

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF AFRICAN CONSCIOUSNESS
IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

BY

MARSHALL TAMUKA MAPOSA

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SUPERVISOR: PROF. J. M. WASSERMANN

DECLARATION

I declare that

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DEDICATION

To Nokutenda Matinatsa Maposa

ABSTRACT

This study is rooted in the move by the South African government at the turn of the 21st century to spearhead the conception of what then President Thabo Mbeki referred to as an African Renaissance. This move entailed cultivating an African consciousness; education being one of the key tools. With textbooks still playing a critical role in the education system, I therefore set out to analyse contemporary South African History textbooks in order to understand the type of African consciousness that they construct for their audience.

I conceptually framed this study within a conceptual architecture of African consciousness, adapted from Rüsen's (1993) typology of historical consciousness. Theoretically, the study is framed within discursive postcolonialism and oriented in a social constructionist paradigm. The sample consisted of four Grade 12 History textbooks with a focus on the themes on post-colonial Africa, on which I conducted Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis.

At a descriptive level of analysis, the findings are that Africa is constructed in the analysed textbooks as four-dimensional: the spatial, the temporal, the humanised and the experiential notions. Correspondingly, the African being is constructed as five-dimensional: the spatial, the physical, the philosophical, the cultural and the experiential notions. The interpretation is that Africa and the African being are constructed as multidimensional and largely ambiguous.

I argue that the revelation that the analysed textbooks contain a bricolage of three forms of African consciousness (traditional, exemplary and critical) implies a consciousness conundrum that is a manifestation of the hybridity characteristic of postcolonial representations. In fact, the research shows that while the macro-level of power produces the dominant discourses, the micro-level of the citizen also contributes to the discourses that permeate the History textbooks. Indeed, the production of textbooks is influenced by multifarious factors that when the discourses from the top and from below meet at the meso-level of textbook production, there is not just articulation but also resistance, thus producing heteroglossic representation of African consciousness.

On one hand, South Africa is constructed as part and parcel of postcolonial Africa. But more dominantly, there is on the other hand, the exceptionalism of South Africa and the South African from the construction of Africa and the African being. I argue that the kind of African consciousness that is promoted in the textbooks to a greater extent leads to the polar affect, which is a preference of the group one identifies with over others.

Keywords:

Africa, African being, African consciousness, History textbooks

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AD	Anno Domini
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
BC	Before Christ
BCE	Before Common Era
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CAR	Central African Republic
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DoE	Department of Education
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
EUROCLIO	European Association of History Educators
FFP	Freedom Front Plus
FNLA	<i>Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola</i>
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LTSM	Learning and Teaching Support Material
MPLA	<i>Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola</i>
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
OUA	Organisation of African Unity

OCAM	<i>Organisation Commune Africain et Mauricienne</i>
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACSIS	South African Civil Society Information Service
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNITA	<i>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola</i>
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

1.1. Introduction

In order to provide an introduction to my study, I will begin with an outline of the background to the study. The background includes a contextualisation of the research, with a focus on post-Apartheid South Africa in relation to the rest of Africa. Based on the preceding arguments, I will explain my rationale and motivation to conduct this study. I will then narrow down the study and identify the focus and purpose, after which I will list the research questions. Subsequently, I will explain the research design and methodology, showing how it was useful in answering the research questions. I will then outline the structure of this research report, before concluding this introductory chapter.

1.2 Background and contextualisation

It is crucial, from the outset, to ensure that this study is sufficiently contextualised. As will be explained in Chapters 4 and 5, a clear grasp of the context is essential if one plans to conduct Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodology. In this study, the context is post-Apartheid South Africa because that is the country where, and for whose education system, the History textbooks that I analysed were produced.

South Africa became a unitary state with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. This was at the zenith of Western colonialism in Africa, but by then the geographical space on which the country was established had already experienced a long history whose details the scope of this task cannot accommodate. Instead, the focus of this study, in terms of space and time, is on post-colonial Africa. One of the first complications regarding post-colonial Africa, more so in the case of South Africa, concerns identifying the beginning of the post-colonial

period. This theoretical complication is expounded in more detail in Chapter 4. What can be noted at this point is that there are three possible dates that can be used as temporal markers for post-colonial South Africa. The first is 1931 when the British government granted South Africa dominion status via the 1931 Statute of Westminster (1937); and the second is 1961 when South Africa became a republic. However, postcolonial theorists such as Said (1978) and McClintock (1993) argue that Apartheid was a form of internal colonisation and hence South Africa only entered the post-colonial realm in 1994. For this study I worked with 1994 as the temporal marker for post-colonialism in South Africa since I worked within the postcolonial theoretical framework. This decision is explained in greater detail in Chapter 4.

By 1994 South Africa was one of the most economically advanced countries in Africa. While not all sources would agree, South Africa has been declared the largest economy or at worst been declared in the top three largest economies in Africa¹. Economic success coupled with a move towards a functional democracy gave South Africa the moral muscle to be influential in the politics of Africa. It also created, according to Mamdani (1999, p. 132), a form of “South African exceptionalism” where South Africa’s uniqueness from the rest of Africa is emphasised. This exceptionalism speaks to the research problem that I will explain later in this chapter. The relationship between South Africa and other African countries can be considered at two levels: the diplomatic level of political leadership and the level of the general citizens.

At the diplomatic level, the post-1994 (post-Apartheid) period has seen South Africa assume a more trusted influential role in mainstream African politics. Amongst many efforts, South African presidents have had to mediate in some of the political hotspots of Africa such as the Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Sudan/South Sudan. The liberal philosophy of South African politics has also seen the country supporting the self-determination of Western Sahara and establishing a South African embassy in the disputed territory (UPES, 2009). Nevertheless, this role has not been exempt from criticism from within and outside South Africa. For example, after the death of thirteen South African soldiers in CAR in March 2013, Ashton (2013) declared on the South African Civil Society Information Service

¹ At the time of completion of this project, the World Bank had announced that Nigeria had overtaken South Africa as Africa’s largest economy (*Mail & Guardian*, 06 April, 2014).

(SACSIS) website that South Africa's involvement in the CAR was tantamount to neo-colonialism. In the face of criticism, both local and international, President Jacob Zuma responded that, "We believe that as an integral part of the African continent, we must develop together with our neighbours in the continent" (*Daily Maverick online*, 03 April 2013). It is evident that the position of South Africa in Africa is a crucial aspect of the discourses on South African foreign policy.

In addition, there have also been instances of what can be regarded as diplomatic misunderstandings. For instance, in 1996, Nelson Mandela, then President of South Africa, was condemned by his African peers for "anti-African behaviour" because he had adopted an isolationist stance against then Nigerian President Sani Abacha who had authorised the execution of anti-government activists (Akokpari & Nyoni, 2009, p. 128). This diplomatic misunderstanding can be used to interpret how other African leaders viewed the Africanness of South African leadership, and by extension, South Africa in general. However, it is worth noting that it was during Mandela's leadership and just after the Nigerian debacle that then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki gave his *I am an African* speech. According to Vale and Maseko (1998) the speech marked the beginning of the concept of the African Renaissance and it "appeared to reinforce South Africa's unambiguous commitment to the continent" (p.274). The speech therefore served as a reminder that South Africans are actually African in spite of their diversity.

Of particular interest to me (as a Zimbabwean national working and studying in South Africa since 2007) is South Africa's role in the Zimbabwean political stalemate, particularly in the first decade of the 21st century. Although successive South African Presidents (Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma) were heavily involved as mediators, there has been negligible official South African admonition of the current Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe, in contrast to the open condemnation by most Western leaders.

This apparent camaraderie amongst African leaders can be interpreted partly as a stance against perceived neo-colonial tendencies of the Western countries – a perception which is manifest in Mugabe's raving speeches at home and abroad. Such discourse should not be

dismissed as inconsequential as it has in a number of instances gained support from African leaders and, indeed, some sections of the Zimbabwean and South African populace. One highlight of this apparent post-colonial African solidarity was when the European Union (EU)-Africa Summit of December 2007 nearly failed to materialise as African leaders, particularly from southern Africa, asserted that they would not attend the meeting if Mugabe were excluded (Castle, 2007). The same issue arose again when the 2014 assembly of the same summit occurred amid controversy and uncertainty as Mugabe withdrew once it was announced that his spouse was barred from travelling to Brussels in Belgium. Another controversial ban by the EU, according to African leaders, was on Sudanese leader Omaar al-Bashir. Just a week before the 2014 summit, the African Union (AU) had backed Mugabe's call for all African leaders to boycott the summit. Eventually South African President, Jacob Zuma, who had earlier come out attacking the EU position, did not attend, although his reasons for not attending were not officially clarified.

Such postures of post-colonial African camaraderie are arguably in tandem with the concept of the African Renaissance which former South African President, Thabo Mbeki, advocated as a critical objective of his country's domestic and foreign policy (Mbeki, 1999). Amongst other aims, the African Renaissance is an aspiration for Africa to have the power to fight against what are viewed to be the neo-colonial tendencies of Western countries. Although the African Renaissance endeavour has diminished in gloss since the end of Mbeki's tenure in 2008, it has made some significant marks. The African Renaissance project can be seen as an acknowledgment that there was a need to revisit the way Africans viewed themselves. One manifestation of this revisit was the transmutation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the AU in 2002. The similarities between the aims of AU and the EU (formed in 1993) are so strikingly evident that one cannot refute the plausibility of the latter as influencing the development of the former. The parallels are so apparent that the formation of the AU can be argued to be characteristic of a postcolonial condition when a formerly colonised people rely on colonial concepts to make sense of their world (Said, 1978). For example, some of the goals of the AU include democracy and long term continental cooperation manifested by a relaxation of immigration laws and economic cooperation, with a possibility of a unitary monetary system

(AU Constitutive Act, 2000). This model borrows heavily from the European model (Babarinde, 2007). However, the AU vision, together with related ideals such as the African Renaissance, have, at least in an idealistic sense, envisaged a marked shift in the form of African consciousness on which African unity and development can be based.

The idea of a continental consciousness has already been manifested in Europe, where a fervent theorisation of European consciousness had taken root by the 1990s. For example, a History Education theorist, Jorn Rüsen (1993), was one of the first scholars to motivate for a single European monetary currency which would strengthen a European cultural currency which, he argued, developed from a common historical consciousness. Debates ensued over what the meaning of Europe was to countries that had joined the EU and those which, despite being recognised as European, were at the fringes of the EU. The implication of this is that History Education can be argued in a similar way, to have a role to play in determining a new consciousness on the African continent. Nonetheless, this continental consciousness has to contend with other forms of consciousness, including national consciousness. This is why, for this study, I have to explore South Africa's relationship with the rest of Africa.

Domestically, there have been some diplomatic gaffes that serve to expose the contradictory discourses on the Africanness of South Africa. For example, current South African President Jacob Zuma has made public statements that reflect on his discourses on Africa and Africans. In 2012, President Zuma reflected his thinking on Africanness by saying that, "Because if you are not an African, you cannot be a white, then what are you?" concluding that, "Even if I live in the highest building, I am an African" (*City Press*, 3 November 2012). A year later when reacting to criticism over the implementation of e-tolls on the Gauteng roads, Zuma exposed a discordant view on Africa and Africanness after stating that: "We [South Africans] can't think like Africans in Africa. It's not some national road in Malawi" (*Mail & Guardian online*, 22 October, 2013). Such a statement implied that South Africans are different from other Africans, not just in terms of economic and infrastructural development, but in mentality as well. It can then be linked to the exceptionalism referred to by Mamdani (1999) earlier.

The two speeches by Zuma quoted above show two things. On one hand, the first shows how it is possible, in South African discourses, for South Africans to be African, the connotation being that Black South Africans are African. This discourse is not just unofficial, seeing as official documents in South Africa mainly refer to Africanness with racial connotations. For example the census results by Statistics South Africa (2012) stated that the racial groups found in South Africa are Black African, Coloured, Indian/Asian, White and Other. These official categories support President Zuma's speech which uses the term African in reference to Black people. On the other hand, the second speech shows how it is possible for South Africans (including Blacks) not to be considered African. This contradiction can then be taken to be reflecting the contending discourses on Africa and Africanness in South Africa. A third dimension to these contending discourses is how everyone who lives in South Africa is sometimes referred to as African, particularly in cases where there is need to spread positive messages of unity. This is the case with Thabo Mbeki's *I am an African* speech which was inclusive and reflected nation-building endeavours. Another case in point is the 2010 FIFA World Cup during which slogans such as "We are all African" were promoted and all participants and visitors were told they were "Welcome home" on the pretext that Africa is from where all humankind, in an evolutionary sense came.²

It should not be forgotten that the ruling party in South Africa since the end of Apartheid is the African National Congress (ANC), which for many years after being banned in 1960 survived in exile with head offices in other African countries. Even the slogan "*Maibuye iAfrica!*" (Let Africa come!), reflecting a connection between South Africa with the rest of Africa, was common at ANC rallies.³ However, the contemporary political sphere is dominated by a ruling government comprising competing voices with a largely liberal African liberation movement (the ANC) working in coalition with labour (COSATU) and the theoretically far left (the SACP). The members of this coalition have been speaking different discourses over many issues reflecting their different ideological foundations. Other competing voices on the South African political spectrum range from radical (once popular, but waning) Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to right-

² An example is the Mogale City website which was headlined "WELCOME HOME: Mogale City welcomes visitors, football fans and the 2010 FIFA World Cup teams to the city of human origin."

³ The slogan was part of the song sung by musicians such as Miriam Makeba in protest against Apartheid.

wing White conservative parties such as the Freedom Front Plus (FFP). All these various political groupings have their orientations on Africa and Africanness and their relative influences have contributed to the contending discourses at the level of the citizens.

Examples of the discourses emanating from the citizens abound. For example, Memela (2013) boldly declares that “There is very little that is African about South Africa, for instance, except that it is located on the southern tip of the African continent.” There is also an article by Khaya Dlanga on news24.com (4 January, 2011) titled “White people are African too!” written in response to another by Sentletse Diakanyo titled “We are not all Africans, black people are!” This is clear evidence of the debates on Africanness in the South African context. It can be seen that debates range from whether South Africans are African at all, to whether some population groups in South Africa can be regarded as African as others. These contending views show how South Africa is a post-conflict society that is founded on trying to reconcile its past through embracing multiculturalism (Rüsen, 1991).

South African citizens in general mainly encounter other Africans through the immigration of other Africans into South Africa for opportunities. According to Statistics South Africa (2013), 141 550 temporary resident permits were granted by the Department of Home Affairs in 2012 alone, with the top two contributing countries being Zimbabwe and Nigeria. This excludes the large numbers of illegal immigrants that have found their way into South Africa as economic and political refugees. There has never been any official confirmation of the number of illegal immigrants, but the South African Police Service (2009) estimated the number to be as much as six million, the majority being Africans. These are the foreign Africans that the ordinary South Africans encounter, from which they construct their notion of the African. The other avenues through which notions of Africa and the African are constructed include mainly education and the media. These constructions have not all been positive and there is evidence of stereotyping, tension and schism between South Africans and immigrants particularly those from other African countries. Harris (2002), for example, assembled a collection of newspaper articles representing Africa as “a negative space ‘out there’, totally separate from the space ‘in here’” (p. 175), and African foreigners as “a disease or a plague descending onto the country” (p. 176).

These representations are important since the media influences the audience, but it also writes to satisfy a market; meaning that these discourses might be acceptable in certain sections of the society. The existence of such an audience has been manifested by spurts of xenophobic violence, the worst of which was in 2008 when approximately 62 people died (McKnight, 2008). It should be cautioned though that xenophobia is not an exclusively South African phenomenon as there are numerous other cases throughout the African continent and the world (Tadjo, 2008; Duponchel, 2013).

It is within these contending discourses on Africa and Africanness that the textbooks that I analysed were produced. As shall be explained in Chapter 3, a grasp of the context of textbook production is important in understanding the nature of the particular textbooks. It is the same society that produces these discourses that still regards textbooks as critical educational media. In his 2011 State of the Nation address, President Zuma acknowledged the critical role of textbooks when he mentioned them amongst the three Ts (teachers, textbooks, and time) that needed to be prioritised in revitalising the country's education system (*SA News*, 2011). The importance with which textbooks are regarded in South Africa was also revealed through the Limpopo textbook scandal which has persisted from 2012 to the present whereby some schools in the province were bereft of textbooks (*Mail & Guardian*, 08 January 2013). The enraged response of South Africans forced the government to investigate, not just in Limpopo, but in other provinces such as the Eastern Cape (Madonsela, 2013; Chisholm, 2013). The concerted government efforts to ameliorate the situation reflected the way textbooks were still regarded as important educational media. This is especially so for History textbooks because they are important in developing a particular consciousness for their users. Even the then Department of Education (2000, p. 6) conceded that while everyone possessed a form of consciousness, "the value of the formal study of history is that it aims to develop this latent consciousness into a conscious consciousness." One of the forms of consciousness that learners can develop through studying the history of Africa is African consciousness, a concept that will be expatiated in Chapter 2.

A description of the South African context reveals that the country does not have one official perspective of Africa and Africanness. It also shows the stereotypes that exist between South Africa and other African countries to the extent that they promote exceptionalism. The context also shows that textbooks, including History ones are still considered an important form of educational media and that History teaching and learning is accepted as an important avenue of promoting a particular consciousness.

1.3 Rationale and motivation of study

Based on the background and contextualisation above, I was motivated to conduct this study by personal, professional and conceptual factors. At a personal level, I am a Zimbabwean citizen by birth and I grew up and was educated up to undergraduate level in Zimbabwe. Subsequently I became a History teacher for eight years before immigrating to South Africa where I have been living, working and studying since 2007. Scholars such as Barnes (2007), Chitate, (2005) Kriger (2006) and Ranger (2005) illustrate how the Zimbabwean History curriculum was gradually politicised until it became patriotic history. I was thus socialised within such revisionist History; a blend of pan-Africanist and Marxist perspectives. However, moving to South Africa for studies exposed me to the implication of being viewed as a foreign “other.” Although I was never a direct victim, the xenophobic experiences of 2008 raised questions within me about African unity which I had always taken for granted. I also started to question what Africanness entailed and in trying to understand the nature of this phenomenon I also became curious about the meaning of Africa in contemporary times. Therefore, in countries such as Zimbabwe and South Africa, studies grounded on post-colonial discourses are ever more relevant. My starting point is therefore on South Africa and on completion of this study my future research endeavours may involve other African countries.

Besides the personal motivation, there is also a professional rationale behind conducting this study. When I started working as an academic, my institution dubbed itself the “premier university of African scholarship.” This motivated me to conduct a study that would fall within this scope of African scholarship. In addition I have been teaching modules on African History at

both undergraduate and postgraduate level. One of the tenets of academic professional development is to link practice with theory and research. Conducting this study was therefore also aimed at informing my lecturing practice. Textbook analysis is also a significant part of my postgraduate courses as my students analyse History textbooks for presentation and for written projects. I have already engaged with History textbook research at Honours and Masters levels so I have professionally embarked on working towards expertise in the field. As part of this endeavour, I have visited the Georg Eckert Institute of International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany and have also presented at conferences and published on textbook research. Therefore, embarking on this study was also part of my professional development while consolidating a niche of research for myself as an academic.

At a conceptual level, my motivation revolves around attempts to understand what Africa means and who an African being is, particularly in a post-colonial dispensation. Although it will be demonstrated how contentious postcolonialism is, a significant aspect of the theory is that a formerly colonised people have to reconcile attempts to redefine an understanding of themselves (Said, 1978). This links with the African Renaissance project briefly outlined above which was not only about economic revival, but also about mental decolonisation and reorientation in the post-colonial era (Mbeki, 1999). At the core of change involving the rebirth and redefinition of Africans as espoused by the African Renaissance is education. According to Mamdani (1999), a major factor in the African Renaissance would be the development of an African intelligentsia, meaning that education should be at the coalface of the development of a new African consciousness, different from that espoused by the Pan-Africanists of the early to mid-20th century leading to the formation of the OAU as explained in the background (Mboukou, 1983). As is explained in Chapter 2, consciousness is, amongst other aspects, knowledge-based, hence the importance of education, particularly History. From a postcolonial point of view, Che Guevara, one of the leading figures in the fight against Western colonialism, contended that education in a post-revolutionary era should aim at constructing a “new man” (Marti, 2008). For example, postcolonial African solidarity as exemplified in the background above should also be manifested in action and amongst the young African citizenry (especially the learners), lest it remains mere political posturing. If one adopts this view from the

perspective of school History, young Africans ought to know who they were and what they are before they can idealise what they want to be. Such conceptual issues thus added to my personal motivation to embark on this study.

Once I had a conceptual idea of what I wanted to study, I turned to preliminary literature to further shape it. One significant piece of literature is the Eustory series which produced the book *What does Europe mean for school History?* This was a large international research project and one of the questions which were asked concerned the promotion of a “European consciousness” through school History (Tutiaux-Guillon, 2001, p. 165). The study involved textbook analysis and it interrogated the meanings of Europe, past and present. As part of the project, Torsti (2001) concluded with reference to Bosnia, that “A closer look at the schoolbooks would certainly verify that ‘Europe’ has three slightly different notions in the three different books used within one small country of about 4,5 million people” (p. 68). In spite of such examples of findings, the project concluded that the common denominator in/of Europe, while elusive, may be realised through the actualisation of the European generation (Ahonen, 2001). In other words, the Europeans may have shared experiences which ultimately unite them rather than keeping them divided into the centre and periphery. This project was therefore crucial in shaping my study to be centred on African consciousness as constructed in South African History textbooks. The link between African consciousness and school History can also be rationalised by the dual burden that school History carries to advance both academic and civil education. Contentious as it is, school History has not been able to escape from promoting government and public values (Ndlovu, 2010). Therefore, the study of History should, amongst other things, have a bearing on the way the learners construct their understanding and awareness of Africa and Africanness. I considered that History textbooks are integral in this construction and that is how I finally arrived at a delineated focus and purpose.

1.4 Focus and purpose

Identifying a focus was a process as has been explained in the foregoing section. At the end of the process I had decided that I aimed to contribute to knowledge, particularly in the field of

History Education. While discourses around African consciousness may be predominately emanating from fields such as Anthropology, Philosophy, and Politics (William, 2003), this study is an attempt to ultimately be a factor in the construction of African consciousness. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyse contemporary secondary History textbooks from South Africa with a focus on the nature of African consciousness promoted through discourses on Africa and Africanness. Such a study set out to “locate and unpack” whatever motivations that may inform this construction (Grinker & Steiner, 2005, p. xxvi).

The meaning of African consciousness is explained in detail in Chapter 2. In this introduction, I can summarily explain that my argument in this thesis is that the study of History by means of textbooks can help construct meanings of Africa and Africanness. As shall be shown in the findings, these concepts comprise many notions. For example, Africa is not just about space, but also about other aspects such as experiences. Similarly, Africanness cannot merely be understood in terms of physical appearance of the African being, but other factors such as experiences also need to be considered. I argue that a historicised awareness of the two constructs (Africa and Africanness) is what constitutes African consciousness. The concept of African consciousness is adapted from the concept of historical consciousness that has been theorised by scholars such as Rüsen (1993). It also refers to the connection between the past, present and future. Therefore the study reveals how African consciousness (through the two concepts of Africa and the Africanness) is constructed in the selected contemporary South African History textbooks.

It should be noted that when I started this study, schools in South Africa were using textbooks that were written for the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). The curriculum was then changed to the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) and new textbooks had to be produced to meet the specifics of the latest curriculum. However, since the introduction of the CAPS was staggered starting with Grade 10, it meant that the Grade 12 textbooks were only distributed for use in 2014. The themes that I planned to analyse are Grade 12 themes and by the time the textbooks for the CAPS were released, I had already finished my analysis. Thus,

although my sample was overtaken by events, I still maintain that the textbooks that I used are contemporary.

1.5 Key research questions

I worked on the premise that research questions are useful in helping the researcher focus on the research problem that has been established (Mouton, 2001; Fouché, 2005). I therefore initiated one overarching critical question that is directly related to the focus and purpose of the study. The question is:

- What is the nature of African consciousness that is constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?

The critical question would have been too broad and vague had I tried to work on it in its form above. I therefore devised sub-questions that would constitute the more specific sum parts of my line of enquiry (Strydom & Delport, 2005). The sub-questions are as follows:

- How is Africa constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?
- How is the African being constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?
- Why are the concepts (Africa/African) constructed the way they are?

1.6 Research design and methodology

The thick description of the South African context that I engaged with in the introduction was essential considering my methodological choices. Since the phenomenon under the microscope is African consciousness in South African History textbooks, I applied a phenomenological research design even though I did not have human subjects. I used Mouton's (2011) research design framework to argue that my research was phenomenological and empirical and it involved secondary textual data over which I, as the researcher, had limited control.

This research was carried out following a qualitative approach meaning that I was dealing with meanings rather than enumerations. There are two reasons for this approach. Firstly, this approach augurs well with social constructionism which was my paradigm. The choice of this paradigm influenced and was simultaneously influenced by my views on epistemology, ontology and human agency. I worked within the assumptions that both knowledge and reality are socially constructed, implying that concepts such as Africa and the African being are constructed in the textbooks (which are, in turn, constructed by the concerned stakeholders). Concerning human agency I worked on the premise that humans (including myself) are agents in how society constructs phenomena (Wellington, et al., 2007). Therefore I acknowledge my being and my positionality influenced the findings of this research.

Secondly, the qualitative approach also accommodates my methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis. CDA is not originally linked with textbook analysis, but, as shall be shown in Chapter 5, there are increasing numbers of studies in textbook analysis using CDA. CDA methodologies focus on language (Johnsen, 2001; Peräkylä, 2005) and context (Crawford, 2000; Naseem, 2008) thus making it different from content analysis which also has a weaker theoretical grounding. There are different forms of CDA, but I selected Fairclough's CDA as my methodology. This form of CDA focuses on linguistic choices that reveal the dominant discourses in the textbooks and links them to the discourses in the context (which is South Africa). I employed purposive sampling to identify four contemporary South African History textbooks created for the NCS, as previously explained. I chose Grade 12 textbooks because it is within them that I found the chapters/units that dealt with postcolonial Africa from which I generated data.

The data that I generated was from both the verbal text and the visual text in the textbooks. Using CDA, I then applied verbal and visual analysis on the text. For the verbal text, I focused on five aspects of functional grammar: lexicalisation; referential cohesion devices; the use of nominalisation; the use of active and passive voice; and patterns of transitivity (Janks, 1997). As for the visual text, I applied visual semiotics as guided by Janks (1997) and LaSpina (1998). I analysed the text following Fairclough's three dimensions of CDA which are: description, interpretation and explanation (Janks, 1997). In the description, I only say what is in the

textbooks in relation to Africa and the African being. It is in the interpretation and, particularly, the explanation that I make reference to the context to make meaning of the described findings. My positionality and my experiences are very important in the interpretation and explanation because, as a Zimbabwean who only came to live in South Africa in 2007, my experiences have been different from the average South African of my age. It also means that the discourses that I have been exposed to and equipped with over my lifetime are not the same as those of the average South African. This can be a limitation in that the frames of reference and the linguistic tools that I will be using to make sense of the data are not necessarily the same as those of the average South African. CDA acknowledges the importance of lived experiences of the analyst in deconstructing the language they are analysing (Janks, 1997). It must be noted however, that even South Africans themselves have not experienced the post-Apartheid period in the same way, so although they might have been influenced by certain discourses emanating from the macro-level, they also have their own discourses that may counter the ones from above. By asserting my positionality, I acknowledge that I practiced “engagement without estrangement” meaning that I acknowledge my subjectivity informed by lived experiences (Janks, 1997, p. 331).

The issue of positionality above is meant to help increase the trustworthiness of this study, since the frames of reference I was employing are clear. The full details of my research design and methodology are explained in detail in Chapter 5. All the research was carried out within my university’s ethical guidelines and contained no ethical complications, particularly because I did not work with human subjects.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

This thesis comprises nine chapters, the first of which is this introduction. This is followed by Chapter 2, which is the first of two literature review chapters. In Chapter 2, I mainly engaged with literature on the meaning of Africa and Africanness. I will then end the chapter by drawing up a conceptual framework for African consciousness. I will achieve this by linking the meanings of Africa and Africanness to historical literacy. Eventually, I will show that it is Rösen’s (1993)

typology for historical consciousness that I adapted to come up with a conceptual framework on African consciousness for the study. Therefore, Chapter 2 is also a conceptual framework chapter and it will strongly link with the theory in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3 engages with literature on History textbooks. I made this the third chapter (instead of the second) because I had to refer to issues of Africa and Africanness as examples as I engaged with literature of History textbooks. I thus had to ensure that Africa and Africanness had been elucidated first in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 is divided into three sections. The first section consists of literature on the concept of the textbook in general. In that section I will discuss what scholars say on the textbook as an aspect of educational media, teachers and learners' use of the textbook, the textbook genre, the role of the state, politics and ideology in textbook production, textbook wars and author agency. I will then explain what literature says about History textbooks, particularly the way they can construct an African consciousness for their audience. I will end the chapter by reviewing the research that has been conducted on History textbooks, with particular emphasis on the South African context.

In Chapter 4 I will explain my theoretical framework, linking it to both Chapters 2 and 3. To do so, I will first explain the possibilities and limitations of my conceptual framework, thus justifying the need for embracing a theoretical framework. This means that I will show the difference between a conceptual and a theoretical framework. I will then explain the volatility and contestations around postcolonialism. In the last section of Chapter 4, I will identify Hitchcock's (1997) discursive postcolonialism as my theoretical framework. In that section, I bring into the discussion the importance of discourse and context in CDA.

The chapter following the theoretical chapter is on the research design and methodology, the contents of which have been described earlier in section 1.6 of this chapter. After the methodology I will describe the findings, which I will present in two separate chapters. In Chapter 6 I will describe the findings on themes on Africa. I present the themes in two sections – on the verbal and the visual text respectively. The themes that I will present represent the four notions of Africa from the analysis: the spatial, temporal, humanised and experiential. Chapter 7 describes the findings on the construction of the African being. It is also divided into

two sections – on the verbal and visual text. The construction of the African being will be described according to five themes: the spatial, the physical, the philosophical, the cultural and the experiential.

After the descriptive analysis I move on to the interpretation in Chapter 8. By interpretation, I will be elucidating the connotations of the findings described in Chapters 6 and 7. The major connotation is that the construction of Africa and the African being in the analysed textbooks is fraught with contradictions and parallel contentions. To give an example, there are cases when Africa is constructed as homogenous (meaning that South Africa is fully part of Africa); then there are cases when Africa is constructed as multifarious (meaning that individual places like South Africa are unique from the rest of Africa). I will also use the context of textbook production to show that these contending discourses are, in fact, mirroring the contemporary discourses on Africa and Africanness in South Africa.

In Chapter 9 I will start by theorising the findings that I have described and interpreted. The theorisation therefore entails the explanation of the findings and it is in two parts. In the first part I will use Rüsen's (1993) typology to explain the nature of African consciousness that is constructed in the textbooks. I explain how the typology cannot be applied wholesale since the findings showed multiple forms of African consciousness instead of just one. I will then theorise why there were multiple forms of African consciousness within and across textbooks. In this theorisation I will rely heavily on the theory of discursive postcolonialism to explain why South African textbooks construct African consciousness in the way that they do.

1.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to introduce my whole thesis. I began by introducing the chapter before giving the background and contextualisation to the study which helped to root the study within a particular space, time and context. It also situated the study within the field of History Education. I explained the context of textbook production which is post-colonial South Africa, with a view to demonstrate the prevailing discourses on Africa and Africanness. The

background and contextualisation helped to identify the research problem and I then continued to explain the rationale and motivation behind it. This set the scene for the purpose and focus of this study. Once the focus was clear, I moved on to give the key research questions which were helpful in further clarifying the research problem. I subsequently explained my chosen research design and methodology after which I presented an outline of the thesis. What will follow in the next chapter is my engagement with literature on the concepts of Africa and Africanness in order for me to come up with a conceptual framework for African consciousness.

CHAPTER 2

AFRICAN CONSCIOUSNESS: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The background to this study as provided in Chapter 1 revealed that the main concept under focus is African consciousness as constructed in History textbooks. This concept will be expounded in this chapter as a conceptual framework. Prior to this, it is essential to review the available research that has been conducted in relation to the concept under the spotlight. For each theme I acknowledge the main scholars and the contexts within which their pronouncements emerged showing how concepts gain new meanings over time. This is because, as shall consistently be argued in this thesis, contexts are crucial in determining contemporary discourses of which textbooks are a part.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section engages with discourses on Africa as a designation with a focus on its origins and various meanings. The second section is an interrogation of the construct of the African being in the light of the meanings of Africa from the preceding section. Against the backdrop of issues discussed in the first two sections, I will then provide a concerted explanation of how this literature provided a sound foundation for the remainder of my study including the research questions, the conceptual and theoretical frameworks and the methodology.

2.2 Discourses on the origins and meanings of Africa as a designation

This engagement with debates regarding Africa as a designation starts with the identification of the contested semantic roots of the word "Africa." Some Pan-Africanists such as Nehusi (2004) insist on spelling it as Afrika. Since the roots cannot be conclusively traced, a number of

hypotheses have, over centuries, been forwarded to explain the semantic origins of the word. Literature reveals that seven theories have been forwarded to account for the roots of the name Africa. An analysis of the various theories shows a link to either geography or race, or both, through the course of centuries. Therefore Africa can be considered a social construct, meaning that it did not always exist, and once it was designated to the continent its reality was actualised through common use over time.

Although the exact date of first usage of Africa in reference to a geopolitical space cannot be categorically determined, evidence shows that the designation was in use during the Greco-Roman period, at least by circa 200 B.C. According to Hood (2003, p. 25), the earliest reference to Africa was in “the Latin literary world in the works of Ennius (239-169 B.C.E.), written ... after the Roman defeat of Carthage⁴ in the Punic Wars (264-146 B.C.E.)” It is possible, though, that the name could have been in use earlier than Ennius’ text. In fact, Feinberg and Solodow (2002, p. 255) when tracing the roots of the familiar adage, “there is always something new coming out of Africa,” reveal the Greek origins of the proverb “no later than the fourth century BC.” It should still be taken into consideration that the name could have already been in use before this available written text, or there could even be earlier references which were destroyed or are yet to be discovered.

The semantic meanings of Africa as a designation are invariably as ambiguous as its earliest usage. As early as the 1st century, eminent Jewish historian Josephus linked Africa to Epher, the grandson of Abraham and Keturah⁵ who is said to have occupied present-day Libya around 1750 BC (Lipinski, 2004). This theory has at least two implications. The first is that the construct Africa would have Hebrew, and not Greek, origins as the above citations would suggest. Such a theory would thus suggest that the designation came into use much earlier than the Greek empire era because Abraham predated the Greek empire. The second implication is that Africa referred, not to an entire continent, but to the space in North Africa around present-day Libya on the Mediterranean Sea, since much of present-day Africa was not part of the known world

⁴ Carthage was an ancient city-state in present day Libya in North Africa

⁵ Abraham, the Biblical Hebrew father, is said to have had children with Keturah and one of his grandchildren, Epher, became a prominent political and military figure in the Greek Empire, in the process occupying ancient Libya.

of the Greeks and Romans. Subsequent discussion below will raise the contentions related to these two implications.

Regarding the original coiners of Africa as a name, there are other differing views. For instance, one major scholar on Africa, Mahmood Mamdani (1999, p. 128), maintains that “Africa, in the beginning, was a name Romans gave to their province in North Africa. Africa then was Africa north of the Sahara. It is from the Romans that the Arabs took the name ‘Ifriqiya’.” This differing view demonstrates how scholars are not in agreement over the original users of the name Africa amongst the Greeks, Romans, Hebrews (later Jews) and Arabs and who adapted the name from whom. Furthermore, what is also emerging is that the designation of Africa might have been created out of the corruption of another term in a different language, be it Epher or Ifriqiya. In addition, the existence in North Africa of a Berber tribe (the Aourigha) whose name is pronounced more or less as Africa also serves to complicate the debate on the original name for Africa (Morton, 2007). Therefore, what can be argued, at this juncture, is that there is no convincing evidence of Africa being an original name for a particular geopolitical space. Rather, although uncertain in origin, it related only to the geographical area known to the antique world around the Mediterranean without necessarily carrying racial connotations.

On the subject of the geographical implication of the name Africa, it has been pointed out that the label did not originally refer to the whole continent. However, in relation to the semantic origins of the designation, one theory claims the name was coined in reference to the area’s geographical conditions – for instance Africa meaning either a windy or hot region (Hood, 2003). This would mean that the climatic conditions of the area could be described in local vernacular by terms that are phonologically closely related to the term Africa. However, the literature consistently agrees that Africa was a name used to refer to the area around present-day Libya. For example, although their evidence is not explicit, Arac and Johnson (1991); Hood (2003) and Mamdani (1999) concur that the name applied to areas in North Africa, particularly the Carthage area. There is also evidence that “after capturing Carthage in 146 AD, the Romans called the new province *Africa proconsularis*” (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 19). This, in literal translation, meant that the territory then called Africa was governed by a Roman proconsul. It was this area

that became known as Ifriquia or, later, the Maghreb following the movement of the Arabs into the area after 642 AD (Hood, 2003; Van Dijk, 2006). There is evidence that even the likes of Aristotle (the philosopher) and Anaxilas (the poet) in the Roman Empire used “Libya” instead of “Africa” in the proverb ‘There is always something new coming out of Africa’ although they were not referring to the whole of present-day Africa as it was not known to them (Feinberg & Solodow, 2002, p. 257). One can therefore contend that, at least by the 7th century AD, the contentions surrounding the name of Africa were still mainly linguistic and geographical. Hood (2003, p. 26) points this out conclusively by arguing that “Africa in Greco-Roman times was a geographically and intellectually imprecise construct.”

