse. They argue that just like linguistic structures, visual structures also express meanings and contribute to the overall message of a text: “it is now impossible to make sense of texts ... without having a clear idea of what these other features might be contributing to the meaning of the text” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 337). Images portray many ideas and provoke critical thoughts (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996).

Multimodality can therefore be viewed as providing the means for describing a practice or a representation in all its semiotic complexities and richness. Multimodality prioritises

representational complexities and illustrates the multi-semiotic nature of creating meaning (Iedema, 2003, p. 33). Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, p. 177) further assert that images can communicate knowledge and do not have to be specialised in their representation:

Today learners are exposed to a number of images through textbooks that are sophisticated, eye catching that involve a complex interplay of written texts and images; these images are referred to as multi modal images; more so any text whose meanings are realized through more than one semiotic code is multimodal. Multimodal images don't seek to see the picture as an illustration of the verbal text, thereby treating the verbal text as prior or more important, nor does it treat the visual and verbal text as entirely discrete elements.

This means that the written text does not have to be more important than the images; if it is considered more important, it leaves the images to serve a technical purpose. Written text and images can work together; they can be integrated to form a learning experience that does not favour the one over the other. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006, p. 6) argue:

... an erroneous assumption exists that visual language only focuses on images. A graph with no explanatory text and figures along the axes are incomprehensible. Every infographic presentation needs explanatory text, words, and sentences to point the reader in the right direction. Without a caption, a photograph is nothing more than simply a picture without context.

Visual communication is integration of images and elements of images (visual elements) and words (verbal elements) in order to create a unit of communication. Images serve to allow the child to question, challenge, use their imagination and enjoy what visual imagery can bring to learning. For example, when analysing an image many questions arise, such as, Who is in the picture? What is the picture saying to you? Who took the picture? Why and when was the picture taken? Once a researcher has dealt with all those questions, an image provokes thinking on how the image is depicted: does it connect with what the text is saying, or is a picture used merely to decorate the text and make it learner-friendly? (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Analysing visual communication is therefore an important part of critical analysis: images are “entirely within the realm of ideology, as means – always – for the emergence of ideological positions” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 13). I base my analyses of the images on this premise.

In the process of using visual semiotics, I used connotation and denotation as methods to describe the meaning of the visual images analysed and interpreted using visual semiotics.

Denotation is the first level of signification (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). It means the permanent sense of a word excluding all subjective evaluations; it describes the literal or obvious meaning of the sign. Thus, denotation of the visual image refers to what all people see without association to their culture, ideology or society.

Connotation is a term used to explain the way signs work: “it describes the interaction that occurs when the sign meets the feelings or emotions of the users and the values of their culture” (Machin & Mayr, 2012). It is, in this sense, influenced by the subjective factors that open up more interpretations of the text. Connotation is a reproduction of the message, whether linguistic or visual; it is also a product of mental abilities responsible for reading between the lines. Connotation therefore represents the various social overtones, cultural implications or emotional meanings associated with a sign.

In analysing and interpreting the visual data, I adapted the framework designed by Nene (2014). Her framework takes into consideration various aspects of visual representation, which is useful for my study. Her framework has a specific gender focus.

What kind of source/visual is it?
Origin: where was the image taken?
Gender? Girls and boys were analysed on the activities, sports, preferences in different things to do and the different roles that were available to them. Physical features and appearance such as clothes and accessories were used to determine the different sexes.
Race (African, white, Indian or coloured, other)? Races were analysed on physical signifiers such as skin colour and hair texture as well as on what they were seen to be doing in terms of work, social activities such as sport or cultural activities, where they lived and what they did where they lived.
Why are they depicted in this manner? (Historically)
What information about the image is shared?
What information is excluded?
What is the connotation of the image?
What is the denotation of the image?

4.3.9 Critique of CDA

Researchers have argued that there are limitations in CDA (Widdowson, 1995), and that the concepts and analytical design of CDA are vague and not clearly distinguished, and concepts and methodologies not clearly differentiated. CDA analysts are also too reliant on a single linguistic aspect, namely that set out in Halliday's (1977) systemic functional linguistics (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). Halliday's is not the only model that offers a critical perspective (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000), and my research combined Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional model of CDA and Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1996) representational framework, creating a unique, well-explained CDA protocol which offers a broader analysis.

CDA has also been criticised as neither a uniform method nor a homogenous field (Widdowson, 1995). It is eclectic in selection of its tools and has different, nuanced views on the notion of discourse. This is to its advantage, because it leaves the door open for change, new ideas and new methodologies to enrich its work. True to the Foucauldian (1981) notion of discourse, CDA is on a trajectory of the 'will to know' as opposed to the 'will to truth'. Its analytical results, although empirical, are tentative explanations, often pointing to more research rather than conclusive claims of truth. This notion of hybrid identities and productive notion of power, places it very much in a postmodern frame. It is perhaps for this reason (scepticism of postmodernism) that Marxist theorists call up ideology and hegemony. CDA will need to deal with this area.

Many CDA theorists cite how those critical of the analytical school also refer to its commitment to social change. The idea of CDA is to unmask power, domination, truth claims and the workings of often subordinating discourses. The reality is that CDA is itself caught in the discourse of academic discipline that still has to begin considering notions of accessibility of knowledge to those for whom discourse is opaque. Despite this, CDA still strengthens the hand of the cultural studies perspective with its empirical approach, and, is a method applicable to a variety of texts or communicative events. For good measure, it also considers issues of production and the broader social structures that have largely been the domain of the political economists. Van Dijk (2001, pp. 95-96) states as follows:

In my many years of experience as editor of several international journals, I have found that contributions that imitate and follow some great master are seldom original. Without being eclectic, good scholarship, and especially good CDA, should integrate the best work of many people, famous or not, from different disciplines, countries, cultures and directions of research.

In other words, CDA should be essentially diverse and multidisciplinary. (Van Dijk, 2001, pp. 95-96)

CDA, then, is a comprehensive approach to studying the relationship between language use and its social context. Van Dijk's words provide insights into the present study and its research framework.

4.4 Sampling

Data used for qualitative discourse analysis studies are usually purposively selected texts that contain useful information to answer the research questions (White & Marsh, 2006; Zhang & Wildermuth, 2009). Neuman (2006, p. 219) explains: "qualitative researchers focus less on a sample's representativeness than on how the sample or small collection of cases, units, or activities illuminates social life". This certainly holds true regarding the sampling approach of many CDA researchers. In fact, many experts agree that, "most of the approaches to CDA do not explicitly recommend sampling procedures" but rather "rely on existing texts, such as textbooks or documents" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 27).

This research uses purposive sampling, which "looks for factors which fit the criteria of desirable" (Henning, 2007, p. 71). This approach is used when samples are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics that will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central questions that the researcher intends to study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). I selected the textbooks to be included in my sample based on their "typicality or possession of the particular characteristics being sought" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). They were handpicked based on their accessibility and relevance to my study. The sample for my study includes four textbooks, one each of the following four SADC countries: Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa. The textbooks are used in the last phase of high school preceding tertiary education (Table 4.2). Although textbooks are in the public domain, a decision not to provide their titles was taken in an attempt to avoid ethical or litigious issues that could arise.

Table 4.2: Textbook sample used in this study

Country	Year of Publication
Zimbabwe	2013
Lesotho	2011
Swaziland	2012
South Africa	2013

Apart from accessibility and relevance, the textbooks were also chosen based on their popularity and endorsement by the Ministry of Education, which confirms their alignment with the Education Curriculum. My rationale for choosing the four SADC countries of Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa is because these countries have provided comprehensive policies on gender inclusivity that were promising endeavours to achieve gender inclusivity at work and school in line with the 50/50 policy. Another reason is that the selected SADC countries historically promoted strong patriarchal values and cultural beliefs (Dijkstra, 2013). It is therefore important to investigate if the various gender equity initiatives undertaken by these SADC countries permeate their Business Studies school textbooks, or whether the textbooks hold the historically strong patriarchal values and strong cultural relativism of gender. A review of these Business Studies textbooks can help me provide a more comprehensive analysis of the representation of men and women within them.

4.5 Researchers' positionality

“It is critical to pay attention to positionality, reflexivity, the production of knowledge and the power relations that are inherent in research processes in order to undertake ethical research ...” (Sultana, 2007, p. 380)

The term positionality describes both an individual's worldview and the position she/he has chosen to adopt in relation to a specific research task (Foote & Bartell, 2011; Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013). The individual's worldview, or 'where the researcher is coming from' concerns ontological assumptions (the nature of social reality), epistemological assumptions (the nature of knowledge) and assumptions about human nature and agency (Sikes, 2004). Therefore, the positionality that researchers bring to their work, and the personal experiences through which positionality is shaped, may influence what researchers may bring to research encounters, their choice of processes, and their interpretation of outcomes (Foote & Bartell,

2011, p. 46). By stating my positionality and incorporating reflexive efforts, I can accomplish two important tasks: (1) acknowledge the inherent subjectivity of any research stance, at the same time preventing an overwhelming abundance of my personal subjectivity from seeping into this study; and (2) remind readers of how discourse is not innocent but involves a political edge which must be continuously and reflexively acknowledged for research to resonate in a meaningful way (Frost & Elichaooff, 2014; McCorkel & Meyer, 2003).

Feminist poststructuralism research requires that the researcher state her/his positionality. Like other feminist researchers, I see gender as a basic organising principle that shapes the conditions of my life. I am deeply invested in feminism. I grew up in a patriarchal Indian household where my father was the head of the family and made the decisions about the family and our day-to-day life. My sister and I were told at a young age by my father and grandfather that a daughter's position in the residence of the father's household is temporary, and she does not have rights to family assets, property and wealth. All that wealth and property belong to my brothers. In terms of domestic arrangements, my mother was in charge. She took care of the family by cooking, cleaning and tending us when we were sick. My mother worked at home but was never remunerated; while my father was the financial provider. This culture was common throughout my extended family, where the men provided financially and the women stayed at home. This experience shaped my understanding of the position of a woman.

During my high school years, this patriarchal culture continued. In my Business Studies classes from Grade 10 until 12 (preceding high school), I never saw women as important actors in commerce textbooks; they were (if included at all) in supporting roles to the men, who accomplished great success in the business sphere. My commerce teachers from Grade 10 until Grade 12 were all males. They always gave examples of powerful and successful businessmen, and at times made jokes about us females opening small cooking businesses and sewing shops. This humour was demotivating, as the notion conveyed was that being a woman meant being subservient to men.

This ideology of what a woman is and how women are represented in the business world propelled me towards becoming a women's rights activist. I tried to assert my agency while conforming to some patriarchal ideals. I did not want to defy my dad by showing my agency, so I decided to become a Business Studies teacher. This complied with patriarchal ideals, as teaching is regarded as typical feminine occupation, which I knew my father was likely to

support. Through my teaching, I sought to trouble normalised notions of gender, and to open learners to new thinking on gender to challenge the status quo.

However, these aspirations were rarely fulfilled. In my teaching, I sometimes overlooked important gender bias. At times, I also colluded with this bias because of my existing social experiences and the multiple contexts they were embedded in. My subjectivity was a site for conflict, struggle and change. As a subject, I had to perform different identities at home, school and work and in the community. My identity was performative (Butler, 1990), in a sense in that I behaved in accordance with what I had learned is acceptable and normal, conforming to the dominant discourse and reproducing power relations, (often) without conscious realisation. Therefore, unravelling gender bias was not as simple as I imagined. This prompted my curiosity to challenge gendered assumptions in textbooks and society whilst being aware of my social and historical context.

This curiosity led to this research. In line with feminist poststructuralism, I understand that freedom does not lie outside discourse, but in disrupting dominant discourses and taking up unfamiliar ones. It is about seeing things that are usually invisible in order to make them revisable (Davis, 2000). By adopting a poststructural stance, I hope to reveal ways in which dominant discourses can trap us in “conventional meanings and modes of being” (Davies, 1995).

Having declared my positionality and subjectivity, I outline the rigour of my research process in the next section so that the reader may deem my work credible/trustworthy.

4.6 Trustworthiness

The concepts of validity and reliability cannot be addressed in qualitative research in the same way as they are in quantitative research. This study will use trustworthiness instead of validity; Guba and Lincoln (1994) stress that trustworthiness of qualitative inquiry is crucial in determining the worth of research.

Henning (2007) outlines a process called open coding, which I will use to analyse the data from the selected textbooks to ensure trustworthiness. Open coding is “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61). Line by line coding forces the analyst to verify and saturate categories, minimises the chance of missing an important category, and ensures grounding of data categories beyond mere

impressionism (Glaser & Barney, 1992). The result is rich, dense theory with the assurance that nothing has been left out. It also corrects the forcing of ‘pet’ themes and ideas (Henning, 2007). Henning (2007) suggests that the process of open coding should follow the broad principles outlined below.

First, I (as the researcher) will read the chapters to get an overall impression of the content. I then reread the chapters selected in order to identify “units of meaning” in the text. Price (2005, p. 7) calls this first reading “reading with the text” to try to understand the writers’ positioning and why they wrote in the way they did. I will then select codes according to what the data mean to me, and allocated these codes to the different “units of meaning”. Here analysts are actually asking how these texts are used to reproduce or transform the status quo in society (Janks, 1997, p. 329). The related codes will then be put into categories, forming the themes to be discussed as the findings of my study. Open coding (Figure 4.2) will then be used to help me generate meanings and ideas and deepen my understanding of the data in detailed analysis, which could yield more than one possible meaning.

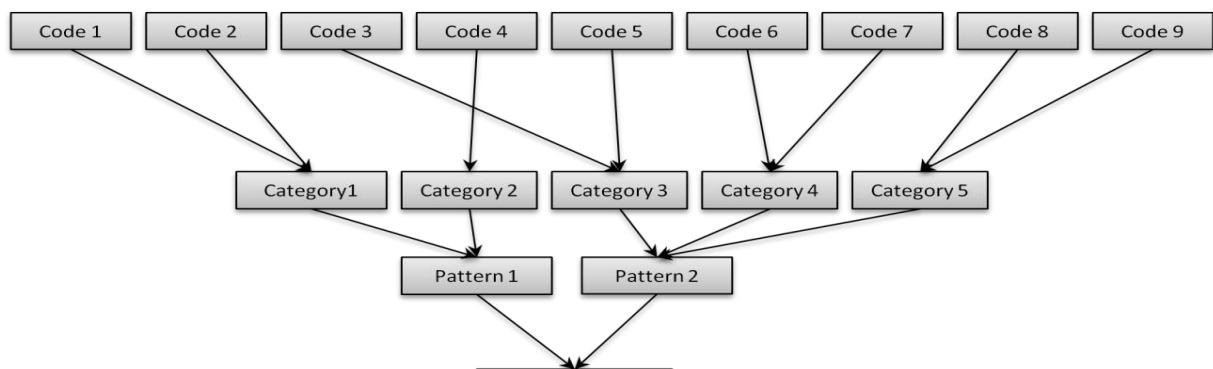


Figure 4.2: Open coding flowchart (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

To guide the open coding, I used the framework recommended by Huckin (1997) and Machin and Mayr (2012).

I further ensured trustworthiness of the data by member validation, for example through the PhD cohort programme of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and at conferences such as those of the South African Education Research Association (SAERA) in 2014, 2015 and 2016 (Holloway & Wheeler, 2009). The SAERA conference involved other participants and leading experts in discourse analysis, where I analysed extracts from the selected textbooks. One method of note is that I asked my supervisor to judge the analysis and interpretation by providing him with a summary of the analysis as well as text, and asked him to comment

critically on the adequacy of the findings. I also created an audit trail (Holloway & Wheeler, 2009) to ensure reliability so that other academics are able to judge the process by which the research was conducted and the key decisions that informed the research process.

4.7 Ethical considerations

CDA is considered a highly ethical form of research since a major objective is to uncover power struggles between social groups and give voice to the oppressed and underrepresented. Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008, p. 237) support this notion: “performing CDA, therefore, is a moral project, as it impinges on uncovering the ways and forms of power relations and ideologies”. Through identifying and uncovering ideologies and power relations in everyday communication, CDA provides many positive ethical benefits. While CDA may not pose any of the traditional negative ethical concerns regarding participants that are associated with other methodologies (such as surveys or focus groups), it is important to note that even with the purest intentions there are still some ethical risks involved.

The greatest ethical consideration in this study will be the researcher’s ability to acknowledge her own analytical agenda. Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 7) caution: “CDA researchers have to be aware that their own work is driven by social, economic, and political motives like any other academic work and that they are not in any privileged position”. Since the results and research quality of a CDA research project are dependent on the researcher, it is important to be as transparent as possible regarding one’s analytical agenda within the text of the final report. It behoves the researcher to acknowledge that she identifies her gender as female and has had a history of being a Business Studies educator and Business Studies student. Additionally, she personally hopes to see many of the gender ideologies and hegemony present in Business Studies, school textbooks more openly challenged and resisted. By being forthcoming and acknowledging the analytical agenda in a transparent manner, the researcher can ensure stronger, more ethical results. As Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 96) note:

... critical discourse analysis research combines what perhaps somewhat pompously used to be called ‘solidarity with the oppressed’ with an attitude of opposition and dissent against those who abuse text and talk in order to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power. Unlike much other scholarship, CDA does not deny but explicitly defines and defends its own socio-political position. That is CDA is biased – and proud of it

This raises the need for the researcher to locate her work within an understanding of notions of reflectivity and reflexivity, whereby she not only subjects her understandings to (self)- critical

scrutiny, but is also aware that her previous experiences will affect the way she interprets the present.

All ethical considerations required by the University of KwaZulu-Natal regarding this kind of research will be observed. In keeping with the research policy of the university, ethical clearance was applied for and granted by the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Reference No. HSS/0988/014D. See Appendix for copy).

4.8 Methodological limitations

The findings of this study are not suitable for generalisation since this investigation concerns only four SADC school textbooks, is limited to Grade 12 Business Studies textbooks only (the last phase of high school preceding tertiary education), and to the phenomenon of entrepreneurship education. Larger-scale multi-country studies including more textbooks written in different eras would broaden our understanding of gender representation in school textbooks and the gaps that need to be filled.

Despite these limitations, the findings of this study can be referred to by researchers as a framework for further studies pertaining to gender representation in school textbooks. It can also offer insights and awareness of the power of discourse in the construction of reality, and provoke a deeper understanding specifically of gender representation in Commerce textbooks, in order to contribute to greater social awareness.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter presented the design and methodology for the study. This study is a critical study following a qualitative approach, which focuses on a detailed understanding of how gender is represented in four SADC Business Studies school textbooks. The method of data collection employed was CDA through an intentionally gendered lens, drawing from feminist CDA. The CDA tools used were inspired by Fairclough (2001) and Machin and Mayr (2012). The sampling was purposive and four SADC Business Studies school textbooks were selected for data analysis.

The limitations of the research were also discussed in this chapter to acknowledge areas that can affect the credibility of the study. In addition, how ethical considerations were dealt with and the trustworthiness of the study to ensure credibility was discussed.

Chapter five: Description of findings on heteronormativity as norm and language as masculine

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I explained the research design as well as how I analysed the Business Studies textbooks. In this chapter, the findings of the study of the written text and visuals will be presented. In keeping with my methodology of CDA, the findings I present here comprise the description of data, which sought to answer my first research question:

- How is gender represented in selected SADC high school Business Studies textbooks?

Interpretation and explanation aspects will answer the second research question: Why is gender represented in this way in these textbooks? That will be covered in Chapters eight and nine.

I analysed four textbooks and present the findings from all of the books together, because my findings are organised thematically. I do not present the findings per individual textbook since this study is not primarily meant to foreground and compare the textbooks. The findings are organised and presented in three consecutive chapters (five, six and seven). Chapter five deals with heteronormativity as norm and language as masculine. Chapter six deals with masculine gender roles and traits presented as the norm for success in the business sector, leadership management and entrepreneurship as masculine and the systematic, pervasive association of men with technology; and Chapter seven deals with intersectionality – showing how white, able-bodied men dominate in the business sector, excluding minorities such as disabled as well as African women.

The themes in Chapters five, six and seven are presented in no particular order. These themes are not mutually exclusive, there are overlaps between them, but I presented them in separate chapters for purposes of clarity. The findings are also discussed in three chapters because one chapter on all of the findings would have been too long; this makes the presentation less cumbersome and more coherent. Each of these chapters is further divided into sections on written text and visual representations. In this chapter of analysis, I present two themes, which deal with heteronormativity as norm and language as masculine.

5.2 Heteronormativity is the norm

I have examined the inclusions and exclusions of sexuality in the four textbooks. The discussion that follows shows how writers frequently engaged in binary constructions and established distinct dichotomies between men and women.

5.2.1 Normative relationships represented through exclusion

Table 5.1 illustrates the four categorisations of intimate relationships. The data revealed that LGBTI relationships were marginalised through exclusion, with normative heterosexual relationships foregrounded. There is silence regarding issues of same-sex attraction and divergent sexual identities and practices across the four textbooks; sexuality was explicitly defined as heterosexuality in all. This creates relationship stereotyping whereby that between a man and a woman is represented as the only acceptable relationship. LGBTI individuals are ignored because they do not fit into the paradigm of normativity.

Table 5.1: How often four categories of intimate relationships were depicted in the textbooks

Country of origin of textbook	Female-male relationship	Female-female	Male-male	Bisexual and intersex
	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences
Lesotho	23	0	0	0
South Africa	21	0	0	0
Swaziland	16	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	10	0	0	0

The fact that gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identities are never mentioned in any context of entrepreneurship may create the impression that their identities are allowed to exist only by the grace and sanction of the hegemonic heterosexual establishment (Temple, 2005, p. 7). Ignoring LGBTI identities can be seen as a way in which heterosexuality defends its privileged status in the selected textbooks (Wilmot & Naidoo, 2011; Potgieter & Reygan, 2012; Temple, 2005).

5.2.2 Men and women are established as binary opposites

The following data also foreground the fact that men and women are established as binary opposites, which suggests that there is something quintessentially ‘male’ or quintessentially ‘female’ and that one identifies with either role. This normalising judgement with its distinct categorical classification does not allow for any ambivalence in gender identity (Butler, 1990).

What qualities do you think men and women need to open successful businesses? (Lesotho, p. 37)

The above statement creates an essentialist idea of gender as well as what constitutes a man and a woman. Men and women are established in binary opposition to one another, and it would appear that the authors envisage that certain attributes are typical of men, whereas others would be typical of women. The premise of the question and its phrasing by the use of the interrogative ‘what’ implicitly indicates that there are qualities deserving of respect that are uniquely male or female. The pronoun ‘you’ not only addresses the reader directly but also implies that the authors make assumptions about their readership, presuming them to be heterosexual.

Harryo believes that men and women have different preferences and buying habits (Swaziland, p. 193)

The writers could have used other words, such as ‘thinks’, but the modal verb *believes* implies the absolute certainty of the above statement. This would suggest that there is something essentially ‘female’ or essentially ‘male’ and that one identifies with either role. In addition, the authors offer a deterministic point of view, which posits that a girl inevitably identifies with the role of a woman, while a boy will inevitably identify with the behaviour and functions of a man. Again, this normalising judgement with its distinct categorical classification does not allow for any ambivalence in gender identity.

By now, you should know that male and female are treated as equal in the business sector (South Africa, p. 11)

This extract clearly transmits a normalising and essential view of gender. Again male and female are established in binary opposition. The adjectival clause ‘by now you should know’ implies that the balance of the sentence which follows conveys information which is common knowledge and requires no further investigation or examination; its import is perceived to be ‘natural’ and self-evident. Use of the pronoun ‘you’ communicates that the authors make

certain assumptions about the outlook and nature of the reader, namely that ‘you’ are a heterosexually orientated reader. It also appears to convey the impression that the meaning contained in the sentence is a shared view that all ‘right-thinking’ people would hold. The modal verb ‘should’ also denote moral obligation or duty. There is no attempt to challenge this – it is simply treated as ‘fact’ – but is in fact fiction.

The world of work is a better experience for woman than it is for men, according to a survey. Experts appear divided over the reasons why women appear get more out of their work than men (Zimbabwe, p. 177).

Again, the above text appears to create an essentialist idea of gender as well as what constitutes a man and a woman. Men and women are established in binary opposition, and again it would appear that the authors envisage that certain attributes are typical of men, whereas others are typical of women. Use of the nominalisation ‘survey’ implies that there may have been some research carried out. However, there is omission of who did the survey and what the objectives were. This has implications for the credibility of the survey, yet the author presents the findings as facts. This is also evident in the absence of modality or hedging. The functional honorific ‘expert’ further connotes legitimacy and makes the text appear more important and authoritative in its claim.

5.2.3 Normative heterosexual relationships

Husband and wife, Omah and Sara were convinced that their idea of an exclusive ice cream bar in the city centre will be a success. They believe that the changed global economy requires innovation ... Omah will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the business while Sara will assist when required. (Lesotho, p. 488)

The normative, heterosexual relationship discussed in the text is presented through formulaic gender roles and embellished visuals displaying distinct binaries (Figure 5.2). The authors fail to challenge the stereotypical gender roles dealing with heterosexual relations, which transmit the notion of female passivity and male assertion. Men are represented as more capable than women of running businesses are, and more suitable for positions of authority. The modal verb ‘will’ signals strong certainty of the business success, while ‘believes’ again implies absolute certainty of their convictions. There is a removal of the agent and nominalisation in the sentence ‘the changed global economy’. The sentence presents itself as a noun. Globalisation is used as a nominalisation when it is actually a process; this can make it appear a simple fact rather than

the result of political decisions. Fairclough (2000, p. 26) points out that such constructions give no specification of who or what is changing, a backgrounding of the processes of change themselves or a foregrounding of their effects. Backgrounding the processes themselves nominalisation also backgrounds questions of agency – of whom or what causes change. This is an important observation, as what might be a process that we can challenge or do something about is presented as simply something that is. Apart from the normative relationship presented and nominalisation, firstness of male pronoun is highlighted where the husband comes before the wife, reflecting the stereotypical assumption of the masculine gender as superior.