The study of available cartography is useful in giving evidence of the development of the concept of Africa in relation to a geographical designation. Greek poet Homer who is believed to have lived around 800 B.C. drew a map of the world which made no mention of Africa. The map depicts Libya as separate from Ethiopia in its immediate south in which later on the legend of Prester John developed (Johnston, 1894). By the time of Herodotus of the Greek empire (484-425 B.C.), the world map depicted the world showing only present-day North Africa labelled as Libya. It did not recognize the rest of what is in present day terms called Africa, rather claiming that a huge sea bordered Libya further to the south (Butler & Rhys, 1908). By A.D. the maps still showed a distinction between Libya and Ethiopia, but no distinction between Libya and Africa. In fact, one contemporary map depicted the label “Africa vel Libya” which, in English, translates to “Africa or Libya” for northern Africa while the whole area immediately south from the Atlantic to the Red Sea is labelled as Ethiopia (Johnston, 1894). However, by the 2nd Century A.D., Ptolemy showed a world map which depicted Africa as a territory superseding both Libya and Ethiopia. By then, the name was gaining a common collective use to encapsulate a broader geographical area. In doing so, the die has been cast for a name that would in time come to imply the geography of the whole of what we know now as Africa. Still, Africa did not extend further south of than the Sahara, although it now acknowledged the continuation of the landmass southwards, albeit flawed by the idea of a much larger landmass linking Africa and the Far East (Butler & Rhys, 1908). Such maps, which were drawn in Europe, show that at that time the Europeans had no idea what and how much of Africa could be found

south of the Sahara up until the 15th century when the Portuguese embarked on voyages of exploration. Before these voyages, Europeans, just like the people in Africa itself, had a narrow understanding of the wider world around them. Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that the people at Great Zimbabwe, for example, considered themselves to be part of a greater space called Africa.

However, there is some debate on the Portuguese being the first to map Africa. According to Prah (2006) Columbus actually made use of Chinese maps produced as a result of Chinese exploration of the world almost a century earlier. This is illustrated by Menzies (2003) who provides the Kangnido world map of 1402 already showing the whole of Africa, albeit without calling it Africa. By the time Fra Mauro (a Venetian cartographer of the 15th century) produced his plenisphere in 1459, there was a clear designation of Africa as the area south of the Sahara, while the north retained the name Libya (Menzies, 2003). This can be considered to be the beginning of the view of Africa as the area south of the Sahara. With further explorations and cartography, by the 17th century the label Africa was applied by Europeans to the entire present-day continent. For example, a map by G. and I. Blaeu drawn in 1648 designates the whole present-day continent of Africa as Africa (Martin & O'Meara, 1995). Nonetheless, there is also evidence that such a designation was not widely used. For instance, on Karl von Spruner's map of 1855 depicting the unfolding history of Africa "from the Arab conquests in the 8th century up to the arrival of the Portuguese in the 14th century" in reference to southern Africa there is not much except rivers and the area is labelled as "unknown land of the heathens." Without losing focus, the study of available maps shows that it was during the time of the explorations by the Chinese, and especially the Portuguese, that Africa became a designation of the territory south of the Sahara extending to what is now called the Cape. As a result of factors such as the advancement of technology (such as ships and maps) and increased curiosity European travellers further overcame the fear of travelling to unfamiliar territory. The European travels, amongst other things, resulted in the name Africa being bestowed on a whole geographical region now known as Africa. This name, which was in fact an outsider construct with ambiguous ancient roots, was given to the continent in a process in which the inhabitants – at least south of the Sahara – had no input. In time, they had to, and did, take it as their own.

Available literature does not adequately illustrate the emergence of a racialised notion of Africa. Nevertheless, by the time of the Arabian settlement of the Maghreb (North Africa around the Mediterranean Sea), following the Islamic forays of the 7th century AD, there is evidence of the construct Africa being used with attachment to racial (and religious) connotations. However, Africa as a place did not necessarily signify the homogenous continent of today, but only parts of North Africa. According to Mamdani (1999, p. 128), the meaning of Africa took a fundamental shift during the European Dark Ages (*circa* 450 AD -1000 AD) by pointing out that it was the Arabs who racially differentiated the Maghreb Africa from Africa south of the Sahara which was then called “‘Bilad-as-Sudan’, the land of the black people,” although it also meant land of the non-believers. More of this racial distinction will be discussed in the next subsection which interrogates the construct of an African as it referred to physical human appearance rather than language or geography.

In addition, the racialisation of Africa which had emerged during the period of the Arab incursions of North Africa and the European Dark Ages actually gained ground in the subsequent millennium. The Arab incursions, accompanied by the trans-Saharan trade (especially in slaves) further delimited Africa according to race, intertwined with religion. According to Mamdani (1999, p. 128), it was especially during the trans-Atlantic slavery days (*ca* 1450 - 1880) that a radical “racialised notion of Africa as socially Bantu and spatially equatorial” developed. This however, mostly referred to sub-Saharan Africa which would, well into the mid-20th century be called “Negro Africa” (Fage & Tordoff, 2002, p. 5). These new variables such as “Bantu” (which basically refers to people), and “Negro” (which is racial) served only to construction of Africa as an imprecise geopolitical construct. This means that Africa was increasingly being defined through the conceptualisation of the continent’s inhabitants rather than on its own physical make up. Additionally, the original Africa (North Africa/Libya) consequently ended up sharing its name with the extension of Africa to the south (sub-Saharan Africa).

European colonisation, particularly by the end of the 19th century, can be viewed as an extension of the racialised notion of Africa that had emerged from the heydays of the trans-

Atlantic slave trade. According to Wallerstein (1988, p. 332), it is during the century of European colonisation (starting approximately in the last quarter of the 19th century) that the concept of Africa really “emerged” to the extent that the Europeans who had taken a lead in defining it “struggled to take [more] control of the defining process.” To illustrate this point, Wallerstein (1988) refers to the decision by the delegates at the first Conference of Independent African States in Accra in 1958 to include the area north of the Sahara as falling within their designation of Africa. This political act can be argued to be the first significant step by people on the continent of Africa in defining the land which they inhabited even in the context of diverse racial settlement of the continent. Therefore, while there are debates to the effect that European colonisation divided Africa and its people; the 1958 decision was one example of how, on the other hand, colonisation also unintentionally unified Africa politically, geographically and, to some extent, racially. For the first time representatives of the people living on the continent had united to affirm their view of themselves as Africans. As a geographical construct inherited in recent modern times, post-colonial Africa did not change much, at least geographically.

Since the second half of the 20th century post-independence African forums have grappled with conceptualising an inclusive notion of Africa. Therefore, based on the racialised notion developed earlier, contemporary debates on Africa regularly question the inclusion of North Africa in African studies (Grinker & Steiner, 2005). This includes the question of the Sahara being either a barrier, a bridge or highway through Africa. It being a barrier implies that the desert separates the Maghreb from the rest of Africa in terms of geography, religion and peopling, while it being a bridge acknowledges difference without separation but with nodes of connection. The Sahara being viewed as a highway means that there is virtually no difference between North Africa and the rest of the continent. Similar debates exist regarding some islands which are recognised to fall under Africa such as Cape Verde, Comoros, São Tome and Principe, Seychelles and Mauritius. In this regard, Collins and Burns (2007, p. 21) argue that “Madagascar, separated from the mainland by 250 miles off the Mozambique Channel, is of Africa rather than in it.” The implication of such a statement is that not all territory that is said to be *de jure* part of Africa is *de facto* part of Africa. Such an argument is in spite of geological

evidence of Madagascar being part of larger landmasses such as Pangea and Gondwanaland before continental drift separated it into the Indian Ocean. However, the inclusivist/exclusivist debate is not limited to islands only. Mamdani (1999, p. 128) explains how in common discourses “Equatorial Africa – between the Sahara and the Limpopo – is what was referred to as the ‘real Africa’ or ‘the Dark Continent’.” In another case, Jappie (2011) refers to a French proverb (related to this argument but also dealing with pigmentation) – which argues that Africa starts at the Pyrenees – Northern Spain and across from the narrow Straits of Gibraltar. The meaning of this is that Africa takes and has taken over time different designations depending on the issues being discussed, thus some areas can invariably be included or excluded. Such applications of geography, race and religion has survived time and thus are sometimes functional.

My discussion so far shows a continual modification of the meanings of Africa, based on evolving discourses although the geography has generally remained constant. There is no reason to suppose that the modification process has ended. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) acknowledges the existence of different theories as explained above, but their conclusion confirms the view by scholars such as Mamdani (1999) that the Arabs borrowed the name Africa from the Romans. There are some implications of the analysis provided above. First, the plurality and evident evolution of these designations is substantiation that the name Africa did not necessarily refer to the geographical unit that assumes the name today. An additional implication is that Africa was not given its name by people who are by and large referred to as Africans today. Therefore, as with most names and identities, Africa is not a self-constructed concept and for centuries the people in Africa did not view their wider geopolitical space as Africa and only in the 20th century did people on the continent try to take ownership of the name. It not being self-constructed serves as an illustration of how Africa is a construct of human thought and experience through discourse. Grinker and Steiner (2005, p. xviii) confirm this by spelling out that, “The naming of a continent may seem benign and innocuous, yet in past centuries, the term continent implied something that holds and retains.” It is the role of researchers to find out, as this study will in some ways,

the implications behind such naming since they mean more than what is apparent.⁶ To confirm this point van Dijk (2006, p. 20) quotes Ryszard Kapuściński, a Polish journalist, to have assertively claimed that: “Only with the greatest simplification can we say ‘Africa.’ In reality, except as a geographical appellation, Africa does not exist.”

If the realistic existence of Africa is to be taken as nothing more than a “capricious geographic label” (Markowitz, 1996, p. 193) – whose meaning has constantly been changing through discourse – it can therefore be argued that other constructions of Africa have been made. To support the above statement Kapuściński, Grinker and Steiner (2010, p. xviii) contend that, “Africa – is especially curious because, at one level, Africa refers to an actual geological unity ... but at another level it refers to more?” Such other constructions may not be referring to the physical continent, but the continent as a conceptualistic being.

For instance, at one extreme, Africa has been constructed as a homogenous world problem. According to Miller (1985), texts and other representations have played a huge role in the construction of what is viewed to be Africa today. An example of the construction of Africa as a problem is the following policymakers’ report on the continent by Adams, King and Hook (2010, p. 10):

More than 50 nations, hundreds of languages, and a welter of ethnic and cultural diversity. A continent possessed of abundant natural resources but also perennially wracked by a now-familiar litany of post-colonial woes: poverty, want, political instability and corruption, disease, and armed conflicts frequently driven by ethnic and tribal divisions but supplied by more mature economies.

Without necessarily disputing or agreeing with the above generalising statement, it can be concluded that this kind of discourse views Africa as a hotchpotch of tragedy. This means that Africa is now more than just a geographical label. Instead, the mere mention of the name can create a mental picture of a plagued phenomenon. Some even tend to ignore the human inhabitants of the continent and view Africa as exotic with a focus on the continent’s natural resources such as wildlife (Barr, 2011). Such connotations of African failure are largely

⁶ The naming of Africa is more mythical than the naming of other continents, for example the Americas deriving their names from Amerigo Vespucci, an Italian explorer.

correlated to Western thought, discourses and benchmarks. Such a construction of Africa is related to the inclusivity/exclusivity debate alluded to above. Mamdani (1999, p. 132) refers this to a “dual assumption” whereby on one hand Africa is viewed as a collective failure or “Dark Continent” while on the other hand some success stories are distanced from the African designation. The other side of the dual assumption was alluded to in Chapter 1. According to Mamdani (1999, p. 132), it can be exemplified by “South African exceptionalism, a widely shared prejudice that South Africa may be part of Africa geographically, but not politically or culturally, and certainly not economically.”

The view of Africa as a deficient world problem is not necessarily the only designation to which the continent has found itself attached. At the opposite extreme, there is also a view which tends to fantasise Africa to the point of making it an unspoilt and rich paradise especially when referring to the continent before European colonisation. The concept of the African renaissance can be taken as an example of how some forums view Africa as a once flourishing territory which only lost its strength with the beginning of contact with Europeans, but can still regain its lost standing. This view is dominant amongst some people of African descent in the Diaspora who look at Africa as an ideal long lost home. According to Adebajo (2004, p. 97) some African Americans have for example constructed Africa as a “cultural shield behind which they sought refuge in an idealized past, free of slavery and xenophobia and aggressive efforts by white Americans to obliterate their African cultures and identities.” This can be illustrated by Africa being referred to as “mother” metaphorically bestowing on Africa the maternalistic role mothers play over their children (Schipper, 1987; Stambach, 1999; Stratton, 1994; Wasike, 2009). This fantasy Africa is sometimes also treated as a monolith in almost all aspects, be they political, cultural or religious. Instead of referring to individual countries, languages or cultures within the continent, such discourse simply refers to the whole continent and particular cultural practice from one specific part of the continent are generalised as African culture as if it is a monotonous sameness. The motivation behind such discourse will be discussed in the next section on Africans as a construct.

Revealed here in the literature is that the meaning of Africa as a designation varies depending on the discourses and who is shaping them. It has been illustrated that the naming of Africa is not Africa-based. Therefore a tracing of the history of the continent tends to follow the narrative of those who named it. This tended to strengthen the idea of Africa not having a history of its own as propounded by Hegelian thought and supported by scholars such as Hugh Trevor-Roper in the 1960s. This view has recently been challenged, and Grinker and Steiner (2005, p. 682) point out that “Africa has not simply been subjected to the progression of other people’s histories, but has produced, directed, and contributed to the course of world events.” The argument of some Africanist scholars is that Africa is still part of the globe but the construction of the continent by people who live on the continent has not been able to dominate discourses. This is summarised by Gyekye (1995) who reminds us that “our knowledge of Africa has been constructed and disseminated through (mostly negative) images and theories by Europeans about Africa and Africans.”

To sum up the discourses, it has been illustrated how the literature reveals the major contestations in relation to the name Africa. It can be nevertheless concluded that the name is a social construct given to a space whose people only took ownership of it millennia later. While its historical meanings are ambiguous, the current Africa has taken multiple meanings depending largely on one’s orientation. Such orientations become part of discourses which actualise the particular meanings through representation. For learners at school, this text and representation of Africa is mostly found officially in their History textbooks. It is because of an awareness of the power of education that Grinker and Steiner (2005) recommend: “Those who teach and study Africa today must learn to problematize the issue of representation in order to locate and unpack the economic, political, personal or other motivations that might underlie any particular image of Africa.” Therefore, the representation of Africa in the History textbooks enables the African learner (and others, for that matter) in the 21st century to ask new questions and develop new and relevant understandings of what Africa means, in the process developing an African consciousness. However, to fully understand the discourses on Africa as a construct, it is also important to understand the discourses on Africanness.

2.3 Discourses on Africanness

Similarly as has been demonstrated on the name Africa, the reviewed literature also shows that the African being is not a straightforward construct. The meaning of the African has been evolving over time as well, alongside the conceptualisation of the continent. Through history, the criteria that have been used to qualify one as an African ranged from geographical location, race, language, culture and attitude to experiences (Armah, 1999). These criteria are therefore used as the guiding themes of the review of literature on the construct of the African being, which in this study will also be referred to as Africanness. Some scholars prefer to refer to this construct as Africanity (Dei, 1994; Mazrui, 2005) while others refer to African personhood (Fairfax, 2011).

To begin with, at a simple level, reference to geographical location or habitation is often used to determine who a person is. In this sense, for instance, somebody like me who is deemed an inhabitant of Zimbabwe is hence simplistically regarded as Zimbabwean (although this has complications of its own since it is based on the modern nation state). For example, there are people who would rather call themselves Rhodesians when the world and their own state call them Zimbabweans. Similarly, an inhabitant of Africa is basically then regarded as an African. The engagement with literature here shows that some scholars have taken this route of identifying Africanness. There is no evidence to persuade us not to believe that the term African came into use simultaneously as the original use of the term Africa. As has already been explained, the early Africans were sometimes referred to as Libyans and did not necessarily refer to the inhabitants of the whole of the African continent. As such, at one point the Ethiopians were not necessarily known as African, as was much of what is known as Sub-Saharan Africa in present times. To confirm this, Van Dijk (2006, p. 19) quotes South African writer, Zakes Mda to have asserted that, “until about 100 years ago the inhabitants of the continent did not generally refer to themselves as Africans ... They recognized and celebrated primarily various identities that were based on ethnicity, clan, family, gender and class.” This

means that it was during the era of European colonisation that inhabitants of the African continent were given this name until they ultimately adopted it.

To understand the basis of Mda's argument, it should be considered that the world – particularly in African discourses – has generally taken a different outlook since the 1950s when Pan-Africanism claimed a foothold on the African continent. For example, globalization and post-colonial dynamics have contributed greatly to migration into, out of, and within Africa. One effect of such developments is that the view of Africans as defined by geographical location is now open to further criticism. Nevertheless, Mazrui (2005, p. 70) maintains that even in the context of globalisation and intensified migration, the identification of Africans need not be confusing and he argues that all indigenous inhabitants of Africa can be classified as “Africans of the soil.” In reference to the same classification, Dei (1994, p. 3) labels himself “a continental African by birth.” Practically, such classifications are not really as neat as they apparently sound. For instance, both of them have a connotation that there are other kinds of Africans. This then unwittingly returns to confirm the original point that geographical location is not the sole delimitation of being an African.

A related, but adaptable, understanding of Africanness was that offered by the Pan-Africanist intellectuals. Over the last century, the Pan-Africanist movement played a significant role in theorising Africanness, amongst other things. In general, this movement viewed Africanness as determined by origin, implying that all who were habitant in Africa at least by the 15th century arrival of European explorers can be defined as African. Furthermore, it posited that all those of such African heritage who are now in the Diaspora (both by forced or voluntary emigration) can be deemed to be African. This view is not surprising as the key figures of the Pan-Africanist movement at the beginning of the 20th century such as Henry Sylvester-Williams, Edward Wilmot Blyden, W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey were in the Diaspora, especially the United States of America (USA) and the West Indies (Mboukou, 1983). The movement, with its theories originating from outside of the African continent, was in turn adopted by leading intellectuals and politicians on the African continent such as Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and Ashie-

Nikoi⁷ who used it as a nationalist framework in the fight for African independence. The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress was thus a watershed because Africans on the continent officially adopted Pan-Africanism. Therefore, from a Pan-Africanist point of view, Africanness could be determined, not only by contemporary geographical location, but also by geographical origin. This means that Africans could be found living outside Africa, in as much as non-Africans could be found settled in Africa. Hence one could still be African even though they were not born or resident on the continent. Such a criterion for Africanness would invariably depend on factors such as race for qualification, as will be discussed further below.

As a counter to the preceding line of reasoning, if one is to look at origin from Africa, archaeological and genetic studies provide evidence for a different argument. For example, Van Dijk (2006, p. 25) explains how a number of such studies have been conducted and concluded that “not only is Africa ‘the cradle of humankind’ but, from a genetic perspective, all people continue to be Africans – at least more than anything else.” This links to the FIFA World Cup slogan referred to in Chapter 1, which is based on this argument that all the various genetic make-ups that distinguish the races of the present-day developed as people moved out of what we now call the African continent. The implication of such research would be that if Africanness is determined by origin, then all of humankind can still claim to be African. In fact, such discourse has begun to gain more momentum in recent times as the world grapples with issues such as migration, racism, ethnicity and xenophobia. As was explained in Chapter 1, these current discourses contributed to the motivation for me to conduct this study. This means that any efforts determined to designate Africanness to a particular population would have to be based on separate criteria other than origin from the continent.

So far, it is evident that the search for concrete standards for Africanness is elusive and certain criteria need further qualification. The allusion to geographical origin, as explained above, has loopholes and this has resulted in the application of discourses of race. In any case, amongst other things, the Pan-Africanist framework aimed at challenging the racialised view of the world which Du Bois (1925) viewed as “the problem ... of the colour line.” However, it can also be said

⁷ Kwame Nkrumah was independent Ghana’s first leader while Jomo Kenyatta took over leadership in Kenya at independence. Ashie-Nikoi first worked with Nkrumah, but later became his opponent

to have fallen into the same trap as, in some cases, it applied African synonymously with Black. One piece of evidence for this is the spatial reference to the Pan-African congress as the Black Triangle – the United States, the West Indies, and Black Africa (Mboukou, 1983). This could explain why some of the Pan-Africanists such as Marcus Garvey seemed to have a strong following in Africa with the “Africa for the Africans” slogan, in which the African was the Black (Mboukou, 1983). This view was strong in the West Indies where related groups such as the Rastafarian movement also categorically declared all Black people African. Black in itself is an ambiguous concept and it did not always refer to the same level of pigmentation from context to context. For example, in America, Blackness was determined by the one-drop rule which meant that if one had any traceable Black heritage (also called Negro then) they would be classified Black (Hollinger, 2005). However, this was not the same case, especially in settler African colonies, where mixed race people would be classified as Coloured and even White as was the case with some Afrikaners in South Africa.⁸ Since Pan-Africanism was originally mooted in the Americas, it adopted blackness based on the one-drop rule. The application of the one-drop rule in Africa was however not as straightforward as in America and that is why it is also problematical to use it as a determinant of Africanness.

The differences in the meanings of Black have meant that racial references alone do not provide watertight definitions of Africanness. These differences have meant that some people would then be viewed to be more African than others. An example of a kind of hierarchy developed to determine Africanness is illustrated by Mazrui’s (2005) typology. Where he referred to native Africans as Africans of the soil, Mazrui (2005, p. 70) refers to the ones in the Diaspora as “Africans of the blood.” To clarify his position, he asserts:

North Africans such as Boutros-Ghali belong to the African continent (the soil) but not the black race (the blood). On the other hand, African Americans are Africans of the blood (the black race) but not of the soil (the continent). Sub-Saharan Africans such as Kofi Annan are in reality both Africans of the soil (the continent) and of the blood (the race).

⁸ According to Hans Heese (1971), the modern day Afrikaner is mixed race as they are descendants of both white and black populations.

Extremist as it sounds, this view, which is based on race and geography, is shared by some scholars from the other extreme end of the scholarship spectrum. In certain instances, North Africans, in spite of inhabiting the space known as early Africa, were being distanced from being African. For example, in CG Seligman's contentious *Races of Africa* present-day northern Africans are actually called Europeans because some race theories regard them to be of "Caucasoid stock" (Fage & Tordoff, 2002, p. 7). This would imply that people of Caucasoid stock, irrespective of where they are found, are European, this being the exact opposite of designating Africanness to all Black people. However, Fage and Tordoff (2002, pp. 10-11) contend that while "Caucasoids were certainly the dominant stock, if not the only one, living in North and North-East Africa" there is evidence of both Black and Caucasoid inhabitation of North Africa from "the Neolithic cemetery at Badari in Upper Egypt" dating from about 4000 B.C. up to the Greek and Roman empires. As a result, even in the wake of the inclusive pronouncement at the Conference of Independent African States of 1958, reference to North Africans as Africans is usually a matter of contingency rather than consensus as it usually oscillates from race to geography.

In relation to the above, physical appearance and the racialised notion of Africans are in line with concepts such as Negritude as theorised by the likes of Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Aimé Césaire, a poet from Martinique, an island in the West Indies (Thompson, 2002). Dominant in Francophone African discourse, Negritude also identified Africanness with Blackness. This also implied that the Blacks in the Diaspora could be classified as African since Blackness has no evident geographical frontiers (William, 2003). However, as explained earlier, Blackness itself has been operationalised differently in different contexts. For example, while Dei (1994, p. 5) categorically states that "African is a race," and is comfortable using the words Africans and blacks interchangeably, the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, as shall be discussed later, officially adopted the meaning of Black as referring to non-white, a racial classification which had its roots in Apartheid and related race theories. This can explain

why, for instance both Ruth First and Albert Luthuli⁹ of South Africa declared themselves to be Africans, in spite of contemporary race theories categorising the two individuals in different racial groups. Therefore, although the racialisation of Africanness was constructed by people who viewed it as exotic otherness, the champions of anti-racism in Africa tended to have adopted the same notion. The problem here is that by adopting such categorisation, they were partaking in the perpetuation of the same conceptions of race which they purported to fight.

Most of the debates on Africanness and race are centred on the binary of Black and White. The problem with such a position is that it excludes mixed-race people. While in the USA, mixed-race people have loosely been categorised as African American, the case in countries such as South Africa is different. Racial categorisation meant that mixed-race people were named Coloured and regarded as superior to Blacks. It is such classification which excludes mixed-race people from Africanness. This is illustrated in the article *Africa Is Coming to the Cape* in which Western (2001, p. 618) commented on how the Cape Coloured community were scared that they were being overwhelmed by an “indeflectable Black African migration” seemingly implying that the Cape Coloured was not African. In support of such a view, Mamdani (1999, p. 129) contends that the Creolised people in southern and east Africa are culturally “neither wholly African nor wholly non-African.” Such an ambiguous assertion is no solution to the quest of conceptualising Africanness and creates loopholes in the use of race as a designating factor of the African being.

It is apparent that the reviewed literature is reflecting the problems related with setting fixed criteria for the determination of Africanness. As seen above, it is a major problem to try employing race without necessarily confusing it with other criteria such as language and culture. For instance while early Africans, some of whom were found in ancient Egypt, were sometimes referred to as Hamites, the term Hamitic actually does not denote race but a group

⁹ Ruth First was a South African born to Jewish immigrant parents in 1925. A member of the South African Communist Party, she became a prominent member of the anti-Apartheid movement until her assassination in exile in Mozambique in 1982.

Albert Luthuli was born in present-day Zimbabwe, he returned to South Africa where he grew up to be a teacher, traditional chief and anti-Apartheid politician. He became the African National Congress (ANC) president from 1952, a post he retained until his death in 1967.

of languages. This complication of race and language can be illustrated by how the Hausa language is classified as Hamitic yet the speakers of Hausa stretching into Nigeria are generally viewed as Blacks (Fage & Tordoff, 2002, p. 8). The same problem applies with the reference to the term Bantu¹⁰ which, in varying contexts, has assumed the designation of both linguistic and racial classification (Fage & Tordoff, 2002, p. 21). Therefore, the use of language proficiency as a determination of Africanness is evidently fraught with problems. However, reference to language in debates on Africanness is still alive especially in studies on Africans in the Diaspora. Mazrui (2006, p. 68) explains that there is a difference between African Americans and American Africans by arguing that “In the case of American Africans, the noun is ‘Africans,’ the adjective is American. What kind of Americans? *African* Americans!” His argument here is that American Africans are those immigrants in America who may over time evolve to become African Americans. According to Mazrui (2006, p. 68) an American African family only mutates to become African American “when it loses its ancestral language.” This argument shows how language is also used as referral to determining Africanness. Using this logic a European who settles in Africa and adopts an African spoken language will have lost their Europeaness to become African and as long as they speak their home language they remain European.

The conceptualisations of the African that are explained above would suggest that it is possible not to be living in Africa, but be still classified as African, while similarly, it being possible to be living in Africa – and being a citizen of an African country by birth – but not being African. In other words, one need not live in Africa to be an African and vice-versa. Nevertheless, such literature only serves to reveal how problematic it still is to define an African being. It is Mamdani’s (1999) view that the onus is on African intellectuals to identify a common denominator that permeates African beings.

Besides referring to abode and physical attributes, culture has also been considered to be the elusive common denominator. This is the basis of the anthropologist argument that the two Africas (Sub-Saharan and the Maghreb) have separate homogenous cultures. One such anthropologist is Igor Kopytoff who concluded that Sub-Saharan Africans exhibited “a striking

¹⁰ As noted earlier, Bantu literally refers to people, although some linguists have adopted it as a linguistic classification. Under Apartheid it was a collective noun for black people.

degree of fundamental cultural unity” (Grinker & Steiner, 2005, p. xxvii). However, not all scholars agree. For instance, Appiah (1992, p. 26) ardently contended thus:

Whatever Africans share, we do not have a common traditional culture, common languages, a common religious or conceptual vocabulary ... we do not even belong to a common race ... The central cultural fact of African life remains not the sameness of Africa’s cultures, but their enormous diversity.

The divergent views shown in these two anthropology-based examples exhibit how problematic identifying Africanness by culture can be. Appiah’s argument makes sense if one considers the statistics given by Van Dijk (2006, p. 20) that “Africa is home to the greatest variety of people on earth – 850 million people, several (ten) thousand ethnic groups, one thousand languages.” Notwithstanding, there is an argument that even given those statistics there is a common cultural thread running through Africans. Dei (1994, p. 4) goes even further to claim that this common thread is evident amongst Africans “wherever they may be” and the cultural similarities can be identified in “social structure, music, burial customs, and folk beliefs.” This view is contentious as it does not allow room for multiple identities or even cultural evolution. William (2003, p. 243) contributes to this debate by summarily stating that “talk of African identity in terms of culture is at best precarious.”

In the face of the quandary elucidated above, there is a tendency to move away from race, language, and even culture to the point of referring to experience as the missing African common denominator. The argument would be that Africans share a common history (usually in reference to Western colonisation) and that experience has shaped them to be who they are to the extent of determining an expected African behaviour. An example is the case mentioned in Chapter 1 Nelson Mandela, then President of South Africa, was condemned by his African peers for “anti-African behaviour” after adopting an isolationist stance against then Nigerian President, Sani Abacha (Akopari & Nyoni, 2009, p. 128). In relation to this Mandela case, one can also refer to the so-called quiet diplomacy adopted by the then South African President, Thabo Mbeki, towards President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, which at the level of the African Union was defended as “African solutions to African problems” (Goldmann, 2005, p. 459). It should be noted that the examples given here only illustrate the construction of African

behaviour at a macro rather than micro level of society. In other words, while it is easier to construct the behaviour of an African head of state (considering they are only 54), the same generalisation is more complicated at the level of hundreds of millions of ordinary Africans.

An attempt to do this is illustrated by William (2003, p. 244) who uses memory theory to explain African identity and behaviour which he claims “can be located significantly in his [the African] ability to engage in a positive reflective consciousness of his past. His memory would be of a member of an exploited race.” However, two problems arise out of this argument. Firstly, and as William (2003) himself admits, Africans are not the only people to have experienced a history of exploitation. Secondly, there are exceptional cases of countries such as Ethiopia which survived the scramble for Africa and thus did not really experience a common negative European colonisation except for the period after Benito Mussolini of Italy’s invasion in 1935. Furthermore, the synonymous use of memory and history is challenged by Phillips (2006) who contends that the two are not necessarily the same. This argument is adumbrated further in the section on African consciousness below. Nevertheless, whatever the weaknesses of William’s (2003) arguments, he attempts to show how historical consciousness is crucial in creating an understanding of who or what an African is.

While it might be tempting to generalise the African experience of colonisation, it should be noted that the actual experiences were not the same and lasted for differing spells. For example, the histories and experiences of struggle in Ghana which gained independence in 1957 and that of South Africans against apartheid which almost lasted up until the end of the 21st century are different. Even Thabo Mbeki, himself the champion of the concept of the African Renaissance, felt that the South African experience was different with differing results. Subsequently when Mbeki returned to his country from exile at the end of Apartheid, he observed a difference, as summarised by his statement of puzzlement: “It was very clear that something had happened in South African society, something that didn’t happen in any other African society. The repeated observation is that ‘These South Africans are not quite African, they’re European’” Adebajo (2004, p. 175). Mamdani (1999), whose dual assumption has been explained earlier, also adds to this debate by explaining how his experience in South Africa –

where he was surprised to hear people say that he was from Africa – made him think that this could also be the kind of thinking in other African countries¹¹.

The above shows how the word African has in some discourses replaced the term Black. As a result of the negativity ascribed to the term Black during Africa's colonial history and the Americas before the achievement of civil rights, it is apparent that the designation of being African has become the preferred term. In addition, ethnic conflict in Africa can be related to some of the ethnic anthropology theories. For example, according to William (2003, p. 239) the differentiation of Africans is centred on five groups: the Khoisan (in the fringes of Southern Africa) and pygmies (in the Congo); the Sudanese in West Africa, the Bantu (found south of the Equator); the black Hamites (East-Central Africa) and Hamites and Arabs in North Africa. The term African therefore seems to be more politically acceptable and favours the notion of Africanness as adopted by the OAU. The difference evident here is that such a notion accepts difference within Africanness.

The loopholes identified by the arguments thus far show how scholars do not concur on what defines an African being. It also shows that not everything that is in Africa is always regarded as African. What is also evident is that views on the African being have been changing over time. Appiah (1992, p. 73) quotes the novelist Chinua Achebe to have captured this dilemma, albeit with positivity: "There isn't a final identity that is African. But, at the same time, there is an identity coming into existence. And it has a certain context and meaning." This optimistic argument is in line with Ottaway's (1999, p. 17) view that invented identities such as Africa and the African can actually become real. However, what is not clear is when that identity will come into existence, or whether it has materialised since Achebe's forecast.

In light of the explained complexities, there is need for a continuation in the study of what Africa and being African means. Guèye (1999, p. 249) provides an apt rationale for this continued interrogation:

It seems necessary for us to revisit our legacy of indigenous ideologisation, without simply repeating what was attempted under concepts like 'negritude',

¹¹ Mahmood Mamdani is from Uganda he was surprised that Uganda was being referred to as Africa

'African personality', consciencism', 'ujamaa' or 'African socialism', or by considering that our sometimes relevant criticisms of such concepts are sufficient to satisfy us that we have dealt with the matter.

The literature therefore shows that the concepts that have been used in the past to find a common African denominator have not necessarily given us concrete answers. Identification of this common denominator is crucial if we are to have an understanding of how African consciousness is conceptualised. In the case of this study, this conceptualisation is analysed in school History textbooks. In conducting such kinds of studies, the warning from Wallerstein (1988, p. 332) is that trying to find "a 'specifically African' set of ideas or concepts or worldviews that could substitute for, supplement, or rebut a Western set will lead us back into 'the double bind, to play the game in terms of the rules of an oppressive system now in crisis.'" Thus, while the aim is not necessarily to promote particularism over universalism, research on African consciousness should aim to help provide hints of temporally determined common denominators for Africans.

The difficulty in relation to the identification of a single denominator of the African being has in other circles been resolved by making use of a combination of different criteria. According to Armah (1999 p. ix): "While colour and geographic space have formed part of this definition, they are no longer adequate and are increasingly becoming redundant in today's nonracialising and creolising world." As a result the aspects that have been forwarded to determine Africanness are history, culture and consciousness. Armah (1999) therefore asserts that Africans do not necessarily have to be Black and in fact there can be people called European Africans or Arabic Africans. Close to this thinking is Guèye (1999 p. 247) who argues that:

Africanness is neither a pure matter of pigmentation nor a question of geographical or ethnic belonging. Its essence is to be found beyond such purely phenomenal, superficial dimensions. And it is not something which exists by nature and forever. It is a cultural choice and commitment, something which is acquired, gained, a matter of deep feeling and concrete behavior. Everybody who feels so deeply African that he or she lives and is ready to die for Africa, everybody who feels our continent in the depths of her or his soul and in each beat of her or his heart, can legitimately be considered as an African.

The hint towards a certain form of consciousness by Armah (1999) is useful, in that it does not only try to provide answers but also probes further questions. The main issue that can be raised in this respect is that the form of consciousness that is being referred to by Armah (1999) is not fully conceptualised. It is this concern which the next section on the conceptual framework tackles.

2.4. Towards an understanding of African consciousness as a conceptual framework

Developing further from the foregoing debates on African and Africanness, this section of the chapter sets out to explain the conceptual framework for this research. Such a framework is vital as it facilitates the maintenance of focused and coherent communication throughout the entire study (Babbie et al, 2006). There has been some tentative reference to consciousness earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 1, but here I explain that the conceptual framework for this thesis is African consciousness, which is founded upon an understanding of a combination of Africa, Africanness, and historical consciousness. The works of Rösen (1993, 2000), Anvik and von Borris (1997), Mazabow (2003), Van Jaarsveld (1989) and Kwang-Su (1999) are central references in this conceptualisation based on their argument that all social phenomena (including African consciousness, in this case) can be described and understood historically. I refer mostly to Kwang-Su (1999) as his work proved to be a valuable example of how Rösen (1993)'s historical consciousness was applied into another study. In this section I firstly review scholarly issues on consciousness in general and then on historical consciousness. I will then show how I used the arguments from the review of the literature to construct a conceptual framework of African consciousness.

The meaning of consciousness normally varies depending on the field in which it is being applied. This is why there exists various, albeit fundamentally related, forms of consciousness such as group consciousness, collective consciousness, national consciousness, cultural consciousness, class consciousness, political consciousness, environmental consciousness and

black consciousness.¹² But an understanding of consciousness as a basic concept is essential before I try to construct a comprehensible illustration of African consciousness. While consciousness, per se, is not the focus of this study, it is necessary to explain its range of meanings and implications. According to Janzen (2000, p. 155) when in the field of social History, consciousness can simplistically be understood as “being aware of what is happening.” Some of the various types of consciousness listed above are also referred to henceforth to illustrate and elucidate the concept of consciousness in general.

The deepest engagement with consciousness has been in the fields of philosophy and psychology where it has been argued that consciousness is an awareness that results from beliefs, feelings and experiences (Tye, 1996). This psychological interpretation means that consciousness can be understood to be a mental state. In other words, consciousness is an abstract phenomenon that is constructed in the human mind. Only when an individual is in the state of consciousness can they make decisions related to the situations in which they find themselves (Tribus, 2004). To illustrate this relationship, Shingles (1981) tried to show the link between black consciousness and political participation in the USA. Similarly, Smith, Burlew and Lundgren’s (1991) research concluded that African American women who demonstrated high levels of black consciousness were able to deal with self-esteem issues and thus cope better with the challenges they met in college. Such studies try to demonstrate links between a particular mental state (consciousness) and a particular action. Mazabow (2003) notes that philosophers and psychologists do not agree “as to whether consciousness is purely a mental activity” (p. 38). In this regard, Biko (2002, p. 3) argues that “[Black] consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life” showing how a conscious mental state can be linked to action.

There are many characteristics of consciousness and one such attribute is identification. This can be explained by the case given by Miller, Gurin, Gurin and Malanchuk (1981, p. 495) of group consciousness entailing “identification with a group and a political awareness or ideology regarding the group's relative position in society along with a commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group's interests.” This was especially so for the Black Consciousness

¹² Black Consciousness in capital first letters represents the civil rights movement in South Africa.

Movement (BCM) in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. One of the aspirations of the BCM was for black South Africans to define their own identity and values, as summed up in this BCM manifesto: “So many things are said so often to us, about us and for us but very seldom by us” (Ndebele, 1972, p. 14). To add to this, Biko (1979, p. 51) asked two pertinent questions: “Who am I? Who are we?” Such questions can similarly be asked as part of the effort to conceptualise African consciousness.

Since consciousness is a mental state, it is not apparent and can only be noticed through its manifestations (Van Beek, 2000). For instance, the identity created through consciousness would need to be authenticated by action for it to be actualised. In relation to this, the BCM, according to Biko (2002, p. 51), hoped to authenticate itself by producing what he labelled “real black people.” In his view, these people could be identified, not just by their skin colour or beliefs, but by their actions. Authentication of the existence of one particular consciousness is not always unproblematic as individuals are always exposed to various forms of education, formal and informal, which promote other competing forms of consciousness. It thus becomes problematic to link one particular action to one specific consciousness. In recognition of this conflict even early 20th century scholars such as Du Bois and, later, Frantz Fanon wrote about double consciousness (Moore, 2005). Double consciousness refers to the kind of thought-processes an individual experiences as a result of feeling a sense of belonging to two forms of consciousness. According to Moore (2005), a person with a double consciousness will always find it difficult to remember their past as they tend to fixate themselves in other people’s realities. However, scholars such as Asante (as cited in Moore, 2005, p. 761) argue against the possibility of a double consciousness and contend that people can simply have many confusions of a single consciousness. The implication of such arguments is that on one hand there could be many variations (confusions) of one consciousness, while on the other hand different types of consciousness contest for space in an individual’s mind, in the process constructing a particular being. The dominant discourses will be crucial in entrenching one type of consciousness over the competing others.

With reference to the actualisation of group consciousness, Miller et al (1981, p. 496) claim that consciousness tends to comprise tenets such as “polar affect,” “polar power” and “individual versus system blame.” Polar affect involves preference of the group with whom one identifies over others. Polar power can be manifested in contentment or discontent over the condition in which one’s group finds itself. In the context of such conditions, group consciousness can either result in individuals accepting the responsibility for their condition or placing the responsibility on other variables, such as the system. The above arguments imply that consciousness is meant to have a purpose. In a critique of Frantz Fanon, Ranuga (1986, p. 182) explains that consciousness should not act as a “repository of crippling fears and debilitating complexes.” The bottom-line is that, eventually, the conscious individual should be involved in some form of action which tallies with their consciousness. According to Janzen (2000), consciousness, in whichever form, should demonstrate an “awareness of the mechanisms” that society puts in place either to control or to enable behaviour of individuals. Thus, only when one acquires this awareness can one act accordingly.

In relation to group consciousness, if anything, the BCM ended up showing how consciousness is fluid in response to changing contexts and challenges. Originally, black consciousness was a call for mental liberation centred on what they viewed to be the racial politics of apartheid South Africa, as is implied by Steve Biko’s oft quoted statement on the mind of the oppressed being the greatest weapon of which an oppressor could make use (Biko, 2002). This view of consciousness tallied with Fanon’s (1961, p. 30) views which mainly focused on the “colonized mind.” Therefore early black consciousness referred to a mental orientation. However, the BCM later transformed itself from an embodiment of the ideal psychological state into a practical political movement with clear political intentions. The implication of this is that forms of consciousness, African consciousness included, are defined by contextual and temporal factors. This clarifies my explanation of the South African context in Chapter 1, since it spawned the textbooks that I analysed.

Most of the forms of consciousness can be argued to be knowledge-based, that is, the individual needs some form of knowledge in order to raise their consciousness. The importance

of education in the development of consciousness is highlighted by Moore (2005) who argues that both Du Bois and Fanon valued education as highlighted by their life experiences. This means that the knowledge acquired at school, including through textbooks has the purpose (intended or unintended) of constructing and thus promoting a particular consciousness. This is in line with Mamdani's (1999) argument, as quoted in Chapter 1, that an African renaissance can only materialise through the promotion of the development of an African intelligentsia. Not all scholars agree as is pointed out by Van Beek (2000) that more historical knowledge does not necessarily translate to stronger historical consciousness.

Finally on consciousness in general, it has been argued that consciousness should be an expression of what is and not of what is not. This view is expounded by Ranuga (1986, p. 184) who contends that consciousness should be a "point of reference not an absence of or negation of something." To clarify, I can use the example of African consciousness to argue that an individual who is in a state of African consciousness is not concerned with what is not African, but rather should focus on what is African. This is the dilemma of consciousness in that it tends to be exclusionary as the polar effect noted above demonstrates. For example, the BCM argued that people who were racially classified black in South Africa (such as the black police officers), but who seemed to reject the ideals of black consciousness had labelled themselves out of their blackness.

The points raised above on consciousness in general can thus be applied to African consciousness. Nevertheless, it is imperative to explain historical consciousness first, since, as noted earlier, it informs the conceptual framework of African consciousness. According to Kwang-Su (1999, p. 6), the concept of historical consciousness can alternatively be called historical awareness or a historical sense. It gained popularity in the 1990s in Europe, but it was definitely not a completely novel phenomenon; neither can it be entirely divorced from the basic concept of consciousness that has been discussed above.

As is the case with many phenomena, the role of History in current society is not necessarily what it was in the past. It is an understanding of the nature and role of History (or the understanding of historicism) which Ross (1984) referred to as historical consciousness.

According to Kwang-Su (1999, p. 11) historical consciousness has evolved with the initial view of History as literature in the 18th century; then it became History as science in the 19th century until the 20th century which witnessed a dual development whereby History was viewed both as a social science and as a form of thought.

Similarly, Funkenstein (1989, p. 15) tracks the development of the concept of historical consciousness and claims that in the times of ancient Israel and Greece (up until the 5th century BC) historical time was understood as “a single continuum of fulfilment of God's plan in well-defined chapters.” Such an understanding meant that contemporary events could not be credited to the past and neither could the present be a factor in the future. By the 12th century, there were evident attempts to understand historical facts and texts in terms of the context in which they are rooted. Still it was only in the 19th century that History became “the primary measuring-rod of all human sciences” (Funkenstein, 1989, p. 16). This history of historical consciousness is surveyed by Mazabow (2003) who, in his doctoral thesis, traces it right back to about 3000 BC up until the 20th century.

It is evident that academic debates on historical consciousness became more prominent in the field of History education by the early 1990s. The context then was that the Cold War was ending and European politics were characterised by events such as the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany. Such developments in Europe created a need to chart a new future for the new Europe and, importantly for this study, find a fresh role for History, especially after its blatant abuse during the Cold War era. In rethinking the role of History in the past, present and future the notion of historical consciousness was seen as a useful framework (Laville, 2006). This, it was believed, would have an impact on other aspects of life outside History Education. As I explained in Chapter 1, scholars such as Jorn Rüsen were at the foreground of advocating for a single European monetary currency to strengthen a European cultural capital. He further argued that this capital had to be founded on a common historical consciousness. In other words, this historical consciousness would be functional in the promotion of a kind of European consciousness, and not just individual or national (nation state) consciousness.

Historical consciousness in simple terms is based on the past, the present and the future. This is captured succinctly by Rüsen (1993, as cited in von Borries, 1994, p. 345) who regards History as a “complex network of interpreted past, perceived present and expected future.” If applied to African consciousness this implies that the individual who is argued to be African is able to link their present situation to the past and the future. More recently, Seixas (2006, p. 11), whose research is not based in Europe, has taken to broaden the concept by stating that historical consciousness refers to “individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors that shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future.” This loaded conceptualisation entails some of the tenets of consciousness in general as discussed above. For example, historical consciousness can be viewed from an individual and collective memory point of view and it is a mental state moulded by the context. This is simplified by the *Youth and History* Project (as cited by Wassermann, 2008, p. 143) which labelled historical consciousness basically as “the connection between the past, the present and the future.” These contentions mean that if one is to understand African consciousness from the point of view of historicism, there is a need to always consider the past, present and future. Therefore an African conscious individual will be assumed to be able to contextualise themselves in the unfolding history of their world, not just their immediate context (Wineburg, 1991).

One of the major debates regarding historical consciousness is in relation to collective memory which has already been alluded to above. According to Funkenstein (1989, p. 5) there is a tendency to “ascribe historical ‘consciousness’ and ‘memory’ to human collectives - family and tribe, nation and state.” However, he argues that it is a fallacy to do so as, in reality, collectives have neither the capacity nor capability to remember. Trofanenko adds that historical consciousness “differs from collective memory in that it is a reflexive and metaperspective engagement with history” (2008, p. 584). Therefore just as consciousness has been argued to be a mental state, so is remembering which “is absolutely and completely personal” (Funkenstein, 1989, p. 6). Van Beek (2000) agrees and adds that “only individuals can be carriers of historical consciousness and so research into collective consciousness must necessarily lead through the individual” (p. 343). However, the paradox is that the collective

nature of consciousness cannot be entirely disregarded because every form of consciousness, including self-consciousness – which might be argued to be personal – cannot be divorced from the context in which it is constructed. If consciousness is to be linked to memory, it can be argued that it remains embedded in a form of collectivism since according to Funkenstein (1989, p. 7): “No memory, not even the most intimate and personal, can be disconnected from society, from the language and the symbolic system moulded by the society over many generations.” Collective memory then promotes social identity and sometimes shared aspirations.

The contemporary understanding of historical consciousness is that it takes multiple context-based realities. But, as has been explained earlier, historical consciousness is a state of mind that forms as a product of social construction. For Kwang-Su (1999, p. 12) the main determinant of the form of historical consciousness is culture and thus “it can be deduced that conceptions of historical consciousness in Europe, Asia and Africa differ.” The assumption here is that geographical areas such as continents have homogenous cultures, something that I have already argued against in the first sub-section of this chapter. However, Kwang-Su (1999) continues to argue that this variation extends to nations and races, implying that, for instance, South Africans have a unique historical consciousness, yet within the same country different races and ethnic groups also have their own forms of historical consciousness. This is also revealed by Mazabow (2003) who refers to concepts such as British historical consciousness, Afrikaner historical consciousness and Black historical perception and consciousness before 1994. This understanding of historical consciousness as culturally and/or politically (nation state) determined is argued to be rooted in particular “segments of the cohort, the “elites” who come to see themselves as the agents to change the existing sociopolitical system” (Kwang-Su, 1999, p. 23). Therefore the collectiveness of consciousness is skewed since the powerful agents of society tend to determine what they deem to be the proper collective memory for their subordinates.

The concept of historical consciousness is premised on the argument that the past as history can never be unerringly and physically reconstructed and therefore people can only retain an

“internalization of external historical reality” (Kwang-Su, 1999, p. 1). This internalisation is what can be viewed as an individual’s historical consciousness (Van Beek, 2000). However, since the individual’s historical consciousness is constructed within a particular socio-political and cultural context, it cannot be insulated from forces of group consciousness.

Historical consciousness as conceptualised in Europe in the 1990s was not without some criticism. For instance, since it was born out of developments in Europe, History educationists elsewhere questioned whether this common consciousness could be applied outside Europe. While debates may rage about a global historical consciousness, this concept is most useful for this study on African consciousness. As was noted in Chapter 1, following the formation of the AU, the African leaders, at least theoretically, could be said to be advocating for the charting of a new consciousness, embodied by the African Renaissance.

There are other theorisations that have been purported in History Education which can also be linked to historical consciousness. For example, while Taylor (2003, p. 6) did not specifically theorise historical consciousness, he constructs an index of historical literacy which amongst many criteria, includes the aspect of “connecting the past with the self and the world today.” The limitation however, as contrasted to historical consciousness as theorised by the likes of Rösen (1993) or Seixas (2006) is that it does not refer to the future. Taylor (2003) also goes further to say that through the study and grasp of the aspects of History, one ends up developing a historical consciousness. Similarly, Kwang-Su, (1999, p. 8) asserts that “historical consciousness is linked to a range of mental processes” and he further explains that historical consciousness has a structure whereby an individual possesses consciousness of time, transition, causation, periods and development.

Thus far, I have reviewed debates on consciousness and historical consciousness. I then apply these debates to the conceptualisation of African consciousness. I started this conceptualisation by arguing that African consciousness is what develops as a result of the amalgamation of historical consciousness and a personal and/or collective awareness of the constructs of Africa and Africanness. Such an amalgamation can be illustrated by a three-strand cord whereby each strand can be said to be representative of one of the three concepts: Africa,

the African and historical consciousness respectively. The three then constitute a full complement of African consciousness. The basis of this conceptualisation is that the teaching and learning of History can contribute to the construction of a holistic African consciousness. African consciousness, in this case, is referred to as holistic when one does not try to understand an African independent of an understanding of Africa and vice versa. To illustrate by use of a metaphor, if it were a three strand cord, a holistic African consciousness would be tied by a Gordian knot, such that if one strand becomes loose, the rest of the knot loses strength. Fundamentally, the conceptual framework here sees an addition of what Rösen (1993) refers to as a “temporal orientation” to a particular phenomenon. It therefore expresses the importance of History in the understanding of the concepts of Africa and the African being.

The importance of the History factor in understanding Africa and the African being is in regard to time and historical reasoning. This is what Marcus (1980, p. 192) refers to as “self reflective temporal sensibility.” African consciousness then becomes a historicised self-awareness of the African being which cannot be divorced from a particular context which is Africa. Such thinking would then resonate with Funkenstein’s (1989) view discussed earlier in relation to the inextricable link between the individual and the collective. Historical consciousness adds three important elements to understanding of phenomena: “experience, interpretation and orientation” (Rösen, 1993, p. 195). These are not markedly different from the factors influencing consciousness in general such as beliefs, feelings and experiences (Tye, 1996).

In this conceptual framework, I argue that African consciousness is a mental state which is partly constructed by beliefs, feelings and experience as argued by Tye (1996). While these three are important, there are other factors such as knowledge and understanding of geography, culture and history. I previously explained how consciousness is also knowledge-based, meaning that there is some form of knowledge that an individual needs to attain a state of consciousness. Since all human beings have some forms of knowledge, I posit that what matters is the type of knowledge. The implication is that the knowledge that learners are exposed to from various sources, school History textbooks included, provides discourses which contribute to the construction of a certain African consciousness.

The historicisation of African consciousness creates a conceptual framework that is characterised by group identification within the context of the past, present and projected future. Therefore African consciousness should not be based solely on contemporary circumstances. This means that African consciousness entails an awareness of the roots of current group identification and its possibilities in the future. For example, an identification fixated on current geopolitical parameters would thus be considered to be a limited form of historical consciousness since these parameters have not always existed in present-day form and are not guaranteed to be eternal. To elucidate, Kwang-Su (1999, p. 14) states that, “As a social construction historical consciousness is changeable, creative and future-directed.” This means that African consciousness is meant to be oriented towards the future rather than merely returning further into the past. In relation to Africa and the African being the focus will thus be on both actuality and potentiality, meaning that African consciousness is not just about being, but also about becoming (Kwang-Su, 1999).

Through the link to group consciousness, African consciousness can be both inclusive and exclusive, meaning that it may entail being part of a broader group, but this simultaneously implies a process of showing how other people do not conform to the group. The dilemma of self-awareness is that one cannot possibly achieve it without identifying difference from others. However, with reference to Ranuga’s (1986) argument of consciousness being merely a point of reference and rather than an expression of what is not, I argue that African consciousness tends to also express what is not. This is especially so as usually the consciousness that most people have is partly constructed by people in power who harbour both inclusive and exclusive agendas.

A conceptualisation of African consciousness as related to group identification also entails collective consciousness. However, African consciousness has been proven in the literature review above to be at both collective and individual levels. As a collective, African consciousness implies that a whole group of people ought to share the same mental state based usually on prescribed criteria. This is practically difficult to envisage as possible, especially if one considers the differences in human beings. I have pointed out earlier that

collectives do not have the capability to remember. Yet, still it is an ideal some ideologies such as black consciousness and pan-Africanism have tried to inculcate. At the individual level, African consciousness would entail a particular person having self-consciousness of who they are regardless of whether they are part of a group or not. It is also possible to have a double consciousness or variations of African consciousness. In the previous literature I noted how memory is an integral part of consciousness. Nevertheless, I do not presume here that African consciousness is grounded in memory because historical consciousness implies not only looking into the past, but also the present and the future. Meanwhile, memory focuses mainly on remembering the past and people tend to be ambivalent about the future as they are not sure if it will come for them, and if it does, what it holds (Kwang-Su, 1999). The conceptual framework of African consciousness for this study is such that it does not discard memory but also does not rely solely on memory.

African consciousness is being argued here to be linked to particular action. The argument being that since consciousness is a mental state, it is difficult to authenticate in its cognitive character. Therefore, as previously explained, one way through which African consciousness can be authenticated is by recognising its actualisation through particular manifestations. In the case of this study, African consciousness is authenticated by analysing the actions, values and attitudes that are ideally expected of an African conscious individual within a particular society. These actions, values and attitudes can include polar affect, polar power and individual versus system blame as identified by Miller, et al (1981). For example, if the textbooks attribute the problems in Africa to the Africans themselves, they will be reflecting an African consciousness actualised by individual blame.

In this study I view African consciousness as constructed by discourses. The implication of this view is that African consciousness is in flux and is defined by contextual and temporal factors. In other words, the dominant discourses within a particular context contrive to construct particular versions of African consciousness. Hence, depending on the amount and nature of competing discourses within a specific context, it is possible that History textbooks can construct double or multiple African consciousnesses. It is also possible that they can even

construct variations – which Moore (2005) refers to as confusions – of a single African consciousness.

African consciousness here does not only apply to the temporal, that is, past, present and future. African consciousness is also about connecting the past, present and future with the self and space. Here I borrow from what Taylor (2003) refers to as historically making connections. This means that African consciousness should reflect how an individual positions himself/herself within space. Related to this is the question on the horizon of space which conscious beings create for themselves. In other words, how does the individual view Africa and the African and how does he/she view them in relation to the rest of the world? This issue can be further extended to debates on whether the development of African consciousness is exclusive to people living in certain parts of the world. It is expounded further in the chapter on theoretical considerations.

Finally, in reference to the possibility of multiple forms of African consciousness I refer to Rösen’s (1993) typology of historical consciousness. The adapted framework is represented in the figure below:

Figure 1.1: An adapted framework for African consciousness

Type of African consciousness	Nature in relation to Africa/African being, identity (collective and individual), temporal sensibility, actualisation (manifestation), connections with the world.
Traditional	Affirms given orientations, permanent, obligatory, pre-given and unquestionable
Exemplary	Timeless. There is acknowledgment of difference; however, it is related to expected regularities.
Critical	Deviation, negation and problematising the normative and pre-given obligations.
Genetic	Transformation and acceptance of otherwise alien standpoints

I therefore argue that there can be at least four types of African consciousness: the traditional type; the exemplary type; the critical type and the genetic type. The major benchmarks considered in order to determine the nature of African consciousness are: identity (collective and individual), temporal sensibility, actualisation (manifestation), and connections with the world. It should be noted that this framework should not be seen to be exhaustive of the conceptualisation of African consciousness. However, this was a baseline conceptualisation, sufficient to use fundamentally as a conceptual framework for the study. The empirical study was then set to test and extend this conceptualisation. Another limitation (which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3) is the use of a concept that is essentially European to conceptualise a concept on Africa and the African being. For now, it is sufficient to declare that this entire study is not framed within spatial particularisation of knowledge.

The traditional type of African consciousness “affirms given orientations” (Kwang-Su, 1999, p. 20). In terms of African consciousness, this would entail taking Africa and the African being as pre-given permanent and unquestionable. A traditional African consciousness would be a state of mind whose orientation on Africa and being African are permanent, obligatory and pre-given. Such an individual cannot fathom him/herself questioning his/her Africanness and does not even consider thinking otherwise.

The exemplary type of African consciousness would be timeless as with the traditional type. This means that a 21st century African would wish to have the same consciousness as one from the 19th century or even from deep time. This consciousness is based on generalisations of cultural patterns. An example of this would be the generalisations that were noted in the discussion on Africa and Africanness. As a result, although exemplary African consciousness acknowledges that there might be some cases of deviation from the norm, these cases are not accepted and are judged against the expected generalisations such that they ultimately do not thrive.

A different type of African consciousness would be represented as the critical type. It would entail “identity formation by the force of negation” (Kwang-Su, 1999, p. 20). An individual with

critical African consciousness would start to deviate from generalisations and make his/her own standpoint regarding Africa and the African being. By breaking from the norm, this type of consciousness would be characteristic of an individual who does not necessarily conform to the constructions of the dominant discourses usually made by the elite for the rest of society.

The last form of consciousness according to Rösen's (1993) typology is the genetic type. Genetic African consciousness "involves the transformation of topical orientating patterns" (Kwang-Su, 1999, p. 20). It entails the transformation and acceptance of otherwise alien standpoints. This implies an understanding of Africa and the African being that is based on accepting what might be viewed as alien to what society views to be normal. This would also mean being able to consider different standpoints, in the process also altering one's self-concept. Genetic African consciousness would mean that anyone or anything can qualify to be described as of Africa or as an African being.

2.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter started with a review of literature on Africa and Africanness. The review was conceptual. I interrogated the concepts thematically and this was meant to create a platform for the conceptualisation of African consciousness. The review revealed and demonstrated the constructed nature of the concept of Africa and how it has assumed different meanings and value over time. Similarly I explained the complexities around the construction of Africanness and how, in spite of increased Africanist and post-colonialist literature, scholars continue to dispute what determines Africanness.

In explaining the conceptual framework for this study, I firstly reviewed literary works on consciousness and historical consciousness and demonstrated how they are related and how the latter builds up on the former. I then argued that African consciousness is based on the emphasis of the historical and temporal dimension to an understanding of Africa and the African being. I finally argued that there are multiple forms of African consciousness and these are not necessarily meant to be sequential although they might develop in that way. In the next

chapter, I review literature on History textbooks with the aim of explaining how textbooks carry discourses that help construct consciousness for their audience.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: A REVIEW OF AVAILABLE LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

In building a foundation for my study in the introductory chapter, I identified three main constructs: History textbooks, Africa, and Africanness. In the previous chapter I executed one of the main aims of this research by conceptualising African consciousness on the basis of scholarly references, showing how it is socially constructed and contested. Going further, the literature that I will review in this chapter will be primarily in relation to textbooks; then ultimately arguing how History textbooks are also socially constructed and contested phenomena, which can in turn become tools for the construction of African consciousness. This chapter will thus help lay a foundation on which the study is built by providing a clear synthesis of the major issues and debates that dominate the field of History textbook research within which this study is located – as noted in Chapter 1. In the process, I will be illustrating where the major ideas driving this research fit in academia. It was through engaging with the major thoughts and thought leaders to be identified in the chapter that I managed to build the rest of this research upon the scholarly work that had already been done (Wisker, 2005).

For the sake of coherence and orderly presentation I employed Fouché and Delport's (2005) design of organising a literature review according to textbook-related themes. To make this design more practical, I organised all of the issues on the identified construct (History textbooks) into themes and I engaged with issues under each theme. I will review the literature by engaging scholars against each other with relevance to textbooks, thus becoming part of an intellectual conversation which ultimately clarifies the potential that History textbooks hold in terms of the construction of African consciousness. Simultaneously, being part of the said intellectual conversation also enables me to evaluate and underscore both the strengths and gaps in the available literature.

The amount of textbook research that has been conducted over time is extraordinarily vast and to make my review manageable I focused mainly on literature on History textbooks, which in fact, dominate the field of textbook research. This dominance is supported by Dean, Hartman & Katzen (1983, p. 37) who claim that “the field of textbook analysis has been particularly concerned with historical teaching materials.” This does not mean that I neglected scholarship on textbooks in general. I make use of such scholarship in order to build general arguments and then apply them to corroborate particular arguments on History textbooks specifically. It should be noted from the outset that my search for literature yielded very little from Africa as most of the available studies have been conducted in Europe and America.

This chapter is divided into three sections. Following this introduction is the first section on the textbook and it is divided into seven subsections. I start the first section by explaining the position of the textbook as an aspect of educational media. This is followed by subsections on the teachers, and the learners and their relationships with the textbooks. The next subsection is on the textbook, explaining its nature and genre. I will then proceed to the issues around textbooks, the state, politics and ideology followed by the conflicts related to the production and use of textbooks. Subsequently I review textbook authorship and author agency. The second section is on History textbooks and how they are sites of collective memory that can construct consciousness. The final section is a brief historical overview of History textbook research in South Africa. All these issues will be reviewed with constant reference to African consciousness, which is the conceptual framework for this study.

3.2 The textbook

3.2.1 The textbook as an aspect of educational media

In the teaching and learning process, both teachers and learners may engage with a wide range of resources which are geared to enable better pedagogy. Depending on the context, these resources are referred to in different ways. For example, Rodríguez and Barbeito (2008) prefer to call them didactic materials. However, in the South African curriculum they are called

Learning and Teaching Support Material (LTSM) (DoE, 2003) whilst in Zimbabwe they are referred to as teaching and learning resources (Kanyongo, 2005; Chitate, n.d.). Furthermore, the ever-increasing evidence of technological advancement in schools has also given rise to the concept of educational media. Some of the educational media can be regarded as traditional while others more innovative. On one hand, the innovative educational media include the latest computer hardware and software, the internet, audio slides, video gadgets and multimedia facilities (Ravelonahary, 2008). On the other hand, resources such as textbooks and other books, primary documents, magazines, newspapers and periodicals are considered traditional as they have been in use for longer, are technologically less complex and invariably cost less for the schools to procure (Horsley, 2008).

While the concept of innovative educational media became popular since the 1960s, textbooks had been in use centuries earlier. Nevertheless, the use of History textbooks was still novel at the end of the 19th century, since History only became an officially legal school subject by the turn of the 20th century even in countries such as England (Nichol & Dean, 2003). In fact, for several decades of the 19th century the use of textbooks was, in Europe, referred to as the “American system” (Lindley, 2010, p. 1). Therefore the books that were used in schools before History became a fully-fledged school discipline could not necessarily be classified as educational media. Although there have been some changes in forms of educational media, the textbook has not changed much; hence it is referred to as traditional.

The perceived traditional nature of the textbook has seen it sometimes relegated out of the category of educational media. Norlund (2008) however considers textbooks to be educational media. Yet, for scholars such as Fedorov (2003) and Nazari and Hasbullah (2010) educational media has to be technologically innovative meaning that textbooks cannot be regarded as such. Other scholars such as Selander (2008), Naseem (2008) and Ravelonahary (2008) suggest that while textbooks are not necessarily educational media, there is a definite relationship between the two. An example of a major manifestation of this school of thought can be the International Conference on Textbooks and Educational Media whose name evidently implies a distinction (albeit a relationship) between textbooks and educational media (Horsley & McCall, 2008). It

can therefore be detected that there is a tension when regarding textbooks as educational media. In addition to this is the question of whether or not textbooks can still hold their own as critical and relevant educational media especially with the emergence of information sources such as the World Wide Web which the state finds difficult to control (Naseem, 2008).

The question of the role of the textbook as an aspect of educational media is also an issue of academic contention. At a holistic level Selander (2008) explains that textbooks and other educational media play an important role in the teaching and learning process and this is corroborated by evidence from international evaluations and surveys involving students and teachers. An example of such evaluations was the one conducted by the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in 2007 (Selander, 2008). Furthermore, to contextualise textbooks as educational media, Bliss (2008, p. 428) maintained that, “with a plethora of books, films and primary and secondary source materials available from libraries and on the Internet, textbooks should be used as a supplement in the classroom to achieve a diversity of perspectives.” In fact, as Horsley (2008) noted, some teachers believe that use of textbooks is an example of a weak pedagogic approach and effective teachers do not need the textbook to teach.

Therefore the issue raised here is that textbooks are sometimes excluded from discourses of educational media because of two reasons: their traditional nature in the context of advanced technology, and their nature as a pedagogic tool. This tension calls for a further discussion of the pedagogic nature of the textbook from the point of view of both the teachers and the learners.

3.2.2 Teachers and the use of the textbook in the classroom

As a result of the increased availability of an array of educational media alluded to above, the role of textbooks in the classroom has come under amplified scrutiny. Accompanying almost all international scholarship on textbooks is the debate over their role in teaching and learning. A plethora of studies have been conducted, especially for History textbooks, on the basis of their

having been a central part of the teaching and learning of the subject for over five hundred years in Western education (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Mirkovic & Crawford, 1998; Crawford, 2000; Nicholls, 2006).

In order to have clearer understanding of the place of the textbook as educational media, it is essential to know who uses the textbook. According to Knecht (2008) the common view up to around the mid-1970s was that textbooks were meant first and foremost to help the teachers in conducting their job. However, the dominant current view is that textbooks should be produced with a focus on the needs of the learners (Mikk, 2000). It is for this reason that some publishers have resorted to producing learners' and teachers' copies of the same textbook so that each of them caters for the respective needs of the primary users.

For some teachers, textbooks are sometimes viewed as so useful and trustworthy such that acquiring a textbook and using it in class is seen as "equivalent to taking religious vows" (Lebrun et al, 2002, p. 52). In line with this view is the argument that prevailed almost unchallenged up to the 1970s that an analysis of a particular textbook would enable the researcher to tell exactly what was being taught at that contemporary time in the particular place (Caputo, 1960; Degler, 1964). Such thinking maintains that regardless of the influx of other kinds of educational media, textbooks would still be central to teaching and learning. In support of this argument, the study by van Hover and Yeager (2007) illustrates the case of a teacher who admitted to the centrality of the History textbook to everything that occurred in her class. In fact, related to such cases, some teachers also claim to teach without bothering to refer to the curriculum documents and simply settle to cover certain, if not all, topics in the textbooks by the end of the year (Barnard, 1968). This practice is based on the belief that failure to cover the textbook would not only be a sign of indolence, but might crucially contribute negatively to the learners' final marks.

The above arguments imply that many teachers use textbooks in class not simply because they believe learners need the textbooks, but mainly because they (teachers) would struggle to teach without them. They need the textbooks for guidance in terms of both content and pedagogy and also to spend less time on preparations for lessons (Pogelschek, 2008). In the case of History textbooks, Wineburg (2004, p. 1412) opines that "many social studies teachers

are forced to rely on the books because they lack adequate subject matter knowledge.” This is even more so in cases where teachers are allocated to teach a subject that they were never trained to teach because there seemed to be no one else to teach it at a particular school. Horsley (2008) and Sikorova (2008) add that new and beginning teachers also benefit enormously from using textbooks in terms of knowledge, conceptual understanding, selection, sequencing and pacing of the subject matter and curriculum guidance, since they may view the textbook as a simplified and practical interpretation of the curriculum. However, if, when and how the teacher uses the textbook depends on a multiplicity of factors including the teacher’s qualification, the grade being taught, the teacher’s teaching experience and the teacher’s philosophy of teaching and learning (Sikorova, 2008).

To these factors determining the use of textbooks identified above may be added the un/availability of a wide range of other educational media as previously mentioned. This availability is also contextual. It is not surprising that for a number of African countries where schools lack educational resources in general, the learner-textbook ratio is still a big government target ahead of other educational media (Maposa, in press).¹³ Other examples of the centrality of the textbook as the key form of educational media are in Ghana (Opoku-Amankwa, 2008) and Kenya (Rotich & Musakali 2008). In spite of globalisation and related developments, the digital divide is a reality that leaves education in the cited African countries heavily reliant on textbooks. This trend is not limited to African countries only as there are cases of other countries such as Greece having one History textbook per school level (Repoussi, 2007; Sjöberg, 2011).

As previously explained, technological developments especially by the 1990s have resulted in the emergence of new kinds of optional educational media for teachers. This development spurred Greenstein (1997, p. 359) to raise concern over textbooks being superseded and “replaced by multimedia installations.” More recently, according to Lindley (2010, p. 1), Texas Governor Rick Perry confidently claimed: “I don't see any reason in the world why we need to

¹³ This is a book chapter titled “‘Third Chimurenga’ and history education in Zimbabwe” that I have contributed to a book on *History wars*, a project by the Georg-Eckert-Institut, Braunschweig which is due to be published in September 2014.

have textbooks in Texas in the next four years.” Nevertheless, the questioning of the above-mentioned dominance of the textbook in the teaching and learning process is not entirely a new development. According to Lebrun, et al. (2002, p. 61) “as early as 1931, Brother Marie Victorin wrote, ‘without denying the usefulness of textbooks, I wonder if we haven't exaggerated their importance.’” This serves to prove that the detractors of textbooks have always existed even before a plethora of most of the innovative educational media were in use. In other words, the availability of innovative educational media has not always resulted in a reduced use of the textbook, even in the developed world. To support this Applebee, Langer and Mullis (as cited in Lavere, 2008, p. 3) claim that as much as 90% of instructional time in History classrooms is taken up by the use of textbooks. A potential development is the innovation of digital textbooks which, according to Swanson (2014), are bound to take over the “\$8 billion textbook business” (p. 289). Therefore, based on the evidence given above, most teachers view textbooks to be a reliable form of educational media.

3.2.3 The textbook and the learner

What the above discussions imply is that the significance of the textbook to the learner depends largely on how the teacher uses it and how much of it learners are asked to rely on. If teachers decide to use textbooks for the reasons explained above, to a greater extent the learners have little choice but to also use them. It is the teacher who is responsible for creating the learners’ confidence and dependency on the textbook. This is because learners are at the bottom of the chain of the pedagogic process which Cherryholmes (1988, as cited in Sleeter & Grant, 1991, p. 80) describes as “the narrowing process.” Through this process, educational media, particularly textbooks, can serve to either empower or disempower the learners who use them. With reference to textbooks, Sleeter and Grant (1991, p. 80) explained the narrowing process thus:

Scholars ... often have a variety of definitions from which to choose in writing textbooks; teachers have fewer from which to choose, but often have more than one; and students usually, more so at lower levels, are given the opportunity to learn only one.

The implication of the narrowing process is that the learners, who are at the nadir of the educational chain, are given by the textbook what they take to be “cut and dried certainties” (Anderson & Day, 2005, p. 335). This also means that learners are not stimulated to do much cognitive work as all they will have to do is to learn to absorb “contents that are already structured and synthesized” (Lebrun, et al. 2002, p. 60). Such an education will most likely develop within the learners a fundamentalist view of the textbook whereby they accept it to be an accurate representation of the past.

It is important to note that the variables of textbook usage and the effects of the usage are not always directly correlated. Even if textbooks were to be accepted as taking up most of the pedagogic role in the classroom, debates still rage over their actual effect on the learner. Primarily, textbooks paradoxically represent both curriculum as intention and curriculum as practice. In the form of curriculum as practice, textbooks may not always exactly reflect what curriculum as policy intended. This process of curriculum recontextualisation creates a gap between policy and practice (Bertram, 2009). This recontextualisation proceeds to show the gap between what is in the textbooks and what eventually occurs in the classroom Gordon (2005). Hence, for example, there is no guarantee that the intended African consciousness is what will actually be constructed ultimately in the learners’ minds after textbook use.

In developing the argument, some scholars contend that in spite of the apparent prevalence of the textbooks in the classroom, the assumption that learners always learn what is found in the textbooks, particularly History textbooks, is flawed (Porat, 2004; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Chisholm, 2008). To illustrate how what is in the textbook is not always a representation of what is eventually learned, Chisholm (2008) showed how South African textbooks largely adhered to the constitutional values of diversity and inclusivity, but the events on the ground in South Africa were then characterized by exclusivity manifested through xenophobic incidents. It is also possible that learners could be exposed to certain ideals via the textbooks without necessarily learning and adopting the ideals, especially after the eclipsing horizon of the exam. In addition, Porat (2004) contended that the impact of textbooks is mostly felt in terms of reinforcing what the learners already know from unofficial history. This, he argued, is because

“not only do people tend to read text in a manner that supports their personal beliefs, but they read in a way that supports their cultural schemata” (Porat, 2004, p. 965). Such kinds of arguments have been used by those who denigrate the contemporary role of textbooks, in the process questioning whether they are still relevant for the learner in the 21st century.

In spite of the wide range of educational media available in some contexts, arguments against the importance of textbooks are still to gain much ground. Von Borries (2003) acknowledges that it indeed cannot be generalised that all teachers and learners use textbooks in the same way. He however, maintains that regardless of the differential contextual factors “textbooks often remain the starting-point for both” (Von Borries, 2003, p. 62). In concurrence, Evans and Rosenzweig (as cited in Cohen, 2005, p. 1405) argue that even if they were not the major source of history, “textbooks are the single most important written source through which college students [and learners] learn about the past.” It should also be added that textbooks are not only for the benefit of the teachers and learners. According to Gordon (2005, p. 369) “History textbooks and the public and academic debates about their objectivity, truth, and bias fulfil a semantic function for the adults of the society.” This in turn has a bearing on the creation or destruction of national narratives of which everyone in a particular country becomes part of even if they are not in the school system.

To further counter the detractors of textbook usage, Sleeter and Grant (1991, p. 97) also maintained that “even if students forget, ignore, or reject what they encounter in textbooks, textbook content is still important because it withholds, obscures, and renders unimportant many ideas and areas of knowledge.” To appreciate this argument better in the case of History, it is essential to understand that unofficial History influences official History while, simultaneously, official History influences unofficial History (Wertsch & Rozin, 2000). In this case, History textbooks are proponents of official History while other sources could promote unofficial History. This is where textbooks become crucial because other educational media such as the internet and film cannot always be controlled by the state and thus promote unofficial History which might defeat the state’s whole purpose of having History in the school curriculum. As Selander (2008) notes, learners read textbooks, not “out of a pure desire for

amusement” since they have a particular purpose which suits their genre. Therefore for school History to deliver in the role of civic education as described in Chapter 1, textbooks remain an important aspect of educational media. This is why the culture of using textbooks is very endemic to the extent that many learners are completely dependent on them that they cannot fathom studying without the textbook. This centrality of textbooks, especially in the teaching and learning of school History, continues to provide a strong rationale for intensive textbook analysis. But any textbook analysis needs to be founded on a fundamental understanding of the nature of the textbook as an aspect of educational media.