Figure 5.1: Normative heterosexual relationships depicted in the text are presented through formulaic gender roles and embellished visuals displaying distinct binaries (Lesotho, p. 488).

Partners, both young and old who have invested in our business have seen profits since its establishment (Zimbabwe, p. 167)

While the noun ‘partner’ is gender neutral and the sentence may be interpreted as non-specific in terms of the sexual orientation of the parties, the text is juxtaposed with a conventional picture of male/female couples (Figure 5.3). The picture reinforces heterosexuality by maintaining and reproducing essentialist binaries.



Figure 5.2: The text is juxtaposed with a conventional picture of male/female couples
(Zimbabwe, p. 167).

Couple Liam and Jessy are thinking of opening a small business. Because there are so many investment opportunities, they have decided to obtain advice from an independent financial advisor on which options are most appropriate. Liam is the financial provider at home and therefore he needs the most appropriate option given his financial circumstances and needs.
(South Africa, p. 23)



Figure 5.3: A (heteronormative) couple seeking advice on establishing a business
(South Africa, p. 23)

The photo above (Figure 5.3) represents a couple seeking advice on establishing a business and presents a heteronormative relationship, which is problematic because heteronormativity normalises and upholds hegemonic versions of heterosexual relationships. It also limits the possibilities of relationships because heteronormativity posits ‘heterosexuality’ hegemonically and fails to acknowledge the range of sexual and emotional relationships that heterosexuality, as a sexual identity, encompasses. From the above analysis portrayals of women and men in stereotypical, biased and sexist representations is evident. Liam is portrayed as the ‘breadwinner’ of the family and Jessy as a housewife. This representation has the potential to contribute to the stereotype of males traditionally projected as powerful, competent, innovative and capable figures. This analysis clearly supports Tietz’s (2007, p. 476) findings that “gender stereotypes and gender role stratification in society are reinforced and replicated”. This reinforces and maintains the ideology of gender bias, which is the status quo in many communities.

An employee is found asleep at work. His wife recently died. One can imagine the responsibility he now has ... He is likely to be reprimanded by his manager. (Swaziland, p. 378)

From the extract above, the writers view marriage and family as a heterosexual institution, comprising a man and a woman. The pronoun ‘one’ implies that this is a universal rule that applies to the population at large. The presupposition ‘one can imagine’ implicitly implies that the employee has a lot of responsibility after the death of the wife. However, there is omission of what his responsibilities are, which serves to background certain gender roles. The modal adverb ‘likely’ appears to suggest that there is the possibility of an alternative outcome from his manager for finding him sleeping at work.

5.2.4 Heteronormative family paradigm

In most illustrations and discussions of family life, depictions are of conventional nuclear families. The underlying assumption is that a family comprises a father, mother and offspring. While it may be argued that gay and lesbian people can be married to same-sex partners and have children, the visuals and text orientate the reader towards heteronormative families.

John, your mother and I are going to lose the house ... I must help my parents after all they have done for me. (Swaziland, p. 3)

John is categorised through relational identification that he has a mother and father, signifying the stereotypical role of women as mothers and men as fathers. This foregrounds a traditional heterosexual family and heterosexual normativity. The deontic modal verb ‘must’ also shows duty and determination of the child to assist his parents.

Similarly, the South African textbook portrays compulsory heterosexuality through normative family relationships (Figure 5.4).

A woman and her sons had just returned to town from a three-day trip in the veld. As they drove down the main street, they saw a sign advertising a luxury make of a car at an extremely good price. ... If it is a good model, we shall buy it right away. Your father will be very surprised when we take it home! (South Africa, p. 79)



Figure 5.4: The South African textbook portrays compulsory heterosexuality through normative family relationships

A woman is categorised through relational identification that she is a mother and has sons. This sexual orientation is further supported by relational identification of a male social actor who is ‘her husband’ and a ‘father’. The concept ‘home’ is also treated as if the readers and authors share a common-sense and unproblematic understanding of what this entails. There appears to be a singular and monolithic notion of what a ‘home’ is – that it comprises a husband and wife and their children – which is based on the concept of a heterosexual family.

The Lesotho textbook also foregrounds heteronormative family structures:

Market segmentation recognises that many families may not have the same preferences (Lesotho, p. 220)

While the noun ‘families’ is gender neutral and the sentence may be interpreted as non-specific in terms of the sexual orientation of the parties, the text is juxtaposed by the visual depiction which promotes a heteronormative family paradigm (Figure 5.5). Again, the underlying assumption is that a family comprises a father, mother and offspring. Nominalisation is evident by *Market segmentation recognises* in which the verb is converted to a noun. This results in the exclusion of a person or agent from the event being represented. The word ‘many’ also suggests aggregation in which participants are treated as statistics. Van Dijk (1991) states that this is used to give the impression of a common trend based on objective research and scientific credibility, when in fact we are not given any figures. This implicitly directs the reader to interpret the text as referring to a heterosexual family as a norm. The epistemic modal verb ‘may’ suggest both a sense of having an option in family preference, but also being allowed to divert from similarity.

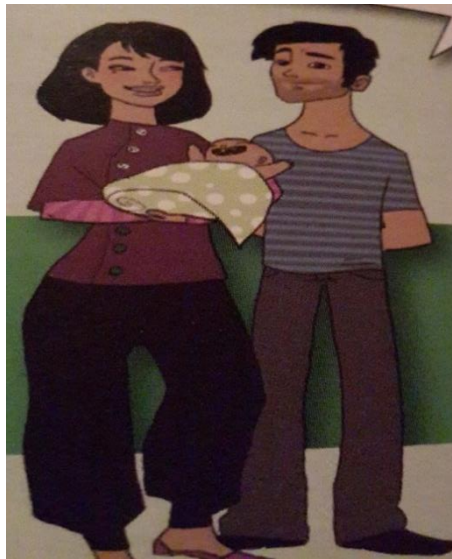


Figure 5.5: ‘Families’ may be gender neutral, but the text is juxtaposed with a visual depiction which promotes a heteronormative family paradigm (Lesotho, p. 220).

Sole trader businesses are owned and managed by one person. The owner may employ people to work for his business. The employees could be the family members who may include his wife and children. (Swaziland, p. 61)

This text is framed by an illustration: a male/female couple with two children with a house in the background. Again, the underlying assumption is that a family comprises a father, mother and offspring. The picture specifically directs the reader to interpret the text as referring to a heterosexual family. From the text above, there is a taken for granted assumption that sole traders are men. The text also creates the stereotypical and patriarchal assumption that a father provides for the family. The epistemic modal verbs ‘may’ and ‘could’ express uncertainty of the sole trader’s employment endeavours, highlighting autonomy.

The above stereotypical family representations conform to the discourse of “compulsory heterosexuality” (Butler, 1997a, p. 49), and have the potential to disadvantage other representations. The nuclear family, headed by a mother and father, is assumed the norm. Thus, the notion of the family as a heterosexual institution goes unchallenged. These texts convey normalising findings, which entrench a particular conception of heterosexual identity.

5.2.5 Conclusion

None of the four textbooks deals with bisexuality, intersexuality or transsexuality, which may subvert or challenge and understanding sexuality based on simplistic binary terms with heterosexuality as the norm and homosexuality as a form of deviance. There is thus no effort to problematize sexuality by showing its complex and variable nature. The normative perception of marriage and relationships as a heterosexual institution is bolstered by numerous implicit and explicit assertions, which are made without invitation to the learners to question the ideological construct.

5.3 Language as masculine

According to Fairclough (2000, p. 13) language is one of the “social agents” that has a great impact on shaping the attitudes and views of readers. Across the four Business Studies textbooks representations of sexist and biased language was used to reinforce male dominance. Evidence of this can be seen in the recurring representation of firstness of male pronoun and use of the generic ‘-man’ which is used across the texts. The discussion that follows foregrounds this biased and sexist representation.

5.3.1 ‘Firstness’ of the male noun reinforces gender bias

Firstness refers to the mention in texts of men first before women. It is about prioritising men before women. More often than not, in the order of two words paired for sex, such as Mr and

Mrs, brother and sister, and husband and wife, the masculine word comes first. This automatic ordering reinforces the second-place status of women and is one of the ways in which the power status of men is reinforced. All the instances in the four textbooks were analysed in which the two genders were mentioned together, to inspect which appeared first. The findings revealed the following: males were in first position most times while females were in first position three times across three textbooks (Lesotho – 1, South Africa – 1 and Swaziland – 1). The Zimbabwean textbook was the exception (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Firstness of male and female nouns/pronouns

Firstness of male noun	Frequency			
	Lesotho	Zimbabwe	South Africa	Swazi-land
He or she	10	14	11	10
His or hers	12	12	10	11
Male name before female (e.g. Patrick and Lisa)	12	22	18	13
Boys and girls	4	3	1	1
Businessmen or businesswomen	0	0	0	0
Men and women	8	19	13	10
Mr and Mrs	4	3	2	4
Firstness of female noun	Frequency			
	Lesotho	Zimbabwe	South Africa	Swazi-land
Female name before male	1	0	1	1
No other category reflected the female noun before the male	-	-	-	-
Total	1	0	1	1

This pattern reinforces the stereotypical notion that womanhood is a second-place status and therefore not as important as the male counterpart. Across all four textbooks, the authors reinforce the notion of masculine firstness, which foregrounds the subordination of females to males.

5.3.1.1 Examples of recurring pattern of firstness of male pronoun

The following examples highlight some of the recurring pattern of firstness of male pronoun across the four textbooks.

Men and women have equal opportunities in the workplace. They are treated with respect and dignity (Lesotho, p. 22)

While the authors appear to have sought to advocate gender equality, it seems that they may have inadvertently intensified the differentiation. The text is written using the male first person pronoun before the female noun, giving the impression of female subordination. The authors also create an essentialist idea of gender polarity, ‘you are either a man or woman in terms of gender’. This normalising judgement with its distinct categorical classification does not allow for any ambiguity or ambivalence in gender identity. This sentence is written in the declarative mode, which appears to assert the content as a universal truth. Heterosexual sex is thus established as the norm. The declarative mode, as Fairclough (2001) points out, can be an indicator of asymmetrical relations of power; in this instance, the authors are placed in the position of being the possessors and providers of knowledge while the readers are receivers. Because textbooks are seen by students as holding unquestionable truths, they will accept this version of reality as the truth.

If an entrepreneur wants to be successful, he or she must choose how best to use scarce resources to satisfy as many needs and wants as possible (Swaziland, p. 110)

Again, the male pronoun comes before the female pronoun, signalling female subordination. Binary polarity is also reinforced which defines gender simplistically: ‘he or she in which the reader is either of the masculine or feminine gender’. The advice commences with the subordinating conjunction ‘if’, which suggests that should an entrepreneur carry out a particular action, they will attain the desired recognition. Entrepreneurial success is therefore conditional upon compliance with certain acts. The deontic modal verb ‘must’ conveys the degree of certainty and authority that the author has on this subject of entrepreneurship, although there is no factual evidence that the outcome is always positive and guarantees success. This perspective on entrepreneurial success disregards other factors that play a significant role in becoming successful entrepreneurs.

Jalil and Mayra both have equal amounts of money to invest or save. Jalil chooses to save his money in a bank that pays an annual rate of interest. Mayra chooses to invest her money in a small beauty salon, which is far more risky (Zimbabwe, p. 306)

The identities and aspirations of Jalil and Mayra are depicted as polar opposites: male/female. The authors construct the idea that women have not given the venture of entrepreneurship sufficient thought. Although the authors portray women as individuals who would like to start a business, the business is referred to as ‘small’. This example implies that women are not sufficiently skilled to own and maintain large businesses. Another phenomenon that comes to the fore is the gender-stereotyped occupations. The business to which Mayra aspires is not just a small business, but also one that is typically female-orientated. Learners would assume that activities such as beautification are the domain of women and not men. This should not be the case: textbooks should provide a range of occupational models for all genders to emulate. The text once again foregrounds the masculine pronoun before the female pronoun, reinforcing female subordination.

Mr and Mrs Gordon, owners of an upholstery factory, are certain that the strike has prevented workers from entering the plant. Mr Gordan announced that the company won't stand for it and requires staff to resume work or face disciplinary action ... The striking workers hung around the company singing to show dissatisfaction (South Africa, p. 195)

The text *the company won't stand for it* is a synecdoche. The text avoids being specific. Agents are suppressed. It could be the owners *who won't stand for it*, but this is not explicitly stated. In the absence of agents by such abstractions, we can always ask what ideological work is being done. The *strike has prevented workers* – in this case, it may have been the case that the picket line consisted of workers and it was only members of management who were inside the plant. However, the nominalisation of *the workers who are striking* into the noun *the strike* obscures this. This kind of language helps to represent strikes as the enemies of ordinary people and the ordinary worker, and as mere disruption to the smooth running of services.

The hyperbolic phrase *won't stand for it* creates a patronising tone, showing hierarchical relations of power in the workplace. Although the readers are not told who ‘won't stand for the strike’, we can assume that it is the owners or management. From the quoting verb ‘announced’ we are also able to draw out more precisely what is connoted. Those who ‘announce’ things appear to have power and legitimacy. In this case, it is Mr Gordan as opposed to Mrs Gordan.

There is a tendency for textbook writers to adhere firmly to the convention of mentioning males before females when husband and wife (Mr and Mrs Gordan) are used together as generic pronouns. This order of appearance suggests male supremacy and the second-place status of women (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Lee & Collins, 2008).

5.3.2 The generic ‘man’

Even though there are alternatives to avoid gender-marked item usage, the authors across the four textbooks still apply the word ‘man’ generically, diminishing women as being less important than men. Examples of this are discussed in the texts below.

By now, you should know that to be a successful businessman you must make a profit (Zimbabwe, p. 58)

This statement reflects bias. The authors could have used a more neutral pronoun such as ‘businessperson’ instead of ‘businessman’ to ensure equity. In the absence of the female pronoun ‘businesswoman’ the authors reinforce the message that entrepreneurship and owning of businesses is an exclusive entity best suited for males. As Lee and Collins (2008) argue, this type of presentation might reinforce stereotyped views of male and female roles and abilities among students. The adjectival clause, *By now you should know* implies that the balance of the sentence which follows conveys information which is common knowledge and requires no further investigation or examination since its import is perceived to be ‘natural’ and self-evident. Use of the pronoun ‘you’ communicates that the authors make certain assumptions about the outlook and nature of the reader. Again, it also appears to convey the impression that the meaning contained in the sentence is a shared view held by all ‘right-thinking’ people. The deontic modal verb ‘should’ adds to this impression, denoting moral obligation of the reader to accept the statement as a fact. This perspective on profit is presented as if there are no other factors that play a significant role in becoming a *successful businessman*.

*Managers should help employees feel valued. They should guide and equip workers to achieve the organisation’s goals. A democratic manager consults with **his** workers.* (Lesotho, p. 354)

While the first two sentences appear to be tentative and using gender-neutral language, and may be interpreted as non-specific, in the third the word ‘his’ is used, which makes the gender more explicit and entrenches the view of a taken for granted assumption that men are managers. The writers could have chosen the phrase ‘with workers’, but use of the pronoun *his* betrays

the author's bias. Omission of the female noun 'manageress' adds to this bias. Along with this biased assumption of men as managers, the picture that follows this definition foregrounds the masculine gender as managers. The modal auxiliary 'should' has both a relational and an expressive modality. It implies either allowing for the possibility or having the authority to make employees feel valued. The responsibilities which managers are attributed with denote them as important figures in an organisation. The infinitive verbs 'guide and equip' suggest that the subject is pastoral in nature; while the infinitive 'to equip' would clearly state that the subject is aligned with what is perceived to be greater economic imperatives.

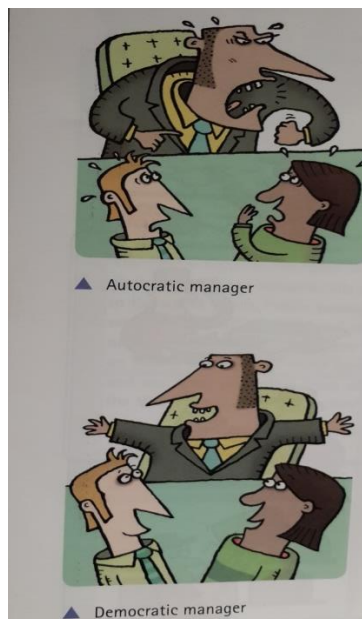


Figure 5.6: Depicting management as a male occupation (Lesotho, p. 354).

The picture above (Figure 5.6) influences the biased assumption (albeit an unrealistic one) of a sexist ideology that management is a masculine occupation, and the writers do very little to trouble this perception.

Jake declared that many workers are unhappy... He suggested to the Chairman to address this in his agenda. (Swaziland, p. 218)

The metapositional verb *declared* marks the author's interpretation of the speaker: the word appears to be a true report, and makes Jake appear more assertive. The text *many workers are unhappy* shows aggregation. Readers are not given specific figures of the exact number of workers that are unhappy. This creates the impression of objectivity, although we are not given specific figures. The reason why workers are unhappy is also omitted.

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) suggest that whenever actual details are replaced by abstractions we can assume that some ideological work is taking place. Information that could be relevant to the reader may deliberately be left out to hide a certain reality. This is a deliberate silence in the absence of significant information that the writer uses to hide a reality or gloss over an issue that workers are faced with. The word ‘suggested’ is a meta-propositional expressive. Here we can ask if the author of the text wished to represent Jake as weak and powerless in relation to the Chairman. He is presented as tentatively ‘suggesting’ rather than in control and decisive. The text also heightens the bias and stereotypical representation of men as chairpersons in an organisation. The authors could have been more neutral by referring to the ‘chairperson’ as opposed to ‘chairman’. The sentence could have read *He suggested to the chairperson to address this in the agenda* to be more gender neutral; using the masculine pronoun ‘his’ and ‘chairman’ betrays the author’s bias. No females are presented in this section as a chairperson, which reinforces this occupation as generically masculine.

The spokesperson announced that we must ensure everyone who uses the roads pays money towards the Road Accident Fund by buying fuel. (South Africa, p. 259)

The deontic modal verb ‘must’ compels and instructs people to pay towards the Road Accident Fund. Fairclough (2000, p. 152) pointed out that the word ‘we’ is slippery. This fact can be used by text producers and politicians to make vague statements and conceal power relations. The ‘we’ is not overtly explained: it could mean the government, politicians, authorities, and on and on. What also comes to the fore is the generic masculine pronoun used. The authors once again could have been gender neutral by using ‘spokesperson’ as opposed to ‘spokesman’. The text therefore creates the impression that the spokesperson is male.

5.3.3 Conclusion

The data suggest what can be described as discursial marginalisation of discourse partners, especially females, which indicates male dominance and an engendering of female stereotypes as trivial or unimportant. The lexical selection of cohesive devices, clauses, verbs, synecdoche, aggregation, modality, assumptions and omission was used to great effect to reveal this bias.

Chapter six: Description of findings on masculine gender roles and traits presented as norm for success, leadership management and entrepreneurship as masculine, and systematic, pervasive association of men with technology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of the description of the findings of my analysis of the four selected textbooks. In the previous chapter, I presented the data on heteronormativity as norm and language as mainly masculine. This chapter is divided into three themes. I will describe findings on masculine gender roles and traits presented as the norm for success, leadership management and entrepreneurship as masculine, and the systematic pervasive association of men with technology. No theme is mutually exclusive and each overlaps. Each of the three sections is further divided into subsections.

6.2 Male dominance represented through gender roles and traits

In all four Business Studies textbooks, male dominance is represented through gendered roles and traits. Evidence of this can be seen in both the written text and the pictorial depictions. Table 6.1 shows the disproportional representation of men in prestigious occupations. The table reflects the deficit positioning of a woman across the four textbooks, where the author signals women in normative roles with lesser economic power as compared to males across the four textbooks.

Table 6.1: Disproportional representation of men in prestigious occupations

Occupations	Representation in selected textbooks							
	South Africa		Swaziland		Lesotho		Zimbabwe	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Fetching water	5	0	1	0	2	0	1	0
Pilot	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1
Shop manager	1	5	1	8	2	7	1	5
Teacher	1	0	2	0	1	0	3	0
Doctor	1	4	0	2	0	1	0	3
Nurse	3	0	2	0	1	0	2	0
Mineworker	0	3	0	2	1	3	0	3
CEO / manager	0	11	1	15	0	13	0	19

Hospice worker	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	0
Shop assistant	3	1	2	1	4	1	3	1
Secretary	11	0	8	0	2	0	1	0
Hairstylist	3	0	1	0	3	1	2	0
Crèche worker	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
Accountant	1	6	0	3	1	3	0	2
Engineer	1	11	0	7	1	3	0	4
Household shopping	3	0	2	0	4	0	2	0
Cooking for family	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	0
Technologist	0	4	1	7	0	2	0	3
Construction worker	1	4	0	3	1	5	1	3
Electrical fitting	0	2	0	1	0	4	0	3
Entrepreneur	2	11	2	13	2	10	2	9
Factory worker	4	1	3	1	3	1	3	1
Non-governmental organisation (NGO) worker	3	0	3	0	2	0	3	0
Florist	4	0	2	0	2	0	3	1

From the above analysis, there is irrefutable evidence that all four Business Studies textbooks give portrayals of women and men in stereotypical, biased and sexist representations. The authors have made a deliberate choice to represent these characters in this way. Women are mainly represented in positions of unpaid and low-skilled labour that sustains household economies, such as cooking, looking after children, and fetching water. Other unpaid occupations and low-paid jobs included working at NGOs and in secretarial occupations. In addition, women were represented in ‘typical’ stereotypical female occupations, such as being a nurse, hairstylist, florist or factory worker. In contrast, men were portrayed in a wide range of highly paid, high-status occupations such as managing director, doctor, engineer, etc. Men were also represented as dominant in the public setting. What is evident in this analysis is the limited representation of women in powerful roles, which strongly contributes to the stereotype of males traditionally projected as strong, powerful, competent, innovative and capable figures. The implicit and overt messages clearly show women in stereotypical and biased settings.

Such portrayals may influence learners' educational and career aspirations subtly or directly. For instance, by portraying women predominately in the domestic sphere and men in the public setting, the books create the impression that not many women engage in paid work outside the home.

Further evidence of these stereotypical representations of women in normative feminine occupations is represented in the visuals and text in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Stereotypical representations of women in normative feminine occupations

	<p>The South African textbook (p. 144) portrayed primary school teaching as an occupation for females. This is evident from the text: <i>In the rural areas, these women teach in adverse conditions.</i> The author could have used the phrase <i>'in the rural areas educators teach in adverse ...'</i>, but the word 'women' betrays the author's bias. The authors reflect this occupation as a feminine one across all four textbooks through exclusion of representing men as primary school teachers. This entrenches the pervasive stereotype of teaching as a feminine occupation.</p>
	<p><i>Volunteers cook for the less fortunate learners</i> (Zimbabwe, p. 56). Initially, when reading this statement, it appears to be tentatively using gender-neutral language. However, as the case study progresses a picture of a women feeding learners is foregrounded. This reflects a woman as part of a feeding scheme working in a school. She is responsible for cooking food for all the learners on a voluntary basis. Throughout the four textbooks, no males are presented as cooking or engaged in voluntary work. This representation shows women in stereotypically traditional female roles, predominately in the domestic sphere (such as cooking), for which no remuneration is provided. Not reflecting men in volunteering work also reinforces the taken for granted assumption that men do not engage in voluntary work such as cooking.</p>



Auxiliary nurse assists and cares for the old and disabled at a care facility ... She is responsible for both the physical health and emotional wellbeing of the patient (Swaziland, p. 11). The first sentence does not connote the occupation of being an auxiliary nurse to any specific gender, but as the extract progresses the pronoun ‘she’ links this occupation as feminine. The image that accompanies the text reinforces the traditional stereotyped idea of women as care workers. Throughout the four texts there was omission of men engaging in caring for the sick, reinforcing the taken for granted assumption that auxiliary nursing is a feminine occupation.



A member of an NGO in support of the poor and orphaned children (South Africa, p. 213). While the noun ‘member’ is gender neutral and the sentence may be interpreted as non-specific in terms of gender, the text is juxtaposed with a conventional picture of a female who is engaging in this act of supporting poor and orphaned children. This recurring example across the textbook reinforces this nurturing and caring occupation as stereotypically feminine as no males are represented as part of the NGO. This image also raises issues of remuneration. An NGO occupation is usually low-paid, with low status (Kang & Sang-wook, 2001). In all four textbooks, there was omission of male characters as NGO members.



This picture (Lesotho, p. 168) is an example of the deficit positioning of a woman, where the author signals women in roles as customers involved in purchasing day-to-day meal-related commodities as opposed to being entrepreneurs. The connotative meaning of the picture serves to highlight men as profit makers and entrepreneurs who entice consumers – typically female consumers – to purchase goods.

These examples also seem to rely on a stereotype to illustrate the roles of men and women. Embedded in Table 6.2 is the sexist idea of ‘softness’ that is often linked with women. Across the four textbooks, females are positioned in occupations with attributes of goodness, care, compassion, sensitivity and domesticity. They are represented in their respective expected

occupations, which are associated with care for children, the sick and needy. Across all four textbooks, females were represented in nurturing and caring occupations such as nursing, teaching and voluntary work 31 times, compared to 4 representations for men – reflecting a clear bias on the part of the authors in relation to gender roles.

This inference from the data reinforces the notion that men are more capable of filling positions of power and authority compared to care-related occupations. The danger of this is that this gender bias may affect pupils, who are likely to internalise these social beliefs and values. This may also perpetuate a negative stereotype of men as uncaring and uninvolved in family life. Such representations of stereotypical occupations may also have the effect of legitimating occupational segregation by upholding the illusion that men are more fit for certain kinds of jobs, especially those that involve the exercise of command. As a result, this representation portrays men as a homogenous in-group, all of whom share specific norms and views.

6.2.1 Masculine features and traits presented as norm for success in entrepreneurship

The discussion that follows illustrates how masculine features and traits are presented as the norm for success in entrepreneurship.