3.2.4 The textbook: its nature and genre

While textbooks can be viewed as a form of broader educational media, they have certain characteristics that make them unique. The nature of the textbook cannot be taken for granted since the meaning of textbooks depends on the educational system. Crawford (2000, p. 9) emphasises “the social construction of school textbooks” to show how their nature is in flux. What might be called a textbook in one educational system might not be regarded as such in another. To this end, when researchers met for an educational conference in Braunschweig (Germany) in 1990 they concurred that a textbook is written for the sole purpose of supporting a course or syllabus (Weinbrenner, 1992). Although this understanding can be taken to be the general consensus in most educational systems, it should be noted that there are exceptional cases, where books which were not specifically written for a certain curriculum are adopted to support it. For example, Firer (1998, p. 197) notes that for Israelis, the Bible is not just a textbook, but “the textbook.” This means that for a nation which has religion at the core of its foundation and continued survival, the state inculcates and maintains a particular consciousness amongst its citizenry through turning the religious book into an indispensable textbook for their schools. Even if the Israeli case is one of the few exceptions rather than the rule, it shows the socially constructed nature of the concept of the textbook in that its meaning is context-specific. This in turn can explain the socially constructed nature of what they promote, African consciousness being an example.

Various kinds of books are used in the educational systems throughout the world, and it is an issue of debate as to what they should be referred. If some of the books that are used in schools cannot be generically called textbooks, there is a need to be able to explain what they are. According to Lebrun, et al (2002, p. 54), textbooks are the following: “the student’s textbook, the teacher’s guide, exercise or learning workbooks, in-house pedagogical documents, and explicitly pedagogical reference tools, such as a school atlas and time charts.” This omits certain texts which might also be used in teaching and learning. Lebrun, et al. (2002) choose to refer to such texts as schoolbooks, whereas elsewhere they could be called reference books. Using the example of the Bible, while it might be used in the teaching and learning process, it was not produced specifically for that purpose and especially to suit a particular contextualised curriculum. Therefore textbooks (unless under extraordinary circumstances) are the books that are produced by education systems specifically to help particular learners (in terms of level and discipline). Nevertheless, Lebrun et al’s (2002) understanding of a textbook is not universally accepted as is evidenced by Djurovic’s (2008, p. 221) distinction between “textbooks and handbooks (workbooks, reading books and others).” In concurrence, Mohammed (2008) contends that handbooks are educational texts, but not textbooks. These counter-contentions further illustrate the socially constructed nature of the textbook and the need for researchers to be explicit at the outset about what they understand to be textbooks. However, for the sake of having a particular focus, in this study I limited the designation of the textbook to only the learners’ textbook. This choice will be expatiated in Chapter 5.

By virtue of most being produced to furnish a particular curriculum, textbooks tend to fall within a certain genre which can in turn be subdivided into subgenres and further into what Nichol and Jean (2003) refer to as micro-genres. This subdivision is represented in Figure 3.1. The implication is that each type of educational media follows a particular genre. According to Nichol and Jean (2003), the meaning of genre in education borrows heavily from the Australian genre school which viewed it “as being functionalist: the identity of a mode of communications is related to its purpose and use.” Therefore genre entails a type of literary style which renders text identifiable and classifiable thus making the textbook “a special type of text with a specific function” (Kojanitz, 2008, p. 212).

According to Foster and Crawford (2006, p. 6) one characteristic of the textbook genre is that textbooks “do not necessarily consist of continuous prose divided into chapters.” In other words, most textbooks tend to record a selection of themes deemed significant and this may mean the emphasis of some and the omission of others. Foster and Crawford’s (2006, p. 18) point of view is that the politics and ideologies (to be discussed in later sections of this chapter) that accompany textbook production contribute to most of the textbooks being “a hotch potch of unconnected themes and facts.” As a result, most books which have continuous prose (such as novels) cannot be regarded as textbooks. While this can be argued to be an exclusivist view of the textbook, most textbooks indeed consist of various components, some of which have been essential categories for textbook analysis¹⁴.

One practical way to identify the subgenres is to classify them according to the subjects for which they are created. For example, History textbooks, by dint of the nature of the subject, will tend to follow a particular subgenre that would not necessarily be the same as, for example, mathematics textbooks. When the textbook genre is narrowed down to the History textbook subgenre, there will be evidence of a particular story within that hotchpotch. In this regard, Foster and Crawford (2006, p. 2) describe History textbooks as representing “a nation state story.” This means that the History textbook subgenre presents a narrative which is especially meant to build the nation-state in a certain way. In analysing stories Wertsch (2006, p. 55) explains the concept of “schematic narrative templates” whereby stories may not be narrated in the same way, but ultimately say the same thing. In applying this concept to the textbooks, the argument is that one distinguishing characteristics of the History textbook subgenre is its carrying of the nation’s story. The particularity of History textbooks as a subgenre will be explored further in the section on History textbooks and how they can contribute to the construction of consciousness.

Nevertheless, critical analysis of the History textbooks will show that they are not all written in the same way for the same purposes, although they might have the same schematic narrative template. The identification of such a purpose can be achieved through the examination of the

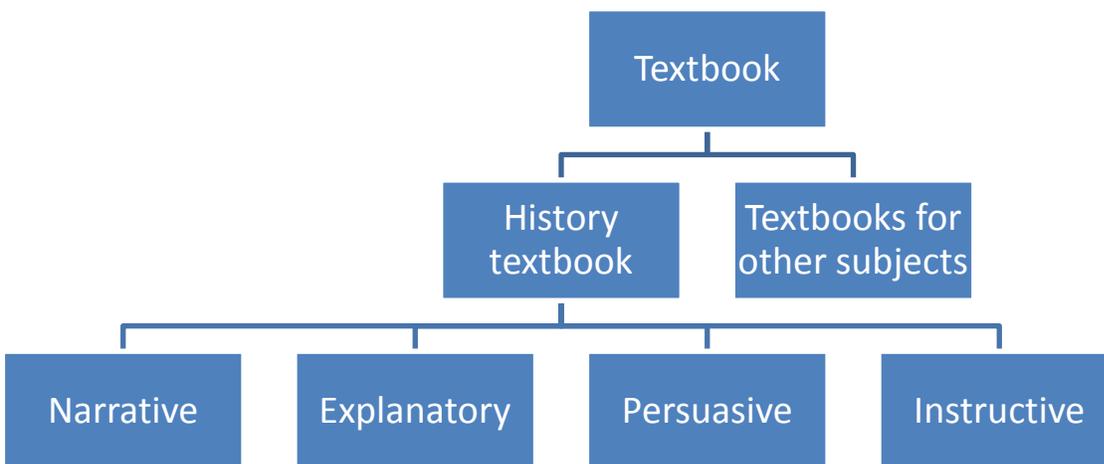
¹⁴ According to Kojanitz (2008, p. 212) since the 1980s, the most identifiable textbook components have been the “basic text, explanatory text; advance organizer [and] didactical apparatus.”

contextualised field (the textbook content), the tenor (“the author’s perception of the audience that produces the text’s voice or register”) and the mode (“the physical form which the textbook takes”), thus revealing the micro-genre of the History textbook (Nichol & Jean, 2003, p. 1). In a typology that is attuned to discourse theory, Selander (2008, p. 14) identifies the following different purposes of History textbooks and these can be applied as History textbook micro-genres:

A *narrative* works with time-lines, places, persons and conflicts. Typical expressions are —had||, —did||, —took place||. *Explanatory* texts are indirect, structured, distanced and objectifying. Here authors use —is|| and —has/have|| to describe, explain or define a phenomenon. *Persuasive* texts are much more oriented towards language like —should|| or —ought to||, whilst *instructive* genres are direct and directive in terms of an order or a suggestion and often use step-by-step instructions.

Consequently, the four textbook subgenres of narrative, explanatory, persuasive and instructive texts will most likely intend for learners to develop particular narratives, explanations, attitudes and skills respectively (Selander, 2008). The whole subdivision from the genre to the micro-genre level is represented in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1: The three levels of genre, subgenre and micro-genre



The crucial implication of the identification of such forms of genre is that they can be interpreted by the textbook analyst as categories to explain the textbook authors' intentions. To explain with an example, while all the four micro-genres can result in the textbook users constructing certain forms of African consciousness; persuasive text genres will be the most suited for such an intended end. Persuasive micro-genres would, in discourse theory, be related to the interpersonal meta function of pedagogic texts which are meant to "construct a situated and specific kind of learner" (Selander, 2008, p. 14). Textbooks which fall within the persuasive micro-genre in most cases fall heavily under the manipulation of the state, often laden with ideological jargon which is meant to convince the reader of the benefits of a particular type of orientation in society (Wikman, 2008). Therefore the application of genre to educational media can contribute to a greater understanding of the nature of the educational media, in this case the textbook.

3.2.5 Textbooks, the state, politics and ideology

To gain a greater understanding of the nature of the textbook as discussed in the foregoing subsection of this chapter, it is helpful to appreciate the dynamics around the production process of textbooks, particularly, the role of the state. The players in the textbook production process vary from country to country particularly in relation to the fundamental system of the government in power. In some cases (including South Africa, which is the context for this study) decisions on the authorisation of History textbooks are the preserve of the respective Ministries of Education or their equivalents (Barnes, 2003; Polakow-Suransky, 2002; Roger, 2005). In extremely controlled contexts, the ultimate decisions rest with the ruling political party organs as was the case in Nazi Germany and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) (Rodden, 2009). In less restricted systems, textbook production is mostly done in consultation between civil society (such as parents' groups) and authorities mandated by government to oversee textbook issues. In the case of Texas, USA the loudest lobbying noises come from family planning, gay-advocacy, and fundamentalist Christian and other activist groups (Rodden, 2009). As is the case with most contentious issues, the most powerful amongst the involved

groups prevails while the least powerful have to settle for a compromise, or in the worst case scenario, even lose their influence outright. Thus the dominant stakeholder will have the textbook promoting their agendas.

Government control of the production and selection of textbooks for use is practised in various ways. What is evident is that, according to Gim (2008), the three common worldwide systems regarding textbook production and use are authorisation, approval and lack of restrictions. Approval is the most dominant in undemocratic contexts, although it is not just limited to such contexts. Some states have managed to use the approval system without seeming to be overtly too controlling. For example, according to Sikorova (2008) textbooks in the Czech Republic are still approved by the Ministry of Education although schools can elect not to use the approved textbooks. The catch though, is that the approved textbooks are free and therefore most schools in a bid to minimise costs ultimately end up using the approved textbooks. A somewhat different kind of entrapment exists in Kenya where there are two categories of textbooks: the core and the supplementary – with the core being a sole compulsory textbook per subject (Rotich & Musakali, 2008). For a textbook to be regarded as core, it should have been authored and evaluated by government owned publishers and government appointed evaluation bodies respectively. Such an authorisation arrangement will still allow private companies to produce textbooks, although with full knowledge that their books can only be used as supplementary. Both the Czech Republic approval system and the Kenya authorisation system illustrate how in very different contexts, through the approval system, governments may seem to be open to private textbook production, while simultaneously ensuring that the textbook with the state-sanitised discourses is used in schools. To give further examples, according to Gim (2008) South Korea and Japan use the authorisation system, the USA uses the approval system while in France it is virtually a free for all.

Government involvement in textbook production and use in schools suggests that textbooks are inextricably linked to power and politics. To this effect, Aronowitz & Giroux (1991, p. 215) described the authority of the textbook as “both pedagogical and political.” This means that the textbook is a construct which surpasses being a form of educational media. Indeed, in an oft

quoted statement, Apple (1993, p. 46) declared that textbooks are “conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests.” The pedagogical nature of the textbook has already been discussed earlier in relation to how teachers and learners use it. The political issues around the textbook are existent in virtually all state societies, be they for example capitalist, communist, democratic or authoritarian with each government using the textbook to defend and promote their ideological agendas, benign or malignant. Rodden (2009, p. 268) explains numerous cases where History textbooks are, through political systems, “consciously and completely turned to propagandist purposes.” One such case was in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) whose communist government succeeded Adolf Hitler’s Nazi regime, but abused the textbooks in almost exactly the manner they had criticized their predecessors of doing, the only major difference being the kind of ideology that was being propagated (Rodden, 2009).

The foregoing examples serve to confirm the socially constructed nature of textbooks alluded to previously, and how they should not be taken for granted and embraced with unquestioned trust. Their contrived nature forms the basis for the criticism that textbooks receive from major textbook research authorities such as Apple and Christian-Smith (1991). Some of the critiques have bordered on actual attack – to the extent of calling for the withdrawal of the use of History textbooks (Paxton, 1999). The critics’ argument is that the textbooks are just an extension of a contrived curriculum which is heavily laden with intended ideology. Mirkovic and Crawford, (2003, p. 91) add that throughout the world, 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.” This intended ideology flows through what Naseem (2008, p. 25) refers to as “educational discourse” within a particular context. Using the example of Pakistan, Naseem (2008) explains how nationalism, militarism and war dominate educational discourse and in turn manifest in the state authorised textbooks. In the case of Israel adopting the Bible as a textbook, there is a manifestation of religion as a dominant educational discourse.

The manifestation of the contemporary educational discourse is especially so for History textbooks as they tend to contain content that carries the power to legitimise or delegitimise incumbent governments. This is illustrated by the way most governments move quickly to commission the production of new textbooks as soon as there is political change. This was the case when South Africa entered the post-Apartheid era (Polakow-Suransky, 2002; Siebörger, 1994) and Zimbabwe in the post-1980 era (Barnes, 2005). Similarly, but further afield, when South Korea gained independence from Japan in 1945 the government immediately moved to produce a new Korean language and Korean History textbooks (Kwak, 2008).

As proponents of official history, History textbooks occasionally tend to reflect what may be described as politically correct History. This is a form of sanitised History in which selected heroes and heroines are valorised to the extent of almost being viewed as saints while those on the other side of the political divide face demonisation or even occlusion. For example, in an analysis of the depiction of Martin Luther King Jr. in USA History textbooks, Aldridge (2006) argued that History textbooks represent only the expedient history of people who are considered to be heroes. Such tendencies, he warned, risk education systems producing school graduates who cannot discern the relationship between history and the present-day world. In other words, the development of the historical consciousness of the learners is compromised. In addition, students are denied “access to relevant, dynamic, and often controversial history or critical lenses that would provide them insight into the dilemmas, challenges, and realities of living in a democratic society such as the United States” (Aldridge, 2006, p. 663). One may hasten to add that not only are critical skills relevant for survival in a democratic dispensation; they are crucial if a people aim to create such a democratic dispensation in the first place.

The propagation of a particular educational discourse has the effect of reinforcing a certain public collective memory which glosses over past events that might not support current ideals, in the process constructing a certain kind of historical consciousness. Three examples of this view will suffice. There is a trend for new Russian History textbooks to give a glossier presentation of Stalin (Manzo, 2004). This is in contradistinction to the exposition of the brutality of Stalin that was prevalent in Russian History textbooks soon after the breakup of the

Soviet Union. Furthermore, Manzo (2004) noted that in India, the new History textbooks underplay the role of Mahatma Gandhi and his assassination by a Hindu extremist while the Hindus are portrayed as the pure Indians. In South Africa, da Cruz's (2005) case study of White supremacy in pre and post-apartheid History textbooks scrutinised the depiction of Shaka, the Zulu King, in pre-1994 History textbooks. His main conclusion is that the History textbooks had played a part in perpetuating myths which entrenched negative perceptions on the black people of South Africa. Omission and distortion of past facts in the History textbooks permeate public memory and subsequently create a historical consciousness that is simplistic.

Although the above examples show how textbooks can reflect the dominant educational discourse of a particular society, sometimes textbooks outlive particular political dispensations. Using Zimbabwe as an example, Barnes (2003) explains that schools continue to use textbooks that were not meant to be used following changes in government policy and ideology. The reality is that because of their genre, most textbooks tend to be rigid. This rigidity partly stems from the role of textbooks in carrying a particular nation story. In some cases, some textbook producers might intentionally misrepresent the past in their textbooks or choose not to use information from latest research which sometimes seems to be challenging the status quo (Mazel & Stewart, 1987). In addition, as Foster and Crawford (2006, p. 6) point out, textbooks "are not easily or cheaply adaptable to meet unanticipated changes in society or recognise political, social and ethnic diversities between and indeed within regions." Sometimes, acute changes in society suddenly render some textbooks obsolete, and in rare cases textbooks designed for one dispensation continue to be used in another. This rigidity is a source of criticism particularly of the History textbooks, but it is not always an intentional phenomenon. For instance, the process of producing a textbook may be lengthy such that the textbooks may be "out-of-date before they are printed" (Barnard, 1968, p. 118). Incompatible content may not always be a result of error or interpretation rather than intentionally being out-of-date. This is not to mean that all textbooks have content which is not compatible with contemporary research findings since exceptions do exist (Cargill & Mayer, 1998).

It is evident from the foregoing that textbooks are inextricably linked to the state and issues around power and ideology. Understanding this connection is useful for the textbook researcher especially in terms of viewing the nature of textbooks as a social construction. It also helps explain some of the textbook-related conflicts that have occurred in different countries.

3.2.6 Textbooks wars

Because of their ready potential to be ideology drivers, textbooks tend to be central in a number of conflicts. This is particularly so for History textbooks because while intolerant governments can simply ban other books that do not follow the official line of the national narrative, History textbooks remain in use because of the malleability of historical content (Rodden, 2009, p. 267). This malleability is what creates conflict as different interest groups attempt to exercise the most influence over textbook content and its interpretation.

The struggle for influence is usually manifested during textbook compilation and selection bearing in mind the complex factors involved in their production. Although it has been evidenced above that states try to control as much of the textbook production and use as possible, contemporary national and international economics also play a role. The national economics scene is dominated by the competition for textbook production tenders. The textbook industry is enormous and in the USA they are a \$2.5 billion a year business (Foster & Crawford, 2006). The following case illuminates the extent of the competition in some countries:

In Russia Aleksandr Krutik, a leading figure in the Dorfa publishing company which publishes 30% of the textbooks used in Russian schools, was shot dead by a sniper outside his apartment. The leading suspects were the Russian Mafia said to be anxious to gain control of a lucrative textbook market as books were re-written in a postcommunist world (Foster & Crawford, 2006, p. 12).

The above case illustrates that some publishers will go to any extent to secure textbook publication tenders since there are huge economic possibilities that arise out of textbook publication.

In terms of international economics, according to Altbach (1991), textbook production is an internationalised process and this is evidenced by some countries, particularly in the Third World, relying on multinational companies to publish textbooks in order to fulfil local needs. In the case of Kenya, Rotich and Musakali (2008) explain that although the core textbooks should be published by local companies, many schools purchase textbooks produced by multinational companies that can afford to publish books faster and of better quality. Therefore although local authorities might have certain conceptions of their nation's narrative, they might be compelled to compromise as long as they receive favourable economic deals to have textbooks for their schools. Nevertheless, the internationalisation of textbook production is not only limited to the developing countries. Horsley (2008, p. 83) observed a trend whereby most countries were experiencing "publishing industry mergers, overseas takeovers and concentration of ownership by a few publishing global conglomerates." These deals are not always received warmly with local publishers complaining about being side-lined in their own country as has been the case in Kenya and Zimbabwe (Rotich & Musakali, 2008; Maposa, in press).

The above point can be elucidated with an example of the case of Zimbabwe. Christian missionaries had established opportunities for local authors during the days of British colonisation in the 20th century through their printing presses such as Morgenster, Chishawasha and the Mambo Press (Manzo, 2004). The Zimbabwe Publishing House was established in 1981, just after independence and also became active in producing textbooks. However, international influence was not totally rejected as some of the funding still came from international sources. Other sources of international influence, according to Altbach (1991), included UNESCO and the World Bank who are involved in various other educational processes especially in the Third World. Because of the economic crisis in the early 2000s, there was stagnation in textbook production. As the process to restart the textbook production one of the major contentions was the role of the international community in the production of History textbooks (Maposa, in press).

The conflicts do not end with the awarding of mandates to publish the textbooks. Once a publishing company embarks on the production process, it becomes entangled in engagements with various stakeholders. Failure to do so has in many cases led to numerous conflicts amongst interest groups. One outstanding case of such conflicts is the “Texas textbook wars” in the USA which were a huge motivation behind Apple’s (1991) research on textbooks. The crisis over textbooks in Texas started as early as 1954 when a school board clashed with the State Board of Education over the use of a particular History textbook until the matter had to be resolved, albeit temporarily, by the Texas State House of Representatives (De Baets, 2002). In the longer term, the case had set a precedent for further clashes, generally on the nature of representation of the American nation. Up to the present day, textbook conflicts still occur in Texas in spite of the production process involving a variety of stakeholders and advocacy groups (Rodden, 2009).

A South African example of the schisms between political and economic forces at play in the textbooks arena can be taken from the History textbook burning case in KwaZulu Natal in 2009. Supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party demonstrated in protest to the depiction of their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who appeared in a cartoon in the Oxford grade 12 History textbooks to be sanctioning pre-1994 inter-party violence (Siebörger, 2008; Van Eeden, 2008; Wassermann, 2009). The protestors burned copies of the History textbook in question arguing that the ruling ANC party was propagating a history that projected itself in a favourable light while other parties were viewed as villains. In a quick reaction, the publishers removed the page on which the contentious cartoon appeared and replaced it with another (Wassermann, 2009). The hasty reaction by the publishers was meant as damage control against political and economic factors, and there was no evidence of authors instigating the move. In any case, the demonstrators had not condemned the authors, but the publishers. Such an incident underscores the gravity with which textbooks are viewed by sectors of society as important tools in the inculcation of a particular kind of consciousness.

Conflicts over textbooks are not limited to the internal national arena as they have in some cases adopted international character. One outstanding and well researched History textbook

conflict is the diplomatic rows between South Korea and Japan over the depiction of early 20th century militarism in Japanese textbooks, with South Korea arguing that Japan has not taken enough responsibility for its aggressive actions (Conachy, 2001). Since World War II there have been raging debates over how Japan should take responsibility for some of the aggression that characterised the war period. By the end of the century, the conservatives in Japan were evidently losing their control of the textbooks and a new national history was being depicted in them. After Japanese authorities approved the new History textbooks in 2001, government officials in South Korea and China remonstrated and corresponded furiously on the pretext that “the move was a threat to diplomatic measures” (Manzo, 2004, p. 1). All the hullabaloo was in spite of the new books being an insignificant 0.4 percent of the total History textbooks in Japan in 2005 (Bukh, 2007). If anything, this and other conflicts show how much attention society places on History textbooks as constructors of collective memory. It also shows how this memory differs from country to country. It is such memory which is crucial in the construction of a particular kind of consciousness.

3.2.7 Textbook authorship and author agency

The evidence of the involvement of diverse stakeholders in textbook production raises question on the agency of the textbook authors. In other words, to what extent are the authors responsible for what eventually appears in the textbooks for which they are credited? This means the textbook production process will have a huge impact on the overall genre of textbooks compared to that of other educational media. According to Paxton (1999, p. 318) “Terms such as ‘authorial voice,’ ‘personal agency,’ ‘personal narrative,’ ‘author visibility’ and ‘narrative voice,’ are all references to how an author (or authors) makes plain to readers that a particular human (or humans) has produced the words that appear on the page.” Depending on the micro-genre, some textbooks have an audible authorial voice, while for some the voice is virtually silent.

The trustworthiness with which textbooks are treated implies that most textbook users view the authors to be experts. This does not mean that the authors have always been incontestably

trusted. For example, Barnard (1968, p. 118) questioned the expertise of History textbook authors and referred to them as mere “compilers of previously discovered facts.” More than forty years later the same question exists as Kolchin (as cited in Cohen, 2005, p. 1408) contends that “few American history textbook writers are experts in the history of slavery.” The question therefore is that, if the authors are not experts, whose knowledge is in the books?

In the early 20th century, History textbooks were mostly authored by university professors and, by the middle of the 20th century, other individuals including school teachers were involved in authoring textbooks. In fact, Burton, et al (1952, p. 297) noted previously how in addition to school teachers, there were some school learners who were involved in the commercial authoring of History textbooks. However, it should be noted that such progressive development was a real exception as the authoring process continued to exclude the teachers who finally had to use the books. Stinespring (1967, p. 94) exemplified some of the frustration at such a status quo by his tirade: “Before you become involved in producing another one of those dreary textbooks that are ruining the value and fun of history for students, listen just once to advice from a teacher who tries to use textbooks.” While teachers are now more involved in textbook production as authors, this is only the case in less bureaucratic countries (Ybarra, 2003).

The profession and expertise of the authors of textbooks does not always entail agency. Of late, the production of History textbooks has become more complex with many people involved in their production. This current order in many contexts is captured by Lebrun et al, (2002, p. 55):

It must be acknowledged that every textbook emerges from a complex set of interactions that require the contribution of numerous parties to the processes of design (the authors, the editor of a collection, technical and scientific advisors, and so on), publication (the publisher, the printer, the illustrator, the layout artist, readers, and so on), for evaluation (evaluators, testers), and for use (decision makers and end users: pupils, teachers, and teacher educators).

The above situation could apply in cases of less bureaucratic state systems as the role of the government, as discussed earlier, is not included. In addition, market concerns cannot be ignored. In a free market system, textbook producers check that their product has an available market that ensures that there are profits to ultimately accrue (Wolf, 1992). This is not always the case as was demonstrated in the section on textbook production. For example, if a

government only endorses one textbook for the whole country as is the case in Greece (Repoussi, 2007; Sjöberg, 2011) author agency is already compromised because only a select few are given the chance to be authors. Even in cases of multiple textbooks, the market mainly responds to government endorsement. Therefore if a textbook is not endorsed the market will probably not be willing to consume the textbook. Ultimately, the authors are left with no option but to be at least sympathetic to, and at most dogmatic about a certain ideology. This can be illustrated by the case of one American textbook's sales which "plummeted from 289,000 copies sold in 1938 to only 21,000 by 1944" after the author had been accused (wrongly) of being a communist propagandist (Lindley, 2010, p. 1). This is why Crawford (2006, p. 18) alerts textbook researchers to always understand "the structural framework within which authors and publishers are forced to work." It can be concluded that the authors' agency is always limited despite the existing political and economic system. If not largely controlled by politics, the authors are controlled by economics, or both.

The textbook author agency (or lack thereof) can be manifested in the final product. Indeed there are cases of textbooks whose authors' names are nowhere acknowledged. This can be exemplified by some of the History textbooks that have been in use in Malawi for almost the past half century (Chiponda, PhD in progress). In other cases, the authors' names appear as nom-du-plumes as is the case of the *Dynamics of History* textbook in Zimbabwe whose author was Aeneas Chigwedere, but on the cover appeared his praise name – Mukanya (Barnes, 2007). The apparent absence of authors could be interpreted in different ways. For instance, on one hand, it can be argued to be direct evidence of authors' lack of agency so that agency is attributed to whoever is credited for producing the book – usually a government department. On the other hand, silencing authors is sometimes done to increase the trustworthiness of the textbook. Paxton (1999, p. 326) writes extensively on this issue and explains that the genre of textbooks written by anonymous authors is disparagingly referred to as "textbookese." The argument is that textbooks whose authors are visible help their users "to engage in mental conversations" with the authors either agreeing or critiquing them (Paxton, 1999, p. 329). Regarding author agency, textbook authors to a larger extent have their hands tied and therefore it can be concluded that what appears in the final product might not be the author's

original input. As such, when critiquing textbooks, researchers should critique the whole textbook production team and not the individual authors whose names adorn the cover pages.

To sum up this section, the vast literature on textbooks reveals their contested and socially constructed nature. That is why, on one hand textbooks are viewed as an indispensable type of educational media for both learners and teachers, while on the other, critics even call for their withdrawal from use. This contention is not surprising especially considering the contested nature of school History itself. I have shown how there are various forces behind the production of textbooks and the extent to which this limits the agency of the authors and ultimately affects the genre of the textbook.

3.3 History textbooks and the construction of consciousness

In the foregoing section of this chapter I reviewed literature on textbooks in general although the examples used to elucidate the arguments were largely in reference to History textbooks. In this section I make use of the review above – in addition to reference to more pertinent literature – to explain how History textbooks in particular can participate in constructing a certain kind of consciousness for the users. In doing so, the arguments raised in the themes above are put into perspective and made relevant for this study.

Primarily, it should be noted that when learners study school History, the general expectation is that at the end of the teaching and learning process they should have acquired an historical literacy (Maposa & Wassermann, 2009; Taylor, 2003; Lee, 2004). One of the benchmarks of historical literacy is historical consciousness (Maposa & Wassermann, 2009).

It has been previously explained in Chapter 2 how historical consciousness on African History themes can translate to African consciousness. Therefore the issues raised from the literature on textbooks can be used to understand how History textbooks (themselves a social construction) can contribute to the construction of African consciousness. Ehlers (n.d.) emphasises that historical narratives “form the basis for the creation of historical consciousness” (p. 26). This understanding is based on Crawford’s (2006, p. 9) argument that

“the social construction of school textbooks provides an important context from within which to critically investigate the dynamics underlying the cultural politics of education and the social movements that form it and which are formed by it.”

One important aspect to appreciate from the outset is that there are differences that exist between school History and professional History and this difference can also be noted between school History textbooks and general History reference books. Therefore school History textbooks and other types of History books are not written following the same genre. According to Paxton (1999) the key is the History textbooks’ lack of metadiscourse and therefore this helps widen the gap between the History that is practiced by professional historians and the History that school learners study. He argues that “textbooks typically focus tightly on facts, events, and people, and not the kinds of questions, decisions, and heuristics historians employ in their day-to-day practice” (Paxton, 1999, p. 317). The lack of metadiscourse in textbooks is directly related to what Crawford (2006, p. 18) earlier referred to as “a hotch potch” of textbook content. The differences between school History and professional History in the respective books mean that while both construct consciousness, they may do so in different ways.

Unlike that of books by professional historians, the general subgenre of History textbooks is such that they contribute to the development of a common narrative which is usually more national than regional or continental. This common narrative is evident in other faces of official History and it in turn constructs the collective memory of a society. According to Wertsch (2000) this construction is paradoxically achieved through the opposite binaries of inclusion and occlusion. In a deliberate sanitisation of history the textbook producers include content that glorifies the past of selected individuals or societies while vilifying others. Occlusion is practised by skilfully omitting the “ugly or unpleasant deeds” of the past as if they never happened (Millas, 1991, p. 28). The sanitised version of the past that is then presented has the potential to construct a certain consciousness within the textbook users. As Gordon (2005) noted, what is in the History textbooks plays a great role in the construction of the national narrative within which the ideologies and norms of the powerful are veiled. However, in some cases, some

unpleasant content might be included and emphasised in an effort to emphasise how bad the event was. For example, according to Lorentzen (2008, p. 35) the horrors from the trenches of Belgium or Luxemburg were actively used in History textbooks throughout Europe to promote the international peace movements of the 1920s and early 30s. As was explained in Chapter 2, the narrative is “an important element in the development of historical consciousness” (Kwang-Su (1999, p. 22).

The nature of the narrative is not the only aspect of the History textbook subgenre that can contribute to the construction of forms of consciousness. Indeed, the use of language in the History textbooks is also a crucial factor. This position tallies with the Foucauldian view of social constructionism that acknowledges the constructive power of language (Foster & Crawford, 2006). The language being referred to includes the “use of metaphors, codes, previously accepted conceptions, connotations, and other semantic devices” (Frier, 1998, p. 196). The words in the History textbooks are connected with various concepts, consciousness included, and through an analysis of the language in the textbook a researcher can discover how the concepts are constructed and the nature of the text book producer’s thought processes (Donlan, 1980). This is important since concepts in language are not universal. As an example of how one word can make a huge difference and be contentious, Jeans (2005, p. 183) explains that the decision in Japan to use the word "advance" instead of "invasion" led to vociferous remonstrations, not just internally, but from neighbouring China and South Korea. Similarly, the Israeli occupation authorities censored the Palestinian History textbooks until 1994 to the extent that the word “Palestine” and the map of Palestine did not appear in the books (Moughrabi, 2001, p. 6). These two examples demonstrate the deliberate efforts by textbook producers to construct a particular collective memory and consciousness through the control of text. While Paxton (1999, p. 329) argues that text in History textbooks is always interpreted uniquely according to readers’ understanding and experiences, he also maintains that “it would be going too far to assert that words on a page have no properties of their own, or that they are always and only what their readers make of them.” This means that whatever the limitations, words in History textbooks do construct a certain kind of consciousness in the mind of the reader.

The use of language in History textbooks also has an effect on whether they construct an individual or group consciousness. In strongly nationalistic educational discourses, the textbooks are characterised by the use of the first person plural (we/us). An example of this is what appears in the Palestinian History textbooks where evidently the textbook producers use the books to develop a nationalistic group consciousness by ensuring the authors and the textbook users feel unified (al-Badarin & Maagerø, 2008). The opposite is the case in countries with more liberal educational discourses. For example the Norwegian textbooks make the reader feel that they are being addressed individually (al-Badarin & Maagerø, 2008). This in turn is more likely to promote a more individualistic consciousness.

In addition to the narrative and the use of language, visuals are also an integral aspect of the History textbook subgenre and are also important in the construction of the consciousness of the textbook user. It should be noted that, unlike in language, concepts in visuals are not universal. However, there have been efforts to give language and visuals similar significance in History textbooks as they both constitute text (LaSpina, 1998). Therefore the difference between text and visuals is not always obvious. Väisänen (2008, p. 297) prefers to refer to visuals as “imagetexts” and also contends that “texts and visual texts are not separate phenomena in textbooks but only different means to represent historically and culturally constructed information.” This view is based on the argument that an illustration, in essence, is meant to make meanings clearer or more understandable (Väisänen, 2008, p. 302). Similarly, Frier (1998, p. 199) referred to the pictures in the Israeli History textbooks as “interesting channels of discourse.” In fact text featuring pictures is understood and interpreted differently to that which has no visuals. As Osler (1994, p. 223) explains, “If, for example, we are told that medieval peasants had to serve their lord by working on the land, but we only see pictures of men engaged in this activity, we might easily and inaccurately conclude that women played little part in farming.” Another example of the power of visuals is of the Israeli textbooks which showed no single picture of Arab professionals but only showed them struggling or engaged in menial jobs (Frier, 1998).

The selection of visuals, particularly pictures, to be used in the History textbooks should not be interpreted as innocent; neither should one assume that there was no prior selection. In fact, Osler (1994) remarks that there is usually a tendency for textbook producers to use pictures already in common memory, usually found in older books. One plausible explanation for this could be that the publishers will already have commercial rights over those pictures. In this way the textbook producers will be partaking in the strengthening of already existent narratives in public memory, hence reproducing or cementing existing kinds of consciousness. In the process, historical figures that do not feature in the pictures begin to be victims of occlusion while those that are recurrently represented as the protagonists become national heroes (Frier, 1998). Therefore visuals in History textbooks can be viewed as part of a deliberate plan to construct a certain consciousness on the textbook users. To explain this phenomenon, Väisänen (2008, p. 298) explains that the reliance on visuals as is the case in Finnish History textbooks is linked to the behaviourist learning approach which posits that “all meanings in the text have cultural meanings common to everybody.” This would imply an attempt to promote a common consciousness amongst the textbook users. It has also been argued that even textbooks written in the active learning approaches which are centred on cognitive constructivism still result in the development of particular personalities (Nogova & Huttova 2008).

The use of language and visuals and how they represent a national narrative can also be related to layout and presentation within the subgenre of History textbooks. This was the basis of Donlan’s (1980) critique of most History textbooks having a stale presentation which was full of text. He argued that at least the text should be presented in different ways, not only to enliven the book, but also to emphasise the important points to the learner. As a recommendation he suggested that “publishers could help if they put all the important words in capital letters” Donlan (1980, p. 135). This view was also supported by Hubbuch (1989, p. 90) who contended that because of presentation in History textbooks, learners ended up recalling “absurd or vivid details” as the important information was drowned by the unimportant. In some countries, History textbooks have changed greatly in terms of presentation since Donlan’s comment in 1980 (Lorentzen, 2008). In fact, according to Selander (2008, p. 18) History textbooks in Europe in the 1940s followed a subgenre whereby “narratives were placed as verbal elements and facts

as pictorial elements,” but this subgenre had started experiencing a direct reversal from the 1970s onwards. However, the main issue of concern regarding layout and presentation is that in some textbooks interpretations and inferences are made for the learners, thus clouding their understanding. In other words, if learners are told what is important, the History textbooks will not develop learners’ historical thinking which will be tantamount to indoctrination. Therefore an analysis of History textbooks’ presentation and layout can also help to identify the kind of consciousness that the textbook authors try to construct.

As was previously noted History textbooks are not divorced from the discourse permeating through society as official History. This macro level discourse takes the form of educational discourse and textbooks then convey the same discourse at a lower and micro level. The example given by Naseem (2008) of Pakistani textbooks promoting an educational discourse of “nationalism, militarism and war” demonstrates that History textbooks can work to reinforce the construction of a consciousness which is already being promoted at the micro level of discourse as official History. Although Kojanitz (2008, p. 214) views textbooks as “a device for conveying intellectual ideas” he still concedes the role of textbooks in shaping the way students think. In any case, intellectual ideas are seldom divorced from the vagaries of ideology and power. This is supported by Sikorova (2008) who claims that in both Science and Social Science lessons, most learners tended to imbibe passively what the textbooks gave as information.

Not all scholars agree with the claim that History learners may be passive receptors of textbook content. For instance, Norlund (2008) claims that when learners read textbooks, their responses are either cynical or resistant. But in Mohammed’s (2008) view there can be three responses to reading a History textbook: confirmation, exploration and confrontation. Confirmation would mean that the learner uses the textbooks to confirm whatever views or versions of history they already hold. Exploration implies looking for alternative meanings and being open to embracing them. But confrontation would entail a response whereby the learner becomes confused and will make individual conclusions. According to Mohammed (2008), these three responses are triggered by the nature of subgenre and how the textbook approaches issues.