6.2.1.1 Masculine assertiveness and aggression

Stress experienced by managers will make them frustrated, which can lead to conflict in the workplace (Lesotho, p. 78)

Many managers are overloaded and become stressed. In such circumstances they will clash with others (South Africa, p. 18)

In the excerpts above, men are represented as managers. The authors have only identified male figures in stressful and angry situations to the exclusion of women, which might suggest that stress and anger is associated with males. The use of the deontic modal verb ‘will’ portray the writers as having strong certainty about what the outcome is when managers are frustrated and stressed. The phrasing of this sentence asserts the authors’ view as the incontestable truth: it is taken as ‘fact’ that men have violent personalities when stressed. This attribute is presented as natural and inevitable and the authors do not interrogate this assumption. The reason why managers are stressed and frustrated is omitted, which serves to reinforce men further as easily becoming violent and frustrated.

The word ‘many’ reflects aggregation. We are given the impression of objective research and credibility, yet not given specific figures. Numbers are replaced by abstractions. Fairclough (2000) maintains that when numbers are replaced by abstractions we can always ask what ideological work is being done. The overt meaning that the authors want to project is that typical male managers have the characteristics described by the above adjectives and often their behaviour leads to conflict. This entrenches the view of a taken for granted assumption that men are easily angered and short-tempered when faced with conflict in the workplace. The absence of female social actors the pictures (Figure 6.1) and text reinforce the bias and sexist assumption that management is a masculine occupation.

The pictures in Figure 6.1 also serve to bolster this reading, reinforcing the message of men having violent personalities with a proclivity for violence, which serves to highlight the normativity of aggression within men. The male performers are exemplified through acts of violence and a ready willingness to fight. The body language of the men in the photographs shows aggressiveness, forcefulness and determination to achieve success in the business.



Figure 6.1: Men as managers – and aggressive ones at that

(left – Lesotho, p. 78, right – South Africa, p. 18)

Masculine construction of assertiveness and aggression is also reinforced by the following two extracts:

Metta Viravong is forthright and direct in his comments ... Metta, being technically minded was well aware of latest advancements and expects his staff to comply with standards! (Lesotho, p. 237)

Kevin Bai is the type of manager who has one set way of doing a job, and expects everybody to do it his way! (Zimbabwe, p. 38)

A patronising tone is introduced in these two examples. The authors choose particular grammar and a particular lexicon to convey authority and superiority in their speech. There is a complete absence of any modality in the text, which gives us a sense of the power that Kevin and Metta have over the employees. The exclamation marks further add to the authority held by the two men. This forthright declaration is likely to reinforce the message that managers have authority to compel staff to comply silently with orders. These text selections thus become part of the taken for granted assumptions, which are transferred as facts where men are presented as demanding, authoritative and having economic power. The subliminal message is that assertiveness in the workplace is a normative attribute ascribed to males.

Women in leadership, on the other hand, were portrayed as weak and incapable of dealing with demanding employees. This is reflected in the following text:

Keira Malik was frustrated! A male employee, Zeke is often rude and defiant towards her instructions ... The real issue is that Zeke undermines her leadership. Keira discussed this problem with her manager ... He was in favour of seeing Zeke to discuss whether he would be interested in taking up another position in training new workers (Zimbabwe, p. 49)

The above portrayal reflects the defiant attitude of Zeke to following the instructions of Keira. Zeke comes across as hostile and resistant to the idea of Keira as a leader. The use of the modal adverb 'often' indicates that this is a regular practice of Zeke. 'The real issue' presupposes that there are other issues, but they are not as important. The omission of why Zeke undermines Keira's leadership can be motivated politically or socially. Information that could be relevant to the reader as to why Zeke undermines Keira may be left out deliberately to limit critical engagement with the text. The manager has also colluded with the behaviour of Zeke, because instead of reprimanding him, Zeke is offered another position. By colluding with the bad behaviour of Zeke the manager has supported hegemonic masculinity. The text therefore presents rude and defiant behaviour as a normative masculine trait.

None of the four textbooks displays men as shy, calm or gentle. This representation gives power and privilege to masculine bodies while leaving 'others' who do not conform to dominant masculine bodies as powerless and more prone to abuse and discrimination. For example, men who fail to conform are seen as weak, while lesbian women are perceived as assuming men's role in society (Butler, 1990). Learners are therefore likely to model themselves on normative masculine and feminine traits and maintain the status quo.

6.2.1.2 Power and dominance

The four textbooks present masculinity or ‘manhood’ through emphasis on the ability of an individual to exert control. Male characters were frequently portrayed as having control or being in control of subordinates in the workplace, which emphasised their dominance. Positions of power in the workplace were occupied by men. The majority of men held positions as managers, Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), supervisors and successful entrepreneurs. The four textbooks cultivate images of managers as able to ‘get the job done’ and as emotionally tough. This notion is reinforced by the following extract below:

Matthias Bichsel is the Director of Projects and Technology at Royal Dutch Shell. He is responsible for 8,200 employees worldwide ... He has the delegated authority to manage the business and its employees. Matthias believes that both employees and managers must be dedicated, hardworking and abreast with the times. (Lesotho, p. 143)

In the above extract, the deontic modality ‘must’ compels the reader to believe that the characteristics mentioned are requirements for business success. The writers of these textbooks present a perspective of entrepreneurial success as factual. The word ‘believes’ implies the absolute certainty of the characteristics required for entrepreneurial success. This advice by Matthias creates the impression that he is an expert in this field. This is highlighted by the absence of modality and the declarative mode in which the sentences are constructed.

Sir Richard Branson, CEO of Virgin Group of companies said vision is important. Branson who is a global icon said that people who are successful in business are those who can adapt quickly ... Monitoring and analysis of employees can also show trends for business to improve. (South Africa, p. 122)

In the above extract, Branson is functionalised by what he does. The functional honorific ‘Sir’ also suggests a degree of seniority and a role that requires a degree of respect. The functional honorific makes Branson appear more important and authoritative. Nominalisation of ‘monitoring and analysis’ conceals who carries out this task and presents them as nouns rather than processes. Branson is seen as giving advice on how business can be successful, yet it is just his opinion and not by citation of research. This creates the impression that he is an expert in this field. In the absence of modality, he is seen to be knowledgeable, showing absolute certainty of his convictions, which learners are likely to endorse.

In contrast, the authors of the Swaziland textbook portray women as weak and as failures in leadership:

Nonhule Khumalo is the head of human resources department at a large private limited company. The company had serious operational problems, such as keeping to production and budgets and keeping staffing and administration up to date and organised. (Swaziland, p. 110)

The authors use individualisation and specification to describe the person experiencing problems in the workplace. Both individualisation and specification allow the reader to identify the role of the person responsible and show empathy towards the individual. The text omits the factors that contributed towards the operational problems, placing greater emphasis on the problems of the company and the individual in charge. This omission creates the impression that Nonhule is solely responsible for the problems, since she is in charge.

6.2.2 Reinforcement of masculinity through violence – a pathological undertone

Across the four textbooks, masculinity is reinforced through acts of violence. While the textbook authors make a case for how sexual assault occurs in the workplace and the laws that protect employees, they pathologize women by representing them as abused. There is an absence of abused men. The examples below reflect this assertion.

A sales manager is accused of sexually harassing his secretary. She has reliable witnesses in the organisation who can confirm the harassment. The victim was afraid to report the incident because of the consequences she might suffer. (South Africa, p. 85)

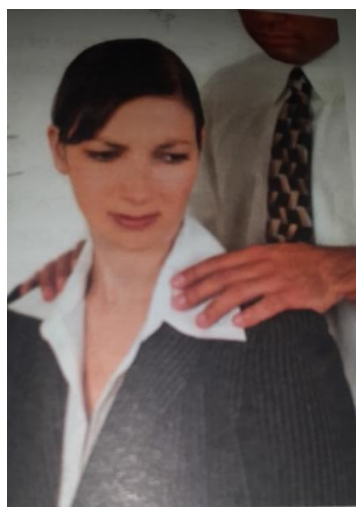


Figure 6.2: Female as passive and vulnerable (South Africa, p. 85)

The notion of female passivity and subordination to male desire is reiterated in the text. The text and picture (Figure 6.2) create the impression of male sexuality, which preys on females. The woman is portrayed as a passive victim who appears vulnerable to her unscrupulous manager. The woman is positioned as a sexualised object of male desire, and appears powerless, afraid and vulnerable in relation to the powerful and strong male body. This is reinforced in the picture, depicting the secretary in a state of emotional distress, her head averted and eyes downcast. Instead of breaking the connection between violence and masculinity, the textbook authors mark the male body as disruptive and forceful and the female body as passive and as the recipient of that violence. Stereotypical construction of female indecision, emotionality and vulnerability is communicated, in opposition to male assertiveness. The authors therefore, while addressing an important issue of sexual exploitation in the workplace, unwittingly appear to reinforce the very gender stereotypes and values upon which this exploitation is predicated.

The female body is discursively constructed as a symbol of male sexual pleasure. The visual semiotic choice promotes heterosexuality, assuming that attraction necessarily exists between members of the opposite sex. Another issue that comes to the fore is the stereotypical representation of occupational roles. The woman is presented in a low status secretarial occupation and the male is presented as the manager, who has status and power. Learners are likely to model themselves on these examples and maintain the status quo of an unequal division of labour between males and females.

Another example is the following:

Read the case study below and answer the questions that follow:

Carmela stated: I was working on the project with a colleague. I was unaware that he was going to force himself on me and act indecently ... Although he admitted to his act of indecency to the boss he was not fired. (Zimbabwe, p. 136)

The speaker is female and there is no evidence of a male voice in any of the examples presented in this activity. The male is described as the initiator whose behaviour is forceful and unscrupulous. The text is written using the first-person pronoun 'I', employing a confessional style and accompanied by a picture of a female with an anguished expression. The impression of female subordination to male desire is reinforced by the phrasing of the sentences. The register of words such as 'force' has connotations of physical power, which feeds into the

image of the strong and powerful male, and helpless and powerless female. This verb also leaves the reader to project his or her own concept of what that might constitute, which allows any number of different anxieties to be expressed.

The activity question reads, *Should this act of sexual harassment in the workplace be allowed? Explain your opinion.* The modal auxiliary ‘should’ has both a relational and an expressive modality. It implies either ‘allowing for the possibility’ or ‘having the authority to decide on behalf’. This is reinforced by the verb ‘be allowed’, which implies that permission must be sought. This question is rhetorical, since legally this act is prohibited (Zimbabwe Labour Act, Chapter 28:01).

The text does not provide learners with the legal context in order to discuss this issue from a position of informed judgement. The text above also reinforces a heterosexual essentialist position by establishing a binary polarity between the sexes and assuming that attraction necessarily exists between members of the opposite sex. The underlying ideological meaning that the text appears to be transmitting would seem to be the notion of ‘normality’ in terms of the forceful behaviour of the male, as once again the boss had colluded with the act. Authors do very little to trouble the stereotypical construction of female emotionality and vulnerability which is communicated in opposition to male assertiveness.

6.2.4 Conclusion

Masculine dominance in the economic area is exemplified through gender roles and traits. Men are attributed with traits of assertiveness, aggression and dominance. These masculine features and traits are presented as normative of the masculine body. Violence in the workplace also represents masculine strength and control. In comparison, females are represented as weak and incompetent. Gendered occupational roles served to highlight masculinity and femininity as binary opposites. Men are represented in high-paying, high-status occupations as compared to females who are depicted in low-paying, low-status occupations. The above analysis clearly supports Tietz’s (2007, p. 476) findings that “gender stereotypes and gender role stratification in society are reinforced and replicated”. Again, this reinforces and maintains the ideology of gender bias, which is the status quo in many communities.

6.3 Leadership, management and entrepreneurship as masculine

Both men and women are shown on the covers of the four textbooks on management and leadership. The assumption is that men and women are involved in leadership and management

roles in the business sector. Yet beyond the attractive cover page that prominently features all social actors of diverse groups, bias persists. The default prototype of successful leadership and management is male, across all four textbooks. The discussion that follows shows this bias.

6.3.1 The covers

The pictures on the covers of each textbook (Figure 6.3) portray both genders as responsible for decision-making, management and leadership in the business arena, creating the impression of gender inclusion. Yet a critical analysis of the pictures shows bias.



Swaziland



Lesotho



South Africa



Zimbabwe

Figure 6.3: Pictures shown on the covers of the four textbooks

In the pictures above, men outnumber females (see the pictures from the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks). Men are also positioned in front of the females, foregrounding their importance in the business environment (see the pictures from Swaziland and Lesotho). There is omission of persons with physical disabilities and underrepresentation of women of colour. The illusion of inclusivity further unravels as the chapters in the four selected textbooks progress.

6.3.2 Case studies

In the four textbooks, men are frequently represented in narratives and lexis as successful leaders and managers. In sections on management and leadership, the authors use descriptive and lengthy case studies along with pictures to portray men mainly in leadership positions through selective presentation of images and text. This recurring ‘foregrounding’ silently excludes the female element.

Joseph’s leadership style – one of a kind! (Swaziland, p. 186) is a case study of the leadership of Joseph Gule, a regional sales manager of a car company. The lengthy and descriptive case study presents *Joseph as the best!* Joseph is praised for his skills and talent:

Joseph has improved sales 17% higher than the previous years due to his leadership. He knows how to sell and can pick up little things ... Joseph believes that if more regional sales managers followed his leadership style, their sales would improve.

Joseph is presented as running a successful business and is attributed with positive characteristics. The writers could have used other words, such as ‘thinks’, but the word ‘believes’ implies the absolute certainty of his convictions, although his advice is just based on his personal experience. The impression given is that Joseph is an expert in this field and therefore is seen as giving advice. This perspective of Joseph’s success in the business is presented as if there are no other factors that play a significant role in becoming successful leaders. Although the case study tells us of the percentage by which Joseph increased sales, there is an omission of how he did so and the social actors involved. This omission serves to further highlight and give importance to Joseph’s leadership skills. Fairclough (2001) argues that exclusion and suppression of information can be motivated politically or socially; information that could be relevant to the reader may be left out deliberately to emphasise Joseph’s leadership skills.

In the case of *What makes a good leader* (Zimbabwe, p. 141) the title reads as a question but is presented as a statement, which assumes certainty of good leadership. The fact that there is no question mark points to the certainty with which the writer presents the data and information that is to come. In this case study, the authors emphasise the notion of success as it relates to leadership. Terry Leahy is described as an

outstanding leader and the chief executive of one of Europe's largest grocery stores - Tesco. The store has over 350,000 employees in 2000 stores in 13 countries. ... Terry is energetic and hardworking ... He created profitability and stability within the business, ensuring success. He is a competent Chief Executive Manager and a team player within the organisation who worked well under pressure to launch this venture.

The overt meaning that the authors want to project is that typical leaders need to have the characteristics described by the above adjectives (hardworking, energetic). The number of employees in the business and expansion of the business across 13 countries further foreground the excellence of Terry's leadership. Yet by excluding other factors that aided in the success of the company, such as hardworking employees and resources, the author entrenches a taken for granted assumption that Terry is solely responsible for the success of the business.

Leadership theories (South Africa, p. 198) again foregrounds the recurring image of men as successful leaders who have the appropriate leadership traits (Figure 6.4). The male figures were associated with several positive human attributes:

Individuals are born with certain innate personality traits. To become effective leaders, you will need a specific mix of personality traits. You will have to be determined, creative and hardworking ...

This register of single imperatives conveys a message which implies that the writers are the authoritative voices with the more legitimate and significant point of view. The use of the word 'will' also shows the degree of certainty that the writers have on this issue, and the tone of this chapter is set with this use of modality. The use of the second-person 'you' entrenches this view of certainty and significance on the part of the authors, as 'you' is registered as being regarded as having less reliable or less significant knowledge, until 'you' are able to have the mentioned attributes for effective leadership. A notable omission of factors shows how the men displayed became great leaders and what traits they possessed. This omission serves to reinforce the idea of leadership as a masculine attribute.

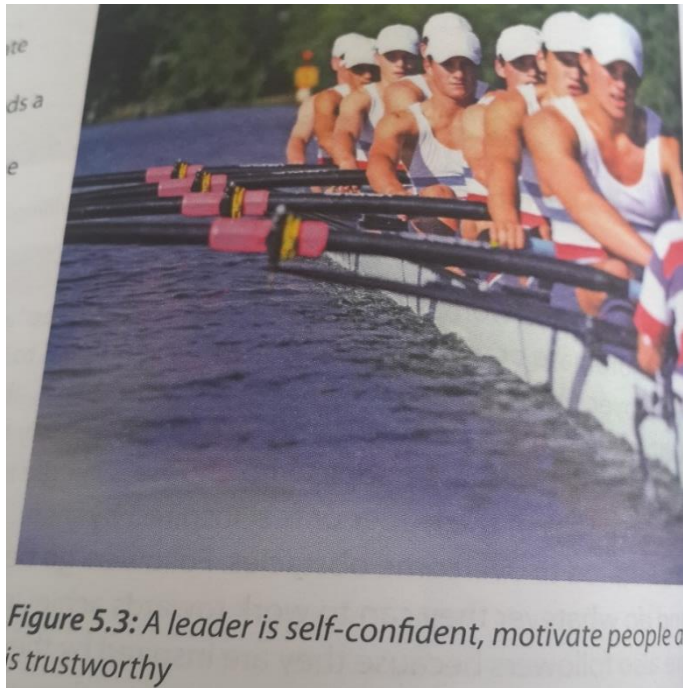


Figure 6.4: Leadership theories describe ‘men’ as leaders (South Africa, p. 198)

On page 202 in the South African textbook, Bill Gates is described as a democratic leader. He is pictured (Figure 6.5) giving a speech to the public. In the case study, Gates offers advice on becoming a successful leader.

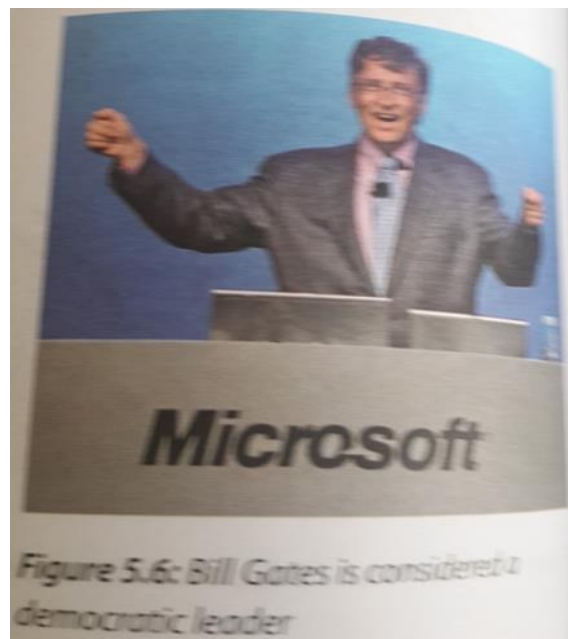


Figure 6.5: Bill Gates as a ‘democratic leader’ (South Africa, p. 202)

Bill Gates owner and business icon stated: “A leader remains responsible for the actions of his followers and for the decisions he makes.”

In this sentence, the functional honorific ‘business icon’ is used to suggest a role that requires a degree of respect, signalling the importance of the social actor and his endeavours. The phrase ‘his followers’ entrenches the taken for granted assumption that men are aspiring leaders. The writers could have chosen to use ‘their’, but use of the pronoun ‘his’ betrays their bias. In the picture, Bill Gates appears to stand with confidence with his hands in the air, displaying sureness and enthusiasm. This stance appears to denote his experience and authority. Bill Gates can also be seen looking at the audience in a direct manner. He appears to be ready to engage with the audience or those wanting to ask questions in order to impart his professional knowledge.

Later in the case study it reads *We need some new blood (some new people) to take businesses to greater heights.* This statement is a synecdoche and allows the speaker to avoid being specific; Bill avoids saying exactly who he needs and what is expected of them.

On page 118 of the Lesotho textbook, there is another example of a successful male leader. He gives advice, telling potential entrepreneurs what to do to be a good leader:

Every reasonable leader believes that a leader must be willing to take the decisions and risks necessary to organise productive resources in a business organisation and make it operate successfully.

The above statement suggests that the definition of a leader is a universally reasonable and accepted standard of truth. The word ‘believes’ once again implies the absolute certainty of these convictions. The deontic modal verb ‘must’ also signals the degree of certainty. The selected message conveyed by the writer is that only this point of view is legitimate. Potential readers could assume that because this leader is portrayed as a successful man, his opinions are taken as legitimate truths.

From the above analysis, it can be seen that in a sense the writers can be accused of almost being reckless in the way they present this phenomenon of leadership by misleading the reader. The overwhelming message that learners may derive from these textbooks is that leadership positions are gendered. This happens through the selective use of words, omission of salient facts, foregrounding by overemphasis of the success of the leadership ventures discussed, and

use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns. All these devices strengthen the notion that successful leadership is a male attribute.

There were altogether 22 stories illustrating men in a variety of leadership roles, and none where the leadership role was taken by a woman. This representation may reinforce the bias and sexist assumption that men are more capable of attaining and holding positions of leadership. The danger is that this gender bias may affect learners, who are likely to internalise these social beliefs and values.

6.3.3 Depictions of men in top management positions as compared to women

In all four textbooks, male characters were also frequently portrayed in successful top management positions such as CEOs or Managing Directors. Female characters, on the other hand, were portrayed in only one top management position as compared to 28 times for males. In sections on entrepreneurial leadership, the authors used descriptive and lengthy case studies along with pictures to portray only men in top management positions with success stories.

Examples are given below to illustrate how males are represented in top management positions.

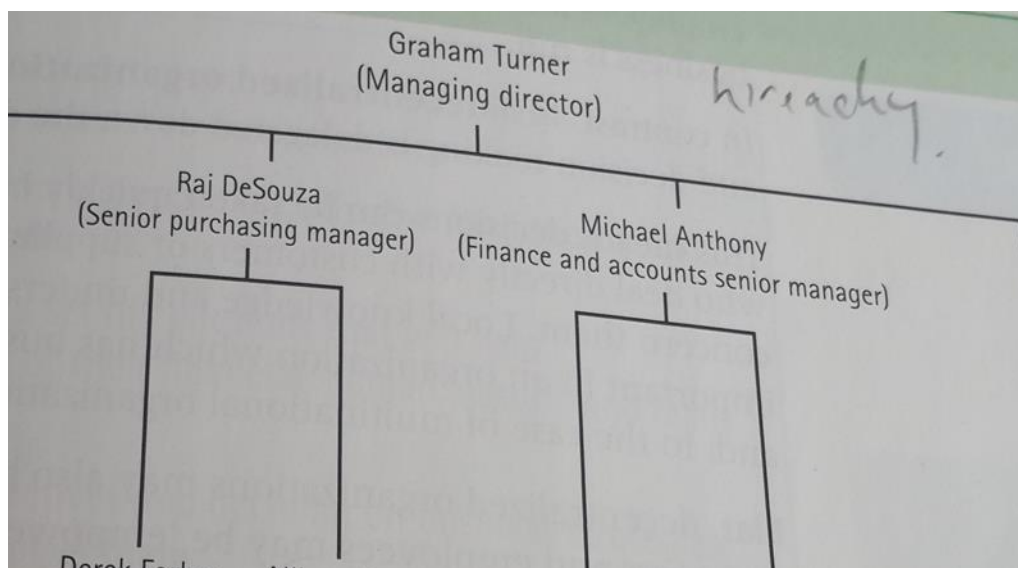


Figure 6.6: Organisational chart – with only men in top management (Lesotho, p. 147)

Figure 6.6 shows an organisational chart of a major clothing importer, where only males were represented in top management (Lesotho, p. 147). The exclusion of women from the discussion in this section marginalises the experiences of women and the positive role that women can play in top management.

On page 12 of the South African textbook Peter Vorster's role in top management is described:

Peter became the Chief Executive Director of a multinational oil and gas giant, Royal Dutch-Shell. Since his employment at Shell, Vorster has made many organizational changes, which are proving to be successful for the business. Profits have increased and effective decision-making is taking place.

The case study mentions that Vorster has made 'many' changes but omits to state what the changes are. Van Dijk (1991) calls this aggregation as no specific figures are given. Actual numbers are replaced by abstractions. The authors seem to foreground the success story of Vorster, ignoring details that could engage the reader in a critical discussion of how profits were gained, who contributed to the profits and what changes brought about success. This lexical selection is an attempt to highlight Vorster's success.

On page 493 of the Zimbabwean textbook, another male figure was praised for his management skills:

Asian Glasses have been making spectacles for years. The business was in a rut with no sales growth and low profits. The owners required a qualified managing Director to give new leadership. Jerry Xue did not take a long time to make changes. Annual sales revenue was up from 1 million to 4 million in two years ... He stated, "Business will close down without proper vision and leadership"

The use of the modal verb 'will' portrays Jerry as having a strong certainty about what the outcome will be without proper leadership. The writers project the impression that Jerry is an expert as they mention the sales revenue he made. By excluding other factors that assisted in achieving this revenue, for example hardworking employees, Jerry is foregrounded as the person solely responsible for the success of the business. The period that the business took to become successful since Jerry's arrival and social actors involved in the business success are omitted. Jerry is presented as the saviour and hero of the business. His qualifications can also be assumed a contributing factor towards his success. Personification of the phrase "businesses will close down" is also exemplified. Human qualities are assigned to abstractions. This obscures actual agents and processes. Businesses are not an agent but an institution, yet the authors speak of it in this way to mean, 'the owners or partners involved will close the business if it fails due to lack of vision and leadership'. By personifying business as an agent they are able to conceal who the actors are.

On page 354 of the Swaziland textbook, it is stated as follows:

Successful managers inspire and motivate their employees to achieve organizational goals. A good manager help employees feel valued.

Initially the statement seems gender neutral, but as the section progresses a visual of a male is described as the manager (Figure 6.7). This betrays the authors' bias. The subtext or covert message in this particular depiction is that the manager is male, so there is a subconscious and implicit link that males are successful managers. The author also associates these males with positive attributes, as described by the above adjectives (inspire, motivate).