It was explained in Chapter 2 that historical consciousness – and hence African consciousness – is not just oriented in the past, but also in the present and future. The future aspect of historical consciousness is rather problematic for learners of History because it is not always considered. Yet History textbooks also contribute in their own way in raising future generations and preparing them for life in posterity (Jeans, 2005). According to Garza-Lubeck (1986, p. 11), if a society can learn about the past 100 years through their History textbooks, then the same textbooks “may serve as a preview of American attitudes during the next 100 years.” Based on that understanding, History textbooks can contribute in constructing a future oriented consciousness. This is more important if one considers that the past, warts and all, cannot be relived, but a better tomorrow can still be shaped (Soysal, 2006). All things considered, Foster and Crawford (2006) insist that History textbooks are not only important for the future. He argues that “the intellectual and emotional relationship between a nation’s present, future and past is shaped through the selection, manufacture and transmission of powerful narratives” (Foster & Crawford, 2006, p. 10). Therefore the whole textbook production process is important in determining their construction of consciousness in the minds of their users.

In an effort to participate in nation-building History textbooks tend to construct homogenous national identities with the aim of fostering a common collective memory for society (Bukh, 2007). It is Foster & Crawford’s (2006, p. 1) view that homogenous collective memory “does not aid the development of inter-cultural education.” Nevertheless, others can also produce competing national narratives and contested national identities. According to Soysal (2006), the competing identities and other similar historical controversies can be diffused if nation and identity are situated within the context of the entire continent. One example where this has been attempted is in Germany where the national aspect is almost absent in the History textbooks which foreground the European dimension (Soysal, 2006). It for this reason that Rösen (2003) considers historical consciousness to be of vital importance if post-conflict societies are to move beyond treacherous historical controversies.

It is evident from the above arguments that in addition to the subgenre, the content in the History textbooks can be responsible for the learners’ African consciousness. One example is

how African heroes are depicted since heroes are essential as role models for the impressionable learners. As with the issue of identity, heroes in History textbooks are usually national and their heroic feats include what they did for example against other nations. According to Soyal (2008) German textbooks have dealt with the issue of national heroes by normalising them. The argument is that the heroes have been shown also to have weaknesses.

While some studies that speak to issues somehow related to continental consciousness have been conducted especially in Europe, their main focus is on continental identity. The two major examples are the EUROCLIO research mentioned in Chapter 1 and the related Masters study by De Visser (2007). In trying to analyse the construction of the meaning of Europe in textbooks, the following were the aspects analysed:

whether or not Europe is mentioned within the framework of the different historical topics; how often Europe is mentioned; in which contexts Europe is mentioned; which dimensions of Europe are referred to; whether information about Europe is limited to objective facts, or includes normative elements that might influence student construction of meaning towards Europe and whether Europe is presented as something positive or negative (De Visser, 2007, p. 81).

If the aspects mentioned in the quote are meant to explain how textbooks construct the meaning of Africa, it would imply that the way the History textbooks cover the same aspects on Africa and the African being would contribute to the construction of an African consciousness. The works by Marmer, Marmer, Hitomi and Sow (2010) and Marmer and Sow (2013) reveal that several studies have been conducted on the representation of Africa in German History textbooks although they are mostly written in German, translations of which I had no access to.

In Chapter 2, I argued that identity is but one aspect of consciousness. This demonstrates a gap in research which this study set to fill. However, to appreciate the place of this study in the field of History textbook research, it is essential to have a grasp of the international and local trends.

It can be concluded in the section that the History discipline has a nature which forces History textbooks to follow a particular subgenre. Within this subgenre, many aspects such as language, visuals and the nature of narrative contribute to the consciousness that may influence the History textbook users to develop. Indeed one of the conclusions of Mazabow's

(2003) thesis is that “the textbook remains central to the cause of an improved historical consciousness History education” (p. 258).

3.4 Research on issues related to History textbooks in South Africa

The first two sections of this chapter have reviewed literature on textbooks, but this section proceeds to contextualise the literature for the sake of this study. While there is evidence that research in History textbooks has developed internationally into a substantial area of study, the same cannot as yet be said in South Africa. As will be shown in this section, there is an increase in the amount of research on History textbooks. Nevertheless, there is much more available literature on South Africa than other parts of Africa. This paucity illuminates a huge gap in the field of History Education in the African context.

In the case of South Africa, there is evidence that the volume of History textbook research only increased after the end of apartheid although, according to Chernis (1990), the first officially recognised South African History textbook was *History of the Cape Colony* authored by Wilmot in 1871. In fact, History books were already in use in schools as early as 1839, but as with international trends, History only became an officially established school subject by the end of the 19th century in South Africa. By the turn of the 20th century leading to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, History textbooks in the Afrikaner republics were imported and those in the English colonies displayed strong imperial discourse and ties with the British Empire (Chernis, 1990). This serves as an example of discourse at a macro-level permeating to the micro-level of educational discourse meant to be consumed by the textbook users.

In spite of the relatively early use of History textbooks in South African schools and their important role in legitimating the colonial establishment, research on the textbooks only materialised at a later date. My literature search found the earliest research to be by Raubenheimer (1944) and Du Plooy (1965) who wrote their dissertations in Afrikaans. The study that is recognised to be pioneering in the field of History textbook research was conducted by Auerbach (1965) and he noted that previously there had been virtually no research in History

textbooks (Dean, et al., 1983). From his textbook analysis, Auerbach (1965) found an increasing Afrikaner ethnocentrism being portrayed over time and the doctrines of Christian National Education (CNE) being promoted in the contemporary textbooks. According to Waller (2009), Auerbach acknowledged, but did not explore issues of stakeholder involvement in the production of History textbooks. However, this study set a trend in the analysis of issues of prejudice and political ideology in the country's History textbooks. The focus on issues of CNE ideology and racial prejudice is not surprising since those were some of the most dominant contemporary discourses of the time of the study.

The research by Auerbach (1965) opened the gates for only a few studies in the same field. According to Chernis (1990), FA Van Jaarsveld followed in Auerbach's footsteps and dominated the field of History textbook research in South Africa for about 30 years. However, in the view of Dean, et al (1983), Van Jaarsveld was a historian who was not dominant in History textbook analysis per se, but in the writing of History textbooks as he was, in fact, a target of textbook analysts. The major critics of Jaarsveld's textbooks were Taylor (1971) and Lewson (1975). As with the earlier research by Auerbach, the textbooks were criticised for containing content which was characterised by stereotypes and biases which were consistent with ruling government propaganda.

This criticism of the presence of apartheid ideology in the History textbooks spilled into the 1980s as the Soweto uprisings of 1976 and subsequent school boycotts further exposed the issues of ideology in South African school History (Chisholm, 1981). The subject of identity, stereotypes and prejudices as portrayed in History textbooks however remained topical. For example, Johnson (1982) explained how History textbooks played a part in "establishing and entrenching apartheid" (Waller, 2009, p. 31). Issues of representation were also researched by Mazel and Stewart (1987) who analysed the portrayal of the San in History textbooks. Two of the then most comprehensive studies on History textbooks were conducted by Dean et al. (1983) and Du Preez Du Preez and Home (1983) who analysed 42 and 53 textbooks respectively. They showed how the history in the textbooks continued to legitimate apartheid and racial prejudice through the occlusion of Black people from the history of South Africa.

However, the studies did not only focus on textbook analysis, as they also interrogated curricula and experiences of teachers. These two voluminous studies were indicative of the growth of the field of History textbook research in the country.

Although issues of prejudice remained a major aspect of History textbook research in South Africa in the 1980s, new researchers who entered the field also introduced different angles. Cognisant of the disparities created by apartheid, Martin (1980) focused on comparing market responses to textbooks between White and Black schools. This new angle showed how the context and the teaching and learning of History have an effect on the buying of textbooks.

The most comprehensive research on South African History textbooks was conducted by Chernis (1990) who analysed approximately 100 History textbooks that were used in the country from 1839 to 1990. Chernis (1990) still maintained that by 1990, very little research on History textbooks had been conducted as evidenced by at most 10 postgraduate dissertations which, in his own opinion, mainly contained descriptive and little critical analysis. Examples of the theses include those by Du Plooy (1965), Motshabi (1972) and Raubenheimer (1944). Although the issues of race, stereotypes and master symbols in the apartheid context were important in contextualising the study, there was evidence of a shift of focus to other issues in History Education. Being a vast survey, the study by Chernis (1990) had many findings including the pedagogical implications of the textbooks that had been used in South Africa over time. For him, the textbooks were crucial in the construction of a historical consciousness which promoted nation building based on the ideals of the incumbent government from colonisation to apartheid. He therefore linked historical consciousness to nationalism, although his conceptualisation of historical consciousness was different from Rüsen's (1993).

It should be noted that Chernis (1990) produced his PhD thesis at a time when South Africa was beginning a process of marked political change. It can be argued that the uncertainty of the future had a contributing influence to scholars analysing issues other than race and prejudice. Another example of this move is Matoti (1990) who analysed how the History textbooks enabled learners' conceptual development and how this correlated with the pass and/or failure

rates in the schools. The same applied to Evans (1991) whose study examined the role of textbooks in knowledge production and reproduction.

The post-apartheid period has witnessed comparatively increased publication of research on History textbooks, especially in the form of journal articles. This increase accompanied the paradigm shift in the South African History curriculum, thus informing the need for new textbooks (Siebörger, 1994; Siebörger & Reid, 1995). There has been little increase in postgraduate research where, since the 1960s, around only a dozen dissertations have been written on History textbooks in South Africa (Bharath, 2009; Da Cruz, 2005; Engelbrecht, 2009; Firth, 2013; Fru, 2012; Gambushe, 1998; Koekemoer, 2012; Mashiya, 2000; Morgan, 2011; Nene, 2014; Nishino, 2006; Ranchod, 2001; van Niekerk, 2014; Von den Steinen, 1997; Waller, 2009). This could partly be explained by the new curriculum's apparent snub on school History until around 2004 (Siebörger, 2006). Indeed, most of the dissertations are from the period after 2004.

However, political change has not diminished some of the old issues that were researched. The theme of apartheid is still topical as exemplified by the study by Newman and Wassermann (2008) who analysed how South African textbooks in the post-apartheid dispensation constructed apartheid as this had an impact on some learners' decisions to study History or not. Similarly, Da Cruz (2005) also analysed the way the History textbooks perpetuated myths with reference to King Shaka and the Voortrekkers. This kind of study is useful when one wants to check if stereotypes that were in History textbooks before 1990 had been eliminated or were continuing – in the same or different form. Therefore apartheid and post-apartheid bias in History textbooks' representation of content remains a topical research focus (Lieven, 2000). The concern of bias is also shown in a unique paper by Bam and Visser (1996) which offers a proposed sample of a textbook chapter with a focus on the Xhosa cattle-killing.

Post-apartheid discourses have been characterised by talk of diversity and inclusivity. These discourses can be linked to the continuation of studies on prejudice be it racial, ethnic, gender or other forms of bias. Scholars such as Bundy (1993) Polakow-Suransky (2002) Engelbrecht (2005; 2008) and Siebörger (1994; 1995; 2006) explained how South African History Education

and History textbooks underwent change from the days of the heavy influence of apartheid ideology to post-apartheid discourses. The notion is that a new political dispensation entails a new collective memory and hence a new historical consciousness meaning that the textbooks still continue a legitimating role, albeit of a new political dispensation. This was not precisely what happened as Polakow-Suransky (2002) argued that many schools continued to use old textbooks several years after the end of apartheid, thus ensuring the continuation of old narratives. The same sentiments were shared by Weldon (2006) who also examined the role of History textbooks in the affirmation of Afrikaner identity.

On the contrary, Pretorius (2007) argues that Afrikaner history does not even feature in the post-apartheid History textbooks. His concern speaks to how History textbooks represent some groups and underrepresent others despite the discourses of inclusivity and democracy. Research on the dominant official post-apartheid discourse of unity in diversity was also conducted by Mckinney (2005) in a bid to critique the inclusivity of the History textbooks. Such research shows how issues of race continue to be a significant research focus. On issues of race and racism, Morgan (2010a; 2010b) has conducted significant research. Related to racism is sexism, which has been studied with a focus on the representation of women in post-apartheid History textbooks (Schoeman, 2009; Fardon & Schoeman, 2010).

The issues of content and representation that have been studied in South African History textbook research mainly pertain to the dominant discourses of the day such as issues of race and diversity discussed above. In addition, contemporary events have also triggered research on other aspects. For example, the textbook burning incident previously discussed motivated some research with scholars such as Siebörger (2008), Van Eeden (2008) and Wassermann (2008) writing in response to the event, and pointing to the possible consequences of the incident and the subsequent reaction of the concerned textbook publishers. Another example of event-motivated textbook research is by Chisholm (2008) who analysed issues of migration and citizenship in South African History textbooks in response to sporadic xenophobic incidents in the country which later culminated into larger-scale violence in 2008.

While there has been considerable analysis of representational content in South African History textbooks, it has been limited on History didactics since the 1990s when scholars such as Matoti (1990) and Evans (1991) conducted such research. The available research includes that conducted by Bertram (2008; 2011) and Waller (2009) with the former studying how History textbooks recontextualised the curriculum, and how they can promote the development of a historical gaze through the substantive and procedural knowledge that they contain. The latter researched the concept of historical literacy and how it was promoted in the History textbooks. Similarly, Bharath (2009) also analysed issues of knowledge representation in South African History textbooks. Other studies by Morgan (2012; 2014a) focus on the representation of concepts such as empathy rather than content knowledge. Most studies have not been specific to concepts, but some have identified specifics, such as heritage (Fru, Wassermann & Maposa, 2013). Also acknowledging the importance of historical knowledge is Morgan (2014b) who analysed textbooks and found out that South African History textbooks focus more on values than scholarly ends. Concerning values, Mashiya (2000) analysed the old History textbooks to see if they can be used in the post-apartheid dispensation to teach democratic values and found that they can only be useful if they are in critical hands. The studies identified in this paragraph show researchers' attempts to formulate an answer to what school History, through textbooks, is meant to develop for learners from an educational knowledge point of view.

The production process of History textbooks is also not very well-researched. This process was reviewed by scholars such as Hindle (2004) and Johannesson (2002) who criticise the system of producing poor quality textbooks and identify the challenges in textbook production, distribution and use in South Africa. In addition, Siebörger (2008) and Van Eeden (2010) studied issues related to the production of textbooks, although the production aspect was not the main focus of the studies. The respondents in Van Eeden's (2010) study complained that the textbook evaluation and approval procedure was neither rigorous nor transparent. Furthermore, Chisholm (2013) engaged with more than the process of textbook production but also included issues of distribution into the schools. Such research highlighted the need for the government to establish more robust and transparent structures for textbook evaluation and approval to avoid conflict amongst the concerned stakeholders.

Another area of textbook research which has not seen considerable research pertains to the methodology of History textbook analysis. In most studies, methodological issues are a means to an end rather than being one of the aims of the research. Morgan (2010c) decried this state of affairs in South African History textbook research when she came to this conclusion:

Most South African studies on school textbooks have tended to focus more on the political messages of textbooks than on interrogating the relationship between History as a discipline and the way this is translated into the didactical messages in textbooks. They have largely concentrated on the changing representations of South African History in the textbooks and have not concerned themselves with the theoretical and methodological problems of textbook (or educational media) analysis as such (p. 755).

This gap partly motivated her to focus her PhD on this area. Although she analysed the issue of race in the textbook the issue was the means while methodology was the end. As a follow-up, Morgan and Henning (2012) created a tool which they theorised can be used for the analysis of History textbooks. In conducting textbook analysis, an understanding of the nature of text is a crucial methodological matter. With regard to this, Morgan and Henning (2011) and Morgan (2014) also contributed methodologically by engaging with the nature of text and particularly visual text which she refers to as visual grammar.

Although international textbook research has included bilateral and multilateral projects, there is virtually no evidence of comparative studies involving South Africa. The only comparative study that I found was by Nishino (2006) who analysed the similarities and differences in South African and Japanese History textbooks during periods when the respective countries were under international scrutiny. This means that South African History textbooks have not really been evaluated according to standards from across the border.

I have shown in this section that there are many issues that still have to be researched on South African History textbooks. Of the aspects that have been studied in relation to History textbooks, the issue of Africa has, at best, been a side issue. For example, while the study by Chisholm (2008) mentioned South Africa's position in Africa, it was mainly aimed at researching issues of migration-induced international diversity and how it was promoted in textbooks. Van Eeden (2010), who analysed the content in South African History textbooks, evaluated the

inclusion and/or exclusion of content on African and European History, but not in great depth. It follows therefore that History textbook research in South Africa has not focused on the issue of Africa and the African being. That gap provided an opportunity for me to proceed with this study.

It can be concluded in this section that while research in History textbooks has developed into a significant field internationally, in Africa the situation is different as there has been little research conducted. South Africa has a relatively large body of work by African standards, which is expected considering the gap in development which in Chapters 1 and 2 was argued to have caused the country's dual exceptionalism in the African context. The limited amount of research on History textbooks in Africa, as compared to international trends, justifies the need to conduct more research in the field.

3.5 Conclusion: The gap exposed by the reviewed literature

The purpose of this chapter was to review the main issues and debates that arise from the literature on History textbook research. To do this, I acknowledged that History textbooks do not exist in isolation and they should first and foremost be understood as an aspect of educational media. I reviewed what literature says about teachers and learners using textbooks as an aspect of educational media. This discussion was enhanced by an explanation of the nature of textbooks with particular reference to the genre in which they fall. I then explained how the state gets involved in the production of textbooks and how this has led to conflicts and the involvement of many other stakeholders which ultimately tends to reduce the agency of the textbook authors. Subsequently, I then reviewed literature which explains how History textbooks can be instruments for the construction of consciousness, in the case of this study, African consciousness. I finally illustrated the development of History textbook research in South Africa.

For this study, what was important from the literature reviewed in this chapter is that History textbooks are still a used teaching and learning resource in the present day. The debate over

the extent to which the textbooks are used in pedagogy or how many learners and/or teachers use them is of no huge consequence for this study. Rather, what matters is the intention of the textbook producers and the fact that the textbooks have a bearing on some learners, however large or small. Here I refer to the textbook producers rather than the authors as I argued that the authors have limited agency.

With this in mind, I acknowledged that History textbook research is still lagging behind in Africa. This provided a strong case for me to conduct this study and contribute to the field not only locally but internationally. The literature review also revealed how textbooks are usually analysed with a national focus. However, increased migration and globalisation calls for an understanding of History textbooks from an international point of view, in this case continental. It was evident that very little or no research has been conducted on how History textbooks deal with issues of Africa and Africanness. This is a huge gap which this study set out to contribute in filling. Therefore this study set out to analyse the African consciousness that can be constructed in South African History textbooks bearing in mind the gaps and motivations identified in the literature reviewed. Although the literature review explained how History textbooks can construct African consciousness, the study then proceeded to show this construction and the contestations involved. In the next chapter I move on to explain my theoretical framework of postcolonialism, bearing in mind African consciousness from the last chapter and History textbooks from this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DISCURSIVE POSTCOLONIALISM AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

I have, in the previous chapters, narrowed down the focus of this study to two concepts: African consciousness and history textbooks. In this chapter I go further and engage with issues of theory related to this study. It is my understanding that issues of broader theory remain an important aspect of doctoral research and thus deserve a chapter that is particularly dedicated to them. According to Cohen et al. (2009, p. 9), “the ultimate aim of science is theory.” As arguable as this claim may be, it can still be maintained that if research in the Social Sciences is to be regarded as scientific in nature, it needs to be grounded on a sound theoretical base. Indeed, as Dillow (2009, p. 1338) realised in her own doctoral journey, aspects of research such as methodology, approach and analysis are very much “theoretically informed and supported;” otherwise there would be no difference between Social Science and other non-academic fields such as journalism or even storytelling. The use of theory in education has always had detractors, but as long as it is “applied methodologically” it has been accepted as relevant (Durkheim, cited in Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloch & Sikes, 2007, p. 57). In fact, there is an argument that all research is informed by a certain theory, although it is possible that the researcher may not be aware of the theory in his/her study (Maxwell, 2010).

I therefore start this chapter by explaining briefly, and from a theoretical perspective, my employment of African consciousness as a conceptual framework. This will show its limitations and explain why I still had to engage with broader theoretical debates, even after having a conceptual framework for the study. I then explain my initial reluctance to adopt a theory for

this study and how I eventually embraced it. This leads to a section on the contestations on postcolonial theory which led me into the “believing game” and the “doubting game” (Elbow, as cited in Maxwell, 2010). The last section before the conclusion of this chapter explains how understanding discourse theory enriches postcolonial theory in the form of discursive postcolonialism.

Most of this chapter (particularly the first two sections) is written in a narrative style. The rationale for this style is that while I had to engage with theoretical rigour I also wanted to avoid being “bogged down in theory” (Wellington et al., 2007, p. 61). Without proper immersion into the study, the theory chapter can result in being an appendage to the study whose purpose is not clear. Therefore the narrative style helps to show how the theory was an integral part of broader thinking as I developed my study.

4.2 Conceptual framework: possibilities and limitations

For the sake of avoiding repetition of what has already been explained in Chapter 2, I will not wholly reiterate what I mean by African consciousness. Suffice to say I argued African consciousness to be an amalgamation of historical consciousness and a personal and/or collective awareness of the constructs of Africa and Africanness. From a theoretical perspective, such an amalgamation of concepts is what can be referred to as “conceptual architecture” in Foucauldian discourse (Ifversen, 2003, p. 65). Conceptual architecture in the case of what I did would therefore imply the combination of concepts (even if they are from different discursive formations) to construct one composite concept which can be employed to understand a particular phenomenon.

I decided to refer to the result of my conceptual architecture as a conceptual framework rather than a theoretical framework for a reason. De Vos and Strydom (2005) understand a concept to be “one or two words designating a specific idea or notion” (p. 29) and by using this understanding it would make sense to view African consciousness as a concept, in this case a composite one. They go further to differentiate between conceptualisation and theorisation.

The former is described as “categorizing and labelling information, perceptions, thoughts;” while the latter is “testing concepts for internal consistency” (De Vos & Strydom, 2005, p. 29). With reference to such discourse, it is therefore evident that what I did in Chapter 2 was conceptualisation rather than theorisation. For a concept to become a framework it has to be of particular utility in the study. A framework in research has many functions, but principally to guide aspects of the study. With this understanding, I decided to refer to African consciousness that was conceptualised in Chapter 2 as a conceptual framework. This decision tallies with De Vos and Strydom’s (2005) view that a conceptual framework can be made up of typologies, theories and models. My typology categorised and labelled the nature of African consciousness into four types: the traditional; the exemplary; the critical and the genetic.

My conceptual framework had two main functions. Firstly it elucidated the phenomenon under focus. This means that I could refer to the concept anywhere in the study with assured confidence that what I was referring to in the context of this study would not be misunderstood. The second function of my conceptual framework was for the analysis and discussion of data. This function was twofold. At a lower level, the conceptual framework gave me the linguistic tools with which to understand the data and label the findings (Maree, 2010). The constituents of the typology provided the language which could help me create codes, categories and themes. At a higher level, the conceptual framework also helped me make abstractions of the findings as is seen Chapter 6.

Despite the above developments, I realised that the conceptual framework still had limitations in terms of pushing the boundaries of my study. Indeed it could help me with analysis and synthesis, but it would not do what I realised a broader theoretical framework could. This realisation made me engage with more theory which helped by adding the missing rigour which will be discussed in the next section.

4.3 Embracing theory

After conceptualising African consciousness I had to grapple with an inner resistance to engage with broader theoretical concerns. I also wanted to avoid falling into the oft-criticised trap where post-graduate students use theory wastefully or just for the sake of it while it does not really fulfil any purpose (Wellington et al., 2005). My resistance was in spite of my inner trepidation that my conceptual framework would not provide sufficient grounding for the study. Furthermore, I had to find within myself a way of thought that would run as a thread through my entire study “whether overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously” (Wellington et al., 2005, p. 57). I also needed theory to help with generalisation so that the study can be linked to other scholarly endeavours rather than stand in isolation (Wellington et al., 2005). These necessities are what informed my endeavours to conceive a suitable theoretical framework for this study.

Although I earlier differentiated between conceptualisation and theorisation, it is usually folly in the social sciences to try to create concrete definitions of terms. Similarly, the meaning of theory can be said to vary and depends on the paradigmatic persuasions of the researcher. However, a common understanding of theory seemed to return to Kerlinger’s (1970, p. 9) view that theory is:

a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena.

This loaded statement by Kerlinger (1970) explains both the nature and purpose of theory. While the description above is useful, it is also problematic because it is too broad. Indeed, using that understanding I could have claimed that African consciousness is my theoretical framework for this study since it is a set of interrelated constructs.

In order to make this study have a space within the theoretical world I therefore took cognisance of the view that there are different types of theories. According to Morrison (as cited by Cohen et al., p. 9-10) there are three types of theories – grand theories (such as Marxism, structuralism, functionalism), critical theories (such as feminism, postcolonial,

discourse) and empirical theories emanating from specific empirical studies. These categorisations are not as neat as suggested. For example, Marxism can be argued to be part of broader structuralism. It can also be argued that critical theories such as the ones mentioned above have become grand theories themselves. Indeed, Wellington et al. (2005) regard poststructuralist Michel Foucault as a grand theorist in the same vein as Karl Marx. The basis of this argument is that while the poststructuralist theorists criticize other theorists of essentialism, they are similarly trapped in the essentialist thought when they identify themselves as poststructuralist. This entrapment implies that all scholarly endeavours can always be viewed as being informed by one grand theory or another. This was further reason for me to engage with theory to explicate what was influencing my ways of thinking and how I engaged with issues throughout my study.

The struggle to identify a theoretical framework for my study was going to be complicated as long as I was searching for a theory that fully explained what I was doing. My concerns were relieved by the view that all theories are provisional and no theory can accurately match every single study (Cohen et al., 2009). In addition, Maxwell (2010, p. 5) cautions that “every theory both reveals some aspects of that reality, and distorts or conceals other aspects.” This meant that for whatever theory I was going to adopt, there were always going to be weaknesses.

After accepting the view that no theory is complete, I then decided to employ an “eclectic mode of engaging with theoretical perspectives” (Wellington, et al., 2005, 60). This is a similar approach to when some researchers combine two or more theoretical models to come up with what Kincheloe (2001) refers to as a “bricolage.” The two theories that seemed to be constantly talking to the research I was conducting are postcolonial theory and discourse theory. This bricolage did not necessarily complete my theoretical quest but it seemed to provide both questions and answers that would be largely relevant to my study. Therefore, for the remainder of this chapter, I explain how the two theories on one hand added value to my study; and on another created limitations.

4.4 Postcolonialism: its volatility and contestations

Since this study aimed at deconstructing African consciousness as is represented in the South African History textbooks, my study was conducted within the framework of discursive postcolonialism. The choice of this theoretical perspective is informed by its predominant use in both the writing and analysis of text in countries that have emerged from European colonisation. The background to this study, as explained in Chapter 1, shows that at a political level, African political leaders tend to produce postcolonial discourses. Hence this theory provides useful lenses with which to analyse History textbooks as the micro-world which is situated in the macro-world of power, control and influence. Therefore discourse theory was important from the outset in terms of initiating a rationale and focus of this study. To show an understanding which is essential before application, I first discuss postcolonialism as a broad theory. I then show how postcolonial theory is linked to discourse theory to produce discursive postcolonialism, a social constructionist theory.

As has been already noted, no theory is complete. This insufficiency of theory leads scholars to keep searching for the truth and this quest is what drives some scholars to diverge and engage with different theories altogether, while others come up with modifications of the same theory. Hence, many theories tend to have a range of sub-variations and interpretations. Similarly postcolonial theory, as with most theories, is in flux and has varying constructions and contestations. To understand postcolonial theory one needs to appreciate colonialism and its variant forms, such as neo-colonialism and post-colonialism. The concept of colonialism has thus been interrogated from various angles, all of them founded within or in reaction to colonial discourse. The major contributors in the postcolonialism-based area of research include Fanon (1961), Said (1978), Spivak (1993) and Bhabha (1994). Fanon did not necessarily identify himself as a postcolonial theorist so there is a tendency to identify the latter three as the leading exponents of postcolonial theory (Tosh, 2009).

In an attempt to give a different perspective of the understanding of post-colonial societies and individuals, postcolonialism counters the hegemonic grand narratives established as a result of European colonisation of the Americas, Africa and Asia. Applying this philosophy to my study, it

can simplistically be claimed assumedly that History textbooks written in the postcolonial condition and from a postcolonial perspective should construct a postcolonial African consciousness. Yet it would be a difficult task to establish the nature of postcolonial African consciousness, because while postcolonial scholars build on each other's theorisations, they exhibit varying understandings of postcolonialism. This is why in this section I make the effort to discuss the volatility of postcolonial theory.

The concept of colonialism is central to an understanding of postcolonial theory and many discourses are built around it. Nevertheless, there are complications illustrated in the variance of understandings of the concepts that constitute all discourses related to colonialism such as pre-colonial, neo-colonial, the postcolonial condition, and postcoloniality. For example, in explaining one of the basic contestations of postcolonialism St-Pierre (1997) argues:

Still other distinctions would have to be made. Between 'post-colonial' with a hyphen, and 'postcolonial' without, for example. ... Hulme and Iversen use the first "as a temporal marker" and the second "to indicate the analytical concept of greater range and ambition, as in 'postcolonial theory'" (p. 11).

For pragmatic reasons, in this study, both "post-colonial" and "postcolonial" are used, the former when referring to present day Africa, particularly South Africa, and the latter in reference to the theory that is being discussed in this chapter. To elucidate, the History textbooks that were analysed in this study can be viewed as post-colonial textbooks since they were written in the period after colonisation. However, being post-colonial does not automatically guarantee that the textbooks are postcolonial in terms of the nature of the discourses that they purvey. This tension is made clear as I explain further the volatility and contestations within postcolonial theory.

Further explanations of the differences between post-colonial and postcolonial can be proffered. Hitchcock (1997) explains the differences by arguing that post-colonialism may refer merely to the conditions associated with the effects of decolonisation, while postcolonialism alternatively can be viewed as the quest to end the effects of colonisation. Similarly, the History textbooks in South Africa can be argued to be an effect of decolonisation, not only in terms of

them presenting a history that is hugely influenced by the political status quo, but also as constructs that are products of an education system introduced during Western colonisation. Simultaneously, there is a possibility that the same textbooks can present discourses that fight to end the effects of colonisation. This presents an epistemological paradox whereby the textbook (an effect of the decolonisation process) becomes a tool that tries to fight the effects of decolonisation.

Therefore, postcolonial theory provides an analytical concept which tries to explain the tensions that the current textbooks in most of Africa might be bearing. Similarly, the post-colonial African is a product of the decolonisation process and if he/she adopts a postcolonial stance he/she will also be fighting the effects of decolonisation. The irony is that he/she is one of those effects of decolonisation. As a result the postcolonial African becomes a conflicted individual and this has an effect on his/her African consciousness. In terms of consciousness, this internal conflict could be linked to the double consciousness explained in Chapter 2 to have been propounded by Du Bois and, later, Fanon (Moore, 2005). With this in mind, it is possible that post-colonial History textbooks may contain discourses which purvey such constructions and contestations.

However, the use of the term “post-colonialism” as a temporal marker is riddled with complications as a result of the overlap of the colonial and the post-colonial. Therefore it can only be applied just as a convenient, but superficial chronological marker (Tosh, 2009). Studying African consciousness in History textbooks from the perspective of post-colonialism entails a view of history as divided into epochs of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. The problem with such a linear view of history is that it implies a seemingly predictable and progressive historical process (McClintock, 1993). Yet history is far from predictable. To explain this overlap, St-Pierre (1997) uses the example of South Africa after 1910 (whereby there was a form of transfer of power) and states that in reality, “‘postcolonial’ is only too often a polite expression for states that are both economically and culturally neocolonial” (p. 10). Similarly, if the post-colonial in Africa is marked by dates of independence from European colonisers, for South Africa another debate could be centred on whether the post-colonial started in 1931 when the

country was granted dominion status by Britain or in 1961 when it became a republic. Further contestations can be noted, with Said equating Apartheid South Africa to Palestine by labelling the then oppressed to be “victims of victims.” This argument is consistent with McClintock’s (1993) view that there are two forms of colonisation: internal colonisation, whereby a people are oppressed by a dominant group within the same country; and imperial colonisation such as when European countries colonised most of the non-European lands. In spite of the complications, postcolonial theory facilitated my argument that South Africa is presently in its post-colonial period since 1994. Therefore the History textbooks that have been produced since then can be viewed as post-colonial educational media. Understanding this theory also aided me to appreciate that the same post-colonial textbooks might not be written from a postcolonial perspective and in fact might be enforcing other (even colonial) discourses which in turn has an effect on the African consciousness being promoted.

It is therefore crucial to understand the issues around the nature of the post-colonial condition because it is within this condition that textbooks are being produced for use. This is related to the views on Africa discussed in Chapter 2 whereby the continent is on one extreme seen as an arcadia and on the other as an anomaly. The postcolonial condition is thus closely related to thinking on neo-colonialism. However, Baker Jr., Dovey, Jolly, and Deinert (1995) remind us that in most neo-colonial studies “the project of decolonization is erroneously, or at least naively, conceived if its goal is to return to the source or to recuperate native wholeness” (p. 1047). This means that some would only view Africa to be in a postcolonial condition once all traces of colonialism are erased and Africa reverts to its pre-colonial “innocence.” However, the reality is that “the return to one’s ‘native’ land is a paradigmatic impossibility” (Baker Jr., et al., 1995, p. 1047). Such impossibility means, as argued above, that postcolonial textbooks may still contain some colonial discourses and therefore can as a result construct a conflicted African consciousness.

Although postcolonialism is essentially a globally framed theory, an understanding of the nature and relationship between the former coloniser and formerly colonised is crucial. According to Said (1978) the formerly colonised can be called the Subaltern and they can only find a voice

through the employment of postcolonial perspectives. Crucially, most Subaltern studies in India have been textual studies (Tosh, 2009). However, a complication arising from the issue of post-coloniality is on who experiences it and who does not. For example, do the former colonisers themselves not find themselves in a kind of post-colonial condition (St-Pierre, 1997)? This line of reasoning implies that the effects of decolonisation are not limited to the formerly-colonised only. There is no agreed postcolonial view on this issue. In the view of Tosh (2009) the empire cannot be divorced from the metropole and however skewed the relationship was, the two influenced each other. This view implies that Britain and other former Western colonial powers are also post-colonial societies.

In critique of the foregoing argument, McClintock (1993) contends that post-colonialism is generalising and fails to show the differences between “the beneficiaries of colonialism (the ex-colonizers) and the casualties of colonialism (the ex-colonized)” (p. 86). To counter this view, St-Pierre (1997) employs the epistemological paradox of postcolonial theory explained earlier to claim that neo-colonial conditions cannot exist in the absence of anti-colonial struggles. In other words, those who are not involved in anti-colonial struggles cannot claim to be in a postcolonial condition. This implies that, in terms of internal colonisation, only the formerly dominated experience postcoloniality, even if they live in the same country as those who do not. This raises significant questions with regard to contemporary South African textbooks. For instance, if an author or even a publishing company was involved in the production of textbooks during the colonial and/or apartheid era, they were most likely contributing to legitimating oppressive government systems. In South Africa, some authors and publishers have produced textbooks under apartheid and continue to do so in the post-apartheid era.¹⁵ Using St-Pierre’s (1997) argument, the history textbook produced by the respective textbook author or publisher cannot be viewed as postcolonial since the producer is not postcolonial by virtue of having been a producer of oppressive discourses under apartheid. The argument gets even messier when one further considers the point raised in Chapter 3 that textbook production is a culmination of the involvement of various stakeholders. Indeed, by virtue of their history, the incumbent

¹⁵ Heinemann Publishers were established in 1890; Longman in 1724; Oxford in 1586 and Shuter & Shooter in 1925.

government in South Africa claim to be anti-colonial and thus postcolonial. But if they work together with a publisher who cannot be viewed as postcolonial it is not clear what kind of textbook they will produce. Therefore postcolonial theory fails to explain whether the textbook produced under such circumstances is a post-colonial or still a colonial construct.

In addressing postcolonial concerns, postcolonial theory seeks to tackle the problems created by colonialism. In this endeavour, the theory is meant to give a voice to the formerly colonised (or those still colonised) especially through texts such as novels and textbooks. Nevertheless, its theoretical origins have come to question, in the process problematising the actual object of the theory. Although the exponents of the theory identified earlier in the chapter were from the Subaltern, they worked in Western universities and were invariably influenced by Western scholars (Tosh, 2005). To add, McClintock (1993) is of the view that instead of opposing neo-colonialism, postcolonialism actually partakes in neo-colonial practices because of its Western foundation:

The term confers on colonialism the prestige of history proper; colonialism is the determining marker of history. Other cultures share only a chronological, prepositional relation to a Eurocentred epoch that is over (post-), or not yet begun (pre-). In other words, the world's multitudinous cultures are marked not positively by what distinguishes them but by a subordinate, retrospective relation to linear, European time (p. 85).

The argument in the aforementioned quotation is that the formerly-colonised cannot fight neo-colonisation through adopting the same frameworks that are based on what they are fighting. Said (1978) had explained this assertion when he contended that the Subaltern cannot possibly be post-colonial if it relies on colonial concepts. These contestations are evidence of postcolonial theory as a self-destructive theory since postcolonial theorists are the ones who are arguing against it being Eurocentric. The theory therefore also creates a further problematic for this study since in Chapter 3 textbooks have been shown to have been established as a Western concept and in most of Africa can be regarded as a by-product of colonisation. Similarly the expectation would be that if the History textbooks are written from a postcolonial perspective, they would contain a significant amount of concepts from Africa in order to

promote a certain postcolonial African consciousness. This binarism is one of the major criticisms of postcolonial discourse (Van Wyk Smith, 2009).