Figure 6.7: Once again, manager depicted as male

In the same chapter, 14 pages are dedicated to 'management and leadership' and not a single reference is made to the role of women in positions of power and success in top management.

This recurring pattern is also evident in the Lesotho textbook, which (page 141) embellishes male figures in top management positions. The subtext adds to bolster the important role that top managers play in the organisation:

Top managers make decisions that affect the whole organization. They spend their time planning and coordinating the organization's departments.

In the statement above, although the author does not reveal who ‘they are’ that represent top management, from the picture (Figure 6.8) it is evident that they are male. This sentence is written in the declarative mode, which appears to assert the content as a universal truth. The declarative mode, as Fairclough (2001) points out, can be an indicator of asymmetrical relations of power. In this instance, the authors are placed in the position of being the possessors and providers of knowledge while the readers are receivers.



Figure 6.8: Males as manager and supervisor

In the same chapter, two examples of managers are given and both are embellished by male figures. These examples influence the biased assumption of a sexist ideology that men are more capable of running successful businesses, and the writers do very little to trouble this perception.

Of 24 case studies in all four textbooks, there was only one representation of a woman as a chief executive (top management) – which was accompanied by a short outline of the company’s failure (Swaziland, p. 12):

Precious Chiunda is the General Manager of a large frozen food company. The market for such high-end ready meals is expanding but becoming more competitive. The company is losing market share.

In the above case, the reason for the company losing market share is omitted, but the person responsible for the company's loss is foregrounded. There are certain aspects of knowledge that the author wants to downplay, for example, how competition can lead to market share loss. Instead, the author covertly foregrounds Precious as the person responsible for the market loss. The backgrounding of this aspect is significant, since inclusion of factors such as competition and new technology could negatively affect the implicit message that the writers want to portray, which is that women are incapable of managing a business.

The recurring pattern in all four textbooks, with only men being depicted at top management and in leadership in photographs and narratives, reinforces a stereotypical message to learners. When learners are exposed to content material that is sexist and projects males as powerful figures, both male and female learners are likely to believe that top management positions are reserved for men in the business/economic sector.

What is evident in this analysis from the texts is the conscious absence of women in powerful roles, which strongly contributes to the stereotype of males traditionally projected as strong, powerful, competent, innovative and capable figures.

6.3.4 From neutral representation of entrepreneurship to masculine embellishments

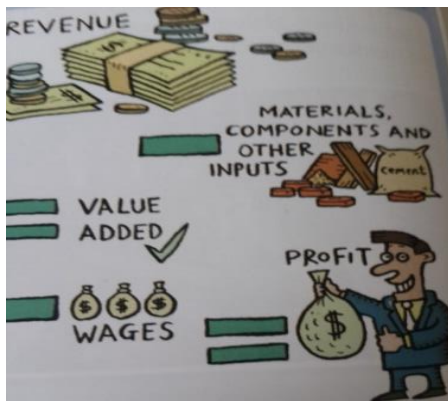
In the discussion that follows, I demonstrate how the authors divert the term 'entrepreneurship' from having a neutral definition towards a masculine embellishment. In all four textbooks, the definition of 'entrepreneurship' begins without specific reference to gender. There is no use of either male or female nouns or pronouns:

- *An entrepreneur is **someone** with the knowhow and willingness to take risks and decision necessary to set up and run a business* (Lesotho, p. 1)
- *An entrepreneur is **someone** who can identify a business opportunity, evaluate it and organize the resources to implement the idea in a particular community. They take risks to start a new business.* (South Africa, p. 33)
- *An entrepreneur is **someone** who has the ability to develop creativity and become more flexible and original in their thinking.* (South Africa, p. 95)
- *An entrepreneur is **someone** who takes the financial risk of starting and managing a new venture* (Zimbabwe, p. 6)

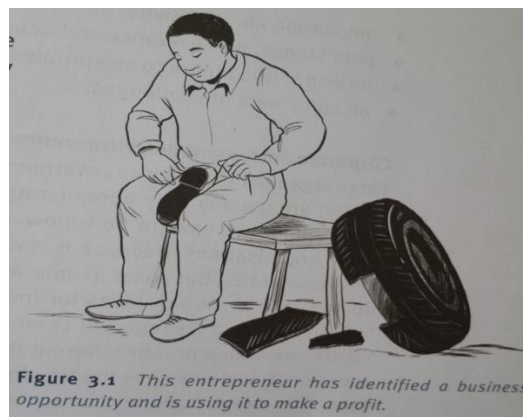
In each of the four cases, the respective authors' definition of entrepreneurship is a statement that can stand on its own without a gender context, using a normalised strategy (Fairclough, 2003). The text at first appears to be inclusive of both genders. The 'someone' in the topic sentence is not defined. The all-inclusive pronoun makes the agent unclear. It is unclear for whom these words are intended and which social actor they are associated with. Who represents an entrepreneur is not announced – it is left to the reader to fill in any interpretation.

However, as the chapter proceeds the identification of the social actor is made clear, with a distinct shift from a gender-neutral orientation to the point where the authors of the four textbooks use illustrations of males to foreground the concept of entrepreneurship. In each case, the authors provide the definition of entrepreneurship and then go on to use a male graphical image to foreground this terminology (Figure 6.9).

Lesotho (p. 10)



Swaziland (p. 33)



Left: Zimbabwe (p. 11)



Right: South Africa (p. 151).

Figure 6.9: Use of males to foreground the concept of entrepreneurship

Text and image are fused to give a male orientation to the authors' projection of what began as a gender-neutral concept. The authors could have used both male and female images, yet they have made the choice to use only males.

This reflects 'veiled neutrality' on the part of the authors: they introduce the entrepreneurial concept as gender neutral, but its subsequent presentation renders it non-neutral and associated with a particular gender. This is likely to reinforce stereotypes that entrepreneurship is a male domain. The recurring pattern of only males being presented as successful entrepreneurs across the four textbooks reinforced this bias.

On page 13 of the Zimbabwean textbook is a case study of Levi Roots entitled *Caribbean cook tastes success*. In this lengthy case study, a Jamaican musician who has turned businessperson is discussed:

Levi Roots was granted funding of 100,000 to start his business of producing Reggae sauce. His financial backer stated, "Levi is a great guy and he has created a great product which he is passionate about. I am sure that this deal with Sainsbury will be the first of many fantastic milestones on the way to business success and making his dreams a reality."

The case study goes on to explain, "*Levi's innovation and creativity has many other investors interested in his business ventures.*"

In the above extract, the financial backer is anonymised. According to Van Leeuwen (2006), this is done to avoid specifics and developing a detailed and coherent argument. This allows the author to summon conveniently arguments that are easy to dismiss. In the above case study the author could have used the word 'think' but rather the financial backer is 'sure' of Levi's success – implying the absolute certainty of his convictions. There is no modality or hedging, so they are being very prescriptive. With these persuasive words, learners are likely to assume this concept of entrepreneurial success as a factual reality. There is also a notable exclusion from the text that Levi's success was because he was in a position of privilege, which allowed him to access finance to set up his businesses. The title of the case study is a metonymy. Instead of the authors saying 'Levi achieves cooking success' the authors have concealed the person responsible for success and used a closely related phrase – '*tastes success*' – as a metaphor. What exactly has been done is not specified, but it summons a sense of success.

Other examples from the four textbooks further entrench male entrepreneurial success:

Entitled Siboniso's Business, a lengthy case study described Siboniso as "a successful entrepreneur". The case study stated *he has recently opened a new branch of his business. It is his fifth branch of the chain of shops he owns* (Swaziland, p. 88). This foregrounds very emphatically the idea of 'pervasive success'.

In the case study, Siboniso is described as *tactful and takes calculated risks* as well. Throughout the case study, much emphasis is placed on the entrepreneurial skills of Siboniso, who is portrayed as *a powerful, inspiring individual who is an exceptional entrepreneur*. The register of words used like 'inspiring', 'exceptional and tactful' feeds into the image of Siboniso as a strong and powerful entrepreneur.

On page 53 of the Zimbabwean textbook another story, of Chai, a successful restaurant business owner, reinforced successful male entrepreneurs:

Weis' restaurant was proving to be a great success. He now has three restaurants and creates job opportunities for many people. Wei is a very ambitious entrepreneur. He also received the prize for most successful business of the year.

The text reinforces the idea of pervasive male success, and reflects aggregation. We are told that Wei created 'many' job opportunities, yet we are not give specific numbers of how many. Actual numbers are replaced by abstractions. Notable here is also the omission of what prize he won and from whom.

In the textbook from Lesotho (p. 272) another lengthy case study of male entrepreneurial success is given. Tokyo is described as the owner of a *well-known cell phone repair shop in Limpopo. Tokyo's business has been successful for three years and is still doing exceptionally well. He is even thinking of expanding it.*

Again, pervasive male entrepreneurial success is foregrounded. Throughout Chapter eight of this book, stories of successful entrepreneurs foregrounded males, omitting the female agent. Notable from the text is the anonymisation of Tokyo's shop by the phrase '*a well-known cell phone repair shop*'. According to Fairclough (2001) this ideological squaring allows the reader to summon arguments that are then easy to dismiss, focusing on the main issue they want to foreground (in this case the entrepreneurial success of Tokyo).

As can be seen from the examples, male entrepreneurs presented as running successful businesses are attributed with positive characteristics (ambitious, passionate, creativity, calculated risk, exceptional). The overt meaning that the authors want to project is that typical entrepreneurs need to have the characteristics described by the above adjectives. The covert message in this particular depiction is that such entrepreneurs are male. There is a subconscious and implicit link that men are successful entrepreneurs.

In all of the case studies, there is silence on how success is measured. The authors emphasise the notion of success as it relates to entrepreneurs, presenting the image of entrepreneurship as being successful in every instance, in an effort to persuade learners to believe this. The presupposition of the case studies is that entrepreneurial success leads to expansion of businesses. This is seen as a positive aspect, as through expansion of businesses is likely to create job opportunities. However, how the businesses are expanded and the cost of such expansion is kept in the background. This is an attempt to present entrepreneurship as a salient feature of success.

6.3.5 Men represented as competent, with the necessary educational skills

In addition to the entrepreneurial skills mentioned above, men are also represented as competent, with the necessary educational skills to run and manage their businesses. In the analysis that follows, the representation of masculine skills is discussed.

In the section ‘Roles and responsibilities in organizations’ it is stated that *all business organizations need skilled people to run them*. The ‘skilled people’ initially do not have a gender, and at this point, they are presented as gender neutral. As the section progresses, an image of two males is presented as the ‘skilled people’ – excluding female social actors (Figure 6.10).

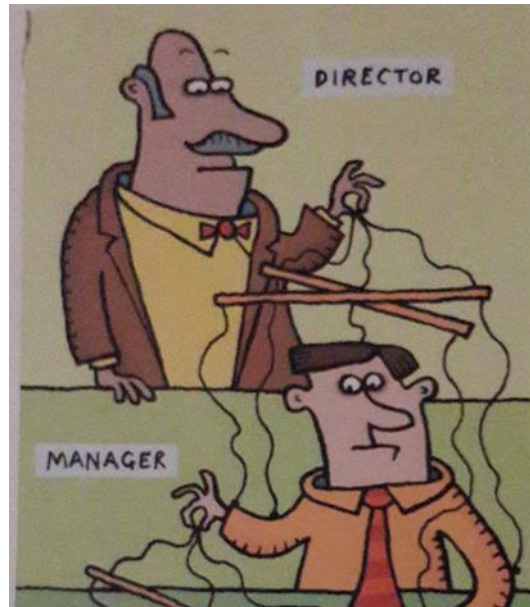


Figure 6.10: Image of two males is presented as the ‘skilled people’

Firstly, the presupposition is that in order for businesses to function, skilled people are required. Van Leuween (2006) argues that presuppositions are notoriously manipulative because they are difficult to challenge. Many readers are reluctant to question statements that the author appears to be taking for granted. In this case, the author presents *skill* as the main trait required for all businesses, while omitting the type of skill required and other traits that could also affect daily operations of businesses. *Skill* is foregrounded as an important feature of entrepreneurial success. The statement also comes across as a strong categorical fact, because of the absence of words suggesting modality or tentativeness (e.g. perhaps, should, surely). The writers of these textbooks present a perspective of entrepreneurial skill as if there are no other influences or factors that may inhibit entrepreneurial success.

Secondly, excluding females from the images implies that women are not sufficiently skilled to own and maintain businesses; this is a distortion of what is actually the case in society, where it would be a misinterpretation to regard one gender as economically and educationally inactive.

The following examples further highlight depiction of men as skilled and successful in their entrepreneurial endeavours:

Rashid was pleased with himself. In his first month of trading he has sold and fitted ten satellite dish receivers, two more than originally forecast in his business plan. Rashid's electrical skills and his friendly personality had impressed his customers. (Zimbabwe, p. 528)

Bill Yang is a qualified engineer. He started his own business – Furniture Metallica. His firm built up a reputation for excellent quality products and the ability to adapt its basic furniture design for each customer. He is now considering extending his market range (Lesotho, p. 256)

Paul has been educated abroad ... He wanted to develop and train younger staff to manage cinemas and to stamp their own personality on them. (Zimbabwe, p. 218)

Zakes and Katlego want to start a partnership to open a printing and publishing business. Zakes is a qualified manager who specializes in marketing. Katlego once worked at one of the Swaziland printing businesses (Swaziland, p. 290)

In summary, men were represented 43 times as qualified, competent entrepreneurs in case studies across the four textbooks, with eight examples of a woman as entrepreneur, not all successful. These examples influence the biased assumption of a sexist ideology that men are more capable and competent to run successful businesses, and the writers do nothing to trouble this perception. Males have been stereotyped as having characteristics that are more valuable for running successful businesses than women, implying that men are successful entrepreneurs.

The authors in all of the textbooks portray males as experts in the economic sphere, yet to my knowledge, there are also powerful females who are successful, qualified entrepreneurs, who the authors have not included. This is an example of what Fairclough (2003) refers to as omission. The authors could have cited women as competent entrepreneurs but they chose to cite male economic experts in each case. Additionally, males in entrepreneurial roles were described in more detail and with more descriptive terms than females in entrepreneurial roles. Men were also described as competent to train other entrepreneurs who lacked skills.

Stories of female entrepreneurs were few in number and did not contain the detail of the stories about male entrepreneurs. The case studies that did feature women entrepreneurs presented them as reliant on the help of male support, as the example below shows:

June Wong was pleased with herself since setting up the business called Health and Beauty for you. With her brother's assistance, the business kept going through three very difficult years. (Zimbabwe, p. 56)

In another case study on Gita Fashions:

Gita has never worried too much about finance because this had always been looked after by her business partner. He recently left the business taking his share of the capital. Gita now has no idea how the business has reached such a poor cash position. (Zimbabwe, p. 504)

The implicit message is that women cannot set up and run a successful business on their own; they depend on men who have adaptable skills and the potential to liberate women successfully in the business environment. Furthermore, males have the ability to create the conditions for women to be successful. What is also implied is that if it were not for the intervention of men, women would not be successful. While the intervention itself may have had a positive outcome, the way in which the authors present the information paints the image of omnipotent men intervening to assist the less competent women.

The authors construct women as deficient and therefore needing expertise to help them acquire knowledge. Women are presented continuously and repeatedly as incompetent and uninformed in making business decisions. This consistent stereotyping is likely to make an impression on learners, promoting the idea that women in the workplace will always be in a subservient position, with an especially negative effect on the self-esteem of any female learner who might aspire to invest in or open a business.

In all four textbooks, women have been presented as less successful on their own because they lack entrepreneurial skill and education. The authors construct women as not knowledgeable about business-related activities and in need of advice on how to manage a business successfully. Unlike male entrepreneurial success, women were categorised as involved in small businesses with the 'hope of success. The data below reflect this:

Carnela has just opened a beauty salon in her hometown. Carnela is hoping her business will be able to attract enough customers so that her business can be successful. (Lesotho, p. 36)

Saabira is an unemployed school leaver. She has identified a gap in the market for the delivery of freshly made sandwiches, snacks and cakes to nearby office workers. However, Saabira

cannot be a sole trader because she doesn't have enough money to start her business and doesn't have the skills, time or energy to manage it. (Lesotho, p. 119)

Sam has a unisex salon that has been operating at a taxi rank. He is an excellent hairdresser and has regular customers. Sam's two sisters are unemployed and have been begging Sam to train them so they can work for him and have a regular income. (South Africa, p. 191)

Sabina is the owner of Titaya Fabrics, a small company that manufactures a range of clothing. ... Sabina is unsure of the meaning and importance of several items found in her accounts. Advise her on what a fixed asset is? (Lesotho, p. 229)

Deft Design is a small business owned by Precious Williams from a small rented art studio. Precious needs help producing a cash flow forecast so that she can manage her business better. (Swaziland, p. 306)

Valentia owns and runs a small coach hire business. Her business makes a very small profit and she has very little money of her own savings. Her business is in trouble! (Zimbabwe, p. 196)

Drawing from the data above, the representation of women in small businesses reinforces an implicit limitation in the textbooks about women's skills, competence and ability. The examples cited imply that women are not sufficiently skilled to own and maintain large businesses; this is a distortion of what is actually the case in society. It reinforces the dominant idea that there are more men than women in business. This skewed representation of women's engagement with the business world could reinforce stereotypes and demotivate female learners from becoming business owners of large industries.

The authors also represent the women as incompetent through showing reliance on men's guidance and support in understanding business-related issues such as fixed assets and cash flow forecasts within the business environment. Women in all four texts were represented in ways that reinforced and replicated a gender bias that maintained the ideology of a deficit positioning of women in the business environment. These stereotypes about the potential and competence of women may continue to be entrenched, and thus it may be difficult to promote equality.

The barrier to women's entrepreneurial success is backgrounded. There is a notable silence or exclusion in these textbooks as to the unequal access to finance opportunities that women are faced with, which serves as a possible barrier to entrepreneurial success. There is a noticeable difference in the case studies of male and female entrepreneurs' experience in the process of accessing finance.

6.3.6 Conclusion

The examples presented can influence a sexist ideology that men are more capable of running successful businesses. Men have been stereotyped as having characteristics that are more valuable for running successful businesses than women, implying that men are successful entrepreneurs. This would appear to confirm Fairclough's (2001) contention that the hegemonic group legitimates its version of reality by portraying it as natural 'fact' or 'common sense' so as to conceal the subjective, arbitrary and constructed nature of this 'authorised' account of reality.

6.4 Systematic, pervasive association of men with technology

In the discussion that follows, I will be focusing on a recurring subtext in each data source, which presents a taken for granted assumption that men are more technologically well informed than females. The pictures and text across all four textbooks tell a biased story about who the information technologists are in the world as well as which gender is more dominant in, knowledgeable about, and attracted to technology.

On page 226 of the Swaziland textbook, a case study reads as follows:

Chris Mellor, CEO of BP Oil Company, introduced an innovative idea of using the intranet. The intranet is helping to reduce many administrative jobs drastically. Although it took some time, many staff were trained to use the intranet. Chris said, "this new innovative technology guarantees successful internal communications".

The use of honorifics in the above excerpt connotes legitimacy and authority, with Chris Mellor's position as 'CEO' serving to highlight his idea positively. His occupation suggests attainment of seniority that requires a degree of respect. Moreover, in the absence of modality the functional honorific 'Chris **said**' and the word '**guarantees**' also make the text appear more important and authoritative and show the absolute certainty and confidence in his convictions. The writers choose the term 'innovation' that registers a positive connotation, indicating

invention or development – yet Chris did not create the intranet, rather he decided to use it in the company. This adds to Chris’s status in the usage of technology.

The statement *although it took some time, many staff were trained* reflects aggregation. Readers are not given information on how the actual numbers were trained, who was trained and the reasons why it took ‘some time to train them’. No elaboration is provided on these statements, giving the impression that the authors mention them superficially. This absence of elaboration on aspects presented in the text adds to the foregrounding of Chris as competent and innovative in the usage of technology (intranet). The assumption created by *this new innovative technology guarantees successful internal communications* serves to strengthen the degree of certainty of the success of the intranet, although there is no factual proof or assurance of this. Potential readers could assume that because Chris is portrayed as a successful CEO his opinions are taken as legitimated truths. There are certain aspects of knowledge that the author wants to downplay, for example the risks involved in over- reliance on technology.

Page 123 of the South African textbook:

Kodak’s chairperson and chief executive officer, Antonio M Perez was praised for his digital revolution. Perez joined the company in 2003. He led the worldwide transformation of Kodak from a film-based company to one based primarily on digital technologies. In the last six years, Antonio has introduced an array of new digital technologies and products for consumers that generated more than R48 billion in revenue.

This case study again uses an honorific to positively highlight Perez’s status and hence abilities. His occupation suggests a degree of seniority that requires a degree of respect and because of his occupation potential readers may assume that the text is factual. *He led the worldwide transformation of Kodak* creates the assumption that he is very successful internationally. However, the absence of how he achieved his success creates a distorted picture. The register of words used like ‘introduced’ and ‘generated’ feeds into the image of Perez’s successful usage of technology. Profit making is also presented as the outcome of his ‘digital revolution’, although there is uncertainty of the exact amount: *more than 48 billion in revenue.*

On page 70 of the Zimbabwean textbook Rashid Aoza is described as the Managing Director of Garden Crafts:

The company manufactures and sells garden furniture. The business has been very successful since Rashid introduced online sales. The new technology is having a big impact on the business as sales have improved. Rashid has excellent vision for the company.

Nominalisation is evidenced in the text: *The company manufactures and sells garden furniture.* People are removed and therefore responsibility for their action has been removed. Companies do not manufacture and sell furniture, people do. There seems to be an attempt by the author to background certain aspects. This ideological backgrounding is significant since the focus of the author is to foreground Rashid and his success. The text *the business has been very successful since Rashid introduced online sales* creates the impression that prior to the introduction of online sales the company was not progressing well. An impression is created here of Rashid being the reason for the company's improvement, due to introduction of the 'new technology'. This contributes to the stereotypical assumption of men as more technologically competent.

In comparison, the next page of the Zimbabwean textbook (p. 71) represented women as physically doing sales (Figure 6.11).



Figure 6.11: Representation of women as physically attempting to make sales of beauty products (Zimbabwe, p. 71)

The text that accompanied Figure 6.11 is as follows: *A group of employees took to the street to market beauty products. They had semi structured questions to help them sell, improve and reinvent certain products.* Although there is silence on the gender of these employees, the visual representation shows women engaging with consumers.

What is glaringly obvious in these two representations are the differences in marketing. Unlike Rashid, who used online sales, these women were doing sales by word of mouth, which requires a lot of work. They are marketing beauty products, which represents a typical feminine occupation. The employees in the above photo have to physically approach customers and ask questions.

The analysis above serves to iterate the stereotypical assumption of men as more technologically competent than women are. Again, there is the danger that pupils may internalise these social beliefs and values that perpetuate, reinforce and reify technology as masculine.

The visual representation in the Lesotho textbook (p. 259) further reinforces the stereotypical assumption of men as technologically astute (Figure 6.12).

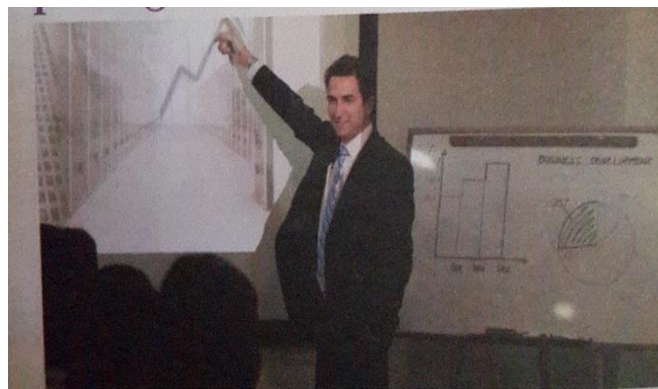


Figure 6.12: Stereotypical assumption of men as technologically astute (Lesotho, p. 259)

This figure depicts a man as technologically advanced, confidently using PowerPoint in making a presentation at work. Throughout the textbook, there was an absence of women using PowerPoint or any other technological device in making a presentation. This representation sends the message to learners that in the field of technology men are more competent, innovative and knowledgeable than women.

In the Swaziland textbook (p. 359), men are again visually foregrounded as technologically astute (Figure 6.13).



Figure 6.13: “Technology has allowed business to reach new markets” (Swaziland, p. 359)

The explanation accompanying the picture reads, *Technology has allowed businesses to reach new markets, both locally and internationally. For example, suppose you want to buy a book that is not available in Swaziland.*

The text *technology has allowed business to reach new markets* shows the removal of the agent and nominalisation. A passivized verb is used to conceal the agent. Concealing the agent serves to strengthen the degree of factuality in the usage of technology. The use of the word *will* also shows the degree of certainty that the writers have on this issue of technology. The text firmly advocates trade on a global scale, and simplistically states that technology makes it possible. An assumption is also made that competing in the global economy is a desirable and sought-after objective for greater wealth accumulation, yet there is complete silence on the consequences of globalisation.

Once again, a male is presented as using the technology. The depiction appears to associate men with technology, with an absence of women using technology, which is likely to entrench a taken-for-granted assumption that men are technologically astute.

6.5 Conclusion

The omission of women in the usage of technology entrenches the stereotypical assumption that men are more technologically astute. In the section on entrepreneurship in all four textbooks no examples of women as technology experts or users are given. In comparison, nine such examples are given of men in each textbook.

This intended effect is created with through foregrounding, backgrounding, assumptions, negative insinuations and modality. In none of the textbooks do authors attempt to raise questions in learners' minds about why technology is a male-dominated sphere; they simply accept it as a norm, and pass on that assumption to the learners who use the textbooks.