A further paradox about post-colonial theory (in this case paradigmatic) is that it tends to be interpreted as both supporting and opposing post-modernism. According to McClintock (1993) there is a tendency to emphasise singularity leading to generalisations such as “the post-colonial condition”, “the post-colonial intellectual” (p. 86). Such generalisations ultimately imply that scholars may eventually generalise the people who experience post-colonialism. To explain further, a postcolonial view of Africa or Africanness may end up generalising, thus falling into the trap of generalisation of which it accused colonial discourses doing when they stereotyped Africa. It thus runs contrary to the view that post-colonialism gives a voice to the silenced Subaltern which sometimes might be wrongly viewed as a minority, when in fact they are a majority if population figures are to be considered. This debate can be extended further to issues of universalism versus particularism on whether concepts mean the same in all contexts or they have particular meanings according to the contexts within which they are used. While, on one hand, postcolonialism seems to promote particularism by claiming to represent the silenced, it also partakes in universalism by virtue of the generalisations explained above. Such issues are common in the debates about the self-destructing nature of poststructuralist thought. It is this nature that makes (Hitchcock, 1997, p. 236) lament “the banality of postcolonial theory itself, which is obdurately obsessed with its own demythologizing.” He goes further to ask: “What is the efficacy of an approach to knowledge that appears to collapse its own grounds for critique” (Hitchcock, 1997, p. 236)? Therefore studying African consciousness in History textbooks using postcolonial theory needs the researcher to be wary of such complications.

The complications discussed above are testimony to the contested ground on which post-colonial studies find themselves. Indeed, Hitchcock (1997) contends that “there is no literary theory more difficult to teach or to apply than postcolonial theory” (p. 233). Nevertheless, the criticisms that are levelled against post-colonialism do not necessarily render it useless. Rather, they only serve to make us understand how theory is provisional and incomplete and why we

should be careful how we engage it. In Mbembe's view, (as cited in Hitchcock, 1997, p. 236), this "chaotic plurality,' one in which conflict and contradiction are the very mark of postcolonial 'being'." Acknowledging the provisional nature and ongoing theorisation of postcolonialism, Hitchcock (1997, p. 236) argues that "It is likely that because 'postcolonialism' also refers to the present, history may later provide it with a better name."

While it does not always provide answers, what can be concluded from the above is that postcolonial theory can be useful in extending our understanding of the context within which the current History textbooks are produced (described in Chapter 1). It also helps explain the nature of those textbooks and also the possibilities in terms of the African consciousness they may construct. Therefore the choice of postcolonial theory was helpful in my study as it played some of the roles that Cohen et al. (2009) state to be the roles of theory in educational research. This includes providing further abstractions of the nature of textbooks and African consciousness which Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 could not do. This also justified my adoption of a theoretical framework in addition to a conceptual framework.

4.4 Discursive postcolonialism

The previous section explained the contested nature of postcolonial theory and its implications for this study. Such a contested nature results in different understandings of the theory. Hitchcock (1997) takes this view and goes further to claim that amongst a plethora of postcolonialisms, three are outstanding. Of the three, the first two kinds are experiential postcolonialism and materialist postcolonialism. In the interest of not becoming overwhelmed by theory as Wellington (2005) advises, I will not explain these two kinds of postcolonial theory because they are not of direct relevance to this study¹⁶.

¹⁶ In brief, experiential postcolonialism is "firmly grounded in the wake of the great decolonization movements ... and that encompasses both works of theory and a huge body of heterogeneous culture" while materialist postcolonialism consists of "theoretical approaches that seek to understand the relationship between the experience of postcoloniality and the socioeconomic restructuring of the globe" (Hitchcock, 1997, p. 233).

The third kind of postcolonialism (and the one I use as a framework) is discursive postcolonialism. According to Hitchcock (1997) the uniqueness of discursive postcolonialism is in that it “assesses the condition of postcoloniality as a discursive construction” (p. 233). Evidently, it foregrounds issues of discourse as a crucial aspect of understanding postcolonialism. Therefore to better understand this kind of postcolonialism, one needs a firm grasp of discourse theory. It is for this reason that this section explains discursive postcolonialism through a discussion of the major tenets of discourse theory. Simultaneously, its inherent contestations are also elucidated.

To understand discourse theory one has to trace the roots of the concept of discourse. In this regard, Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and Joseph (2005) trace its origins and link them to present-day meaning and application:

The word ‘discourse’ comes from the Latin *discursus*, which means ‘to run to and fro.’ The word ‘current’ comes from the same Latin root. Within a CDA [Critical Discourse Analysis] tradition, discourse has been defined as language use as social practice. That is, discourse moves back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world (p. 369).

Despite the deep time roots, the concept of discourse in social research only became integral around the beginning of the 20th century. Discourse analyses and related post-structuralist studies have been classified as having roots in critical theory (Luke, nd). However, the emergence of discourse theory in social research is to a greater extent linked to what is commonly referred to as the linguistic turn. Some of the key figures in this research included Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and later Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000). The basic premise of the linguistic turn is that “meaning does not exist outside language” (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006). It implies the importance of language in the construction of any meaning. This would similarly imply that from a postcolonial point of view, African consciousness is not only constructed by language, but it can be understood through language. This is especially so considering the argument in Chapter 2 that African consciousness is an intangible mental state and can only be made sense of through manifestations. Such an understanding consequently foregrounds the importance of language. However, not all

discourse theory scholars agree to the undisputed centrality of language in the formation of all meaning. Indeed, Ifversen (2003) sees this view as a “radical ontological claim” (p. 60).

If language is taken to be a crucial aspect of meaning making, how that language is constituted can be debatable. From a structuralist point of view language is constituted by text and speech, but moving into poststructuralism the boundaries become blurred. Yet, text itself is a contested concept. Ifversen (2003) views text to be a “unity of meaning, which contains sequences of sentences” (p. 61). Furthermore, text has to have cohesion and in the case of textbooks, it is their material form which should give them the textual meaning. Therefore since the linguistic turn, text has ceased to be viewed as written language only, but according to Halliday (as cited in Alba-Juez, 2009), “text is everything that is meaningful in a particular situation” (p. 6). This shows the blurring of boundaries between text and speech since in the view of Alba-Juez (2009), “a text may be a magazine article, a television interview, a conversation or a cooking recipe”, (p. 6). However, the bottom-line of the structuralist thinking is that all such examples of text and speech constitute language which can then be analysed to make meaning.

However, the post-structuralist view, championed by scholars such as Derrida and Foucault, foregrounds discourse rather than just language. To them, text, speech, action and visuals all constitute discourse (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006). In addition, not only is text linked to a particular genre as explained in Chapter 3, but it is also “always related to some preceding or simultaneous discourse” (Alba-Juez, 2009, p. 6). This would mean that all the textbooks that I analysed comprised discourse which fell within a particular genre. Instead of analysing text, I would therefore analyse discourses. These discourses can be disassembled “in order to understand parts in relation to the whole” through a process which Derrida called deconstruction (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 103). In the case of my study I therefore deconstructed issues on Africa and Africanness from a historical consciousness perspective so that I could make meaning of the whole that is African consciousness.

As is explained in the methodology in Chapter 5, this study was an analysis of more than a single text. According to Ifversen (2003) discourse theory enables the understanding of the meaning of text beyond the level of single text which he calls a “supra-text level” (p. 62). It is at

this level that discourse reflects inter-textuality, in this case, the relationship between textbooks and what shapes them to be of a particular text. Therefore, discourse studies involving the analysis of textbooks would involve an understanding of the “relation between text, supra-text (discourse, genre) and context (situation, institution)” (Ifversen, 2003, p. 62).

The role of the context in the constitution of discourse is important. While context may be taken to mean many things, a more comprehensive explanation of the context is offered by Van Dijk (2003, p. 356):

It consists of such categories as the overall definition of the situation, setting (time, place), ongoing actions (including discourses and discourse genres), participants in various communicative, social, or institutional roles, as well as their mental representations: goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes, and ideologies. Controlling context involves control over one or more of these categories.

Therefore it is the context which enables textual analysis to become discourse analysis (Alba-Juez, 2009, p. 8). The basis of this view is the argument that “science, and especially scholarly discourse, are inherently part of and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction” (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 352). This means that even my work in this study is not free from contextual influence and can still be interrogated from a discourse analysis point of view. Echeruo, cited in Schipper (1985, 567) argues that writings are useful in depicting, not just their content, but also “the imaginative temper of the author’s culture.” Using discursive postcolonialism implies an understanding of the postcolonial condition as the context, which in turn influences how we explain meaning.

Using discourse informed theory as a framework for textbook analysis study would also help in better understanding constructions and contestations. Discourse theory acknowledges the tentative nature of discourse meanings since, as Derrida argued that “meaning is always under erasure – always elusive, always deferred, always multiple, always somewhat paradoxical” (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 103). Even so, discourse theory from a Foucauldian point of view explains how objects and subjects are constructed into being. An example of an object that can be given is psychiatry which “only became an object in the 19th century” through the way it was constructed by contemporary discourses (Ifversen, 2003, p. 62). Similarly, African

consciousness can be viewed to be made an object through the postcolonial discourses, in this case that are in the textbooks. This is a process of “actualisation,” where discourses create and make something real. However, an actualised object will still hold a meaning that can change over time and circumstances since meanings are “contingent and historical constructions” (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, p. 4). This therefore shows the power of discourses in construction and contestation. When actualisation takes place in the case of a human being it becomes subject construction. According to Luke, (nd) “human subjects are defined and constructed both in generic categories (e.g., as "children" and "teachers") and in more specialised and purposive historical categories” (p. 3). This means that the African can be taken as a subject constructed by discourse, with African consciousness being the object (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000). Since subjects and objects are never fully meaningful they can be referred to as “empty signifiers” (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000, 8). Therefore discursive postcolonialism should partly explain how postcolonial textbooks can contribute to the construction of particular kinds of African consciousness in the postcolonial condition. To prove the relevance of discourse informed theory in my study, I can refer to the example of a study by Ruth Wodak in which she analysed the discursive construction of Austrian identity (Ifversen, 2003). Similarly, in this study I analysed the discursive construction of African consciousness in textbooks in the postcolonial condition.

Multiple meanings are at the centre of discourse theory. Similarly the theory acknowledges the possible existence of more than one discourse; sometimes even in one context since, as previously explained, the context is multifaceted. The view by Foucault that discourses are contextual means that there are certain aspects of the contexts which are more crucial than others in the creation of hegemony. Therefore discourses should be viewed in terms of the people who hold power at that particular time and are disseminated through related institutions. According to Dimitriadis and Kamberelis (2006), the view by Foucault was that it is within a particular context that “various institutions (including schools) produce discourses that then constitute what can be known or practiced relative to that body of knowledge” (p. 112). In the case of education, the dominant discourse is then translated into becoming dominant educational discourses as described in Chapter 3, (Naseem, 2008). Ideas are modified into

dominant discourses through a process of articulation (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000). Therefore educational media such as History textbooks become tools for the dissemination of the discourses from above and as Foucault argued people become “disciplined subjects” of such discourses (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 112).

With regard to the construction of subjects, an understanding of discourse helps us understand how this process of construction and actualisation occurs. Therefore, since African consciousness was argued to be a state of mind which can be evidenced by manifestations such as action and attitudes, discourse theory explains how the mind is the controller of such actions and attitudes. According to Van Dijk (2003) education is one of the areas where mind-control is largely practiced and “in some situations participants are obliged to be recipients of discourse” (p. 357). Textbooks thus can be crucial in producing what Van Dijk (2003) calls “mental representations” which can then construct a particular consciousness (p. 358). Therefore, the manifestation and actualisation of African consciousness can ultimately be viewed in terms of how individuals act in respect to issues of Africa and Africanness within educational discourse.

Based on the above discussion, I therefore employ a discursive application of postcolonial theory to explain the construction of African consciousness in history textbooks. The discursive approach in this study is not entirely divorced from discursive approaches in other fields. Nikander (2006) explained this view thus:

What discursive approaches in different disciplinary locations share, however, is a strong social constructionist epistemology--the idea of language as much more than a mere mirror of the world and phenomena ‘out-there’, and the conviction that discourse is of central importance in constructing the ideas, social processes, and phenomena that make up our social world (p. 1).

The nature of my worldview in this study therefore is revealed through the above statement. This can be related to my positionality that I explained in Chapter 1. The point is that a discursive approach reveals the social constructionist paradigm within which I worked. The key is on the argument that language and discourses “effectively construct, regulate and control knowledge, social relations and institutions” (Luke, nd, p. 3).

Applying discourse to postcolonial theory is helpful in understanding how power works even in the postcolonial condition. Therefore discursive postcolonialism exposes the paradox that postcolonial governments can still be exercising power as did the colonial governments. Power can be in the hands of people such as the politicians, the military, the rich and even the authoritative (such as parents, teachers and scholars) (Van Dijk, 2003). The link between discourse and power is expressed by Foucault who views language as the most important kind of power because users of language are usually unconscious of how language constrains them (Tosh, 2009). This understanding can explain how particular discourses appear in the textbooks, since, as explained in Chapter 3, textbook production is an arena of power dynamics in which the more dominant are more likely to have more favourable representation. This favourable representation then contributes to the construction of norms, rules, identities and consciousness. This, in simple terms is what the concept of hegemony entails. Hegemony creates a “horizon of intelligibility,” – a “framework delineating what is possible, what can be said and done, what positions may legitimately be taken, what actions may be engaged in” (Norval, 1996, p. 4). The horizon of intelligibility is instituted by discourse and African consciousness can be said to have its respective horizon. However, discourse theory also alerts us that power cannot be absolute in these dynamics. For example, the less powerful will often “resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it ‘natural’” (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 355). Therefore, discursive postcolonialism helps expose power and the role it plays in textbook production and construction of African consciousness.

The link between power and educational media such as textbooks is explained by the concepts of the macro-level and micro-level of discourse. Van Dijk (2003) explains how discourses operate at the macro-level of the power holders and at the micro level of the average citizen. Using this thinking, it can be argued that dominant controllers of the context (usually the politicians) purvey certain discourses which play a part in the construction of an African consciousness within the ordinary citizen. At a micro-level, schools and educational media (particularly textbooks) also purvey their discourses which either augment or sometimes contest the construction done from the macro-level. Studying from such a perspective helps to identify where these levels meet and Van Dijk (2003, p. 354) calls this meeting space the “meso-

level” of discourse. The poststructuralist thinking which informs discourse and postcolonial theories espouses the fluidity of reality therefore it will not be expected that the meso-level of discourse demonstrates a common African consciousness for all the learners who use a particular textbook in one country.

It is Ifversen’s (2003) view that since historians deal with documents, which can also be called texts, it is important for scholars in History to engage in text analysis. It is important to analyse discourses in textbooks because they are not neutral, as explained in Chapter 3. Indeed Oteíza and Pinto (2008) point out that “the discourse in school textbooks tends to imply that the way things are narrated mirrors precisely the way things are in the world, showing a naturalized view of history” (p. 334). This is in spite of attempts, in some cases, to be objective through the elimination of “attitudinal meta-discourse” whereby they may try to avoid judgements and emphasis. However, the analysis of the textbooks should be theoretically informed for it to be regarded as scientific. The nature of my study and the thread of my thoughts made discursive postcolonialism an ideal theoretical framework for the research.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to explain some of the theoretical considerations that I encountered within my mind and from readings. Chiefly I had to bear in mind the point by Norval (1996) that a theoretical framework should not make the study redundant by predetermining the results of the research before it is conducted. Rather I had to “incorporate theory into the logic” of my study in order to deepen the research process (Maxwell, 2010, p. 3). Therefore my theory had to play conceptual, methodological, and epistemological roles instead of just supporting a predetermined argument (Maxwell, 2010, p. 3). The conceptual role was mainly explained in this chapter, with reference to the two literature review chapters. However, the methodological role is explained in the following chapter. The epistemological role runs throughout the thesis and social constructionism was seen to be central to the understanding of most of the concepts of History textbooks and African consciousness being covered. This

explains why I needed a theoretical framework in addition to the conceptual framework in Chapter 2.

To achieve the purpose of this chapter I had to first explain my study's need for a theoretical framework. I then narrated the thought processes that I experienced regarding theory culminating in my embracing it. This was followed by a discussion on the nature and contestations of postcolonial theory, in the process explaining its possibilities. After identifying discursive postcolonialism as the theoretical framework, I acknowledged the role of discourse theory in it. Therefore, it was important for me to discuss discourse theory. Ultimately I showed how discursive postcolonialism provides a lens with which to look at History textbooks and African consciousness. I do not claim however that discursive postcolonialism provides all the answers to my study. While it takes my study to a higher level which my conceptual framework could not, it still has its weaknesses. In fact, according to van Wyk Smith (2009) we are at the ebb of postcolonial discourse. While this might be too bold a claim, the limitations of my theoretical framework will be discussed in more focused detail in Chapter 8, since they can be explained better in the light of the data analysis.

CHAPTER 5

Research design and methodology

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I explained the theoretical issues and framework which I considered in setting up the design for this research. In this chapter I move on to describe and explain the research design and methodology that I adopted and applied for me to answer the key research question and the sub-questions for this study. This progression of chapters does not mean that I only adopted the design and methodology after completely finalising my concerns over issues of theory. Instead the whole process went forward and backwards, in barely a neat fashion. In this whole process, theory played an important role as it informed, and was simultaneously confirmed by, the research design. In fact, I continued refining the design as I conducted the study up until the final chapter.

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section clarifies the paradigmatic factors that guided the research design. The second explains the research design while the third covers issues of methodology and the corresponding methods of sampling, data generation and data analysis. While the latter two constructs (research design and research methodology) are intimately related they are not the same and separating them into sections helps avoid the

confusion into which some researchers tend to fall (Babbie et al., 2008; Mouton, 2011). One hallmark of qualitative research such as this one is the fluidity of meanings and concepts. Similarly, research literature shows that scholars tend to employ often contrasting meanings of the key research concepts such as research design, strategies, styles, approaches, methodologies and methods (Wellington et al., 2007; Babbie et al., 2008; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2009; Mouton, 2011). Nevertheless, as shall be shown in this chapter, a research design, in this study, refers to the blueprint representing the type of study that I conducted, while a methodology is the overarching process of conducting the study.

5.2 Paradigmatic considerations

One way of ensuring coherence in any given study is by identifying and stating the paradigm within which the research was conducted. Not all researchers do so, but stating one's paradigm can only strengthen the rigour of the research rather than weaken it. This is because, according to Mouton (2011), all research should unambiguously demonstrate a link between the three worlds of metascience, science and everyday life. Applying this logic to my study, the world of metascience is where I engage with issues of paradigmatic positioning. The world of science concerns theory and research methodologies. Finally, the world of everyday life in my study is concerned the discourses related to Africa and Africanness and the context within which this study is rooted. Mouton's (2011) framework is helpful because certain research designs might be acceptable in one paradigm while they are thought to be questionable in another. Therefore I found it necessary to elucidate my paradigmatic positioning.

Nevertheless, I have to first clarify what I mean by a paradigm for the sake of this study, since its meaning is contestable. For example, scholars such as de Vos (2010) and Babbie and Mouton (2008) use the words paradigms and approaches interchangeably. Simultaneously, they view the qualitative/quantitative dichotomy as a paradigm war. This demonstrates the flux nature of the paradigm as a social construct. It is usually agreed that a paradigm represents at a broader and philosophical level of how a researcher views the world (Wellington et al., 2007). Therefore, an acknowledgement of paradigms is, in itself, an acceptance of the view that the

research process is subjective and therefore is always informed by the beliefs and assumptions of the researcher in relation to the issue under study.

I situated my study in the social constructionist paradigm. This is not to be confused with social constructivism which is a theory (Thomas, n.d.). This paradigm created a golden thread in my study in that it has a focus on meaning and how meaning is socially constructed. To make sense of this, I explained in Chapter 3 how Africa, Africanness, and African consciousness are all socially constructed. In Chapter 3, I also explained how textbooks are a social construct which in turn can be used by societal hegemony to create further social constructs. The contentions on postcolonialism that I engaged with in Chapter 4 also serve to confirm the role of society in the construction of meaning. My adoption of discursive postcolonialism as a lens for my research augurs well with a social constructionist worldview since it claims that issues related to postcolonialism can be understood through an understanding of underlying discourses. It is for this reason that I analysed text since it – through discourses – constructs the meaning of Africa and Africanness. This is how History textbooks that are used in South Africa construct particular forms of African consciousness for their users.

Adopting a social constructionist ontology meant that I adopted a largely relativist view of the nature and essence of things. To use the words of Wellington et al. (2007, p. 100), I viewed social reality “as socially constructed, subjectively experienced and the result of human thought as expressed through language.” This statement explains why I viewed the key concepts of this study to be socially constructed through discourses. Therefore, I will view reality from a relativist point of view (Terre Blanch & Durrheim, 1999). It should be acknowledged that paradigms cannot be likened to tools which can be picked from a toolbox for a particular purpose and be used with perfect fit. To explain, a key problem with a social constructionist ontological position is what I touched on in Chapter 4 regarding relativism and essentialism. Whilst I had a relativist worldview to this study, I cannot claim to have escaped essentialism completely. The fact that I identified myself within a particular paradigm means that I was, in fact, being essentialist in a particular way. Howarth, et al. (2000) lucidly explain a way around this paradox by giving an example of a forest. They explain how a forest might be viewed,

depending on the observer, as an obstacle at one extreme and as an environmental marvel at the other. Viewing the forest differently does not necessarily mean that its existence is being questioned; rather its essence is debated.

Furthermore, according to Thomas (n.d.) social constructionists do not dispute the meanings of some concepts such as meaning and power. This is in addition to the argument that in social research, humans and society are sometimes considered real (Wellington, et al., 2007). However, I did not take these weaknesses to be obstacles since, as I previously explained, the research process is not a neat endeavour. Since the issues of ontological assumptions are related to the nature versus nurture debate, I maintain that when it comes to meaning-making nurture contributes much more than nature.

My paradigm also corresponds with my epistemological assumptions. This means that my view concerning knowledge is that it is also socially constructed. This epistemological assumption implies that I, as a knower, am not divorced from knowledge. As part of society I am thus an active participant in the construction of knowledge. For instance, I constructed meanings of Africa and Africanness based on my understanding of the discourses that I was exposed to through literature and my context. Furthermore, knowledge is also “experiential, personal and subjective” (Wellington et al., 2007, p. 101). In this way, context and time are some of the key factors that alter the nature of knowledge and this explains why I declared who I am in the introductory chapter. This epistemological assumption creates an infinite nature of knowledge in that we can never know everything about phenomena, which is why we need to keep conducting research, even on issues that may seem to have been concluded. As with the issues of ontology, meaning and power are two constructs that social constructionists can really claim to know about (Thomas, n.d.). This study was therefore based on the acknowledgement that people who hold power in society create a hegemony that constructs what society might eventually accept as truth and knowledge through textbooks.

The final paradigmatic assumption that I considered is regarding human nature and agency. Here the social constructionist view implies that I take humans to be responsible for the construction of knowledge and reality (Wellington et al., 2007). To explain this, I refer to the

arguments in Chapter 3 whereby a number of stakeholders influence textbook production in different countries. I also showed how power dynamics amongst the said stakeholders may sometimes mean that the textbook authors experience limited agency in terms of ideological positioning and crucial contentions within the content. I further argue that the textbook users are not always passive agents in the construction of knowledge. A social constructionist position acknowledges the role of the textbook user in the user's mental construction of African consciousness. This social constructionist view tallies with the argument by Kalmus (2005, p. 471) that while textbooks are indeed socialisers, the role of the textbook users as "as active, resistant, and sometimes cynical readers" should not be ignored. Whatever amount of power the textbook user wields in society ultimately contributes to (or limits) their agency in the construction of African consciousness. This can be explained through an example – citizens who are disempowered through dictatorial politics tend to lose their agency and thus become victims of propaganda. Since I positioned myself as a social constructionist, I also acknowledge that I practiced my own agency as I analysed the way textbooks construct African consciousness. This role that I took is explained later in this chapter in the methodology section, but as I noted in Chapter 1, my experiences and worldview had a huge influence on my analysis. My adoption of the social constructionist paradigm was not merely informed by my ontological and epistemological assumptions. It is also advised within the field of textbook research that textbooks should be viewed as social constructions and thus should be analysed from a social constructionist point of view. In Crawford's (2003) words:

Exploring the social construction of textbooks provides an important context from within which to investigate critically the dynamics underlying the cultural politics of education and the social movements that form it and which are formed by it (p. 6).

Therefore if textbooks are sites of construction and contestation of knowledge and ideology it makes sense to situate this study within a social constructionist worldview. This paradigm informed the rest of my research design and methodology explained below.

5.3 Research design

As was shown in Chapter 1, this research had its roots in the contextual situation in one African country (South Africa) regarding issues pertaining to the African continent and people that relate to it. This idea was crystallised and developed into a research problem as I read further literature in the field. Once I had reached a point of a researchable topic and focus I then had to formulate a plan of how I could conduct this research. It is this blueprint that Babbie et al. (2008) refer to as the research design. They further explain with an analogy whereby the architect's plan can be equated to the design in that while it is detailed and systematically thought out, it is a mere representation of what should be done in the actual process of constructing a building. Similarly, the research design encapsulates the ideas and thought processes that I put into the research procedure in order for it to be systematic and scientific. From amongst many understandings, this is the conceptualisation of a research design that I adopted for this study.

The research design for this study should be understood as per the nature of the qualitative research approach. In this approach, the process of creating a research design is neither straightforward nor fixed. In Schmitter's (2008) view, a qualitative research design "is not self-consciously designed" (p. 263). This is reiterated by Fouché (2010) who states that, "qualitative researchers almost always develop their designs as they go along" (p. 268). This means that the blueprint that I made at the beginning of the research process did not neatly unfold as I undertook the practical research and neither was it rigid. This nevertheless should not be seen as a weakness since "the research process is rarely neat, linear, coherent or straightforward" (Wellington et al., 2007, p. 95). Yet, I still had to have an initial basic research design on which to build as I progressed.

In my quest for a basic research design I realised that the complications of research designs are not limited to the problematic of terminology explained earlier. Rather, it extends to the limitations in examples of research designs in conventional education research. For example, Fouché (2010) identifies only five common designs, although he adds that there can be more. Of the five, the design that has the closest relation to my study is phenomenology. As a

research design, phenomenology has a focus on understanding and interpretation of phenomena in relation to subjects and their everyday lives. This means that studies that are concerned with understanding meaning of concepts as they are constructed in the world can be categorised to be falling in the phenomenology category. According to Wellington et al. (2007) a social constructionist ontology tallies with phenomenology. To be specific, since I set out to understand and explain the construction and contestations of Africa and Africanness, I could argue to be conducting a study informed by phenomenology.

However, the obligation to single out a particular design is fraught with problems. The main limitation is regarding the nature of the subject in the research. In phenomenology, the common tendency is to engage with human participants (for example through interviews) who are then regarded as the subjects (Fouché, 2010). Yet in my study the theory showed, as was explained in Chapter 4, that the subject is the textbook user (in this case the learner and teacher) and I will not be engaging directly with the textbook users. Therefore, while it is the convention in phenomenology to engage with human subjects, I conceptualised the subject differently since my focus was on how text constructs meaning and consciousness. This complication is linked to the issue raised earlier on the uniqueness of textbook analysis and how it sometimes does not fall neatly in other generic education research designs. This is especially so when one considers the varying understandings of research designs. In Mouton's (2011) view research can be designed as either empirical or non-empirical although he warns that these two can be divided into smaller sub-designs. In this dichotomy, most conceptual studies are regarded as non-empirical. However, the dichotomy is also problematic in that while my study is empirical in that the data was generated from the textbooks, it is also conceptual to an extent in that it set out to understand the meaning of a concept (African consciousness as conceptualised in Chapter 2).

Nevertheless, I used Mouton's (2011) model of research design as a basic blueprint for this study. The model posits that there are four dimensions of any research design: (i) the nature of the study (empirical or non-empirical); (ii) the nature of data (primary or secondary); (iii) the type of data; and (iv) the extent to which the researcher can control the data. Using this

framework, my study followed the design classification as represented in Figure 5.1. Although research designs can consist of other aspects, these are the basic four which I focused on in classifying my research design.

Figure 5.1: Research design classification

(i) Nature of the study	(ii) Nature of data	(iii) Type of data	(iv) Data control
Empirical/Non-empirical	Secondary	Textual	Low control

The issue of the nature of the study has already been referred to above. I argue that this study is largely empirical, although the academic rigour of textbook analysis is sometimes questioned in spite of its long history described in Chapter 3. Indeed, according to Johnsen (2001, p. 24) textbook analysis “has never been considered a college or university discipline.” The issue cannot be about the volume of work because the textbook analyst generates as much data as the most used qualitative methods – such as interviews – can generate (if not even more voluminous). In fact, Peräkylä (2005, p. 870) rationalises textbook analysis by pointing out that much of “social life in modern society is mediated by written text;” for example patients’ records for medicine, written laws for the legal system, manuals and journals for professional training and magazines for leisure. Therefore it can be seen that criticism of textbook analysis involves the nature and position of the subject explained above. Because of this textbook analysis can be both empirical and non-empirical.

On the second dimension of research design classification, I posit that the data that I analysed was a form of secondary data. Sometimes, the line between primary and secondary data can be

very thin, especially when one applies a historically-informed classification of sources. But it should be clarified that by secondary data, I mean that I analysed data that was not initially meant to be for research analysis purposes (Mouton, 2010). This is different from secondary data such as interview transcripts which are analysed for the second time and for a different purpose. Textbooks are written to serve their purpose as educational media and not necessarily as data for analysis; and so their text is a form of secondary data which is already in the public domain. To explain with an example, when I analysed visuals in the textbooks, I did not view them as primary data because I did not employ the analysis methods used for primary data analysis. So instead of analysing the source of the picture, I analysed the role of the picture as used in the textbook in creating meaning, which makes it secondary data analysis.

The type of data that I worked with constitutes the third dimension of research design and it is different from the second dimension in that it is more specific about the forms in which data is found. According to Mouton (2011, p. 146), the type of data can range “from numeric to textual.” I claim that I used textual data, basing this on the argument raised in Chapter 2 that text is not limited to words only, but it can be both verbal and visual (LaSpina, 1998; Väisänen, 2008). On the one hand, verbal signs are those in which meaning is conveyed through words (Janks, 1997). On the other hand, visual signs, which Väisänen (2008) calls imagetexts, comprise images such as pictures, illustrations, graphs and maps (Nicholls, 2003; Pingel, 2010). Therefore, from a qualitative point of view, the entireties of the textbooks are made up of textual data. These types of data are explained in further detail in the data generation section later in this chapter.

As previously mentioned, textbooks are not fundamentally written for the purposes of research. The implication of this for my research was that I designed the study knowing that I had low control over the data. This was both an advantage and a disadvantage. The merit is that in my research I would not have to contact the textbook authors and producers and thus I avoided a possible case of the participant saying (based on the interface) what they might assume the researcher wants to hear. Thus, this study is an example of the use of “non-obtrusive strategies that reduce reactivity and observation effects” (Mouton, 2011, p. 169).

Negatively speaking, this could also be a demerit since I could not have had a chance to ask the author or textbook producers to clarify certain meanings which I might find unclear in the data.

The above four dimensions therefore clarify the classification of my research design using Mouton's (2011) framework. These guidelines provided both guidance and coherence as I conducted my study. In summation, I conducted a phenomenological research design which was empirical and involved secondary textual data over which I had limited control.

5.4 Methodological considerations

With the provisional research design in place I could proceed to the actual process of engaging with data. It is this process that I refer to as the methodology of my study (Babbie, et al., 2008; Mouton, 2011). This process involved the employment of various, but relevant, methods of sampling, data generation and data analysis. To clarify the difference between methodology and methods, Wellington et al. (2007) refer to the former as "the theory of acquiring knowledge" while the latter are "specific techniques for obtaining the data" (p. 97). It is this understanding that I worked with. Throughout the process I had to ensure that CDA as a methodology was informed by (and inversely informed) the methods such as purposive sampling, verbal analysis and visual analysis. In the same vein, I had to ensure that the said methods worked in tandem to complement one another such that together they form a methodology (Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004).

My choice of methodology was based on a number of methodological considerations which were multidisciplinary. This is because of evidence of the continuation of the situation which was lamented about two decades ago by Weinbrenner (1992) regarding the absence of any specific "theory of the schoolbook" upon which solid methodologies for research would be founded. Therefore, it is both necessary and pragmatic to employ a multidisciplinary approach, with the ultimate aim of contributing to the further development of methods for history textbook research.

It is important to justify the methodology and methods that I used based on literature (Wellington, et al., 2005; Pingel, 2010). Alas, general research methodology reference books do not deal much with textbook analysis (Babbie, et al., 2008; Cohen, et al., 2009; de Vos, 2010; Mouton, 2011). To further explain what I noted in the previous section, within such general references, the field of textbook research is also not even clearly defined such that it is sometimes referred to as document study/analysis and at times is confused with secondary analysis (Cohen, et al., 2009; Strydom & Delpont, 2010). In other cases, the analysis of textbooks is put in the same bracket as the analyses of other documents which Peräkylä (2005, p. 869) calls “naturally occurring materials.” Amongst such materials are personal documents, official documents, mass media and archival material, and there is even an acknowledgment that such studies are often neglected in the broader education research arena (Strydom & Delpont, 2010). However, as argued earlier, textbook analysis is worthwhile empirical research whose role should not be underestimated. Indeed, Peräkylä (2005) argues that concerning research focused on understanding the construction of concepts within a particular field, it is more advisable to analyse textbooks than to interview people.

The field of textbook research has however taken huge strides and according to Lebrun, et al. (2002) textbook analysis is as old as the use of textbooks themselves. Early forms of textbook analysis in the 1920s were called textbook revision with a focus on the correction of problems (particularly content-related) identified to be characteristic of the textbooks (Pratt, 1984; Pingel, 2010). Recently, this field has increased with the involvement of international organisations such as UNESCO and other institutions such as the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany and the Council of Europe (Osler, 1994). I noted in Chapter 1 that, as part of my development as a textbook researcher, I visited the Georg Eckert institute to experience their engagement with textbook research first-hand.

Much of the work in the field of textbook research is found within references that deal exclusively with textbook analysis (Mikk, 2000; Nicholls, 2003; Pingel, 2010). Such sources offer the textbook researcher many methodological issues that I offer for consideration. According to Weinbrenner (1992) and Crawford (2003), there are three types of textbook research which

are: process-oriented, product-oriented, reception-oriented research. With regard to these categories, my research leaned towards product-oriented research since I set out to analyse the finished product rather than trekking their production process up to the way their users respond to them. Crawford (2003) further notes that product-oriented research is usually either longitudinal or latitudinal. This research can be said to be latitudinal because all the textbooks that I analysed were contemporary in the sense that they were all produced simultaneously for the NCS for use in schools in the respective country (South Africa). In other cases latitudinal textbook research is also referred to as cross-sectional analysis (Gray, 2004). This study was cross-sectional because the textbooks that I analysed were produced by different publishers. Just as is the case with my study, latitudinal research does not always have to be comparative and I did not aim to compare what the publishers produced but to come up with a synthesis of the construction of African consciousness to which they all contributed. The final major consideration concerning textbook research is on the qualitative/quantitative approach divide. In this respect, Nicholls (2003, p. 9) states that “qualitative forms of content analysis have tended to dominate the field of history textbook research although there are examples of purely quantitative studies using space and frequency analysis.” According to Naseem (2008) this divide in textbook research is about methodological orientations. My methodology indeed follows a qualitative approach; however, I furthermore took the qualitative/quantitative divide to be also about paradigmatic assumptions. It is for this reason that, while this study reflects interdisciplinary hybridity, I do not proceed to blur paradigmatic boundaries at the risk of losing focus. Even in the few cases that I needed to show some quantity, I did not enumerate, but explained extents (Niewenhuis, 2006).

The nature of the field of History Education dictates that qualitative methodologies are dominant. To explain why quantitative methods are not appropriate, Firer (1998, p. 196) argues that the History textbook researcher engages with “the art of persuasion, and his business is to analyse the apparent, the implied, the hidden, and the missing in curricula and textbooks.” It is for this reason that she recommends that textbook analysts should go beyond content analyses and apply discourse analysis methods. I therefore adopted CDA as my overarching methodology.

5.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodology

Bearing in mind the research focus, conceptual and theoretical frameworks, and the paradigmatic and methodological considerations above, it made sense to employ CDA as the overarching methodology for this study. The meaning of discourse has already been explained in Chapter 4 and therefore I will avoid repetition in this chapter. Most qualitative textbook analyses tend to take the route of content analysis and the use of Discourse Analysis in educational research is quite recent, building on what content analysis offers (Mouton, 2011). It should be explained that there are many forms of Discourse Analysis, CDA being just one of the many. Henning et al. (2005, p. 117) warn that “the analysis of data for discourse purposes is both similar to and different from content analysis.” For the sake of this study, I will focus on two issues that CDA brings to qualitative textbook analysis: text (language) and context.

As explained in Chapter 4, the growth of discourse theory was centred on the linguistic turn, which emphasised the nature of language and how the understanding of language enhanced understanding of social phenomena. Johnsen (2001) states a case for CDA in textbook analysis thus: “Language mastery has become essential in view of our daily contact with print and electronic texts” (p. 34). Language is closely related to text in that language can be represented through text, and text can in turn generate language (through meaning). In this case text includes both verbal and visual signs. Therefore it is language that enables text to maintain coherence and gain and (conversely) construct meaning (Peräkylä, 2005). This is explained in detail later in the section on data analysis.

The issue of the context has been discussed in all the previous chapters. In Chapter 2 I explained how African consciousness can entail different conceptions depending, partly, on the context. In Chapter 3, I also explained the role of the context in the production and role of textbooks as educational media. This idea was developed further in Chapter 4, especially as I explained the centrality of language in discursive postcolonialism. However, in relation to textbook research methodologies, Crawford (2003) identifies three contexts: influence, text production, and practice.

The context of influence is explained by Crawford (2003) to be the setting “where the ideological and political basis of policy is debated and decided by government and powerful interest groups” (p. 19). In this context, understanding hegemony is important because it is within this setting that the powerful groups of society exercise their respective influence to determine what the learners ought to learn in schools. All policy is based on particular ideological fundamentals, but textbook production is not only about political power, as other forms of power (such as economic power) are significant. It is within such contexts that the educational discourse of a country is established (Naseem, 2008). It is not a coincidence, for example that a fundamentally fighting government in Palestine would produce a military educational discourse as Naseem (2008) argues. Understanding this context is paramount if a textbook analysis is practising CDA methodology, which is why I explained the fusions of discourses that are produced in South Africa.

It should also be noted that the context of influence cannot be limited to the geopolitical space of countries. The country under focus belongs to international bodies to which the leaders submit their policies and practices. At a regional level, the context could refer to the SADC and the AU to which the country belongs. It is of particular importance that, as explained in Chapter 1, the political leaders might have different discourses and discourse practices in their respective countries, but when they are at regional and continental forums, they invariably speak similar discourses informed by the postcolonial African condition, even if it is mere political posturing.

Applying CDA, I also posit that the hegemonic groups in the context of influence and text production are also the same stakeholders that endorse textbooks for use in schools. As was explained in Chapter 3, in some contexts the state holds virtually sole hegemony, but in other contexts even apolitical groups such as civil organisations are also involved to ensure that the textbooks are representative of diverse society and also correspond with the expectations of curriculum policy. This is the context of text production “where texts deemed to represent policy are constructed” (Crawford, 2003, p. 19). An understanding of this context within CDA

helped me to explain why African consciousness would be constructed by the textbooks the way it was.

The final aspect of the context is the context of practice. According to Crawford (2003, p. 19) this context entails “the professional sites within which policy and policy texts are interpreted by teachers and pupils.” This context was of little relevance to this study because I did not situate it within a context of specific people. It can only be applied in cases where the research involves human participants’ views and use of the textbooks. Nevertheless, the contexts of influence and text production are sufficient in explaining why African consciousness is constructed the way it is in the textbooks. The engagement with the socio-educational context within which textbooks are produced is therefore one of the major differences between content analysis and CDA (Lebrun, 2002).

The CDA methodology is not specifically produced for history textbook research. However, its nature is such that it has been applied in many fields. Applying CDA to the analysis of textbooks meant that I was practicing an interdisciplinary methodology. This, is not strange in textbook analysis since, according to Johnsen (2001), interdisciplinarity strengthens studies and “Linguistics, pedagogics, philosophy, history, sociology and psychology are just a few of the traditional disciplines that are applied singly or in combination in textbook analyses” (p. 24). Of all the literature I encountered, the closest to my study (in terms of the application of CDA to analyse history textbooks) was by Barnard (2003) published in his book *Language, ideology, and Japanese history textbooks*. It is a case of how the linguistic tenets of CDA were used to reveal the influence of the context in how textbook producers use language, ultimately also playing their part in the socialisation process. The tenets of CDA that I applied are explained in detail in the research methods described and explained in the subsequent sections.

5.4.2 Sampling methods

I was guided by the idea that sampling in qualitative research is not as structured as in quantitative approaches, to the extent that sometimes there are virtually no rules (Strydom &

Delpport, 2010). What matters most is saturation and sometimes this can be worked on as the actual investigation continues. In other words, the researcher in a qualitative approach can always just read the sample if he/she realises that he/she has not generated sufficient data to come up with convincing findings. It is for this reason that in social research – and particularly in CDA – non-probability sampling is frequently used (Babbie, et al., 2008; Strydom & Delpport, 2010).

I still had to select the appropriate non-probability sampling method of which the most common is purposive sampling in which the identification and criteria for the selection of the sample is clearly rationalised (Strydom & Delpport, 2010). I therefore employed purposive sampling based on my “judgement and the purpose of the study” (Babbie, et al., 2008, 166). My judgement mainly related to my knowledge of the books that are used in South Africa. According to Babbie, et al. (2008), knowledge of the nature of the population is a key determinant of the adoption of purposive sampling. I used purposive sampling because I did not plan to generalise the findings of this study. In any case, according to Cohen, et al. (2009), the generalisation of findings is not the primary concern of purposive sampling. This is especially so in CDA because of contextual considerations and also the fact that each text might have unique characteristics.

Employing purposive sampling, I consciously selected four History textbooks from different publishers in the country as summarised in the table below.

Figure 5.2: The research sample

Title	Author(s)	Date of publication	Publisher
<i>Textbook 1 (Shuters history Grade 12)</i>	Bartels, J. et al.	2006	Shuter & Shooter
<i>Textbook 2 (Making history Grade 12)</i>	Claire, H. et al.	2007	Heinemann

<i>Textbook 3 (Focus on history: Looking into the past Grade 12)</i>	Friedman, M. et al.	2007	Maskew Miller Longman
<i>Textbook 4 (Oxford in search of history Grade 12)</i>	Bottaro, J. et al.	2006	Oxford University Press

The purposive sample was determined by the concept of contemporary textbooks. The currency of the textbooks was determined by the fact that they shared common dates of publication. I conducted a small scale informal survey to determine the History textbooks that were mostly in use in the country (Dudu, Gonye, Mareva & Sibanda, 2008). This selection was also aided by my involvement in History Education in South Africa.

In deciding to conduct a latitudinal study, I had to acknowledge the time-frames within which the textbooks under analysis were published. In developed countries such as Japan, new History textbooks are published at least every four years and in some cases every year (Jeans, 2005). In the USA new textbooks (including repeat prints) are published every five to seven years (Foster & Crawford 2006). However, in some countries textbooks are not changed so often with reasons which could include financial constraints or static ideologies and curricula which do not necessitate production of new textbooks (Maposa, 2015). The average trend, in many developed countries, is that new textbook editions or entirely new textbooks are written at least every ten years; otherwise they end up with much out-of-date content. In their international comparative study, Foster & Nicholls (2005) selected History textbooks with publication dates of within eight years of each other showing that they can be regarded as contemporary to each other. The reason I expound on these issues is to explain how textbooks can be regarded as contemporary. The assumption here is that textbooks of the same time frame share a “dominant linguistic protocol (or trope) of the epistemic archive” (Munslow,

2006, p. 136). From a CDA point of view, the textbooks that I selected share the same linguistic protocol because of the times when they were produced, and as such qualify to be analysed using a latitudinal strategy.

In Chapter 1, I mentioned that when I conceptualised this study, the South African education followed the NCS, but now it follows the CAPS. My sample was overtaken by events as the CAPS textbooks were put into use in 2013. By then I had already finished my analysis and was working on completing this research. Therefore, the textbooks are for a previous curriculum, but can still be considered as contemporary.

5.4.3 Data generation methods

In textbook research, data generation assumes a different meaning to what it implies in other forms of education research. It should be noted from the outset that, in the qualitative research approach, data generation is the preferred term compared to data collection (Greef, 2008). The latter implies a distance between the researcher and the data, while the former shows the researcher as an active participant and thus also responsible for the way the data ultimately emerges. However, it is different in textbook research since the data can be called “existing data” and can be likened to data collected by someone else for another purpose (Kruger, de Vos, Fouché & Venter, 2010, p. 217). This understanding can be applied to textbooks since they already exist in the public domain before analysis. I can argue to have engaged with data generation because I was actively involved in the construction of the data which I ultimately utilised. Nevertheless, I had limited control of the data as explained in the research design section.

I got involved in the generation of data firstly through the selection of particular sections of the textbooks for analysis. International trends in textbook research show that researchers more often than not do not analyse entire textbooks. Instead they select particular sections or themes in the textbooks which they view to be of relevance to their research focus (Cobble & Kessler-Harris, 1993; Holt, 1995; Mazel Mazel & Stewart, 1987; Ogawa, 2003; Foster & Nicholls,

2005; Aldridge, 2006; Lavere, 2008; Romanowski, 2009). Based on such evidence from literature, I elected to generate data from the chapters which focus on themes on African countries after independence. The relevant theme in the textbooks featured as “Uhuru” a KiSwahili word for freedom. As the findings will show, the analysed textbooks defined Uhuru as freedom, but used it to refer to independence. This was the most appropriate theme since it is the only theme in the curriculum that deals with post-colonial Africa and I my study focused on the construction of African consciousness in post-colonial Africa. It was also my assumption that one does not need to analyse the entire textbook to get a generalised idea of the textbook producers’ views. Even in cases of multiple authors, most textbooks tend to end up with generalised ideological thoughts as a result of the process of textbook production as explained in Chapter 3. In any case, History textbooks will never include everything that everyone would like in terms of content (Cobble & Kessler-Harris, 1993). Therefore, as long as the research focus was clearly delimited, it was not necessary to analyse the entire History textbook.

In addition, the focus of most textbook research is determined by the context, that is, each context has particular pertinent issues. To elaborate, Johnsen (2001, p. 6) revealed that the researchers in the USA focused mainly on issues of “production and marketing”; in the former West Germany they focused on “ideological studies”, while “didactics and methodology” were dominant in countries including the former East Germany and Norway. In the Far East, the debates are dominated by issues around interpretation of pertinent historical events (Barnard, 2003). I therefore argue that issues around Africa and postcolonialism are pertinent to contemporary South Africa as was demonstrated in Chapter 1.

The second stage of data generation involved the selection of the exact type of data as referred to in the third dimension of the research design classification. The textual data was in both verbal and visual form. To be exact, I made use of two of Nicholls’ (2003) and Pingel’s (2010) criteria for analysis: descriptive author’s text (narrative); and visuals (such as illustrations, photographs/pictures, maps, tables, statistics, graphs and other sources). When actually doing the analysis, I realised that the textbooks had paratext – text which was not essentially part of the descriptive narrative, but additional text such as definitions and textboxes. In the case of

the visuals, the ‘other sources’ that I came across in my analysis were talking heads which comprised a picture of a learner’s head explaining a point through a “speech bubble” (Wassermann, 2013). These criteria for analysis helped me generate qualitative data in the form of words, images and sentences (large chunks of language). These became the units of analysis. Figure 5.3 summarises the generation of data through the identified criteria for analysis.

Figure 5.3: Criteria for analysis

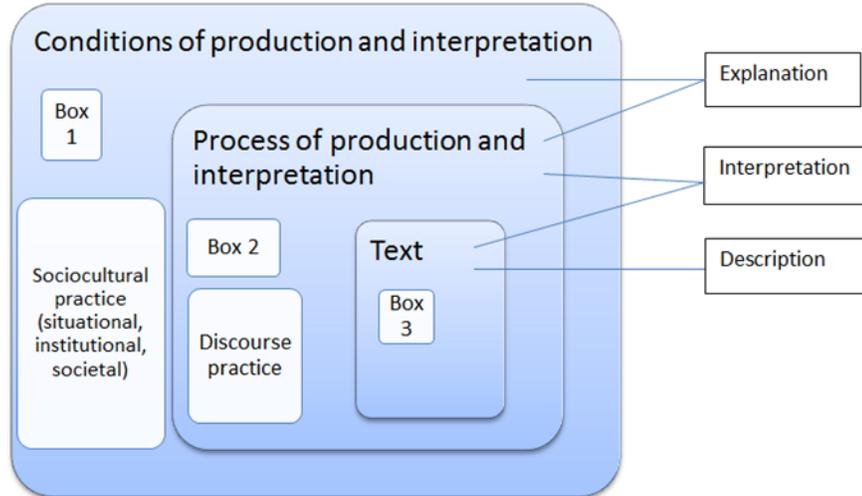
Title	Criteria (Text to be analysed)	Location of text in textbook
<i>Shuters history Grade 12</i>	Descriptive text	pp. 120-154
	Visuals	pp. 120-154
<i>Heinemann Making history Grade 12)</i>	Descriptive text	pp. 47-94
	Visuals	pp. 47-94
<i>Maskew Miller Longman Focus on history: Looking into the past Grade 12)</i>	Descriptive text	pp. 59-114
	Visuals	pp. 59-114
<i>Oxford In Search of History Grade 12</i>	Descriptive text	pp. 103-151
	Visuals	pp. 103-151

5.4.4 Data analysis methods

The data analysis methods that I employed emanate from the methodology of CDA. Although they do not have roots in History Education research or even textbook research in general, I used them because of the point noted earlier that there has been no single way of analysing textbook data. In fact, from a general point of view, Peräkylä (2005, p. 870) points out that in many cases qualitative text analysts “do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis.” They use the informal approach which entails “reading and rereading their empirical materials, try to pin down key themes and, thereby, draw a picture of presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen.” However, she argues that this approach is most suitable in cases whereby qualitative analysis plays a subsidiary role to other approaches. Therefore, instead of employing the informal approach, I opted for systematic methods of analysing data. Nicholls (2003) argues that studies that have been conducted using this kind of informal approach have produced weak findings and he suggests Discourse Analysis as one of the ways of conducting textbook research systematically.

Since there are several variations of CDA I focused on Norman Fairclough’s CDA as illustrated in Figure 5.4. Fairclough’s CDA is a variation of Discourse Analysis whose main characteristic is the merger of some key concerns of linguistic and critical social research (Peräkylä, 2005, p. 871). The critical aspect is represented by an analysis of how power influences the reproduction and legitimation of knowledge. It is also possible that this legitimation has the sum effect of reproducing inequalities in life. In linguistics Discourse Analysis aims at uncovering the features of text that maintain coherence in units larger than the sentence. Using Fairclough’s CDA model, I engaged in three dimensions of analysis. The first dimension was textual analysis as represented by the stage of description in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: Methodological framework: Fairclough’s CDA dimensions of analysis



As per my theoretical view, text included both verbal and visual signs. The dimensions of interpretation and explanation represent the critical aspects of discourse analysis where power and the context are used to make meaning of the data. These three dimensions of analysis were applied to both the verbal and visual data. Although I presented the findings according to description, interpretation and explanation, these dimensions of analysis as represented in the diagram were not taken as independent concentric circles, but rather as boxes that nestle in each other interdependently such that one would not make sufficient meaning without the others (Janks, 1997). I rely heavily on the article by Janks (1997) because I found it to be a very beneficial example of Fairclough’s CDA was applied in practice.

5.4.4.1 Description: Verbal analysis

The analysis process was neither linear nor neat. Since CDA is about making meaning of text within its context, I did not take the dimensions simplistically. Nevertheless they provided a workable framework within which I tried to remain. As an entry point, I worked “from text to discourse” meaning that I started within the box of description (Janks, 1997, p. 331). I analysed the verbal text as recommended by Janks (1997) such that other forms of text (visual text) would fill in the gaps and complement the verbal text when I reached the interpretation stage.

At the level of descriptive verbal analysis I read the narrative text and paratext and coded all the references to the two key concepts of Africa and the African being. In doing this I made use of the instrument illustrated in Figure 5.5. The use of instruments is recommended by Nicholls (2003) for textbook analyses to be more trustworthy. Consequently, my coding was guided by the conceptual framework of African consciousness (explained in Chapter 2) emanating from an understanding of historical consciousness in terms of the past, present and the future.

Figure 5.5: Instrument for textual analysis

(Africa/African) Past	(Africa/African) Present	(Africa/African) Future

The textual analysis that I conducted was not meant to reveal just apparent meaning, but hidden connotations. This is because “it is never possible to read meaning directly off the verbal and visual textual signs” (Janks, 1997, p. 332). Based on this, the application of CDA was meant to reveal the textbook producers’ construction of African consciousness even where they tried to hide it through using seemingly neutral language. In applying Fairclough’s model of CDA, I viewed language as a semiotic or meaning-making resource (Barnard, 2003). While there are many areas on which to focus, I decided to select five aspects of functional grammar; lexicalisation; referential cohesion devices; the use of nominalisation; the use of active and passive voice; and patterns of transitivity (Janks, 1997, p. 335). These aspects are linked to Halliday’s (1985) systemic functional linguistics.

When analysing for lexicalisation I focused on the key concepts of Africa and the African being. I not only looked at how often these concepts were used, but especially at the alternative words or synonyms that were used in their place (Janks, 1997; Luke, nd, Niewenhuis, 2006). For instance, as was shown in Chapter 2, the construct “Africa” has had other names in the past and is sometimes named not in terms of the geopolitical space, but in terms of labels and

stereotypes. I therefore looked at nouns that were used in each textbook to refer to Africa and the African being (including names of specific countries of Africa and African people). An understanding of this lexicalisation would enable me to later interpret and explain this construction. For the lexical analysis I used the same instrument illustrated in Figure 5.5 because I was compelled to work within the framework of the past, present and future.

Nominalisation is closely related to lexicalisation in that it refers to words referring to the concepts under focus. Therefore, analysing nominalisation in the text entailed my analysing the way verbs related to Africa and the African being were converted into nouns (Janks, 1997; Luke, nd, Niewenhuis, 2006). To exemplify, a boy who participates in the sport of swimming might be referred to as a swimmer rather than by his name. Similarly, Africa and the African being(s) may be referred to not by those names but by certain nouns that have been converted from verbs. This was very useful in that it revealed with which actions Africa and the African being(s) were associated. Through this analysis I could then interpret not only the stereotype of Africa and Africans, but other characteristics such as the agency that these concepts were associated with. For instance, if the continent or its people lacked agency, I subsequently expected to find nouns that had been nominalised from negative verbs. As with lexicalisation, I used an instrument which took cognisance of the connections between the past, present and perceived future.

The analysis of the use of the active and passive voice also aimed at arriving at an understanding of the agency that the textbooks were vesting within the hands of Africa and the African beings. Similar sentences whose only difference is the active and passive voice connote different meanings (Janks, 1997, Luke, nd). For example a sentence in the active voice would make Africa the subject rather than the object, and thus connoting agency on the part of Africa. In the passive voice, Africa would be interpreted to be the object, and thus a victim. Using the instrument in Figure 5.5 would therefore show how the two constructs are depicted over time.

I also applied the same instrument in the analysis of cohesive devices. Although there are several cohesive devices according to Halliday (1985), I only analysed referential cohesive devices. I chose these because they were bound to strengthen my findings from lexicalisation and nominalisation. Referential cohesive devices for which I was searching were those that

presented another form of reference to Africa and the African being(s) such as referential cohesive devices (pronouns). For example, referring to the continent as “she” would, from a postcolonial discourse point of view, imply the vulnerability of the African being(s) and the African continent.

Finally, analysing transitivity was a more extensive task than the other four. However, this method was most relevant in that it analysed more deeply the historical processes associated with Africa and the African being(s). These processes can be identified through an analysis of the activities that are linked to the constructs. Transitivity analysis entailed identifying all the verbs associated with the constructs under focus and explaining the processes they represent (Janks, 1997; Barnard, 2003). For example, if Africa is constructed with material processes, it means it has a sign of agency and ability to act on pertinent matters. The instrument that I used for transitivity analysis is illustrated in Figure 5.6. Linguists identify at least six forms of transitivity and these are material processes; verbal processes; mental processes; relational processes; behavioural processes and existential processes (Janks, 1997; Barnard, 2003). Although some researchers do not analyse for all processes, the nature of my study informs my decision to use them all. This is because of all the items I analysed, transitivity reveals more of the textbook producers’ constructions, sometimes done subconsciously (Janks, 1997).

Figure 5.6: Instrument for transitivity analysis

(Africa/African) Past		(Africa/African) Present		(Africa/African) Future	
Activity	Process	Activity	Process	Activity	Process

The analysis of verbal signs, as evident, focuses on language and how it is used to construct meaning and I subsequently explored the power of language to create a construction with which textbook users will have to work. Therefore grammatical tools such as verbs, adverbs, adjectives, nouns and pronouns can be useful not for grammar’s sake but for ideational

metafunctions through which the analyst can reveal hidden assumptions, ideals and ideologies (Barnard, 2003; Crawford, 2003). I coded all the data from this analysis using open coding, meaning that I had no preconceived data sets for which I was searching. In other words I used inductive methods of data analysis, whereby I gave names to the findings that I came up with from this analysis.

5.4.4.2 Description: Visual analysis

In Chapter 3 I engaged with the idea that visual text in the textbooks is as important as verbal text and the two can be seen as inextricably bound (LaSpina, 1998; Väisänen, 2008). This view corresponds with the CDA view of there being verbal and visual text which both carry meaning for their readers. On that basis, CDA provided an apt methodology to analyse visuals as text since I viewed visual text to be corroborating rather than competing with verbal text in the construction of African consciousness.

There is no specific CDA-based method of visual analysis. According to Janks (1997) the way to go about this is to apply visual semiotics. This method entails an acknowledgement that visuals are signs which comprise signifiers that represent a particular meaning (the signified). It should be clarified that visual semiotics at a functional level does not aptly correspond with CDA since it is founded in structuralism and CDA is basically a poststructuralist methodology. However, Janks (1997) maintains that aspects of visual semiotics do tally with CDA. For my study, from the three types of visual semiotics, I found symbolic visual semiotics to be most useful¹⁷. Firstly, a symbol assumes arbitrary nature, whereby meaning is constructed through agreement or habit. Secondly, words (verbal text) are also symbolic since their meaning is just as arbitrary.

In applying visual semiotics to my CDA framework I also started from Fairclough's dimension of description. At this point I provided descriptions of the visuals that were associated with Africa and the African being(s). For coding, I also applied the instrument that I used for verbal text analysis in Figure 5.5, because it provided the framework of historical consciousness through

¹⁷ One of the pioneers of visual semiotics, Charles Peirce identified three types: iconic, symbolic and indexical.

the past, present and future. For each visual, I analysed the components and what meaning they could represent in relation to my focus. This can also be called denotation or analysis at the first level of articulation (Noble & Bestley, 2005; Chandler, 2007). Not only did I analyse the component parts of the visuals, but also their interrelatedness to each other and to the whole (LaSpina, 1998). This means that by the end of the descriptive analysis of visual text, I should have found “the key to its coherence” (LaSpina, 1998, p. 96).

Besides analysing what was in the visuals, I also looked at their prominence or lack of it. I achieved this by considering issues such as the size of the image and its position in the chapter or on the page (Janks, 1997). For example, a picture placed at the beginning of the chapter ought to make a bigger impression on the textbook user than the one at the end of the chapter. Some images had captions and these captions are meant to make the reader gain a stronger impression of the meanings being conveyed. For example, the captions helped me identify the time frame, the space and the people involved in the visual. I also needed to find the link (if any) between the lexicalisation in the captions and the visuals. I therefore analysed the lexicalisation of the visuals using the method applied for verbal analysis. I also coded the data using open-coding.

5.4.4.3 Interpretation: Verbal and visual analysis

The descriptive data from both verbal and visual analysis was useful only as far as obtaining a picture of the representation of Africa and the African being(s) was concerned. To make my analysis CDA I had to go further and interpret it according to “the context of production and reception” (Janks, 1997, p. 333). The method that I used for the interpretation of the verbal data and the visual data was the same. I therefore moved into the dimension represented by Fairclough's box of the analysis of the discourse practice. As indicated in Figure 5.4, it is not a simple analysis of the context in isolation; rather it is an analysis of the descriptive data through the lens of the context, bearing in mind the two types of context: situational context and intertextual context.

To do the situational interpretation, I made use of the contextual description presented in Chapter 1 for South Africa since it is in this country that the textbooks under analysis were produced. Therefore, each set of data was interpreted according to the discourse practices at the meso-level of discourse in the country. In doing the situational context analysis I scrutinised the data through space and time (Janks, 1997). So in addition to the country in which they were published I also had to take cognisance of the time the textbooks were published. This is because textbooks published within a particular time-period are bound to be influenced by the practices of the time. In most cases, the practices are also influenced by the official government narratives of the time. Based on this, in conducting an analysis of the situational context, I was also compelled to take cognisance of the policies which were prevalent during the time the textbooks were produced.

To strengthen my interpretation, I also analysed the intertextual context within this dimension of CDA. I approached this analysis in two ways: firstly by collating the findings from the visual and verbal text, and secondly by collating the findings from the different textbooks. This was not meant to be a comparison and contrast, but in fact a form of triangulation of findings in order for me to interpret them. It is possible that different textbooks may have certain issues that they deal with. In CDA, intertextual analysis is meant to strengthen findings from a single text and it is for this reason that it is always recommended to analyse more than one text (Janks, 1997). This is therefore helpful for the sake of triangulation, in order to strengthen the findings from one textbook. By the end of this dimension, I had been able to take my analysis to a level where the constructions in the textbooks could be seen through the situational and intertextual contexts. In simpler terms, interpretation focuses on the meanings of Africa and the African being in the textbooks.

5.4.4.4 Explanation: Verbal and visual analysis

The final dimension of my textbook analysis was explanation in which I made sense of the interpretation of the findings in relation to discourses emanating out of the context. This kind of analysis is done as illustrated in Fairclough's Box 1 in Figure 5.4 (Janks, 1997, p. 333). In

practising social analysis I was looking at the dominant discourses as disseminated through educational discourse and use them to explain the findings. In this way I identified links between the discourse practices and the sociocultural practices. The initial assumption coming from the theoretical framework was that the findings would tally with the dominant discourses within the country under focus. Thus when the textbook users read the textbooks they draw on the discourses that they have been exposed to in order to come up with an explanation of what the textbooks construct.

At the level of description and interpretation, I relied mostly on my conceptual framework of African consciousness to make sense of the data. It is at the level of explanation that the theoretical framework of discursive postcolonialism became of invaluable relevance. I therefore used the theory (discursive postcolonialism) to explain the concept (African consciousness). In so doing I referred to the tenets of discursive postcolonialism to reveal how they explain what I had concluded in the earlier analysis. At this level, I could then reconcile the conceptual framework and the theoretical framework to explain the kind of African consciousness that the textbooks constructed for their users. In other words, my explanation involved my theorisation of African consciousness in relation to South African textbooks.

5.4.5 The writing-up process

Most of what I have written in this chapter is largely theoretical. It is thus essential that I add to the methodology section by explaining the writing-up process that I followed in the remaining chapters related to my findings. After employing open-coding in the textual analysis I attained many categories from the data. Since the categories were many and cumbersome, I had to discern patterns and sort them into broader themes. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for “identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data.” They argue that what constitutes a theme includes the capturing of the important data in relation to the research question and thus representing some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.82). Acknowledging that the themes have to be comprehensible, I referred back to the discourses

that I had engaged with in the literature review, thereby acquiring the tools to organise my categories into themes. For example, I created the themes on Africa after grouping together related codes and categories, relying heavily on the concepts in Chapter 2. Therefore the themes that I finally presented in Chapters 6 and 7 only look neat and uniform because I had conducted this process. I presented the findings in Chapter 6 and 7 in a descriptive manner. This means that I only focused on presenting what I found in the textbook that referred to Africa and the African being without trying to engage with the deeper discursive meanings. Thus, I did not proceed to the connotations of these findings in the two descriptive chapters. I only did so in Chapter 8 when I began to interpret the findings. In Chapter 9 I then explained the findings with the aim of conceiving theorisations on African consciousness in South African History textbooks.

5.5 Ethical considerations

The influence of the advance of human rights in the post-World War II era has extended to research with a focus on governing moral principles of which researchers ought to take cognisance (Wellington, et al, 2007). This is especially so for research that involves human participants. Strydom and Delport (2010) agree that ethical concerns are minimal when dealing with documentary research. Consequently, Cohen et al. (2009) warn that researchers of documents, textbooks included, are sometimes drawn by the temptation to overlook ethical issues when, in fact they should not. For example, there are issues of copyright that I had to ensure I do not infringe when having to make copies of images from the textbooks. I also decided to identify the textbooks by numbers rather than referring to them by name each time I made reference to them in the findings. This was indeed a matter of pragmatism (trying not to foreground individual textbooks), but I also considered the point by Cohen et al. (2009) and Wellington et al. (2007) that some findings may be so negative that it would only be fair to consider that, if I were the author, I would not want my name mentioned every time the textbook is critiqued. Finally, all research at my institution is subject to a process of ethical

clearance first before it can proceed. I therefore followed all ethical procedures and I was granted ethical clearance as is evidenced in Appendix A.

5.6 Issues of trustworthiness

Qualitative research is by nature subjective and thus needs to be trustworthy for it to be considered to have academic rigour. Mouton (2001) argues that this subjectivity opens doors for interpretive bias. I therefore considered ways of making the research trustworthy. Firstly, declaring my positionality in Chapter 1 was also meant to accept that my role in the study was not neutral. I further declared the theory and paradigm that I worked within so that it was open that if the research had been framed differently, the results could have been different. Hence some arguments I make from a postcolonial point of view might not be accepted by other theoretical perspectives.

With reference to sampling, I ensured trustworthiness by confirming the choice of textbooks with students in my B.Ed Honours class who also work as teachers in South African schools. In addition, according to Strydom and Delport (2010), working with a combination of techniques helps with trustworthiness of research. Although I worked with CDA, my explanation of data analysis shows that it consisted of different techniques. Therefore, the findings from an analysis of lexicalisation were corroborated with those from nominalisation and from transitivity analysis.

The final way of increasing trustworthiness was through sharing with other people besides my supervisor (Strydom & Delport, 2010). For three years I was part of the university PhD cohort seminar series where we would present our work to the group for open critique once every six months. We were also encouraged to work with critical readers who would also critique the work on a one-to-one basis. In addition I belonged to the History Education postgraduate seminar series where I also presented my work. Furthermore, I made three presentations at three local History Education conferences – one on my conceptual framework of African

consciousness, one on my theoretical grapples and the last one on a section of my findings.¹⁸ At all these presentations, I received useful feedback from people with a critical ear. As previously mentioned I also visited the Georg Eckert Institute twice where I was exposed to international textbook research literature and scholars and got a chance to make two presentations, one on my methodology and the other on my findings. All these avenues of sharing my work worked to increase the trustworthiness of the study.

5.5. Conclusion

My study aimed at finding the kind of African consciousness that is constructed in South African History textbooks. To find the answer it was essential to discover how Africa and the African being(s) were constructed from the past through the present to the future. Working within the social constructionist paradigm, I therefore adopted a phenomenological research design. I followed the qualitative approach which tallied with my search for underlying meanings. The methodology that I chose was CDA, using it to conduct a product oriented, latitudinal textbook analysis. The major focus of methodology was text (language) and context.

I employed non-probability sampling, specifically purposive sampling, to choose four History textbooks from South Africa. From these textbooks I generated data from the chapters which focus on the theme of Uhuru. I then applied Nicholls' (2003) and Pingel's (2010) criteria for analysis to focus on the descriptive author's text (verbal narrative); and visuals (such as illustrations, photographs/pictures, maps, tables, statistics, graphs and other sources). With this in place, I then analysed the verbal and the visual text using Fairclough's CDA model, which proposes three dimensions of analysis: description, interpretation and explanation. The next chapter subsequently reveals the descriptive findings that emerged from the application of my research design and methodology.

¹⁸ Two of the conferences were organised by the South African Society for History Teaching and one was organised by the College of Humanities of UKZN for postgraduate students.

CHAPTER 6

DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS ON AFRICA

6.1 Introduction

This study was designed with an overarching purpose of analysing the construction of African consciousness in themes on postcolonial Africa that are found in the Grade 12 NCS History textbooks from South Africa. In order to do the analysis, I set out to answer three sub-questions, which are:

- How is Africa constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?
- How is the African being constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?
- Why are the concepts (Africa/African) constructed in the way they are?

This is the first of two chapters in which I present the findings from the analysis described in the methodology chapter as a response to the first two of the three sub-questions above. In keeping with my methodology of CDA, the findings I present here comprise the description of data. The interpretation and explanation aspects will answer the third sub-question and will be covered in Chapters 8 and 9. The description that I present in this and the following chapter focuses on the exposition of what I found in relation to the concepts of Africa and the African being without interpreting their deeper discursive meanings. I analysed four textbooks and I present the findings from all the books simultaneously 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. Rather, I foreground the deeper conceptual meanings (and thus a mind-set of a particular place and time) as constructed in these textbooks.

Consequently the findings are organised and presented in two chapters (6 and 7); the former presents a description of the findings on Africa, and the latter on the African being. Each of these chapters is further divided into sections on verbal text and visual text. The visual text comprises the criteria of analysis identified in Chapter 5: illustrations, photographs/pictures, maps, tables, statistics, graphs and other sources. The 'other sources' that I encountered were talking heads. The verbal text comprises the narrative text and the paratext in each of the textbooks. Combining the narrative text and the paratext was both a pragmatic and methodological decision. It was a pragmatic decision because the textbooks had very little data related to my focus in the paratext and therefore the related available data was too limited to create standalone themes of findings. In fact, one textbook (*Textbook 3*) had paratext which had no useable data, because it only consisted of definitions of general historical issues, that were not relevant to the focus of my analysis. In any case, the paratext in the textbooks was mainly for the purpose of explaining or giving examples of issues that were raised in the narrative text, hence the two informed and complemented each other. It was also a methodological decision because they are both verbal text which, according to Janks (1997), can be analysed using the same form of CDA.

For the sake of a comprehensible presentation, I kept the findings from verbal and visual data separate, although I acknowledge that they generally complement each other. This was doable because, while there were cases where visuals were explained in the narrative text, they were mostly explained by their own captions or lack thereof. It is for this reason that, in my presentation of findings, I will start with the verbal text then go to the visual text. It should be noted that, there were cases of the visual text working in collaboration with the narrative text and the paratext to construct and contest particular meanings. *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 3* had very few visual texts, particularly those that constructed a meaning of Africa. Therefore the findings on visual text described in this chapter are predominantly from *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 4*. The themes that I extrapolated from visual analysis were the same as the themes from the verbal text. This can be explained in two ways. Firstly, I realised that the fewer the variety of themes the more comprehensible the analysis would be. Secondly, the visual text was, in most cases, related to the verbal text in such a way that their representations invariably came up with similar themes.

6.2 Themes on Africa

The findings that I present on the themes on Africa came from the data that I found in the textbooks on Africa as a concept. I analysed verbal data on the various lexicalisations and nominalisations of the concept of Africa. This is because while the word Africa was the main unit of analysis, it was presented in the textbooks in various ways and by various names. I also analysed visual data, making meaning of how Africa was constructed therein, focusing on the discourses emerging from the visuals and their captions.

One finding that permeated through all the themes was on the aspects of inclusivity and exclusivity with reference to Africa. In terms of inclusivity, my analysis revealed the construction of Africa as a homogenous phenomenon, while exclusivity refers to cases where the continent is constructed as multifarious and unstable – in other words as diverse and composed of differing aspects. The construction of Africa as multifarious was also revealed in cases of exceptionalism, which are evident in almost every theme that I present below.

6.2.1 Verbal text (Narrative and paratext)

6.2.1.1 A spatial notion of Africa

One major theme on the construction of Africa in the selected textbooks concerns the meaning of Africa as a spatial notion. This spatial notion refers to the actual space that is represented by the concept Africa and how this space is discursively represented. This is related to the geographical designation that I discussed in Chapter 2. My analysis shows that Africa in the textbooks is constructed as a homogenous space, but with the various places within it constructing a multifarious, thus contrary, notion of Africa.

The first construction of Africa as a spatial notion is revealed by how Africa is portrayed as part of the larger international world, in *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 2*, Africa is constructed, not just as a standalone geographical landmass, but as part of the Third World (which is not necessarily a landmass or physical space). The paratext in *Textbook 1* claims that the term Third World is no longer in academic use (p. 78), but continues to use it anyway. Evidence of this construction in *Textbook 1* is in the statement on “why Africa has failed to develop as much as other Third World regions” (p. 78). The paratext in the same textbook also groups Africa with other developing parts of the world such as the Third World when explaining the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (*Textbook 1*, p. 55). Similar evidence emanates from *Textbook 2* where the Non-Aligned Movement was said to be “comprising mainly Third World countries from Asia and Africa, united” (p. 62). This, on the surface, shows Africa as not being isolated and unique, but as part of a larger spatial world by virtue of undergoing similar experiences. The aspect of experiences will be further described in section 6.2.1.4. While *Textbook 3* does not construct Africa as part of the Third World, it nonetheless expresses an example of this view through the statement that “popular struggles around the world provided Africa with a model for change” (p. 101).

However, further analysis reveals a more complicated spatial position of Africa in relation to other parts of the world. In fact, Africa is simultaneously constructed, on one hand as part of, while on the other hand, as distinct from the rest of the Third World. This is supported by the evaluative statement “Africa has done least well of all the Third World” (*Textbook 1*, p. 78). In the same textbook, the paratext claims that “Lagos is the world’s fastest-growing megacity – and the dirtiest” (p. 92). This view is also revealed in *Textbook 2*, where Africa is seen to be “unlike Asia or Latin America” – two continents that are also regarded as part of the Third World (p. 86). The evidence of Africa being constructed as spatially distinct from the rest of the world can also be deciphered from statements such as “Africa had highest death rate in the world at independence” (*Textbook 4*, p. 94). Therefore, in three of the analysed textbooks, Africa in the post-colonial era is constructed as part of the world, but as a distinct space therein. In this case Africa is mainly constructed as a homogenous space which can be generalised against other spaces of the world.

As a distinct space, the post-colonial Africa that is referred to in the textbooks is constructed to be the same as colonial and pre-colonial Africa. This is because there is no evidence in any of the selected textbooks’ verbal text that, holistically, Africa in the post-colonial period refers to a space different from what it represented in earlier periods. I found such silences to be a sign of how the meaning of the spatial concept of Africa is taken for granted – and thus static – in the textbooks. The only reference that links pre-colonial to post-colonial Africa in spatial terms is found in *Textbook 4* and it in fact confirms this finding. In this instance, post-colonial Africa is constructed as the same as the Africa that was “the birthplace of humankind” in deep time (*Textbook 4*, p. 79). It thus constructs contemporary Africa as spatially the same as the Africa that existed since the history of humankind began.

The foregoing finding is supported by other constructions of Africa as a single and homogenous continental spatial mass, evident in two of the selected textbooks. An example of such a construction is in *Textbook 2* which has statements such as: “The world spotlight zoomed onto Africa as a continent with great potential and significant natural wealth” (p. 75). Similarly, *Textbook 3* expresses that “Africa possessed vast amounts of natural resources” (p. 90). These

examples show how Africa is constructed as a homogenous single space in the two textbooks since the natural wealth or resources are not specified to any specific place within Africa.