Chapter seven: Description of findings on intersectionality – white able-bodied men dominate in the business sector

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the analysis of three themes: masculine gender roles and traits presented as norm for success, leadership management and entrepreneurship as masculine, and the systematic, pervasive association of men with technology. In this chapter, I present the analysis on the intersectionality of race, ability and gender, to demonstrate how oppression across the four textbooks is layered and not discreet. At the end of this chapter, I summarise and highlight the major findings.

7.2 The interconnectedness of race and gender: White men dominate in the business sector

Issues of race and gender are inextricably intertwined in the four textbooks. Throughout the four textbooks there is a pervasiveness of African men and women represented in low-status, low-paid occupations. Occupational roles are gendered and raced. White men dominate in the business sector. The discussion that follows shows the interconnectedness between race and gender in which mainly African women are represented in low-paying, low-status occupations.

7.2.1 African women represented as cleaners, domestic workers and subsistence farmers

Under the subsection, ‘Introduction to business activities’ in the Swazi (p. 3) textbook a lengthy case study of the informal business sector is foregrounded. In this case study, the author highlights the following (p. 20):

Farm workers in less economically developed countries rely on primary sector for employment. Business in the primary sector needs less industrialisation and infrastructure. A skilled workforce is not as important in primary sector activities. Research statistics highlight that more than 70% of the population is likely to be employed in agriculture, which is a primary sector.

In the above statement, there is omission of which social actors represent the farm workers. From the word ‘rely’, the assumption is that the farm workers are dependent on the primary sector for survival and income. The author then uses modality in stating that *Research, statistics highlight that more than 70% of the population is likely to be employed in agriculture, which*

is a primary sector. This signals that there is a strong degree of uncertainty and tentativeness, because of the authors' intention to portray a simplification of actual reality. It is not clear whether this percentage is based on research or is conjecture. There is omission of the nature of the study, the participants and methods used. This has implications for the credibility of the data, which the authors present as factual. Word choices are used to depict the reality that the writer wants the reader to acquire, and not to dislodge or disrupt the foundations of these assumptions.

As the chapter progresses the '70%' of the population is embellished by a picture of two African women (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1: Two rural African women depicted as farm workers

Signifiers such as the traditional headgear of the women, attire and physical features indicate that these women are African and rural. The inference is that women make up the farm workforce in developing economies.

A skilled workforce is not as important is an assumption that the author makes which is pronounced as a fact. There is a complete absence of any modality as the author describes this factually, aided by use of the verb 'is' in the present tense. In an indirect way, African female farm workers are being targeted as not needing skills. Omission of any disadvantages or the negative consequences of not needing skills further lead the reader to a particular orientation or way of thinking. This depiction reinforces the stereotype of African women in low-paying, low-status occupations. The learner is therefore unlikely to question what is known to be commonplace. The danger is that this gender bias may affect pupils, who are likely to

internalise these social beliefs and values that perpetuate gender and race inequalities by positioning African women in subordinate positions in the economic sector. This is because the authors present this information as natural and factual.

Absence of protective gear/clothing such as hats and boots in the picture is presented as normal and uncontested. This creates the impression that farm work is poorly regulated and undervalued. The absence of a safe and conducive working environment is presented as acceptable, adding to the discourse of regularising this normalcy of farm work as poorly regulated and exploitive.

The text states *this sector does not need advanced technology/industrialisation*, but is directly contradicted by the evidence in Figure 7.1. The facial expressions of the women harvesting the crops reflect tiredness and strain. This could be attributed to the absence of machinery, as they are seen carrying heavy crops after physical harvesting. There is also silence on why this sector does not need advanced technology. Lack of opportunities for critical discussion on the presentation of this section reinforces and perpetuates ideological assumptions of the inferior position of many African female farm workers in African countries (Waldman, 1993). The absence of direct words of dissatisfaction from the farm workers in the case study is also a demonstration of uncontested acceptance of the hardship they endure. This is likely to send out the message through the 'hidden' text that this is a perfectly acceptable situation, as the writers do little or nothing to challenge these assumptions, which reinforce social patterns.

On page 135 of the South African textbook, African women are again represented as farm workers engaged in the primary sector (Figure 7.2). No male characters are represented harvesting crops in any of the four textbooks, which seems to entrench the gender bias. The representations of farmers are not only racially and gender based, but identities are also signified by a lack of technology and modernity.



Figure 7.2: African women again represented as farm workers engaged in the primary sector

In the two representations above life is seen as difficult. The women make money by harvesting crops without machinery. Presentation of information in this way is likely to create the assumption that this is how things are in many African economies, where African women are likely to be subjected to low-paying, low-skilled, exploitative occupations.

7.2.2 African women in need of development

On page 25 of the South Africa textbook a group of African women (Figure 7.3) is represented as ‘in need of support’. The text states:

The Human Resource Development strategy provides an overarching service to people to eradicate adult illiteracy, to ensure that all people remain in training until the age of 18 and to reduce their poverty.

In the above sentence, impersonalisation is used to give extra weight to the statement; it is not just a particular person but a whole organisation that provides services to eradicate poverty.

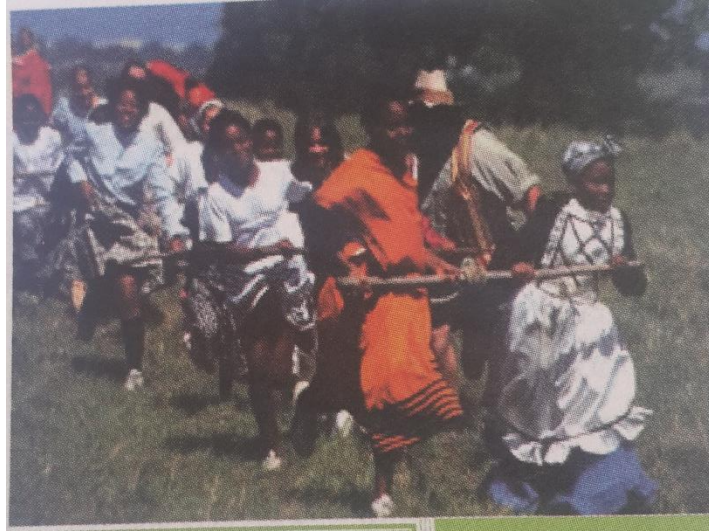


Figure 7.3: African women represented as in need of support

This serves to conceal which Human Resource Development strategy is responsible and the social actors involved. The subliminal message is as if *all* business organisations in South Africa are engaged with important strategies and measures to improve illiteracy and poverty. However, in highlighting the need to alleviate poverty and illiteracy the author has foregrounded visuals of only African females. The subtext or covert message in this depiction is that the illiterate people in society are likely to be African women, who are needy of assistance.

What is also implied is that if it were not for this intervention, many people would be illiterate and unemployed. While the intervention itself may have had a positive outcome, the way in which the authors present the information paints an exaggerated image of *all* African women being illiterate and uneducated. In addition, the text ‘remain in training’ does not explain why or how women are forced to leave formal education in developing countries (Naidoo, 2011). There is also a notable silence on the reality of life in South Africa in terms of the unevenness of the terrain, differing capabilities, access to finance and opportunities that women in the rural areas Africa are exposed to, which the author fails to explore or interrogate, leaving what is written as factual.

African women’s helplessness and poverty is further illuminated through the following text (South Africa, p. 93):

Jane’s mother fell ill suddenly and become confined to a bed. She needed a care worker for her mother urgently as she had a job of her own and her work was in the centre of town. She

earned a good salary of R250 an hour. Jane's job required her to leave home at 7am in the morning and return at 6pm. Jane discovered that there were many African women who would be willing to do care work for R30 an hour. Jane decided to go ahead and employ someone for R30 an hour six days a week. She knew that these women were uneducated, unemployed and poor enough to work for such a meagre rate. Jane was aware that it was a contradiction that because of her privileged background and her access to educational opportunities, she was able to earn a large sum of money, but her privilege did not stop her from taking advantage of other women's helplessness in society.

The lengthy case study is illuminated by an image of Jane's mother, who is a white woman, as depicted through specifics of dress, hair, skin colour and physical features. Although the text itself does not claim that all white people look alike, such generic visual representations may serve to connote that they do. In the extract above, the authors have chosen a specific gender related to illness and capability. For example, the authors could have used 'John's father', but instead chose to use a female example. This example is associated with negative connotations, as Jane's mother is represented as helpless and incapable of taking care of herself.

The backgrounding of Jane's mother's illness and the choice of the word 'suddenly' thus become part of the taken for granted assumptions that women are weak and dependent on others for support. The case study states that *Jane earns a **good** salary R250 an hour*. This is relative. The context of her occupation is backgrounded. To understand whether this is a good salary, the reader has to understand the context of her occupation. This lexical selection is therefore subjective in comparison to other occupations and gender-related salaries. The subliminal message is that R250 an hour is an acceptable salary for women.

This case study also presents a racial stereotype of African women; created by the statement *many African women are uneducated, unemployed and poor*. African poverty is illuminated by the word 'many', and is an example of what Van Leeuwen (2006) calls aggregation. Agents are quantified and treated as statistics. The impression of objective research and scientific credibility is given, when in fact no specific figures are given. In the absence of modality, this statement also comes across as a strong categorical fact. By presenting this information as reality, the authors promote the misconception that white women or men are never poor, uneducated or unemployed. This is an unrealistic representation. Today there are many independent, powerful, African middle-class women in prestigious occupations, but the

textbook has not embraced this notion (Stats SA, 2015). Instead, the authors have chosen to portray African women as victims of poverty who are helpless and needy.

Another phenomenon that comes to the fore is white privilege. Jane's social status is categorised by white privilege. Her racial status and class give her gender privilege over African women. In the case study, Jane is aware of her agency as a white woman, and therefore oppresses and exploits the African women. What is problematic about this case study is that the authors do not invite learners to question why such inequalities exist; they raise the issue of gender and racial equity, but merely by way of an inconsequential statement, and fail to offer a critical perspective on such issues through this case study.

The idea of ethics in business as highlighted in the case studies is part of "tick box compliance" (Pillay, 2016 – this study). This refers to the mechanical and superficial manner in which the textbook writers present issues of inclusivity as part of compliance purposes for having their textbooks published. They 'play the game' to have their textbooks accepted, but by doing so fall prey to contradiction and superficiality, where their attempts at inclusivity remain at a decorative level.

7.2.3 African women in unpaid domestic work

The representation in Figure 7.4 is of two African women within a rural setting (Swaziland, p. 110), signified through the gravel roads and bushes. The women are barefoot and walking along dusty roads. The race of the women is signified through the skin colour, clothing and traditional manner of carrying the child. The image represents a rural lifestyle. There is no mention as to whether the women in the picture are remunerated or not for the strenuous task they are performing, or for any of their other household duties.

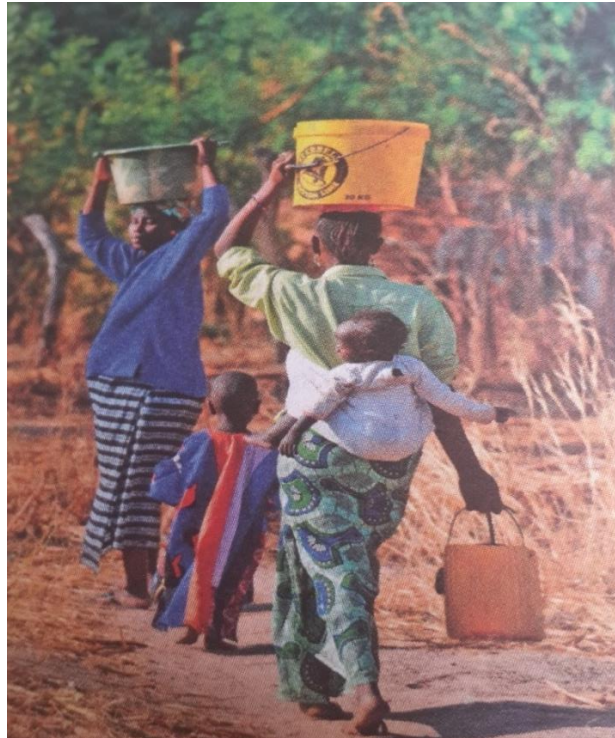


Figure 7.4: African women doing unpaid domestic work

The textbooks' images also illuminate the fact that women face added pressure because of their dual role as caretakers of children and doers of domestic work. However, the content did not question why the pressures of caring for children and doing housework remained the sole responsibility of women. Instead, the text simply validated the fact that such roles were traditionally expected of women. Fetching of water and child-rearing duties are regarded as unimportant in the economic sphere, and hence no credit is given to women who perform such duties (Rezaian & Sofer, 2010). This unpaid care work affects women's ability to participate and advance in the formal labour sector. The impact can result in poverty because of their limited access to paid employment (Rezaian & Sofer, 2010).

7.2.4 African women as domestic workers

Figure 7.5 is an example of the deficit positioning of a woman, where the authors place an African woman in the role of a domestic worker (South Africa, p. 5). While it is not clear if her



Figure 7.5: Representation of a African woman in the role of a domestic worker

(South Africa, p. 5).

employers are African or white, she has a specific uniform that distinguishes her from members of the family. The smile on the face of the domestic worker sends out a message of assumed contentment in her job. Yet the work of a domestic worker is not aimed at producing added value, but at providing care to households (Shireen, 2010). The position of a domestic worker is usually considered inferior to the family by whom they are employed (Shireen, 2010). Domestic workers are also portrayed as lowly paid and exploited. This is highlighted by the statement *domestic workers are amongst the most vulnerable to exploitation*. The author presents this statement and does not attempt to problematize it. The author also omits the reasons for the exploitation of domestic workers.


Closer consideration of the issue of domestic work confirms its historical association with African slavery, where African women were servants to families who were considered wealthy and with status (Budlender, 2005). Figure 7.5 above is reminiscent of South Africa's historical association with African slavery. While the authors may have had good intentions in showing how certain laws protect domestic workers, they fall prey to contradiction and superficiality where their attempts at inclusivity remain at a decorative level. This is because there is a lack of space created for learners to question what is written in the text, or what they see in the pictures.

In addition, domestic work is undervalued, poorly regulated and low paid with a low status (Dinkelman & Vimal, 2010). Throughout the four textbooks no white female, white male or non-white male is represented as a domestic worker. From this representation, learners are likely to internalise that only African women are domestic workers. The authors also project the African woman in a stereotypical role, where she is shown cooking at the stove. This reinforces a gender-static identity for women and in a way, brings in the old stereotype that women belong in the kitchen.

7.2.5 The ‘needy’ discourse

It is of concern that in all four textbooks the images used to represent social assistance and awareness for poverty reduction are of African children and women. African women and children are represented as needy of financial assistance and awareness of their plight, in order to lead a more prosperous life (Table 7.1). Assistance is given by corporate companies and the private sector. The racial and gendered representation of the social actors who make up the private sector is absent.

Table 7.1: Images of African children and women used to represent social assistance and awareness for poverty reduction

	<p><i>The flower-valley community project creates more jobs. The scheme has employed 80 women. The community-based project also aims to educate local children and develop new skills for adults (Zimbabwe, p. 78)</i></p>
	<p>From the text, the agent is unclear. However, showing an African woman in the photo directs the reader to who the ‘employed women’ in the valley community project are. The inference made by ‘develop new skills’ implies that the women that are offered assistance have limited skills. There is also a notable silence or exclusion as to why these women and children in the communities are unskilled and uneducated. Backgrounding of this aspect is significant since inclusion of why these women and children are unskilled and uneducated could negatively affect the message that the writers want to portray, which is their business contribution towards social responsibility.</p>



Businesses are affected by crime, violence, violence, riots and strikes and these stem directly from the large number of people living in poverty. It is therefore in the best interest that corporate responsibility of business uplift the community it operates in. (South Africa, p. 150).

The presupposition illuminated by the above is that poor people are violent and are criminals, although there is no factual proof of this.


The image highlights a few problems with race. Firstly, showing African children (both genders) as people responsible for criminal activities is stereotypical. Confining violence and crime to only African people reinforces the stereotype that all African people are criminals. The identities of being poor, African and a criminal reinforce the idea that the identities of African people have negative connotations.

Images in the textbook could be more innovative in their representations of crime by addressing the painful, difficult, uncertain and disturbing aspects of the discourse and thus allowing discussion and understanding to come from different angles, thereby creating more than one identity position in relation to crime.

Government organizations use informative advertising to tell people about new regulations or increase awareness of personal health. (South Africa, p. 5)

In the above, the agent is missing. The people and producers of who constitute the Government are made to be the passive recipients. This seems a deliberate way of foregrounding the role of the Government in the prevention of AIDS.

The image portrays an African family (both genders) seeking counselling on the impact of AIDS. Using an African family to raise and discuss issues on AIDS represents stereotypes and stigmatisation around this issue.

	<p>Exclusion of other race groups strengthens the stereotypes and stigmas about AIDS as a disease of African people.</p> <p>Learners are therefore likely to view AIDS as an African problem and not as a country's problem.</p>
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African males were also portrayed in low-paying, low-status occupations. They were represented as working class as compared to white males. White men were represented as having well-paying and prestigious occupations with good working conditions. They were categorised as middle and working class, as shown in Figure 7.6.

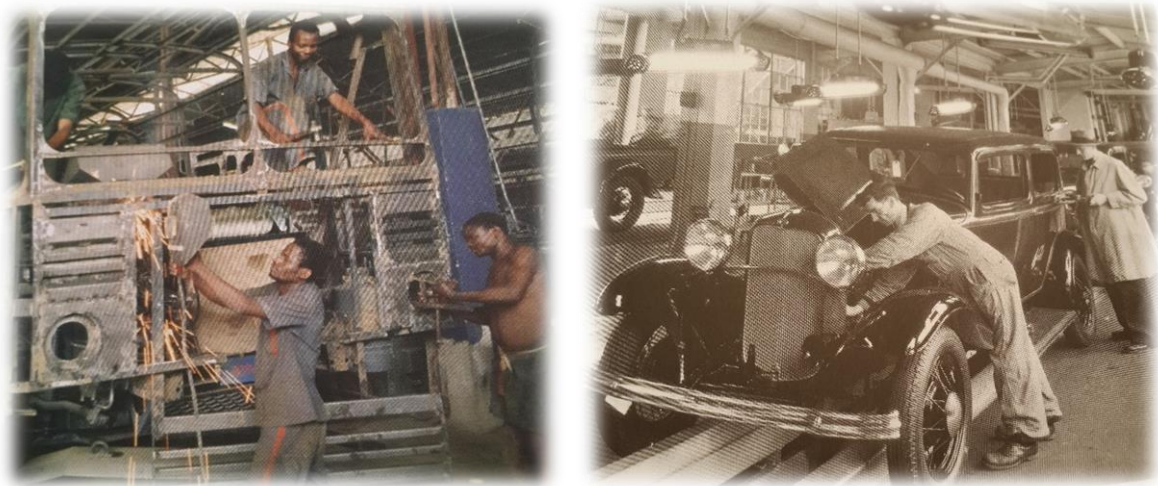


Figure 7.6: Occupations of African (left) and white (right) men, as depicted in the Zimbabwean textbook (p. 151)

The photograph reproduced on the left in Figure 7.6 (Zimbabwe, p. 151) depicts the occupations of African men. The environment that the workers perform their task in is informal, in an outside space. The photographs depict lifting, drilling and carrying of heavy objects during assembly of bus parts. The workers use dangerous tools and are exposed to adverse conditions, reflected by lack of safety gear and non-specialised equipment. The image is anchored by the following text: *low levels of motivation and incentives lead to low*

achievement and performance. This infers that the workers are not motivated, which could be due to the poor working conditions or poor pay.

The photograph on the right in Figure 7.6 (Zimbabwe, p. 157) reflects a similar job specification; however, the working conditions are different. The workers are white men who are shown using protective working gear for their safety. Assembly of the car is done within a well-structured workshop. The workers also work under supervision. Anchored by the image is the following text: *Tylers' approach to management believes money is the only way to motivate staff ...* The inference is that the workers are well paid. The text is an example of a presupposition authoritatively asserting the notion of money as the only means of motivation, coming across as strong fact because of the absence of words suggesting modality or tentativeness. The writers could have used other words such as 'thinks', but the word 'believes' implies the absolute certainty in the above statement. However, on page 158, Maslow's hierarchy of human needs is discussed, and he identifies other key factors of motivation besides money which promote worker satisfaction that many businesses are applying successfully.

The two images illuminate the distinction between the working conditions of the African and white workers: African workers are employed in conditions that are dangerous, low paid and not well regulated, and the white workers have good working conditions.

On page 141 of the Lesotho textbook, under the section 'Role and relationship in the organisation', the following statement was foregrounded: *All business organisation need skilled people to run it*. The section goes on to describe the roles of a director in a business. In a case study Matthias Bichsel (a white male, Figure 7.7) is described as a director of Projects and Technology at Royal Dutch Shell. Matthias is described as 'competent and skilled', and his occupation is one of high status and is well remunerated. Much of his work entails *decision-making, delegation, appointing senior management to help run the organisation, devising, and implementing company qualities*. Matthias is described as an integral part of the organisation. His working conditions are good since it is an office setting.

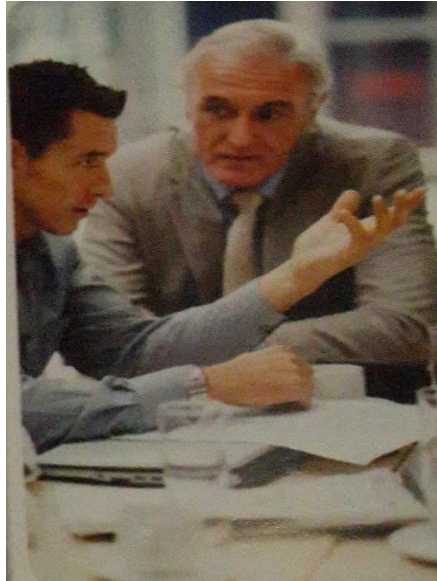


Figure 7.7: Matthias Bichsel, Director of Projects and Technology at Royal Dutch Shell

On page 403 of the Lesotho textbook, a section entitled ‘Trade union to protect and improve wage and welfare of employees’ provides an informative case study on the role of unions in the prevention of exploitation in the mining sector. This case study is enhanced by a photo of African males in the mining sector (Figure 7.8).



Figure 7.8: African men working in the mining sector

The image shows a male miner forcefully drilling into the rock with a sledgehammer and drill. The miner is exerting a lot of energy and strength in breaking the rocks. The working conditions

require lots of standing, lifting, climbing and stooping in cramped quarters with tools that are dangerous. Anchored by the picture is the following statement:

Workers in mines are poorly paid and undertaken in appalling conditions. The trade union therefore help to fight and bring to workers increased wage and safety and other benefits for many poor and working-class families.

Although the social actor is omitted from the text, the image reflecting African men creates the biased assumption that African males are mineworkers and amongst the poorly paid and working class. The verb ‘appalling’ adds to the poor working conditions that miners face. The writers do very little to trouble this perception. In none of the four textbooks does an image reflect white persons or those of any other race as mineworkers. White males are presented in high-paying, high-status occupations, as in the case study of Matthias above (Lesotho, p. 141).

7.2.6 Concluding comments

Reification leads to naturalisation, which means, “socially constructed realities are presented as natural” (Janks, 2010, p. 39). It has become natural through representations in the four textbooks that African women are poor, low skilled and predominately farm and domestic workers, which has not been challenged by the authors. These representations reinforce race, gender and class hierarchies. More specifically, African, women and poor are shown as having negative connotations, and white, men and wealthy as having positive connotations in the business sector.

7.3 The intersection of gender, disability and race: Able-bodied men dominate in the business sector

7.3.1 Introduction

There are limited depictions of people with disabilities in all four textbooks under study. The omission may suggest that able-bodiedness is the norm. Evidence of this can be seen in both the written text and pictorial depictions across the four textbooks. Table 7.2 below shows how the text communicates normalising discourses regarding ableism.

7.3.2 Policy intent and apparent contradictions

The four textbooks have highlighted the need to promote inclusivity of disabled employees (both genders) in the workplace. For example:

- *Recruitment and selection of the disabled employees should be free from discrimination and should be given equal opportunity in every sector of the workplace. (Lesotho, p. 412)*
- *The disabled person should be given equal opportunities in the workplace (Zimbabwe, p. 99)*
- *Every employer must take steps to promote equal opportunities of the disabled employee in the workplace by eliminating unfair employment policy or practice (South Africa, p. 14)*
- *All disabled employees should be given equal opportunities in both the private and public sector as stated by the Employment Act of 1980 (Swaziland, p. 211)*

The four textbooks foreground guidelines that protect employees (all genders) with disabilities in the workplace, which are written with authority and certainty. This can be seen from the deontic mode verbs ‘should’ and ‘must’, which reinforce the importance of the guidelines. Yet throughout the four textbooks, the guidelines mentioned do not permeate through the visual and lexis representation of disability.

People with disabilities have limited representation across the four textbooks, especially in the case of African men and women. There is no discussion of the worldview of people with disabilities, and no discussion or narrative on how businesses have assisted employees with disabilities and created a space for development and opportunity.

The policies are merely for the sake of “tick box compliance” (Pillay, 2016): a mechanical and superficial manner in which issues of inclusivity are presented by textbook authors’ as part of compliance to have their textbooks published.

The discussion that follows shows the contradictions with the policy guidelines.

7.3.3 Representation of gender, disability and race across the four textbooks

Table 7.2: Representation of gender, disability and race across the four textbooks

Country of textbook	Subject	Number of images	Description	Gender	Race
Zimbabwe	Business Studies	0	None		
Swaziland	Business Studies	0	None		
Lesotho	Business Studies	1	An employee using a wheelchair	Male	African
South Africa	Business Studies	3	A person in a wheelchair begging	Male	African
			An employee in a wheelchair	Female	White
			An employee awaiting compensation for accident at work	Female	African

Overall references made to persons with disabilities across the four textbooks are disproportional. The Lesotho and South African textbooks show an underrepresentation of persons with disabilities, while the Zimbabwean and Swazi textbooks do not refer to persons with disabilities or their experiences. This is likely to create the impression that able-bodied persons are the norm. Although there is an equal representation of females and males with disabilities, notable from the table is the racial connotation of whom the disabled persons are, with people of colour more frequently represented as disabled and in need of assistance.

The representation of persons with disabilities can be seen from the examples presented below, where both genders are shown in low-paying occupations and portrayed as needing financial assistance.

The first examples are from the South African textbooks. On page 66 the text reads, *Unemployment rates are very high among people with disabilities. Those who are able to find work remain in low status positions and earn lower than average remuneration.* The text is juxtaposed with a photo of a white female engaged in computer work (Figure 7.9).



Figure 7.9: “*Those who are able to find work remain in low status positions and earn lower than average remuneration.*”

The text reinforces the notion of unemployment as it relates to disability. Aggregation is used in presenting disability as the cause of unemployment. Actual numbers of people with disabilities who are unemployed are replaced by abstractions: ‘unemployment rates are very high’. Van Dijk (1991) states that abstractions are used to give an impression of the credibility and objectivity of information, while specific figures are not given. This ideological squaring gives the impression that the statement is factual. In the absence of modality or hedging, this sentence is written in the declarative mode, which appears to assert the content as a universal truth. The declarative mode, as Fairclough (2011) points out, can be an indicator of asymmetrical relations of power; in this instance the power of employers to choose able-bodied over disabled people and inability of the system to provide sufficient opportunities for disabled people to acquire competences to become economically employable. The phrase *those who are able to find work* adds to the emphatic tone of the extract. The word ‘those’ also functions to assert the otherness of disabled people, creating the impression that they are set apart and do not belong to the in-group which is presumably perceived to be ‘normal’.

The overt message from both the picture and text is that the woman illustrated has ‘a low-status occupation’ and ‘earns a lower than average wage’. There is a subconscious and implicit link that this a ‘normal’ experience for people with disability. This reification throughout the textbook may leave learners with disability marginalised, making it harder to accept that opportunities are available to everybody irrespective of ability.

On page 72 of the South African textbook, in another example the text reads, *Unemployment is affecting many people. This may be due to a number of reasons.* The text is juxtaposed with

a photo of a African male in a wheelchair who is seen receiving charity from a white male (Figure 7.10).



Figure 7.10: “Unemployment is affecting many people.”

Again, aggregation is used to explain unemployment. The word ‘many’ obscures the actual numbers of people affected by unemployment. This is done to give the impression of scientific research, yet readers are not given specific numbers. This may influence readers to believe once again the statement to be factual and objective. The reasons why many people are unemployed are omitted from the text. From the picture, the reader may assume that disability may be one of the causes of unemployment. The authors foreground a picture of a disabled man, who is assumed unemployed since he is begging on the street and receiving charity. He is constructed as hopeless and in need of assistance, creating the impression that persons with disabilities are not self-sufficient. There is also silence on the white able-bodied male’s position of privilege, which allows him to donate money to the African disabled male. This silence asserts the otherness of disabled identities by objectifying them and establishing ableism as the norm.

Another example on p. 89 reads as follows, *The Employment Act protects the rights of every employee in the country, including field workers who are vulnerable to exploitation.* The text is juxtaposed with an image of an African female (Figure 7.11) *awaiting compensation for fieldwork, which resulted in her disability.*



Figure 7.11: “... *awaiting compensation for field work which resulted in her disability.*”

First, there is omission of the type of work the woman was doing in the field and the conditions under which she was working. This information is important as it could give the reader an idea of who was responsible for her injury. Second, when discussing matters of employment and disability there is no mention of how the *Employment Act seeks to protect the injured and exploited employees*. For Fairclough (2000) this language serves to conceal where the actual responsibility lies, as well as the actors who carry out the exploitation and protection.

This sentence is written in the declarative mode, which appears to assert the content as a universal truth. The infinitive verb ‘to protect’ suggests that the act is aligned with what is perceived to be greater social and economic imperatives. Notable here is the connotative meaning of the picture. The gaze of the women looking slightly downwards indicates that she is worried. Intensity is also displayed through her pose. The authors do not offer a critical discussion of possible future problems the woman could face due to her disability and how this could be addressed by the business sector. Again, this information may appear in the section as part of tick box compliance (Pillay, 2016 – this study).

From the discussions in the South African textbook related to disabled identity and experience there is no evidence of a disabled voice. People with disabilities lack a real visibility or voice in the texts. This may further advance the notion of discrimination and passivity since people with disabilities are not seen to be actors in their own right. The lack of a voice for individuals with disability in any of these texts suggests that an ideological power dynamic is operating in

terms of the more powerful participant putting constraints on the contributions of less powerful participants. In this instance, the authors and society constrain the voice of people with disability and assert an ableist perspective (Fairclough, 2002, p. 113).

On page 134 of the Swazi textbook, the text reads, *I am glad companies have policies to employ disabled people. Although I am not paid a lot, I have a stable income.* This is juxtaposed with a picture of a male *working in a construction company, doing filing* (Figure 7.12).



Figure 7.12: “*Although I am not paid a lot, I have a stable income.*”

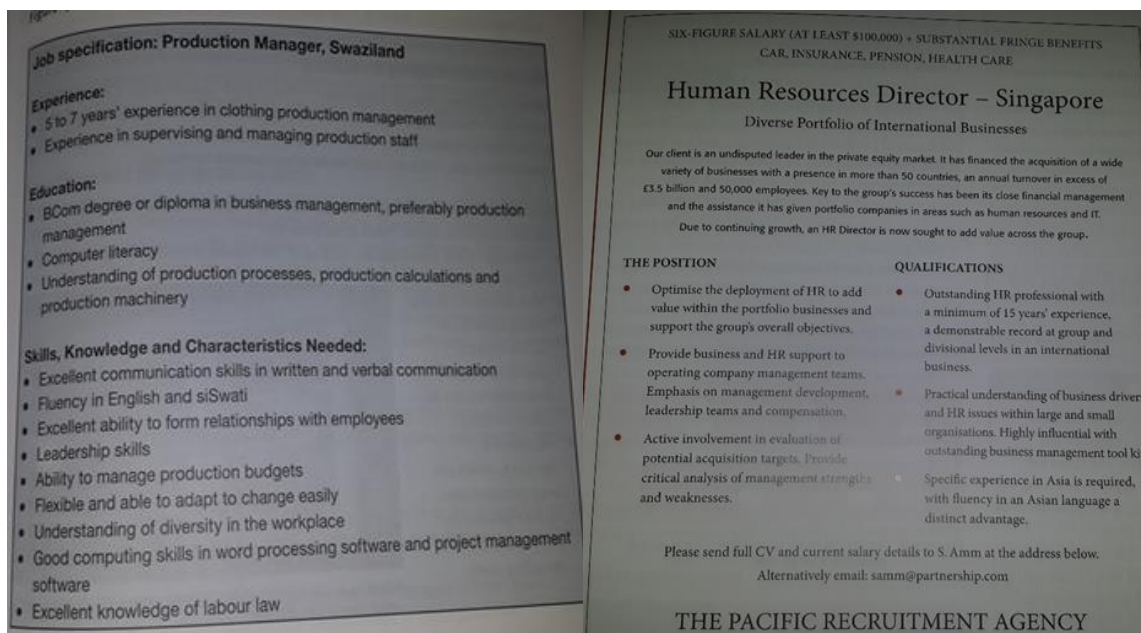
The text is written using the first-person pronoun ‘I’, employing a confessional style, and creates the impression that the man was employed because of policies and not capabilities. The word ‘glad’ suggests contentment of the worker at being employed, although he is represented in an occupation, which is low paid, highlighted by ‘although I am not paid a lot’. There is a notable omission as to why the man is ‘not paid a lot’, which is left to readers to assume. This adds to the impression that the writers are excluding and concealing vital pieces of information that could give a negative slant to their endeavours of inclusion. The text also omits how people with disabilities are included on construction sites, and their experiences or difficulties. The phrase ‘disabled people’ renders people with disabilities as the ‘others’, creating the impression that they are set apart and do not belong to the in-group, which is presumably perceived to be ‘normal’.

The picture and text is accompanied by an activity question: *How do you feel about disabled people?* The question appears to indicate an underlying presupposition of disability otherness

(as opposed to ableism norm) on the part of the authors. The question seems to be predicated upon the unspoken assumption that the readers of the text are able-bodied. It also appears to assert the notion that persons with disability are ‘different’ in that they are identified as a separate group, apart from the learners, as well as that there may be one right way to feel about the disabled.

Notable from the visual representations is the idea of disability as primarily associated with a wheelchair, placing disability within the realms of medical deficit, as the images foreground only physical disability. Learners are not invited to consider and identify other types of disabilities, which can also be present in the workplace. This representation provides learners with very limited knowledge of disability that one can encounter in the workplace.

The omission of people with disability in Lesotho and Zimbabwe’s textbooks was bolstered by visuals of employment advertisements (Figure 7.13).



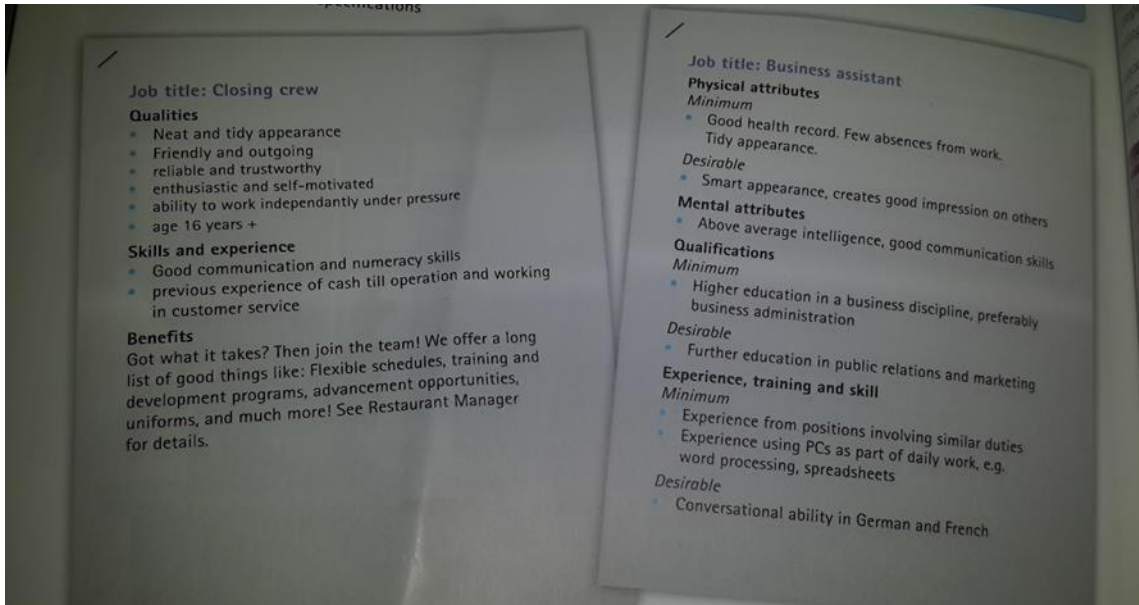


Figure 7.13: Omission of people with disability bolstered by visuals of employment advertisements (top: Lesotho, p. 361, bottom: Zimbabwe, p. 196)

While the textbooks frequently call for inclusivity, both genders with disability are repeatedly excluded from the definition offered. For example, the advertisements in the textbooks do not refer to how women and men with disability will be accommodated in the jobs advertised. This omission assumes that the jobs advertised are for able-bodied people.

The authors invoke a limited conception of inclusivity towards disability in the selected textbooks.

7.3.4 The intersection of gender, race and disability: ‘White able-bodied male’

Across the four textbooks, there was an absence of images or narratives of white males with disability in the section on entrepreneurship education. White males were presented with attributes of ableism such as physical ability and flexibility.

In the Zimbabwean textbook (p. 91), a person called James Dyson is quoted as saying: “*Our success is due to hard work and mental and physical strength*”. This phrasing asserts the authors’ view as incontestable truth: it is taken as ‘fact’ that strength is an important attribute required for success. The text appears to be gender neutral in affirming this, but as the extract progresses the text is juxtaposed with a picture of two white men showing physical strength (Figure 7.14). Thus, gender inequality is presented as natural and inevitable in the presentation of strength.



Figure 7.14: Gender inequality is presented as natural and inevitable in the presentation of strength

This is not an isolated example. There are recurring patterns that promote ableism by excluding persons with disabilities.

An image of Aymen Gase (South Africa, p. 134) is foregrounded to reinforce ableism, with the accompanying text: *Aymen is an exceptional worker. He is flexible and adaptive to **any** working situation. He works in dangerous spaces but is always alert.*



Figure 7.15: Able-bodied privilege is foregrounded

Over-lexicalisation and synonymy is emphasised through the words ‘adaptive’ and ‘flexible’, which are closely related concepts that reinforce each other. The impression that the authors

create is that these attributes are essential in becoming an exceptional worker. These words also have connotations with ableism. For example, a physically challenged person may not be able to be adaptive and flexible in all working conditions; they may require assistance or support to work in conditions that are not easily adaptable to their disability (Linton, 1998). The authors do not suggest options for people with disability, so the subtext is that you need to be 'able' to adapt to any working situation. The statement *He works in dangerous spaces* also signifies ableism. If the worker gets into any dangerous situation, he can escape easily; this may not be the case for a person with a physical disability (Thomson, 1997).

The writers of these textbooks present the perspective of adaptability and flexibility as if there are no other influences or factors that may contribute towards becoming an exceptional worker. The underlying ideological meaning that the text appears to be transmitting would seem to be the notion of ableism. As a result, they foreground able-bodied privilege. The picture of the able-bodied white males (Figure 7.15) reinforces this notion.

The two examples below also reinforce the reader's perception of ability as a key driver for success in the workplace. Both show how white able-bodied males contribute effectively towards business goals:

Sam stated all staff should be flexible. They should be willing to multi task and work in different sectors when needed (Lesotho, p. 11).

This text is reinforced by a picture of an able-bodied white male (Figure 7.16). The reader can be influenced by the picture, which may create the impression that the staff are men who are physically able and therefore can possess the attributes mentioned above. The deontic mode verb 'should' adds to the air of authority the writers have adopted. To the learner these become indisputable facts because they appear in a textbook. This is presented as having no alternative, thus preventing the learners from an important learning experience of looking at alternative viewpoints for people with disability. The silence on how Sam accommodates people with disability in the definition of flexibility in the workplace contributes to the exclusion and marginalisation of people with disabilities. Throughout the chapter, there is a recurring portrayal of able-bodied men as flexible and able to multi-task.

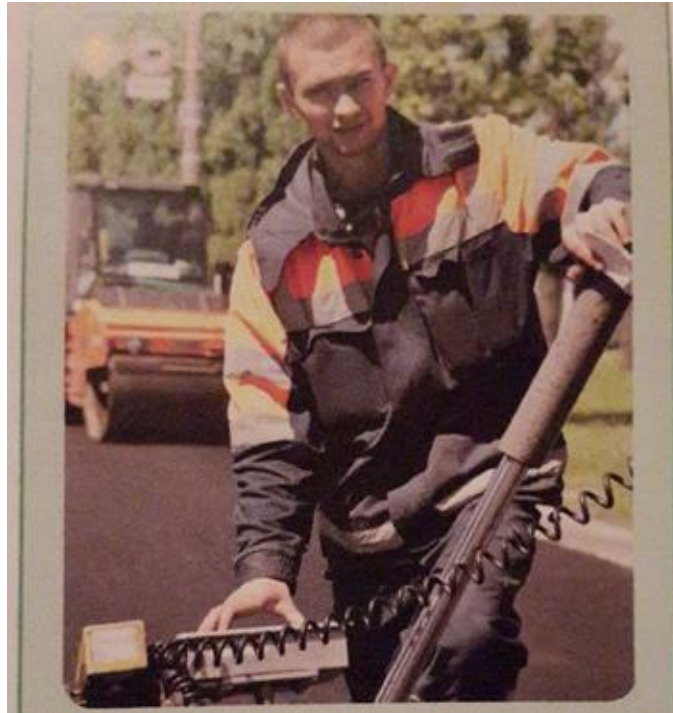


Figure 7.16: “... all staff should be flexible. They should be willing to multi task and work in different sectors ...”

Working as a motor mechanic often means working hard, long hours, doing everything for yourself. It involves lifting and carrying of heavy objects (Zimbabwe, p. 119).



Figure 7.17: Physical occupations represented as inherently male orientated

Figure 7.17 represents the occupation of a motor mechanic, which involves *lifting* and *carrying heavy objects*. The photograph marks this work as masculine, and invites the reader to infer that physical occupations such as mechanical work are inherently male-orientated. This type of occupation therefore requires workers to have physical stamina. In all four textbooks, the

authors have consciously chosen to portray construction workers and mechanics as male, and the photograph reinforces the conventional assumption that males are better suited for this type of occupation as they have the physical stamina to *work long and hard hours*. By stating that this occupation involves *lifting and carrying heavy objects*, people with physical disabilities may feel excluded and marginalised from this type of work. The declarative tone in which this statement is written suggests to the reader that this definition of being a mechanic is true. This discourse may fail to challenge the basic assumptions that have kept people with disabilities from participating in the opportunities available to able-bodied people.

7.3.5 Summary of findings on the intersection of gender, disability and race

The textual and visual analysis of the four textbooks transmits an ableism ideology, which mostly renders identities with disabilities invisible. Where identities with disabilities are depicted, they are most often mentioned linked to low-paying occupations. They are also presented as needy and in a state of dependence. The authors also construct people with disabilities as ‘other’ to ableism. Ableism is presented as the defining feature needed in the workplace.

The findings further portray white able-bodied men as active and persons with disabilities as passive. This might be read as presenting realities that able-bodied people possess individual power to act subjectively, while people with disabilities are possible objects. All of these findings also support the notion that commerce textbooks are reinforcing hegemonic ideas about entrepreneurship as a domain for the able-bodied, and about the inferior cultural status of people with disabilities by virtue of their ‘substandard’ bodies.

7.4 Conclusion

I conclude this chapter by summarily describing how gender is represented across the four textbooks. The findings indicate that gender inequalities are evident in the four Business Studies textbooks for Grade 12 learners (preceding tertiary education) in relation to occupational roles, firstness of pronoun, leadership roles, technology usage and general attributes. In both text and images, African women were stereotypically depicted in low-skilled and low-status work situations, and as incompetent in the usage of technology. Almost invariably, management or leadership positions were associated with white men, not women. Men, in contrast, were stereotypically depicted as strong, informed risk-takers in the business

environment, occupying high status, highly paid positions – which were further reflected linguistically in the virtually automatic priority, or firstness and generic use, of male pronouns.

Having discussed the seven main themes emerging from the data, the next chapter presents the discussion, where findings will be discussed in relation to the literature review and theoretical framework of this study.

Chapter eight: Discussion of findings

In this chapter I discuss the findings outlined in the previous chapters regarding gender representation in the selected SADC Business Studies textbooks, in an effort to understand why gender is presented in the way it is in these textbooks. This discussion is presented in relation to the research questions and their implications for this study and broader society, as well as in relation to the debates identified in the literature review. The discussion is presented thematically, in a similar fashion to the findings.

8.1 Heteronormativity

Despite CEDAW's stance, which explicitly forbids discrimination based on sexual orientation, the four Business Studies textbooks continue to reinforce heterosexuality as a norm. I found that the four high school textbooks propagate exclusionary and heterosexist discourse. The textbooks avoided or ignored matters related to sexual diversity, endorsing ideas of compulsory heterosexuality. None of the four texts attempt to confront or question essentialist notions of sexuality or heteronormative hegemony, thereby rendering alternate discourses as hidden or non-existent.

The same is confirmed elsewhere (see Wilmot & Naidoo, 2011; Potgieter & Reygan, 2012; Temple, 2005). I see this absence of same-sex sexuality as part of the process of institutionalised heterosexism: a way of making clear that heterosexuality is the only 'normal' sexuality and thus the only sexuality relevant to students. As long as LGBTI individuals are silenced in textbooks, heterosexist culture proceeds unchallenged.

The text across the four textbooks strictly enforces the ideology of heteronormativity by dichotomising heterosexuality and same-sex sexuality, normalising heterosexuality, and emphasising a rigid distinction between male and female. Repeatedly the texts define a couple as a man and a woman, and parents as mother and father. In these ways, heterosexuality is continually legitimised as the central, authoritative norm. Butler (1999, p. 13) argues that the:

institution of a compulsory and naturalised heterosexuality requires and regulates gender as a binary relation in which the masculine term is differentiated from a feminine term, and this differentiation is accomplished through the practices of heterosexual desire.

Such representations may therefore actively regulate gendered interactions through the policing and shaming of gender constructions/performances, which do not automatically portray their hegemonic notions of masculinities/femininities. It is these constructions or performances of gender that have real social and emotional consequences that can be damaging for learners.

The heterosexual discourse across the four textbooks upholds masculine power over women, with the implied intention of convincing female readers that they are to be reliant on men economically and to serve men sexually. Butler (1990) describes this relationship between gender and heterosexuality through the heterosexual matrix that assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense, there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality.

As in the international research cited, heterosexual identity is virtually all pervasive across the four textbooks (Bazzul & Sykes, 2011; Salami & Ghajarieh, 2015). The intention of the writers to challenge stereotype and prejudice as described to by their Constitution would appear to be contradicted or betrayed by the heterosexist language used, which may convey unintended meanings of heterosexuality as norm whilst ignoring other sexualities. Ignoring LGBTI identities or subordinating them to a hegemonic norm can be seen as the means by which heterosexuality defends its privileged status.

I share Temple's (2005) concerns that the pervasive acceptance of heteronormative behaviour privileges students that fit the heterosexual norm, and oppresses through omission and silence those who do not. In this way, students learn that only certain types of knowledge are legitimate (Apple, 2000). As Butler (1990) predicted, the children who encounter universal forms of gender inherently link those genders to compulsory heterosexuality.

This invisibility negates the different 'ways of knowing' of LGBTI learners and tends to discourage students from critiquing the discrimination, prejudice and social injustices faced by many LGBTI people; it thus lessens the importance of social justice and citizenship education in this field across the four SADC countries. The omission of LGBTI representation from the nations' classrooms is a serious problem for a number of reasons, first of which is that a democracy requires tolerance, fairness and an informed citizenry (Wilmot & Naidoo, 2011; Potgieter & Reygan, 2012). This gap in Business Studies textbooks sends a message that

reinforces discrimination and prejudice based on ‘non-normative’ sexual and gender identification.

It is necessary, as Salami and Ghajarieh (2015) argue, to question whether these textbooks deliberately disregard differences and seek to construct LGBTI identities as ‘just like us’ based on the assumption that LGBTI people seek assimilation into normative heterosexual institutions. Textbooks should disrupt heteronormative representation in order to encourage students and teachers to develop critical thinking skills to question assumptions and the bias they encounter in their teaching and learning (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012).

In understanding why LGBTI individuals are invisible across the four textbooks, I draw on Wodak’s (2001b) discourse historical approach of taking into consideration context, specifically the cultural context, under which the selected textbooks are written. Theoretically, the marginalisation of LGBTI in the textbooks studied could be explained as a product of discriminatory customs and traditions of the selected countries.

In Swaziland, President King Mswati III stated, “Homosexuality is regarded as Satanic and ought to be kept far away from us” (Ammon, 2012, p. 2). In Lesotho, the country’s Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act prohibits same-sex relationships, which are regarded by many as “not normal” (Makoa, 2010, p. 13). In Zimbabwe, where the President has been in power for 35 years, a similar value system exists. The President has promoted the idea that homosexuality is “un-African,” describing it as a disease “coming from so-called developed nations” (Carter, 2013, p. 6).

In Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho the State has excessive control of the textbook publishing industry and curriculum; anything or anyone in violation of the State could face prosecution (Makoa, 2010, p. 18). In this punitive system, there is a high level of intolerance, especially to sexuality; one can therefore expect textbook writers not to digress from these values.

In South Africa while the Constitution is progressive and there is advocacy for inclusion, sensitivity and consciousness, this does not translate into practice – as evident by exclusion of LGBTI persons from the selected textbook. The textbook authors write about issues of inclusivity but they do not own it, live it and practice it – it is merely part of meeting publishing criteria.

The focus on disciplinary content takes precedence over anti-prejudicial content in school textbooks. This confirms the role of textbooks as ideological tools responsible for the transmission of cultural values and beliefs (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006).

8.2 Language is masculine – firstness of male pronoun/the generic 'he' and '-man'

The linguistic choices made across the four textbooks create and reflect the unequal power relations between the two genders. 'Firstness' refers to positioning of the male noun or pronoun ahead of the female noun or pronoun in sentences and conversation (Sugino, 1998). Male firstness occurred frequently in the four textbooks. The female pronoun was consistently relegated to second place after the male pronoun, making masculine first in importance and female second. This reflects another part of how the hidden curriculum in learning materials fosters polarised gender identities and promotes gender inequality.

These findings suggest what has been described as discursive marginalisation of discourse partners, especially females, which indicates male dominance and an engendering of female stereotypes as trivial or unimportant (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Porreca, 1984; Davis, 1995; Pillay, 2013). Such automatic ordering reinforces the second-place status of women, which reflects women as unimportant and minor (Festante, 2004). The traditional order of mention, which is often found in texts, reflects a traditional perception of male supremacy: "...let us keep a natural order and set the man before the women" (Hartman & Judd, 1978; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 34).

In some texts, males also initiate more dialogue than females. It is important to eliminate sexism in language use to provide an environment where every pupil can learn on equal terms. Gender-free language contributes to acceptance of each human being, without dominance of one group (Baghdadi, 2012). Hence, language determines the socio-cultural generalisations of a society and forms a part of society's collective consciousness. The implication is that the process of manufacture of such knowledge is political and largely reliant on choice of language.

Since selection of subject matter for inclusion in textbooks is a highly political exercise, it is knowledge on the powerful group that dominates in the textbooks, while the less powerful group is included only in passing (Apple, 1991). This explains why women as a less powerful group are marginalised and subordinated to second-place status across the four textbooks.

Also evident across the four textbooks, are the generic terms 'he' and '-man'. Feminist linguistic scholars view this as an indirect way of excluding females (Lee & Collins, 2008), and it was evident across the four textbooks under analysis. For example, the textbooks teach learners that a businessperson is a 'businessman'. This perspective is seen as contributing to the creation of gender roles that separate females and males and restrict them occupationally. The association of the term '-man' seems to suggest that "this is the natural order of things" (Fowler, 1991, p. 15). The use of gender-unfair language, especially of the masculine generic, restricts the visibility of women and the cognitive availability of female exemplars, which is disadvantageous for young female learners.

The content of the text depends on the authors and the way they see and treat gender (Baghdadi, 2012). When designing a textbook, authors attempt to present the most common and prevailing conceptions of gender in society. The gender-biased use of language across the four textbooks suggests that textbook authors lack gender awareness and that their focus on disciplinary content takes precedence over prejudicial content. This notion is supported by the findings of Sugino (1998), Skliar (2007) and Pillay (2013). The gender bias of the generic pronoun 'he' and '-man' used in the four textbooks has the potential to reinforce the stereotypical assumption that the world of business is a masculine space and not a female one.

As Lee and Collins (2008, p.12) rightfully argue, the failure to provide equitable learning through sexist language is "potentially more dangerous" because it renders women invisible by evoking mental images of males "as the prototype even for the sex-neutral concept". Thus, the four textbooks tend to be discriminatory by nature as they largely represent knowledge from the dominant groups (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991). It becomes apparent therefore that knowledge from powerful is what dominates the textbooks, while perspectives of the less powerful are incorporated under the umbrella of the discourse of dominant groups (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991)

8.3 Male dominance represented through stereotypical gender roles and traits

The findings reveal that textbooks reinforce patriarchal beliefs despite the enshrined right of equality in the Constitution and notions that gender roles are evolving. One distinct finding revealed gender biases in occupational roles or careers. This corresponds with prior research (Mkuchu, 2004; Lee & Collins, 2009; Mutekwe & Modiba, 2012; Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015). Women were mainly represented in positions of unpaid and unrecognised labour that

sustains household economies, the traditional stereotypical occupational role associated with women. The activity of fetching water is a domestic chore related to women, especially in rural areas. Water is needed for household duties such as cooking, washing and cleaning, for which women are mainly responsible, and females are not rewarded financially for this. Female task such as fetching water are degraded, low-status occupations. This is a subtle way of transmitting bias by suggesting that a female's place is not in the corporate world.

Other unpaid occupations and low-paid jobs included working for NGOs and secretarial occupations. Women were also represented in stereotypically female occupations such as nurse, teacher, crèche worker, factory worker and so on. Portrayal of women in traditional gender roles is consistent with findings by Lee and Collins (2009), who state that stereotypes tend to set up a self-fulfilling prophecy and often lead some females to behave according to expectations that disempower them and limit their ability to develop their potential to the fullest.

The representation of women in limited roles may also arise from prescribed gender roles in the writers' culture. A culture embodies and sustains social values attached to male or female and shapes people's expectations about what types of jobs men and women should do, and how they should behave. Yaqin (2002, p. 14) makes the point that:

books reflect the views of a given social culture with respect to gender roles and contain definite gender characteristics patterns, all of which have an important influence on children and cause them to consciously or unconsciously imitate and learn from them

Therefore, the textbooks were analysed as being reflections of socio-cultural influences, which tend to expand, reproduce and strengthen society's gender biases and perceptions, all of which can affect the way children identify with and espouse the gender role to which they belong. This reinforces the notion that the representation of gender is not neutral – it is an act of cultural power.

The most likely reason why women are shown in limited occupations can be ascribed to prevailing gender stereotypes. Thus, negative representations are based on the untrue ideas that have persisted in culture for thousands of years. This corroborates the findings of Tietz (2007) that gender bias and stratification of gender roles in textbooks replicate the stereotypes embedded in society. These taken for granted assumptions transmit a mode of ideology that reinforces role stratification. In terms of these assumptions, women tend to be stereotyped in a

limited series of roles: housewives, nurses, teachers, NGO workers. The writers of all four textbooks did very little to disrupt these stereotypical representations.

Of interest is whether the writers of the textbooks present females as having limited occupational roles because they may have been influenced by these stereotypes. Gender stereotypes are dangerous for learners as they are the target of these stereotypes and they can affect learners' self-esteem, sense of identity and occupational choice. If females believe them, they can be deterred from aspiring to upper-income and high-status occupations.

In contrast, the lifestyle of men is depicted as professional with no domestic work component. Men are represented in a wide range of highly paid, high-status occupations such as managing director, doctor and lawyer. This finding is in line with prior research (Su, 2007; Thomson & Otsuji, 2003; Pillay, 2013). Men are also represented as dominant in the public setting. The value that comes through is that success is most likely to be achieved by strong, powerful men. This serves to reify the powerful male figure continuously. The images in textbooks encourage boys to consider a wide range of occupational possibilities for themselves, while girls are offered a much more limited range. All of this elevates one gender over another and militates against gender equity, not just in the schooling system but also the community at large.

Given South Africa, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Swaziland's strong move to constitutionalise gender equality, the findings of this study reflect that the textbook industry and writers only pay lip service to this. There is no clear evidence that they have embraced this ideal at all; all four of the selected textbooks were recent editions, yet they still propagated patriarchal stereotypes. This leads one to conclude that the intention of the authors of the four textbooks is to entrench the discourse of patriarchy – as seen in the repeated representation of women in stereotypical occupations with low economic status. Tietz (2007) argues that presenting women with limited occupational opportunities reinforces and perpetuates the glass ceiling that prevents women from participating fully in the corporate world.

Writers of textbooks are required to portray a constitutionally upheld reality in their textbooks, which, in South Africa, means breaking stereotyped patterns for all groups of people. Writers have a responsibility not to perpetuate patterns of employment stereotyping as it has a negative effect on both boy and girl learners. These writers cannot consider themselves to have no responsibility in this regard. As in Davids' 2012 study, the present study of four SADC Business Studies textbooks shows that the textbook industry still has some way to go in the

production of learning support materials that effectively address the challenges of integration, equity and inclusion.

8.4 Masculine personality traits as norm in the business sector

Across the four textbooks, men were attributed with traits of physical endurance, openness to risk taking, assertiveness and aggression, and power and dominance in the workplace. Men were portrayed as dealing with customers forthrightly and assertively. This was transmitted with foregrounding, nominalisations, assumptions and modality. These masculine features and traits were presented as a norm for success similar to the findings of Evans and Davies (2000, p. 129):

widespread gender stereotyping, with males possessing a wider range of entrepreneurial traits such as dealing with demanding customers and employees and so forth gets reified and reinforced and almost infused in the psyche of the reader that this kind of traits are acceptable and normal.

Similarly, Harvey (2007) argues that for any idea to prevail all it needs is for its perception to become totally entrenched as common sense, then this idea is regarded as a taken for granted assumption.

Women were portrayed mainly as having nurturing personalities with traits of hopelessness, such as being emotional, stressed and weak. By implication, females may lose interest in taking up assertive career positions, as they would presumably not cope with the pressures associated with them.

Saarikivi (2012) raised concerns that the pegging of a gendered personality may have an adverse effect on a learner's development when students begin to accept and enact a certain gendered personality. Textbook authors unknowingly pass on knowledge that can contain hidden concepts that are perpetuated by gender-specific ideologies, hence reinforcing gender bias (Mustapha, 2012). These stereotypes appear persuasive and appealing to the untrained eye (Maistry, 2013). This was further substantiated by evidence in all four textbooks where there was a notable absence of men and women who do not conform to the stereotypes. It is important that textbook authors and educators are properly trained and educated on gender-related issues in school textbooks, in order for males and females to receive equitable treatment in the texts.

The authors of the textbooks reinforce taken for granted assumptions of male behaviour into their understandings of gender. The representation of the masculine as aggressive and dominating does not necessarily serve male interests. Confining masculine identity to traits that are essentially predatory is not a fair representation of males and serves no one's interests. The representation of aggression, power and dominance in the workplace across the two textbooks was reinforced by hegemonic discourses that promote hegemonic masculinity. This can be seen by the picture of a male sexually harassing a female worker on page 85 of the South African textbook and a text where a woman is a victim of sexual misconduct on page 136 of the Zimbabwean textbook. Butler (2000) argues that masculine assertiveness and aggression is a central aspect of traditional masculinity where aggressive behaviours are supported implicitly and explicitly. Within this framework sexual harassment is a form of exhibiting and maintaining power relations between men and women. This discourse also serves to limit female sexual agency because male sexuality is defined by aggression and action and female sexuality is defined in terms of passivity. This is because the authors construct women as victims and passive recipients of this aggression. This representation can also be prejudicial against men who do not commit acts of sexual harassment.

The four textbooks represent men as players in a deeply misogynistic, male-dominated culture where aggression and dominance of men against women is disturbingly common. Furthermore, the stereotype that men are not vulnerable or abused promotes the idea of hegemonic masculine violence as normative. The notion of 'our culture' is used to "justify the oppression of men and women by regulating what they may or may not do", a constant "invoking [of] the patriarchal content of culture" (Morales, 2008, p. 23). This stereotype is itself an aspect of an unequal gender order and needs to be overcome. In order to implement gender equality in textbooks, deconstructing hegemonic discourse should be the most important task in any society to promote social justice.

These stereotypical personality traits need to be addressed by textbook authors (Evans & Davies, 2000). Mustapha (2012) concurs, stating that the textbooks encouraged boys to envisage a wider range of possibilities for themselves, both good and bad, while girls are directed to a narrower range of possibilities, almost all centred on obedience and passivity. The stereotypical portrayal of masculine as aggressive and dominating could be explained as a reflection of the patriarchal expectation of the role of women in society, not only in Zimbabwe and South Africa but also in other countries, as illustrated by the findings of other similar

studies. As Weedon (1997) argues, in a patriarchal society men and women are expected to behave in certain ways regardless of race, class, nationality or continent.

8.5 Leadership, management and entrepreneurship is masculine

Across the four textbooks, males were mainly represented in leadership and management positions that were taken for granted as the sole domain of males. This corresponded with prior research (Kiamba, 2006; Ozdogru et al., 2002; Langowitz & Morgan, 2003). Male characters were depicted as successful business leaders capable of management positions. In most situations, only males were depicted as top and middle level managers, sole proprietors and economic leaders.

While there were examples of women represented in leadership and management roles, the pervasive subtext was that women lacked the necessary skills and attributes to become successful in their roles. They were constructed as incompetent and weak. The ultimate effect was to legitimate the ideology that men make better leaders and managers. This was a recurring phenomenon in both text and graphics. What this does is to reify the image of a powerful man continuously, as the reader is constantly inundated with this image of strong masculine figures, and this is linked to the notions of success and confidence. The taken-for-granted assumptions transmit a mode of ideology that reinforces role stratification, by linguistically and pictorially separating gender groups (Tietz, 2007). Through such representation, female learners may be denied role models related to leadership and management (Davids, 2012).

In fact, at a subconscious level these texts may contribute in preparing boys to achieve in the marketplace while training girls to be submissive and to stay at home (Pillay, 2013). These gender stereotypes may adversely affect even the emotional psyche of children by forcing them to perform a set pattern of behaviour, predetermined based on gender discrimination, in which boys are taught to associate with leadership activities and girls are confined to low-skilled activities (Evans & Davies, 2000).

Writers of textbooks should be sensitive to the value systems, ideologies and subtexts of what they write. A way to prevent the specific example of stereotypes and gender bias, according to Tietz (2007), would be to depict males and females in textbooks in roles that are non-stereotypical, thus raising students' awareness of gender-related issues and equity. Otherwise, the reinforced traditional gender stereotyping and prejudice can contribute to limited awareness in learners of gender stereotyping, prejudice and bias, while legitimising role stratification.

In terms of entrepreneurship, the four textbooks describe this as an occupation dependent on masculine traits. Men were represented through the text and pictures as making sound business decisions as well as taking calculated and well-planned risks to attain profitability. They were also represented as successful entrepreneurs giving advice to future entrepreneurs. Men were represented as strong, competent and powerful with the capability of being in positions of authority.

Women, however, were often shown as helpless and powerless, lacking the capability to become individual successful businesswomen. While there were examples of women represented as entrepreneurs, the subliminal message was that women needed the support of men to help them achieve success. The assumption was that women only achieved success when in partnership with others or when being mentored by strong and capable men.

Textbooks are seen as authoritative presenters of unquestionable and incontestable knowledge. Thus, the selection of knowledge in textbooks is seen to be legitimate, and textbooks can thus function as political hegemonic devices of propaganda and indoctrination. Young female readers of these texts are likely to believe that their success depends on them being in partnership and contract with powerful men – a clear manifestation of entrenched patriarchy. Under patriarchy, women are regarded as inferior and not as capable as men (Weedon, 1997). This prejudice has become so normalised that even so-called expert panels of textbook ‘checkers’ cannot ‘see’ this.

Men were represented 48 times as ‘qualified’, compared to women who were represented 8 times as ‘qualified’ to successfully operate and manage a business. The writers of all four textbooks did very little to dislodge these stereotypical representations. Presentation of the information and linguistic selection urges readers that this is ‘common-sense’ knowledge.

There is a need, as argued by Eleanor (2013) and Thomson and Otsuji (2003), that learners be presented with different viewpoints to help them gain more insight from a broader perspective. Business Studies textbooks can therefore serve as hegemonic tools as they are capable of influencing pupils as to who the desired entrepreneur is. This in turn can lead to assimilation and acceptance of the ideology that men are more capable simply because they are men.

Another feature of entrepreneurship in the textbooks is that the authors portray women as individuals who would *like to start* a business, but in each case, the businesses are always referred to as ‘small’. The examples provided by authors indicate that women are not

sufficiently skilled to own and maintain large businesses; this is a distortion of what is actually the case in society.

The most likely reason why women are shown as economically and educationally inactive can be ascribed to patriarchy, which is so deeply embedded in the mental constructs of people that it remains largely invisible or unnoticeable (Weedon, 1997; Butler, 1990) and is only revealed by scientific analysis, as in this study.

The representation of leadership, management and entrepreneurship across the four textbooks does not depict the reality of the SADC context. There are female cabinet ministers, leaders and successful businesswomen in the business and economic setting in Southern Africa (HSRC, 2015). This is supported by the introduction in the SADC Development Plan, which promotes gender-affirmative action to increase the proportion of women in leadership positions and entrepreneurship (Dudu, Gonye, Mareva & Sibanda, 2008). This finding indicates that, when given a choice, authors are more likely to gender a character in leadership as male. This helps to reinforce the stereotype in business textbooks that men make better managers and are more successful, implying a gendered hierarchy in society (Paxton, 2007).

Textbooks currently reflect and reinforce the stereotypes and expectations of our society. For instance, if learners are exposed to a large number of male leaders, and to only a few female leaders in their textbooks, they might conclude that there are few women leaders and that they are not worth mentioning. The textbooks do not reflect gender equality, and theoretically, the silences on women could be explained largely as a manifestation of patriarchal power over women in past societies and in the present time. Due to patriarchal stereotypes, women have been denied participation in some activities that are deemed the domain of men. Thus, the biased portrayal of leadership, management and entrepreneurship in textbooks may create a deleterious real world and have damaging consequences, especially for women and girls.

8.6 Men are technologically astute

The portrayal of technology use in the textbooks reveals a gender gap between males and females; men were presented as the predominant users of technology, and as more knowledgeable and competent in information technology specifically. Men were more frequently seen as using technological equipment such as smart boards, computers, laptops and iPhones. In comparison, women were seen as using traditional posters and charts when presenting data. The broader implication here is that today, as in the past, men predominate in

both the technological arena and the economic arena as the main users of advanced technological equipment, and are more technologically advanced than their female counterparts are. Thus, females were subjected to what Foucault (1981) termed the “processes of exclusion”. This helps to perpetuate the stereotype of women as technologically deficient, as the text and pictures are presented as the norm.

Efforts by textbook authors to eliminate gender stereotyping of technology advancement are inadequate (Rifkin, 1998; Kobira, 2009; Foroutan, 2012; Gupta, 2014; Villar & Guppy, 2015). Portraying men as more educated and experienced than women in use of technology. is dangerous at many levels, since the textbook authors are likely to undermine student interest in training in and exploration of technology both at school and at work. Such representation echoes gender-biased and culturally skewed messages about technological opportunities for male and female learners (Tietz, 2007).

It should be noted that although the situation that has been depicted is based on patriarchal thinking on technology, it is not static and can change with time. Women across Africa are now advancing in technology (Dlamini, 2009). Writers should respond to this changing trend by depicting usage of technology by women; this would do much to redress our textbooks’ gender imbalance, which distorts our views and perceptions of society. Boys also need to be disabused of the idea that technology is the preserve of ‘macho’ masculinity (Pillay, 2013).

Unless patriarchal beliefs are deconstructed, oppression of women in society in all its manifestations, which permeates Business Studies textbooks, will largely remain the same. This is evidenced by corroboration of findings between this study and previous studies in the literature.

8.7 Intersectionality of race and gender: White men dominate in the business sector

Across the four textbooks, African people were represented in inferior jobs and situations. Some of the simplistic and reductionist positions in the textbooks were arrived at through stereotypes and crude generalisations. African men and women were represented in low-paying, low-status occupations. African women especially were portrayed as subsistence farmers, domestic workers and part of the informal sector. What was also noticeable was that many African women were portrayed in domesticity, such as fetching water from a distant place. The ‘physical’ burden that women carry on a daily basis was foregrounded, yet there was little attempt to challenge this representation. African women were also portrayed as being

economically exploited, more than white women, and stereotyped in terms of labour because of their race.

This reflects African feminist arguments that African women suffer from triple oppression as poor, African and female (Foucault, 1977b; hooks, 2001). The stereotypical portrayal of African women could be explained as a reflection of the patriarchal expectation of the role of African women in society. As pointed out in Chapter two, the status of a woman in many African countries is determined by her primary responsibility to bear children and maintain the family (Rey-Cao & Taboas-Pais, 2012). Portrayal of women in domesticity and low-paying occupations in the textbooks under study serves to reinforce and reify the societal value of women in the African context and how this stereotypical positioning of African women is 'normal'.

Although 'quality assurance' checks are in place to ensure gender equity in textbook writing, these racial and gendered ideologies still manifest. This representation in the selected textbooks is reminiscent of colonialism and apartheid, during which African women were subjugated in exploitative economic activities such as slavery and menial labour (Bryson, 1999). Theoretically, the major reason for this sort of portrayal is because this prejudice has become so normalised that even so-called expert panels of textbook 'checkers' cannot 'see' it. The focus on disciplinary content takes precedence over prejudicial content, with the result that the discrimination faced by African women in the past is reproduced in the present textbooks.

These findings reveal that the newly designed textbooks do not actually meet the social expectations outlined in the new reform policies of the four countries. Promoting tolerance, openness and understanding, among others, are some of the goals of the reform, yet are clearly not being upheld. The findings show that all four textbooks reinforce stereotypical assumptions about African women as natural and common sense. These representations can have dangerous effects on African female learners, who may internalise them as reflecting their destiny, creating further racial, gender and class stratification.

A powerful manifestation of interpellation is at work here. Race, like gender, is a performance and those who are marked as being of a certain race, with the associated stereotypes, feel pressure to perform in certain ways (Butler, 1990). Therefore, textbooks reinforce racial and gender stereotypes through the performative repetition of norms. Race and gender are

reproduced in a process of constant recitation of norms. This is not merely a matter of social regulation, but involves psychic processes.

African men and women are also stigmatised as having diseases and being perpetrators of violence and crime in business. These representations have the potential to reinforce fear and prejudice towards African people. Instead of the textbooks trying to end the cycle of oppression and injustice, they promote it through the text and visuals they choose to include. Without critical engagement, the text legitimises this representation as factual.

The question of how an envisaged textual community is positioned in the sampled texts can be answered by concluding that authors write for an ‘imagined community’ (Martinez-Bello & Martinez-Bello, 2015). In this case, it is for the white masculine community. Such imagined communities may have been reinforced through the high level of unconditional acceptance of existing cultural beliefs and values, and through this, the text tended to reinforce racially discriminating discourses instead of overcoming them. The textbooks and the contexts are supposedly used to fit into a matching pattern of conformity and a reproduction of traditions in the interests of preservation rather than progress (Martinez-Bello & Martinez-Bello, 2015).

Across all the textbooks, white men are represented in high-paying, high-status occupations such as CEO, business analyst, prominent businessmen, etc. Authors constructed white men positively by exemplifying their contributions and achievements in lengthy case studies; in comparison, African men were often represented in low-paying occupations. Omission of presentation of a range of explanations to pupils also narrows their learning experiences and presents them with a skewed version of the economy. This has the potential to perpetuate particular notions, as these are presented as acceptable and unchallenged. Learners may internalise these social beliefs and values.

Researchers Ya-Lun (2008), Rey-Cao and Taboas-Pais (2012), Roohani and Molana (2013) and Su (2014) have argued that textbooks reflect what Bourdieu (1983) calls “cultural capital”. They maintain that this cultural capital is inherited or possessed by discourse privileging white people. In this way, textbooks seem to propagate white, middle-class culture as the standard or ‘norm’ by which all other races and cultures are judged. Writing from the perspective that white men dominate in the business sector was exemplified through an almost mantric emphasis on the idea that there is ‘only one human race’. Authors need to think beyond racialised categories;

moves towards tolerance and understanding of difference, critical evaluation, independent judgement and creative imagination are paramount (Martinez-Bello & Martinez-Bello, 2015).

8.8 Intersectionality of gender, race and disability: Able-bodied as the norm in the business sector

Not only have the authors used African women and men to illustrate the unemployment situation across the four countries, they have gone a step further and portrayed them as disabled and poverty-stricken. In an effort to make learners aware of the prevailing economic situation in the four SADC countries, the authors have consciously chosen to use African females and males to arouse empathy. Information about disabled people in the selected Business Studies textbooks is essentially negative, and does not develop students' empathy and understanding of disabled people. This is similar to the findings of the HSRC (2015). Frequently the stated intention of the writers to challenge stereotypes and prejudice would appear to be contradicted or betrayed by the language used, which may convey unintended meanings.

The four textbooks reinforced the taken for granted assumptions that people with disabilities are in need of assistance and are incompetent. Women and men with disabilities were represented as weak and dependent, and shown in low-paying, low-status occupations compared to able-bodied persons. People with disabilities "are looked upon, identified, judged and represented primarily through their bodies, which are perceived in popular consciousness to be imperfect, incomplete inadequate and unproductive" (Hodkinson, 2007, p. 185). If learners and their able peers are not taught about the constitutional and legislative protection of people with disabilities and their right to be portrayed in a positive light, it is less likely that future generations will insist on implementation of these rights. An affirming representation and construction of disabled identities in school systems facilitates development of a safe school environment for disabled youth (Bell, 2006).

The authors reinforce the ideology of the able-bodied as the norm for entrepreneurial success. Physical strength, stamina and endurance, including working long, hard hours in dangerous places without support, were key traits for such success. The disabled were frequently omitted from this construct, as if incapable of these demands. Here again it is possible to discern constitutive ideology at work. With authors constantly representing persons with disabilities as deficient, learners internalise these social beliefs and values, which can have consequences for equity and emancipation. Writers of textbooks should be sensitive to the value systems, ideologies and subtexts implicit in what they write.

Not only are textbooks racially insensitive, they are also prejudiced towards minorities (Roohani & Molana, 2013). Failure of the textbooks to present a range of explanations to learners narrows their learning experiences and presents them with a distorted version of disability. The text implies that anyone who does not fit the ideal body description is marginalised or treated as 'other'. Thus, curriculum materials used in Business Studies appear to transmit a hegemonic notion of ableism as the norm, arising out of a common-sense understanding, which naturalises and privileges able-bodied persons and subordinates disabled persons.

It is not only the language but also the illustrations that construct and convey ideological meanings. Pictures have the effect of entirely modifying the meaning of the text through their visible placement and conflicting messages. The textbooks denote disability with a wheelchair, whilst backgrounding other forms of disability. The impression given is that physical disability of men and women, specifically of the back or legs, is the only form of disability evident in the workplace. Thus, the pictures do not perform an educational function of tolerance through showing the social and educational participation of disabled people in these settings. This has implications for learners who have other forms of disability that are not visible. By excluding other forms of disability, the textbooks narrow learners' learning experiences and present them with a distorted version of the workplace.

The four textbooks offer a biased vision of corporate culture and reinforce racial prejudice and stereotypes. The textbooks construct white men as having no form of disability; white able-bodied men were represented in high-paying, high-status occupations compared to minorities and African disabled men and women. The analysis shows that, as Fairclough (2001, p. 13) claims, discourses not only represent systems of meaning, but also social structures which reinforce each other. This representation promotes white male privilege while marginalising and oppressing the 'other'. This can be problematic as students are led to believe that ableism, as presented in Business Studies textbooks, is objective and neutral rather than shaped by culture, power and language. Textbook authors need to raise awareness through the content they write, and understand the importance of working to overcome racial stereotypes associated with disability and gender (Fiction, 1999). Hence, when Business Studies textbooks discuss ability and disability they need to show the complexities of the topic.

The findings from Chapters four, five and six were discussed in relation to the literature and theory. This discussion indicated that representation in the learning materials is gender biased

and gender insensitive; they would therefore not contribute towards gender equality among learners. Despite the efforts and goals of MDG 3, CEDAW, EFA (Education for All by the Year 2015), UNESCO, the Commonwealth Gender Equality Policy objectives and the Constitution of the four SADC countries, subordination, invisibility, degradation and exclusiveness still existed in all of the textbooks studied.

Gender discrimination, which operates similarly to the discrimination prevalent in the early 1800s across the four SADC countries, is still present in the textbooks. Much work needs to be done by key role-players in the educational sectors to ensure gender-inclusive textbooks, which disrupt common-sense notions of gender.

Chapter nine: Summary and recommendations

“By naming gender as a social construction and troubling normalized notions of gender, we can open ourselves to new ways of thinking about gender” (Weedon, 1987, p. 16)

In the previous chapter, I presented and discussed the research findings. In this chapter, I begin with an overview of my study, with the aim of rounding it off. I then theorise my findings in response to my second research question, which is Why is gender represented in this way in the selected textbooks? Thereafter I reflect on this research both personally and methodologically. The contribution that this study has made towards academic research is outlined, and I conclude this chapter with a frank discussion of the limitations and implications that this study has for future research.

9.1 Overview of the study

In Chapter one, I outlined the study as a whole. I placed the study in its context by reviewing the importance of textbooks, and the issue of gender representation in textbooks, in particular Business Studies textbooks, thereby showing the significance of my study. The rationale and the motivation of the study were justified, the purpose and focus of the study were delineated and the research questions were introduced. The methodology adopted in this study was described and finally an overview of the area of study (four textbooks) was given. The importance of this chapter was for me to give a synopsis of my reasons for conducting the study and how answering the research questions posed would be approached.

Chapter two provided a review and analysis of literature on gender. It was emphasised that the review of literature was carried out to locate a niche for my study and a platform for discussing the findings. Consequently, I reviewed literature on the nature and role of textbooks and discussed the major debates in the production of textbooks. It was highlighted that the politics surrounding textbook production determines the inclusion and representation of gender and other social groups in the textbooks. Gender representation in textbooks has been analysed across a number of disciplines, including reading, art history, economics, psychology, foreign languages and science, with evidence of consistent differentiation between depictions of males and of females. Most of the studies found that males are portrayed positively while females are

portrayed negatively. The studies also showed that school textbooks displayed rigid and normative gender identities, either male or female.

Women in the textbooks tended to be underrepresented, portrayed in traditional family roles as mothers and in stereotypical feminine reproductive and domestic roles. In comparison, men were represented mainly in high-paying, high-status occupations. From the literature review, it was noted that research on gender representation in business, marketing and economics textbooks was limited. Moreover, to my knowledge no studies have been conducted in the SADC countries chosen on the representation of gender in Business Studies textbooks within the last phase of high school. In addition, most of the studies reviewed did not apply CDA, and no study took an intersectional approach to understanding gender representation in Business Studies school textbooks. This revealed a gap for my study. These observations also provided the arena for discussion of the findings in Chapter eight.

In Chapter three, I reviewed literature on feminist poststructuralism in order to locate the study in its theoretical perspective. I drew on key poststructuralist theorists such as Weedon (1997), Foucault (1981), Althusser (1969), Derrida (1981) and Butler (1997), among others, to theorise gender representation through discourse. It is because gender norms are so often taken for granted that they can be overlooked. The feminist poststructuralist approach sought to challenge dominant understandings about gender that are typically rooted in the assumption that masculinity and femininity are ‘natural’ outcomes of being male and female respectively. Importantly, textbooks are a social construct of knowledge; issues of whose interests/culture are being portrayed by these textbook authors are unknown. A feminist poststructuralist lens provided a critical examination of the way gender is represented in textbooks and provided possible explanations as to why this is the case. Understanding of social differences and social inequality were key to providing a high-level explanation of gender representation in the selected textbooks. This theoretical perspective was important in understanding that freedom does not lie outside discourse, but in disrupting dominant discourses and taking up unfamiliar ones. This assisted in seeing things that are usually invisible, in order to make them revisable (Davies, 2000).

In Chapter four I explained the research design and methodology used in the study in order to answer the research questions posed. I approached this study from a qualitative perspective. The decision to adopt a qualitative approach was because this allowed me to examine how gender ideologies are formed. A critical paradigm was used in my research to expose

underlying assumptions and ideologies that serve to conceal the power relations via the ‘representations’ in the textbooks through the use of feminist CDA. Feminist CDA focused on how dominant discourses perpetuate inequalities through an intentionally gendered lens (Lehonten, 2007; Lazar, 2005; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002). However, the specific methods followed by feminist CDA were rather diverse and extensive, and the general essence of this approach relied on traditional linguistic approaches such as the critical linguistics of CDA (Lehonten, 2007). Therefore, feminist CDA was based on the methods presented by Fairclough (2001).

In the description phase of Fairclough’s model, I adapted Machin and Mayr’s (2012) representational framework. Key constructs appropriated for this study were foregrounding, backgrounding, and embellishments, assumptions, silences and omissions, nominalisation, modality, presupposition, pronoun versus noun, nomination/functionalisation, impersonalisation, personification/objectification, honorifics, aggregation, synecdoche and register. The method of sampling was then elaborated on and the textbook sample was tabled. I then considered issues such as trustworthiness as well as limitations and ethical considerations, ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods were thoroughly interrogated.

In Chapters five, six and seven I presented the findings in response to the research question of how gender is represented in the textbook sample. I decided to have three data chapters because one chapter would have been too long, so for ease of reading I separated the data. The themes were arranged in no particular order; each theme was not mutually exclusive, there were overlaps. Seven main findings emerged, all of which showed the biased representation of women. Intersectionality and representation of gender, including issues of marginalisation as it pertains to disability, sexuality, management and leadership, sexist language, gendered occupational roles, technology and personality traits were reinforced across the four textbooks.

In Chapter eight, I discussed the findings in conjunction with existing literature. The findings were also theorised using feminist poststructuralism. From the discussion, it was noted that most of the findings confirmed the results of previous studies in different contexts. This indicated that the oppression of women in textbooks was not unique to the African context, but that it is a global issue and an enduring one. However, previous studies did not go much further than pointing out the biases in school textbooks. My analysis delves deeper into the representations of gender in Business Studies texts in the African context. I offer reasons for

such representations by drawing on poststructural theorising of gender, which disrupts common-sense knowledge of gender in the selected textbooks.

The four textbooks were reminiscent of colonialism and apartheid in which the Western male white canons were seen as the norm, whose value systems were so deeply entrenched in the text. In my view, it is these beliefs and values, that are responsible for the different manifestations of marginalisation, stereotyping, silencing and limited representation of women and minorities in exceptional roles as elaborated on in the discussion. Patriarchal power was another factor that influenced the way women were portrayed in the textbooks studied. However, other forces of power such as race, African culture and history were also found to have contributed to oppression of women in the selected Business Studies textbooks studied.

These insights are, having being discussed in detail in the previous chapter, are summarised in the next section.

9.2 Why is gender represented in these ways in the selected SADC textbooks?

Interpretations of representations of gender cannot be isolated from other identity constructions. Even though I discuss these separately, there are complex connections between them.

9.2.1 Hegemony and power

As early as 1990, Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) cautioned that textbooks tend to be complex in nature as they are influenced by many conflicting pressures in the process of their production. This in turn has an impact on what is included and/or excluded from the available subject matter. Thus, major political and educational questions are whose knowledge gets selected for inclusion in the textbook, why and how. The ‘official’ or ‘legitimate’ knowledge which is included in the textbook is the product of complex power relations and struggles among different competing social groups based on race, gender, sexuality and so forth. Hence, one can assume that the texts in the selected textbooks are constructed from a highly political context where certain powerful knowledge is culturally accepted and perceived as relevant over others. Socially, economically and politically women were, in the past, marginalised in most aspects of development. After many years of reform across the four SADC regions, there has not been any significant shift. Social norms and practices permeate the text, privileging dominant worldviews through selective knowledge.

9.2.2 Promotion of Western ideals

Across the four textbooks, Western values and dominant social norms are prevalent. The idealised businessperson across the four textbooks is white, heterosexual and male. This powerful knowledge has come into being through the Western male white canons that exist in the world. This value system is so deeply entrenched that even textbook writers who espouse a certain level of consciousness are locked in the psyche of the male white canon, which they struggle to unlock themselves from. Although textbook writers are exposed to sensitivity training, this canon has such a high level of unconditional acceptance that is difficult to dislodge.

It is because the world is rigidly structured and entrenched in a white, male ideology that it is taken as normalised and reproduced through the generations. This persistent and pervasive ideology is difficult to dislodge, hence even the textbook writers who are women are complicit in this stereotypical ideology. They have internalised this oppression. This is not done intentionally, but driven by the deeply rooted patriarchal ideas men and women possess about the world, and what is acceptable.

9.2.3 Propagating and/or reproducing patriarchy

Textbooks are a mirror of the country that produces them (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006). The four SADC countries have deeply conservative and traditional societies deeply rooted in patriarchal practices. Therefore, the patriarchal representations of gender across the four textbooks might be a reflection of what is culturally and historically acceptable. The textbooks subscribe to these cultural values through the text and images. Wodak (2006) explains that both the historical and cultural contexts play a significant role in how we understand gender. Similarly, for Butler (1997) gender cannot be separated from its political and cultural intersections. She maintains that gender is not biologically based, but rather is the result of a cultural inscription written onto the body in the field of representation and within the cultural discourse over a lifetime.

As discussed in Chapter three, my interpretation of the texts draws on feminist poststructural critiques of patriarchal power. The composition of images and texts provides meanings and structure to our experiences and implicitly sustains the “organization of social power” (Weedon, 1997, p. 23). Since selection of subject matter for inclusion in textbooks is a highly

political exercise, knowledge on the powerful group dominates the textbooks while the less powerful are included only in passing through mere mentioning (Apple, 1991).

It is evident that patriarchal beliefs are enduring, and that women continue to be marginalised or excluded. The ideology of patriarchy is so embedded that it is taken as normal and natural that it is not questioned. This explains why women, seen as a less powerful group are marginalised across the four selected textbooks. Given the ubiquity of gender constructions and it's taken-for-grantedness, this may be done unconsciously.

Marginalisation occurs through the intersectionality of race, gender, ability and sexuality. The writers may have reinforced the ideology of the white male canon intentionally or unintentionally as more superior to African, women, disabled people and sexual minorities. These hegemonic and powerful discourses have become pervasive, to the point of becoming a-common-sense notions of the ways in which we should live and construe the world (Harvey, 2007). According to Cameron et al. (2003), writers of textbooks propagate powerful ideologies that serve to maintain the status quo as it relates to the order of the economic world,

In agreement with Butler's view, I argue that the selected textbooks reinforce dominant cultural and historical norms that imprison women, leading to their subordination. Gender is a social construct, which asserts that the expectations, capabilities and responsibilities of men and women are not always biologically determined. The gender roles assigned to men and women in the selected textbooks are significantly defined – structurally and culturally – in ways that create, reinforce and perpetuate relationships of male dominance and female subordination.

9.3 Personal reflections on the study

This study has broadened my research knowledge in understanding the complex nature of textbooks and ideology. It has changed the way I read and use texts. Through this research, I have developed a critical eye to understand how discourse can perpetuate inequalities and how text is never innocent – it always involves ideology and hegemonic beliefs. Methodologically, CDA has enabled me to question how texts are constructed and what their subliminal meaning is. This has helped me to expose and unearth bias and prejudice in texts, especially in Business Studies, a subject that has been labelled masculine for years. In addition, the study exposed me to the knowledge of the nature and role of textbooks and Business Studies textbooks in particular. Through this study, I can offer learners a platform for critical thinking on text and visuals and hopefully create equitable learning for all learners in a Business Studies classroom.

This study has also addressed the concerns, which I have had since my secondary schooling and higher education in the learning of Business Studies. As I explained in the rationale and motivation of this study in Chapter one; I had always been concerned about the way men and women were represented in Business Studies textbooks. The information that textbook authors included and the manner in which they presented it positioned males and females differently and often unequally. This was problematic as women were mentioned only sporadically and in stereotypical roles. Through the engagement with this study, my concerns have been addressed. I have not only found some answers to why women and men are represented differently and why women are marginalised and stereotyped, I have also come to understand the power of patriarchy, culture, stereotypes, hegemonic beliefs and ideologies in determining the fate of gender representation in textbooks and society as a whole. Therefore, through carrying out this study I would argue that the situation of gender in society and its portrayal in Business Studies textbooks could improve if authors are adequately trained to write textbooks that are free from patriarchal stereotypes and hegemonic beliefs.

9.4 Methodological reflection on the use of CDA

My study focused on the representation of gender in four SADC textbooks, in which I took into consideration how power struggles and the interests of dominant groups are exposed through CDA. CDA in my study was meant to reveal the textbook producers' construction of gender. Just as there are different forms of discourse analysis, there are also several variations of CDA. My research focused on the work of Fairclough (2001), Machin and Mayr (2012) and Huckin (1997).

CDA is a rich, complex methodology that demands particular levels of rigour; as such, CDA poses several challenges even for very experienced researchers (Paxton, 1999). During my analysis, I experienced some complications. Initially when I began applying CDA, I was a methodologist: someone who formulated numerous CDA protocols and applied them to everything in a blind fit of activism. Often, I would use many CDA protocols which I had adapted from the work of Machin and Mayr (2012) and Huckin (1997) and 'blindly' applied them to the analysis without being critical of whether all the protocols were required. At times, I was over-ambitious – using over four CDA protocols to understand my findings. I had the assumption that more is better. This proved problematic, as each protocol had its own epistemological position. As a result, weak ideas/arguments were constructed and the development of the ideas/arguments were presented as unclear or ambiguous. I also did not

utilise some CDA protocols, since they did not relate completely to the phenomena I was focusing on.

Resulting from my activism, issues of credibility were compromised. Unlike activists, CDA requires true multi-disciplinarity and an account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture. Its adequacy criteria are not merely observational, descriptive or even explanatory (Fairclough, 1985). Ultimately, its success is measured by its effectiveness and relevance – that is, by its contribution to change. Therefore, careful choices and criteria of CDA are important for scholarly work, and guide the choice of topic and relevancies.

I understood that using one CDA protocol could give a rich explanation of the findings. As a CDA analyst I began determining the genre of the text under analysis and observing how that text conforms to it. This genre orientation often allowed me to see why certain kinds of statements appear in the text and how they might serve the purposes of the text producer, as encoded in that genre. It also helped me imagine what had been left out -- what could have been said, but was not. This meant being mindful of the shortcomings in my approach, so that I did not end up making claims that the textbooks do not support. After several supervision meetings, I understood that one way in which I could test my analysis was to ask myself: Why should the reader believe my interpretation and my claim? Have I led the reader in a systematic way towards understanding the claim I want to make? I understood that the most I can do is talk to the meaning potential of the text. For this, I had engaged in the readings of Gee (1999) on the “situated meaning” of a text. The “situated meaning” or “meaning potential” is a range of possible meanings that words or structures can take on in different contexts of use (Gee, 1999). It studies the correlations between form and function in language at the level of utterance/token meanings. This means that beyond the actual language use, words or structures get more specific meanings within the reach of their ‘meaning potentials’.

Another of the methodological complications in the analysis was me having the tendency to use language of certainty, such as “the learner will, must” to comprehend texts. I even appeared to interpret texts on behalf of the audiences. I often jumped to conclusions before carefully constructing the argument. I habitually claimed after analysing the text that the discourse shows what people think or believe (or worse; what entire societies think or believe). I appeared to be exaggerating the analysis in certain instances and making huge leaps/conclusions. I realised that in order to make my arguments believable I had to go back to the literature to revisit the

analysis protocols. I explained my analysis against a range of points that took into account: (1) the immediate text; (2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships; (3) the extra linguistic (social) level; and (4) the broader socio-political and historical contexts. These approaches provided a “quasi kaleidoscope” (Wodak, 2001b, p. 119) which enabled me to understand and explain different facets relating to gender representation and therefore to strengthen the analysis in a more convincing way.

From my analysis of the textbooks, I also noted the importance of understanding my theoretical framework. When I had a text in front of me, I found myself going back and forth between the theory and the text I was analysing as if I was in the middle of a dialogue. This helped significantly in providing rich, nuanced interpretations. As Wodak (2008) mentioned, doing a discourse analysis study requires a deep and wide knowledge of various social and theoretical aspects. Therefore, to interpret the data, and then to explain it (in Fairclough's terms), or in a Foucauldian sense, to critique and criticise the ideologies, required me to have an in-depth study of the socio-historical background of the data, all the theories revolving around the social problem under study, and of course an understanding of such theories.

Van Dijk (1995, p. 17) states that “ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as picture, photographs and movies”. One of the common mistakes that CDA researchers, including myself, made is to assume that the analysis of both text and visual material can be done in the same way using the textual CDA framework. A good starting point for studying aspects of visual communication is to consider that there are two verbal and visual modes of communication in print advertising, with a complex interaction between them (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 8). After understanding this, I developed an analytical framework for analysing visual and written representation of text. This allowed me to provide nuanced interpretations of the data convincingly.

In summary, what future researchers can learn from doing CDA is how specific actors construct an argument, and how this argument fits into wider social practices. More importantly, by doing CDA researchers can demonstrate with confidence what kind of statements writers try to establish as self-evident and true. CDA researchers can show with precision what rhetorical methods they picked to communicate those truths in ways they thought would be effective, plausible, or even natural. They can reveal how their statements and the frameworks of meaning they draw from proliferate through communication practices.

9.5 Relevance, value and contributions of this research to knowledge

The literature reviewed found that most of the studies on gender representation in textbooks were conducted overseas and on other subjects. Consequently, the African context is poorly represented in terms of studies conducted on gender representation in Business Studies as well as other textbooks. As for Lesotho, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, no study in Business Studies textbooks as far as I know has previously been conducted in the last phase of high school preceding tertiary education. This study therefore adds new insights to the knowledge on the representation of gender in Business Studies textbooks from a contextual position not previously researched. This in itself is a major contribution to the existing body of knowledge, not only in terms of the representation of gender in Business Studies textbooks, but to textbook research in general.

It was established from the discussion of the findings that the results of this study mostly confirmed those of previous studies. Specifically, it was noted that the marginalisation, stereotyping and silencing of women and minorities found in my study correlated with the results of other studies conducted in different parts of the world. In confirming the findings of previous studies, from different geopolitical positions, which have not been researched previously, my conclusions add new insights to our existing understanding of the representation of gender in textbooks and more specifically Business Studies.

My study extends existing literature in several ways. Most studies looked at gender as a binary construction. Men and women were the only two categories in understanding gender representation in previous textbook studies. However, my study took a different theoretical approach, looking at the intersectionality of race, disability, sexuality, disability and gender in the selected textbooks, with an attempt to interrogate the complex relationships that shape and are shaped by gender. As McClintock (1992, p. 5) suggests, various forms of oppression do not act independently, but are interrelated. Race, disability, sexuality and gender are not distinct realms of experience existing in isolation from each other (Butler, 1990), rather they come into existence in and through relations to each other.

In its methodological contribution, I hope that by devising and adapting a new analytical CDA protocol that is grounded on extracting ideology of the text, it can be applied in other contexts too, such as other discipline-specific textbooks. I have shown how the analytical framework, which adapts concepts from Fairclough (2001) and Machin and Mayr (2012) can be used to

understand text (both visual and written) in textbooks. It may also be applicable to other educational media such as magazines and newspapers, although I have not explored these possibilities. This could be a possibility for future research.

I have also contributed towards new ways of thinking about why gender is represented in the way it is. I have theorised how the ‘white male canon’ and the ‘unconditional acceptance’ of this canon has contributed towards the marginalisation and stereotyping of women across the four textbooks. The study showed that the challenge of ‘disrupting the canonical thinking’ is difficult, as it is deeply entrenched in political, cultural and historical contexts where rhetoric, laws and sanctions support it. I have also come up with new concepts, as indicated in my findings, for example ‘heteronormativity as norm’ and ‘the pervasive, systematic use of technology’. I have not come across such concepts before as applied to textbook analysis.

9.6 Limitations of the study

No study is without limitations and mine was no exception. I have looked at a limited number of textbooks, and only a small selection of texts has been analysed in depth. Thus, it is not possible to make any generalisations about the results found. There may very well be other Business Studies textbooks that live up to the policy documents in a better way than the books I have investigated.

Although societal stereotypes perpetuate gender inequalities, individual women’s lives are complex and other factors may influence why a particular woman does or does not become a business owner or lead companies. For example, a woman may choose to stay at home and be ‘in the kitchen’ rather than pursuing that top managerial position. Societal stereotypes perpetuated in textbooks are just one determinant in the persistence of career barriers for women.

I did not consider teachers and learners in this study, and therefore did not gain insights into various pedagogical issues at play in a classroom. Such insights may have addressed some of the issues I came across in the text analysis. Nevertheless, as Morgan (2011a) argues, textbooks are stand-alone artefacts and a public form of knowledge, indicative of the general and overall discourse permeating a society at a given time. Thus, analysing textbooks comprises a historical study in its own right, which can therefore be studied in isolation.

9.7 Implications for Business Studies Curricula

In this section, I discuss some implications of the finding of this study for teaching and learning in Business Studies:

- This research suggests that textbooks contain gender-based implicit messages, even though no explicit linguistic features are articulated at the surface level. Awareness should be raised among students, teachers, and textbook writers of a socially constructed self that is not gender-biased.
- Curricular material for schools should be carefully selected so that gender-sensitive materials are used in order to promote both gender equality and learning equity. Curriculum developers and textbook producers need to be reminded of the policy against gender role stereotyping during curriculum review and revision and textbook production. Evaluation procedures should ensure that publishers abide by such curriculum specifications. Material developers and curriculum designers should pay attention to and consider the guidelines of gender-fair material development. There are several working guidelines in the literature, including *A better role for women in TEFL* (Florent & Walter, 1989), *Guidelines for Non-sexist Use of Language in NCTE Publications*, prepared by the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) in 1985, and the *Guidelines for Gender-fair Use of Language* published by The Women in Literacy and Life Assembly (WILLA) in 2002 (Mukundan & Nimehchisalem, 2008). There is also a need for strict evaluation measures to be instigated by the Ministry of Education to ensure that publishers meet the gender-sensitivity requirement in the curriculum.
- A text is a solid, tangible artefact that one cannot change because once a textbook is published it exists for five years. The solidity of the text is likely to become a fact when teachers and learners read and reread the same thing. It is reified and this makes it difficult to dislodge. Teachers use textbooks in the classroom as if they are neutral. Therefore, there is a need for teachers to engage with the textbooks critically and examine how particular texts are written and why they are written in particular ways (the implications). Teachers need to interrogate textbooks. They need to disrupt what is in the textbooks, showing complexity of textbook content while fostering creative and critical thinking. Training of educators with techniques that empower them to look

critically at the text of gender-biased materials and present them in an unbiased way would be useful. Workshops on gender equity issues need to be planned and implemented for teachers and school textbook writers, to infuse gender issues into the curriculum from an informed point of view.

- Education in itself is never neutral (Apple, 2001). Teachers also need to bring it to the attention of their pupils that despite biases embodied in the curriculum and expressed through school textbooks, the social behaviour, roles and characteristics associated with boys, men, girls and women are products of gender socialisation. Therefore, as agents of change, they need to ascertain that their own thinking, attitudes, behaviours and mind-sets are gender sensitive if they are to imbue their pupils, in all their diversity, with the idea that there is nothing to stop them from venturing into any career field provided they have the interest, ability and opportunity.

9.8 Conclusion

Using feminist CDA in a feminist poststructural tradition of research allowed me to deconstruct how gender is represented in the selected Business Studies textbooks. Each country from which textbooks were studied had a history of patriarchy. Through a critical analysis of the language (both textual and visual) of the selected Business Studies textbooks, this study attempted to arrive at an understanding of the nature of the representation of gender, as well as the reasons for its representation in a particular way. Particular ideologies were reproduced and this allowed me to illuminate the complexity of the text that the untrained eye does not see. The findings indicated that the textbooks were gender biased. White able-bodied men dominate in the business sector, whereas African, disabled women were represented in low-paying, low-status occupation. Heteronormativity persists as the norm. The textbooks under investigation reinforced particular values, similar to those of colonialism and apartheid. Therefore, unless the white male canon is dislodged, the oppression of women in society in all its manifestations that permeates Business Studies textbooks will remain.

I argue that although the textbooks have these biased representations, teachers and learners need not remain trapped in them: they can use this as a tool to generate alternate thinking. Merely changing the representation of male to female is not going to solve the problem of gender bias; it is beyond technical cleansing. The intention of the textbook writers may not be malicious and to subjugate women deliberately, yet it happens in a way that is so implicit that

critical teacher education is needed to understand and create debates and awareness in the classrooms about this hidden bias.

Teachers should disrupt what is seen as common and natural in textbooks. If teachers and learners follow normative understandings of gender and embrace it as normal without interrogating it, they will reproduce stereotypes. There is also a need for textbook writers to question their own ideological assumptions of gender. This demands a robust introspection of their own socialisation and possible uncritical assimilation of regressive gender ideologies. Deconstruction of 'common-sense' knowledge from curriculum developers, textbook writers, teachers and learners is necessary if bias is to be addressed in textbooks. Deconstruction requires exposing the multiple layers of meaning at work in language.

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Appendix A: Ethical clearance approval



21 August 2014

Ms Preya Pillay 207524726
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Ms Pillay

Protocol reference number: HSS/0988/014D
Project title: Gender representation in four SADC high school Business Studies textbooks

Full Approval – No Risk

In response to your application dated 13 August 2014, 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 discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

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

Yours faithfully


.....
Dr Shenika Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Prof SM Maistry & Dr Shakila Singh
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P Morojele
Cc School Administrator: Mr Thoba Mthembu

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenika Singh (Chair)






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Featuring Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg  Westville

Appendix B: Plagiarism report

Preya full thesis

ORIGINALITY REPORT

% 10	% 7	% 3	% 4
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper	% 2
2	www.scielo.org.za Internet Source	<% 1
3	uir.unisa.ac.za Internet Source	<% 1
4	www.slideshare.net Internet Source	<% 1
5	hearusout.org Internet Source	<% 1
6	www.sfu.ca Internet Source	<% 1
7	arizona.openrepository.com Internet Source	<% 1
8	dspace.nwu.ac.za Internet Source	<% 1
9	Submitted to University of Leeds Student Paper	<% 1
10	www.cels.bham.ac.uk Internet Source	<% 1