The homogeneity of Africa is not a stable construction within the analysed textbooks. In fact, *Textbook 1* is explicit about its view of Africa as represented by only “sub-Saharan Africa,” which it alternatively lexicalises as “Tropical Africa” (p. 53). This effectively rules out the Maghreb from coverage under the selected theme as it is the textbook’s view that it “is a more useful approach” to exclude North Africa (*Textbook 1*, p. 53). Limiting the spatial coverage of Africa to only sub-Saharan Africa, as is explicitly professed in *Textbook 1*, reveals exceptionalism of the Maghreb, which is thus constructed as different from the rest of Africa. This is in spite of an acknowledgement that “although there have been great many similarities, there have also been a great many differences in the experiences of North African countries, with their largely Arab and Islamic populations” (*Textbook 1*, p. 53). The use of the lexicalisation Tropical Africa also implicitly excludes South Africa thus also revealing the exceptionalism of South Africa which is not located within the tropics. Therefore, the use of “sub-Saharan Africa” and “Tropical Africa” implies that there are many spatial Africas, of which the sub-Saharan Africa is one, if not the real one.

While on one hand, the analysed textbooks construct Africa as a single space, they on the other hand, construct it as consisting of many places. The various places referred to include regions and countries found within Africa, thus constructing a notion of an Africa that can be divided into many places. There are few instances of references to natural regions such as the Great Lakes Region (*Textbook 1*, p. 82) and the Sahel (*Textbook 4*, p. 99). This constructs a meaning that, at a geographical level, Africa is not uniform, such that the significant natural landmarks can be used to determine diversity within the continent. Therefore, through the references to natural regions in *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 4*, Africa is constructed as a space which is not geographically uniform, thus contesting the finding from *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 3* which construct Africa as a single and uniform spatial landmass.

Nonetheless, there is a conspicuous silence in all of the textbooks in reference to cardinal-point-based spatial regions such as East Africa, West Africa or Southern Africa. The only use of

cardinal points is when the textbooks feature regional community blocs and not regions per se. Examples of the featured regional blocs include the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in *Textbook 3* and *Organisation Commune Africain et Mauricienne* (OCAM) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in *Textbook 2* (p. 61). These blocs can be considered to be evidence of the construction of the division of Africa into geopolitical regions largely based on political frontiers. In this regard, *Textbook 3* notes the existence of a “strong sense of regionalism” in Africa, leading to many conflicts (p. 86). It is evident that respective textbooks take the regional divisions to be more of political unions rather than regional in a spatial sense. Another case of such construction is when the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form Tanzania is evaluated as “the most successful political union” (*Textbook 2*, p. 61).

In addition to some of the analysed textbooks constructing Africa as consisting of distinct regions, all the textbooks under study also construct Africa as divided into individual countries. The different countries that are featured in the analysed textbooks serve as examples to represent Africa and its issues in the post-colonial period. The choice of countries that are used as examples to represent Africa has a bearing on the construction of the meaning of the spatial concept of Africa, because it creates a picture of the countries that make up Africa. Figure 6.1 illustrates the countries that are mentioned in all the analysed textbooks.

Figure 6.1: Countries mentioned the in verbal text

Cardinal-point based region	Country regularly mentioned	Country case studies
North Africa	Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco	Egypt
Southern Africa	Angola, Botswana, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe
East Africa	Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia,	Uganda, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda

	Madagascar	
West Africa	Nigeria, Ghana, Chad, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, Mauritania, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Dahomey (Benin), Chad, Niger, Gabon, Cameroon, Sierra Leone	Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast
Central Africa	Congo, Congo (Brazzaville), Central Africa Republic	Congo, DRC

As mentioned earlier, the countries of the Maghreb are all excluded from *Textbook 1*. In addition, although *Textbook 4* does not unambiguously state its focus on sub-Saharan Africa, the furthest north it mentions is the Sahel region, meaning that countries of the Maghreb are also effectively excluded. In contrast, *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 3* do mention a few examples of countries located in North Africa. For example, *Textbook 2* dedicates a paragraph to explaining how the OAU was “successful in establishing a border settlement between Morocco and Algeria in 1971, after a ten-year impasse” (p. 86). Similarly, *Textbook 3* also explains the issues around the Polisario Front war, involving Morocco, Western Sahara and Mauritania. *Textbook 2* also covers Egypt in some detail as a case-study, in addition to other case studies of countries from different regions such as Tanzania, Ghana, Uganda and Kenya. Therefore, two textbooks exclude the Maghreb while the other two cover countries from that region, albeit not as extensive in coverage as for countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

My analysis also revealed a silence regarding South Africa in three of the analysed textbooks. The country was conspicuous by its spatial absence in *Textbook 1*, *Textbook 3* and *Textbook 4*. In the case of *Textbook 1*, this silence is in the context of Africa being constructed as Tropical Africa which is used as the alternative lexicalisation of sub-Saharan Africa. However, *Textbook 2* does mention South Africa, although it is in reference to what was happening in the country during the Apartheid era in comparison to other African countries that had achieved Uhuru at that time. An example of such a mentioning is in the statement that “South Africa was not yet independent by the end of the 1970s” (*Textbook 2*, p. 60). Another example is the reference to

the Sharpeville Massacre “which attracted the world spotlight to South Africa’s oppressive minority regime” (*Textbook 2*, p. 77). The uniqueness is further cemented in the same textbook which states:

The United States and South Africa intervened [in Angola] on behalf of UNITA [*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*] and FNLA [*Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola*]. This intervention by Western countries on behalf of UNITA and FNLA were countered by Cuban forces and Soviet Union supplies in support of MPLA [*Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*] (*Textbook 2*, p. 111).

In the above quotation, South Africa is grouped, together with the United States, as Western, which apparently implies that it is spatially not part of Africa. *Textbook 3* also constructs South Africa as an exceptional case but also includes it as one of the “foreign” countries that destabilised post-colonial Africa through military involvement (p. 110). The fact that South Africa is included in the section on foreign military involvement in Africa constructs the country as not spatially part of Africa, particularly during the apartheid era and thus an outsider.

It is therefore evident that the only textbook that includes South Africa in the section on Uhuru in Africa only does so without reference to the country in the post-1994 era. However, *Textbook 1* uses exceptionalism differently by labelling South Africa to be “one of Africa’s most important countries” (*Textbook 1*, p. 79). Such a statement adds to the multifarious spatial construction Africa in the sense that constituent countries are not only diverse, but some countries can be regarded as more important than others.

As is shown in Figure 6.1 earlier, the analysed textbooks use a variety of countries to illustrate examples of what happened in the history of post-colonial Africa. The mentioning of these countries is at two levels: the regular example, and the case study. At the level of the regular example, a varied assortment of countries is featured, although there are more regular mentions of countries from East Africa. There are also recurrent mentions of particular countries, such as Rwanda, Burundi and Nigeria which feature in all textbooks except *Textbook 2*. It should be noted though that some of the regular mentions are in cases where countries

were just listed without any detailed and particular discussion on each of them. The following example of such listing is from *Textbook 2*:

The former francophone colonies [Cote d'Ivoire, Congo (Brazzaville), Senegal, Mauritania, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Dahomey (Benin), Chad, Niger, Gabon and Central Africa Republic] who supported the gradualist met in Congo (Brazzaville) in December 1960 ... (p. 64).

While such mentions do not necessarily give detail on issues around particular countries, they still reveal the geopolitical spatial designations that are represented by Africa. Featuring in this kind of representation are countries from the different parts of the continent, including islands such as Madagascar. Nevertheless, Figure 6.1 does not reflect the issue that has been covered earlier; that in the verbal text of *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 4* the countries of North Africa are not mentioned at all. Still, it represents the countries one would end up associating with Africa if they were to make use of the four selected textbooks.

The meaning that is constructed through case study representation of the countries of Africa is different. The only country from North Africa to feature as a case study is Egypt which is represented in *Textbook 2*. However, the case study is very brief and lacking in depth as it is only one page, with the focus on the leader (Gamal al Nasser) rather than the country per se (*Textbook 2*, p. 55). It can also be read from the findings that Southern Africa in general is not well represented – in comparison to East Africa and West Africa. There is only one country from Southern Africa that features as a case study, and that is Zimbabwe to which the entire Unit 6 is dedicated in *Textbook 3* (pp. 82-85). The topic of the unit is “Types of independent states: Zimbabwe” (*Textbook 3*, p. 82). Otherwise, the majority of the case studies are of countries from East Africa. It is in the case studies that strong constructions of Africa at country level are done. In general, the choice of the case study countries in all the four textbooks under analysis also confirms the earlier finding that there is a general focus on Tropical Africa at the expense of North Africa, South Africa and the islands of Africa.

It can be concluded from the above description that, as a spatial notion Africa is constructed at three levels: as a space within a larger international space, as a distinct homogenous space, and

as divided into constituent places such as regions and countries. This shows how the textbooks have simultaneous constructions and contestations as Africa is represented as both homogenous and multifarious. In such constructions are cases of exceptionalism whereby certain places are either excluded or constructed as unique.

6.2.1.2 A temporal notion of post-colonial Africa

One of the themes that emerged from the analysis concerns the manner in which post-colonial Africa is constructed through a temporal dimension in the selected textbooks. In Chapter 4, I explained how contentious the term 'post-colonial' is as a temporal marker because it cannot be agreed when the 'post-colonial era' started. It was hence crucial for me to determine the nature of this temporal dimension before continuing to analyse other characteristics of Africa because of the contentious nature of 'post-colonial,' in this case with reference to Africa.

All four textbooks frame post-colonial Africa temporally in some manner, although only two of the selected textbooks refer to it explicitly. Post-colonial Africa is lexicalised in *Textbook 1* as "Post-independence Africa" (p. 77) while *Textbook 4* refers to the phenomenon as "independent Africa" (p. 78). In the same regard, *Textbook 3* uses "post-colonial" and "post-independence" interchangeably (p. 102). The same conceptual period is lexicalised in *Textbook 2* as "after independence" (p. 49). This reflects a dominant construction of post-colonial Africa in the textbooks as Africa in the period after independence. Nevertheless, as part of this representation, the meaning of independence is not really clarified in any of the textbooks leading to two complications. Firstly, independence seems to be implicitly referring to the concept of Uhuru (which is the main concept in the topic "How was uhuru realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s?"). All the analysed textbooks unambiguously refer to Uhuru as freedom rather than independence in the verbal text (*Textbook 1*, p. 53; *Textbook 2*, p. 59; *Textbook 3*, p. 49; *Textbook 4*, p. 68). This then implies a representation of freedom and independence as the same phenomenon, and hence a temporal construction of post-colonial Africa as Africa in the period after independence or freedom. This leaves the temporal construction of post-colonial

Africa in all the textbooks in a fuzzy and contestable state since the concepts they use as time markers (independence and freedom) are not necessarily one and the same.

The second complication stems from how the data from my analysis fundamentally generalised the post-colonial period in Africa within one regular timeframe. In other words, the temporal construction of post-colonial Africa is not strongly bounded by particular dates in the textbooks. The only date is in the paratext of *Textbook 1* which identifies Ghana as the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence (p. 71). Similarly, the paratext in *Textbook 4* identifies Namibia as the last country in Africa to gain independence (p. 77).¹⁹ *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 4* identify the period of Uhuru in Africa to have been in the 1960s and 1970s and extend the post-colonial timeframe to the present-day. The reason for this extension to the present-day is stated in *Textbook 1*: “many of the issues that challenged and troubled African states in those two decades continue to do so to the present” (*Textbook 1*, p. 53).

An analysis of the textbook producers’ linguistic choices revealed how the textbooks use the same post-colonial timeframe, albeit without explicitly stating so. For example, the constant use of the present perfect tense in *Textbook 3* shows how the supposed time from independence in Africa to the present day is generalised into one contemporary period. A case in point of the use of the present perfect tense is in the statement: “From the late 1980s, Africa has witnessed a dramatic shift from single-party states to multiparty political systems” (*Textbook 3*, p. 100). The use of the present perfect tense implies the continuation of an essentially analogous experience from the past to the present. Therefore, the construction in the textbooks is that up to the present-day the post-colonial period has not reached an end yet in Africa.

The findings described above show that the post-colonial period is generalised temporally in the textbooks from the 1960s to the present-day. Nevertheless, the textbooks also acknowledge that the postcolonial condition in Africa has not been consistently uniform. On the one hand, *Textbook 2* (p. 75) lexicalises the 1960s as “Africa’s ‘troubled honeymoon’” period. On the other hand, *Textbook 4* (p. 107) constructs the same 1960s as a period of “economic

¹⁹ The textbooks were written before the independence of South Sudan in 2011.

progress” in Africa, with the continent falling into “an economic crisis” in the 1970s. On the same issue, *Textbook 3* offers a more holistic perspective by stating that:

By the end of the 1960s, many African countries had experienced modest growth in their economies. However, these countries were also faced with severe economic constraints that eventually led to economic decline in many countries in the decades that followed (p. 92).

These representations show a common construction of the temporal post-colonial Africa, but a diverse construction of the actual condition of postcolonial Africa. Therefore the textbooks also show agreement and ambiguity by constructing both a homogenous and multifarious temporal notion of post-colonial Africa.

The temporal notion of post-colonial Africa is also revealed in relation to the past, present and future. There is virtually no reference to Africa in the pre-colonial period, with the only reference worth noting being the idea of Africa as “the birthplace of humankind” (*Textbook 4*, p. 79). However, there is reference to the legacy of colonialism in all four textbooks. For example, *Textbook 1* gives the Congo as a country which experienced “colonial exploitation at its worst” (p. 99). This is in an effort to explain that the roots of the problems in post-colonial Africa can be traced back temporally to the days of Western colonisation. The paratext in this textbook also explains how the post-colonial problems in Burundi and the DRC were rooted in the countries’ colonial past (*Textbook 1*, p. 65; p. 98). *Textbook 2* also makes the same connection by discussing colonial national boundaries which it refers to as “old wine skins” (p. 86), while *Textbook 3* follows an economic stance arguing, for example, that “at independence African countries were economically disadvantaged” (p. 92). The paratext of *Textbook 4* also explains the problems facing the Somali nation today as rooted in their colonial fragmentation (p. 91) and does the same for Rwanda and Burundi (p. 92). The problem of illiteracy in Africa in general and French colonies in particular is also explained within the context of colonial policies (*Textbook 4*, p. 92). It can thus be seen that the textbooks largely construct post-colonial Africa as a product of the past, but mainly a past of Western colonisation, and not so much of pre-colonial experiences.

While the colonial past is referred to temporally, the relationship between the present and the future is not really well demonstrated in any of the textbooks. Only *Textbook 4* mentions the potential that Africa possesses such that it is possible for the continent to have a bright future. Evidently there is no clear and direct link constructed between the present and future. This is complicated further by the fact mentioned above that there is no clear distinction between the present and future as post-colonial Africa seems to be fashioned as an eternal linear construct.

The findings described in this theme show that although post-colonial Africa is constructed through a temporal notion, it is not clearly framed within a particular time frame. The ambiguity of the temporal notion, a fundamental concept in history, stems from the fact that lexicalisations used as time markers cannot be linked to one particular date, resulting in a post-colonial Africa whose beginning and – more specifically – end cannot be unambiguously determined. In addition, while the present post-colonial period is constructed as connected to the past, it is only connected to the Western colonial past, and not the precolonial past. There is also no connection with the future since the post-colonial period is constructed as perpetual. Notwithstanding, there are homogenous and multifarious constructions as the textbooks sometimes refer to the post-colonial period as singular, while in other cases they describe the period as consisting of different phases.

6.2.1.3 A humanised notion of Africa

The construction of Africa in the selected textbooks is not limited to space and time only. There is also evidence of Africa as humanised – linked to the point that Mamdani (1999) raises in relation to how Africa was designated and divided according to people who populated it. In the textbooks, the humanised notion is attached to a blend of abstract denotations such as race and religion. While this representation is virtually silent in three textbooks, it is especially evident through the lexicalisation in *Textbook 3*. In one instance, the textbook refers to “two Africas: Arab Africa north of the Sahara and Black Africa south of the Sahara” (p. 106). This representation reflects a racialised spatial notion of Africa, whereby race is used to designate a

geographical phenomenon. The same textbook links religion to space, as is in the case of reference to Chad. The textbook refers to “the Christian South against the Muslim North in Chad” (*Textbook 3*, p. 110), thus implying that Africa can be designated according to the religious beliefs of the people who populate it.

Humanising factors such as race and religion again help construct Africa as multifarious since these factors are represented as diverse in Africa. *Textbook 2* clearly supports this construction of Africa arguing that African countries had “diverse languages, ethnic and religious groups and affiliations” (p. 61). The textbook goes further to describe post-colonial Africa as not just “strategically and ethnically divided” (p. 75), but also comprising “groups that were traditionally hostile to each other” (p. 86). *Textbook 4* is further explicit about how the countries of Africa were made up of separate “communities which had no common history or language” (p. 91). This statement ignores even the experience of colonialism in a general sense. The fact that all the four textbooks refer to individual countries in many cases noting the reality of colonial national boundaries in post-colonial Africa’s struggles for unity (also as revealed under the theme on spatial notions) can be taken as evidence of the construction of Africa as multifarious. These examples are evidence of cases when *Textbook 2* clearly constructs, not just Africa, but the countries within it, as diverse by virtue of the people that populate them. The multifarious nature of Africa constructed by the textbooks is also shown by *Textbook 3*’s references to “Africa’s economies” (p. 90) and “cultures” (p. 96) instead of a singular economy and culture for the entire continent.

This humanised notion and division of Africa is also demonstrated along ideological lines. *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 3* show that ideology is also a determinant of how different parts of Africa can either be grouped together or alienated. Examples of this are the Casablanca and the Monrovia groups²⁰ that were formed during the quest for post-colonial African unity (*Textbook 2*, p. 64). There is also mention of how countries such as Kenya, Nigeria the Ivory Coast and Botswana adopted capitalism while others such as Ghana and Tanzania adopted African socialism (*Textbook 4*, pp. 81-85). Ideologies stem out of human thought and if they are used to

²⁰ The groups represent the countries that had different perspectives of how African unity had to be achieved, the former agitating for a single African country and latter arguing for a loose union of different African countries

represent parts of Africa, then that constructs Africa as humanised. Such ideological differences in the textbooks also contribute to the construction of a multifarious notion of Africa.

It is in line with this multifarious concept of Africa that *Textbook 2* labels Nkrumah and the Casablanca group as “radicals” because they wanted a “United States of Africa” with common denominators such as “a political union of African states” and “a common economic market” (*Textbook 2*, p. 64). Labelling Nkrumah and the Casablanca group as radicals carries a connotation that they had a different ideology to issues of Africa. The paratext of *Textbook 1* explains the colonial languages as another reason for differences within Africa whereby some parts of Africa are Anglophone while others are Francophone (p. 63). This description excludes the parts of Africa that do not belong to these two linguistic designations since it is not only French and English that were used as lingua-franca in Africa.

Nevertheless, there is also evidence that the four textbooks tend to vacillate between a homogenous and multifarious descriptions of Africa in terms of the humanised notion of Africa. This vacillation is also demonstrated by the constant use of lexicalisations “Africa” and “African states” interchangeably in *Textbook 4*. The former refers to a single Africa while the latter implies a consortium of diverse units. This dichotomy is what *Textbook 3* reveals in terms of how leaders of early independent countries debated over the formation of either a homogenous United States of Africa or a multifarious OAU, which would be basically a consultative body.

This theme shows how the analysed textbooks construct a humanised notion of Africa through referring to Africa (or its parts) in terms of a mixture of factors such as race, culture and religion and ideology. This means that Africa can be identified by associating it with the people that live in it. This finding will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7 when I describe findings on the African being. This humanisation has the effect of constructing a predominantly multifarious notion of Africa.

6.2.1.4 An experiential notion of Africa

The final theme on Africa from the analysed verbal text concerns how Africa is constructed through a notion of experiences. In other words, Africa is actualised based on the experiences attributed to it. These experiences could be things that Africa did, had done to it or witnessed as an observer. The experiences are presented in three ways. The first involves the experiences that Africa has undergone as an arena for other players (countries from other continents). Evidently this subtheme has some connection to the notion of Africa as a space, but in this case, the space is linked to experiences rather than sheer physical form.

The analysis of the linguistic choices used in the coverage of issues related to Africa reveals how the textbooks construct Africa, not necessarily as an agent of events, but rather an arena or context within which such experiential events were played out. An example is the statement: “ethnic tensions have been the cause of a great deal of warfare and bloodshed in Africa” (*Textbook 1*, p. 82) and “There are some severe constraints on agriculture in Africa” (*Textbook 1*, p. 90). A similar linguistic use can also be found when *Textbook 2* notes that the talks that were held at the newly-formed OAU forums “were the first of their kind in Africa” (p. 65). *Textbook 3* also uses such choices in statements such as: “There were hardly any secondary industries in Africa at independence” (p. 92). Amongst many cases of similar linguistic choices, *Textbook 4* explains how “The USSR saw its role in Africa as helping to overthrow colonial governments ...” (p. 108). Therefore it is evident that all four textbooks employ language which constructs Africa as a context within which various generalisable socio-political and socio-economic events happened. Such a construction of Africa as a context implies experiences which Africa went through, but as a phenomenon which does not have the capacity to forge its own future since it was just an arena for the events which were played out by other players. As with other notions above, there is an exception regarding South Africa. *Textbook 3* clearly makes an “exception of South Africa which was ruled by a white minority” (p. 60).

Another experiential notion of Africa that is constructed in the textbooks is in relation to Africa being a victim of its relationship with the West, past and present – thus colonial and neo-colonial. This theme is related to the construction of an Africa that lacks agency as explained

above. One example of this victimhood refers to the early post-colonial era whereby “the terms of trade were unfavourable to Africa” (*Textbook 3*, p. 92). Similarly, *Textbook 4* writes about “the developed world’s continuing economic control over Africa” (p. 96). An analysis of the use of lexicalisation also confirms this victimhood, for example in the case of Africa being referred to as “a dumping ground” (*Textbook 2*, p. 82). Africa is also constructed as a victim of other phenomena, be they environmental such as droughts and famine, civil wars or world events such as economic crises and the Cold War (*Textbook 4*, p. 99). Where this victimhood is constructed, Africa is usually made the object rather than the subject of the sentence. A typical example of such a sentence is: “The USA and other Western countries became involved in Africa to protect trade links and to support pro-Western governments, such as Chad and Zaire” (*Textbook 4*, p. 109). Therefore such a linguistic analysis reveals a construction of Africa as a victim which lacks agency.

The construction of Africa as a victim relates to the view of Africa as an arcadia that was only spoiled as a result of colonisation. A major argument in this construction is the view that Africa is rich in resources (*Textbook 1*, p. 90) and it is to plunder these resources that the Western countries entered the continent. However, the same textbook provides a conservative contention against this construction, arguing that “only a few African countries have significant mineral resources” (*Textbook 1*, p. 90). The other three textbooks maintain the line of thought that neo-colonialism continues to the detriment of the continent.

The experiences of Africa are constructed both with specificity and in general. In this regard, *Textbook 1* cautions against the generalisation of Africa. It argues that the different components of the continent have had “different experiences in different times” (*Textbook 1*, p. 79). Therefore, for example, when referring to issues such as corruption and ethnicity in Africa, the textbook regularly uses the qualifying statement “in many African countries” (*Textbook 1*, p. 86). This qualification is also used in *Textbook 3* in reference to “many African countries” (p. 86). It is evident though that in both *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 3*, this qualification of uniqueness is mainly used when referring to negative experiential aspects of Africa such as corruption, ethnic tensions and political dictatorships.

Nevertheless, there are also cases of generalisations on Africa and its experiences in three of the analysed textbooks. One of the aspects that is frequently generalised in the textbooks is Africa's independence. Two examples of this generalisation can be given from *Textbook 4*: "Africa had highest death rate in the world at independence" (p. 94) and "African states were not wealthy at independence" (p. 95). Such statements construct two dominant impressions. Firstly they imply that independence took place simultaneously in the different African countries, thereby, in relation to the earlier theme on the temporal notion, making it seem as if the post-colonial period started simultaneously all over Africa. Secondly, the statements construct the African experience as similar as if the state of the whole continent can be viewed as the same and generalised at a particular historical period. An example of this generalisation in *Textbook 3* is in reference to "Africa's economic crisis" implying that the crisis was over the whole of Africa at the particular time (*Textbook 3*, p. 94). In several cases, *Textbook 2* also uses Africa interchangeably with the OAU. This lexicalisation constructs Africa not just as a geopolitical space but also as a homogenous organisational unit. Therefore, there are cases where some of the analysed textbooks employ inclusive conceptions of Africa.

My analysis of the verbal text also revealed that the experiences that can be linked to Africa were both positive and negative. However, the negative experiences are the more pronounced as the textbooks describe the problems that have dogged Africa in the post-colonial era – some of which have already been noted earlier to have been constructed as uniquely "Africa's problems" (*Textbook 1*, p. 75). All four textbooks either generalise these problems for the whole of Africa or associate them with the majority of countries in Africa. This is in spite of *Textbook 1* warning against focusing on the negative issues since they construct an image which "mask[s] the real improvements which have taken place in Africa since independence" (p. 77).

The negative experiences were not represented in the same manner in all the textbooks. *Textbook 1* identifies "a great deal of warfare and bloodshed in Africa" (p. 82). The textbook goes on to use the Rwandan genocide as a case study of this issue. *Textbook 4* also gives Rwanda, together with Burundi, as examples of ethnic "tensions and violence" (p. 91). *Textbook 2* refers to civil wars as a plague with which the OAU failed to deal (p. 65). It is also particular

about the “the civil war [that] rocked the Belgian Congo shortly after its independence in July 1960” (*Textbook 2*, p. 77). *Textbook 3* explains how Nigeria “was plunged into civil war until the defeat of Biafra in 1970” (p. 81). *Textbook 4* also uses the same example and notes that “ethnic differences in Nigeria resulted in destructive civil war”. When generalising, the textbook mentions “ethnic rivalries” without referring directly to civil wars (*Textbook 3*, p. 97). Therefore all the analysed textbooks consider civil wars as a key aspect in understanding the experiences of post-colonial Africa.

Another negative experience which features in the textbooks is that of undemocratic rule in post-colonial Africa. It is also represented differently in the four textbooks. In *Textbook 2* this problem is represented in the form of “military dictatorships” (p. 65) and “extreme military tyranny in the Congo, Central African Republic, Uganda and Equatorial Guinea” (p. 71). With regard to the same problem, *Textbook 4* refers to “no democracy, military dictatorships and abuse of power” (p. 89). *Textbook 3* notes the same issue as is exemplified in the statement that: “some military rulers became widely known for their tyranny” (p. 98). But the textbook is clear that tyranny was not limited to countries with military rulers only, and in fact the military rulers were trying to “save the people from the tyranny of civilian rulers” (*Textbook 3*, p. 98). This is supported by the argument that amongst “the greatest threats to democracy in Africa” is the continuing “government intolerance of opposition” (*Textbook 3*, p. 101).

In relation to the issue of lack of democracy in Africa, is the experiential blight of corruption to which all the four textbooks refer in various ways. While *Textbook 1* does not use the word “corruption” it is implied in statements such as this: “those in power used the economy to buy support from important individuals and ethnic groups” (*Textbook 1*, p. 86). *Textbook 3* explicitly mentions corruption as one of the “internal ... factors that influenced Africa’s post-colonial history” (p. 97). Corruption can also be viewed to be mentioned as part of the “abuse of power” by governments in post-colonial Africa (*Textbook 4*, p. 89).

Evidently, *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 2* seem to focus on experiences arising out of political problems. The only case of non-political issues in *Textbook 1* is when the paratext explains how, because of Ujamaa (Julius Nyerere’s version of African Socialism), there was reduction in social

equity, social services, economic growth self-reliance and political development in Tanzania (p. 94). The same criteria are also used to represent post-colonial Ghana's experiences. *Textbook 3* and *Textbook 4* cover a wider range of social problems experienced in post-colonial Africa. An example of such social issues is on health problems. *Textbook 3* covers "the struggle against malaria" and "the outbreak of AIDS" in post-colonial Africa (p. 94). In the same regard, although *Textbook 4* does not necessarily single out particular diseases, it also covers health issues and how health systems suffered "from a lack of facilities and trained personnel" (*Textbook 4*, p. 96). *Textbook 3* also covers other social issues such as illiteracy which it argues to be one of "the greatest threats to democracy in Africa" (p. 101).

The final negative experiences for Africa are economic stagnation and regression which are also covered in the four textbooks. For example, *Textbook 3* covers poverty in the continent and also argues how it has become an impediment to the growth of democracy (p. 101). In *Textbook 4*, the poverty and famines are explained, amongst other factors, by environmental problems. The textbook argues that "the climate in many parts of Africa is harsh and unpredictable" and as such results in droughts, "widespread famine, the spread of epidemics and the movement of more people to already overcrowded cities" (*Textbook 4*, p. 99). Therefore, the sum of all the negative experiences covered in the textbooks is a construction of an Africa that is home to an embarrassment of problems.

Although the analysed data revealed many negative references to the experiences of post-colonial Africa, there are also instances where there are references to positive developments related to Africa. The positive experiences in the verbal text, at one level, refer to particular countries in Africa. For example, Botswana is given as an exception to the post-colonial problems in Africa, such as lack of democracy, military dictatorships and abuse of power (*Textbook 4*, p. 89). *Textbook 2* also mentions how Botswana "successfully merged traditional governance with modern decision-making" (*Textbook 2*, p. 69). Tanzania is another country that is represented as having experienced post-colonial successes such as increased literacy rate and government provision of "health services and clean water to the majority of the population" (*Textbook 3*, p. 77). The paratext of *Textbook 4* also mentions Tanzania's successes in the health

sector (p. 83). Tanzania is also represented as having registered further successes in terms of combating “ethnicity through the Arusha Declaration” (*Textbook 2*, p. 69). There is virtually no singling out of particular countries as having experienced economic success. However, *Textbook 3* makes reference to Kenya’s “highest economic growth rate” (*Textbook 2*, p. 57). Therefore, Botswana, Tanzania and Kenya are identified as the countries that had some positive post-colonial experiences.

At the level of a generalised reference to Africa, *Textbook 1* does not make any reference to positive experiences. On the contrary, the textbook refers to “Africa’s relative poor performance” (*Textbook 1*, p. 78) and “relative backwardness” (*Textbook 1*, p. 79).²¹ This means that only three textbooks refer to positive experiences. For example, in *Textbook 2* there is mention of how “Africa’s persistent agitation against white minority rule in Africa led to UN resolutions condemning Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa” (*Textbook 2*, p. 65). In addition, both *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 3* consider the early years of independence in Africa to be a period of success in terms of infrastructure development and provision of social services. According to *Textbook 2*, this was a period which witnessed “the building of new infrastructures such as ports, railways, buildings and roads – all within a relatively short space of time” (*Textbook 2*, p. 76). And according to *Textbook 3*, “Low income groups gained access to free education and health care, while many schools, clinics and hospitals were built, resulting in a huge improvement in the quality of life of the majority of the people” (*Textbook 3*, p. 83). However, *Textbook 4* cautions that this economic growth was only limited to the 1960s (*Textbook 4*, p. 80).

Another aspect with which *Textbook 2*, *3* and *4* concur as a case of success for Africa is the cultural renewal that developed with the advent of independence (as explained in the theme on the temporal notion) (*Textbook 2*, p. 76; *Textbook 3*, p. 94; *Textbook 4*, p. 78). This cultural renewal is credited for giving Africa a strong global standing. Related to this cultural renewal is how “universities abroad included African studies as part of their curriculum, giving Africa an international prominence” (*Textbook 2*, p. 76). Furthermore, the discovery of hominid remains

²¹ It is not explained in the text what kind of instrument is used to measure the relativity.

is argued to have “firmly established the world focus on the continent as the Cradle of Humankind” (*Textbook 2*, p. 76). But *Textbook 2* contends that “it is in the realm of education that Africa made its most remarkable progress during the 1960s and 1970s” (*Textbook 2*, p. 76).

While most of the successes were credited to either Africa in general or specific countries, there are two cases where successes are credited to organisations of Africa. For example, *Textbook 3* provides a list of issues that the “the CIAS and AAP succeeded in” (*Textbook 3*, p. 106). The same textbook also explains how “the OAU was successful in settling most of the frontier disputes” (*Textbook 3*, p. 108). With reference to politics, “the re-emergence of democracy from the late 1980s” is presented as another success in Africa (*Textbook 3*, p. 100). All these examples show how the three textbooks also provided cases of positive developments in Africa.

This theme on the construction of an experiential notion of Africa as described comprised three subthemes. The first one is regarding the construction of Africa as an arena of events with players coming from outside while the continent itself lacks agency to construct its experiences. The second described how Africa is constructed as a player in its history, but as a victim which is exploited. The third described the negative and positive experiences of post-colonial Africa. As was the case with other themes, there are also cases of generalisation and exceptionalism which create contesting homogenous and multifarious experiential notions of Africa.

6.2.1.5 Summation

The described findings on the verbal text show that Africa can be constructed as spatial, temporal, humanised and experiential. As a spatial notion Africa is constructed at three levels: as a space within a larger international space, as a distinct homogenous space, and as divided into places such as regions and countries. However, there are cases of exceptionalism whereby parts of Africa are either excluded or constructed as unique. Temporally, post-colonial Africa is framed within an ambiguous time frame whose beginning can be generalised to be in the 1960s and whose end has not yet materialised. Africa is also constructed as humanised with reference to a mixture of factors such as race, culture and religion and ideology. The textbooks do not

show a common denominator to this humanised notion, thus reflecting a heterogeneous nature of Africa. Finally, the experiential notion of Africa is represented in the portrayal of Africa as an arena rather than a protagonist in its history. Where Africa is constructed as a player in its history, it is portrayed as a victim who is exploited. Most of the experiences that make Africa are negative experiences, although there are a few cases of positive experiences.

It can be concluded from the descriptive analysis of the verbal text of the four textbooks that while there are four permeating themes, Africa is not constructed as one definite phenomenon. The findings show that all the textbooks provide contending (sometimes opposite) constructions of the same phenomenon. All the themes above are laced with evidence of simultaneous generalisations and exceptionalism. Therefore, the analysis has revealed an unstable construction of the concept of Africa in the verbal text of the selected textbooks.

6.2.2 Visual text

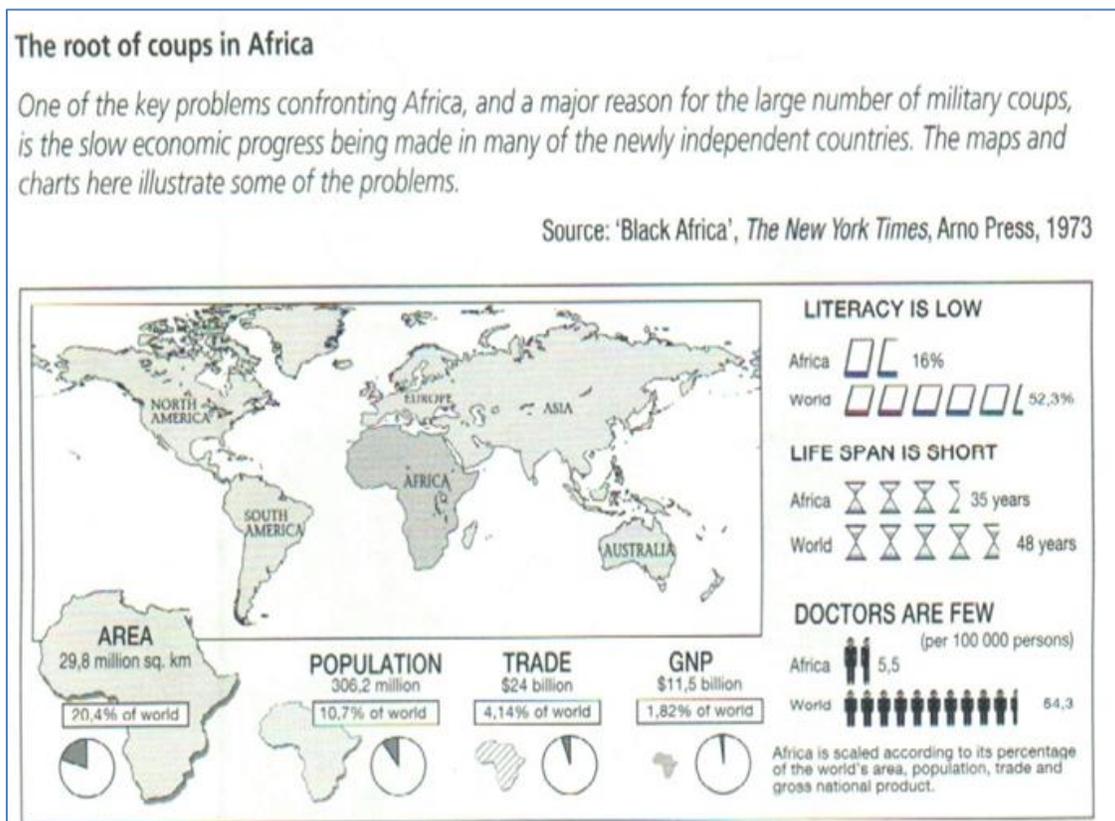
I have arranged the findings from the visual analysis in the same themes as those from the verbal text. Admittedly they did not fit snugly, but for the sake of a coherent and comprehensible presentation, I clustered the different categories into similar themes. The pros and cons of this approach to presentation of findings are alluded to in Chapter 5 and further explained in Chapter 9. As with the previous section, I present the findings in the form of description as informed by Box 3 of Fairclough's CDA explained in Chapter 5 (Figure 5.4).

6.2.2.1 A spatial notion of Africa

References to the spatial notion of Africa were mainly constructed from data which show the continent of Africa as a map or through captions that referred to Africa or any of its component regions. Furthermore, as was the case with the verbal text, the findings of the analysis as described here show that Africa can also be spatially constructed through the mentions of places within the continental space.

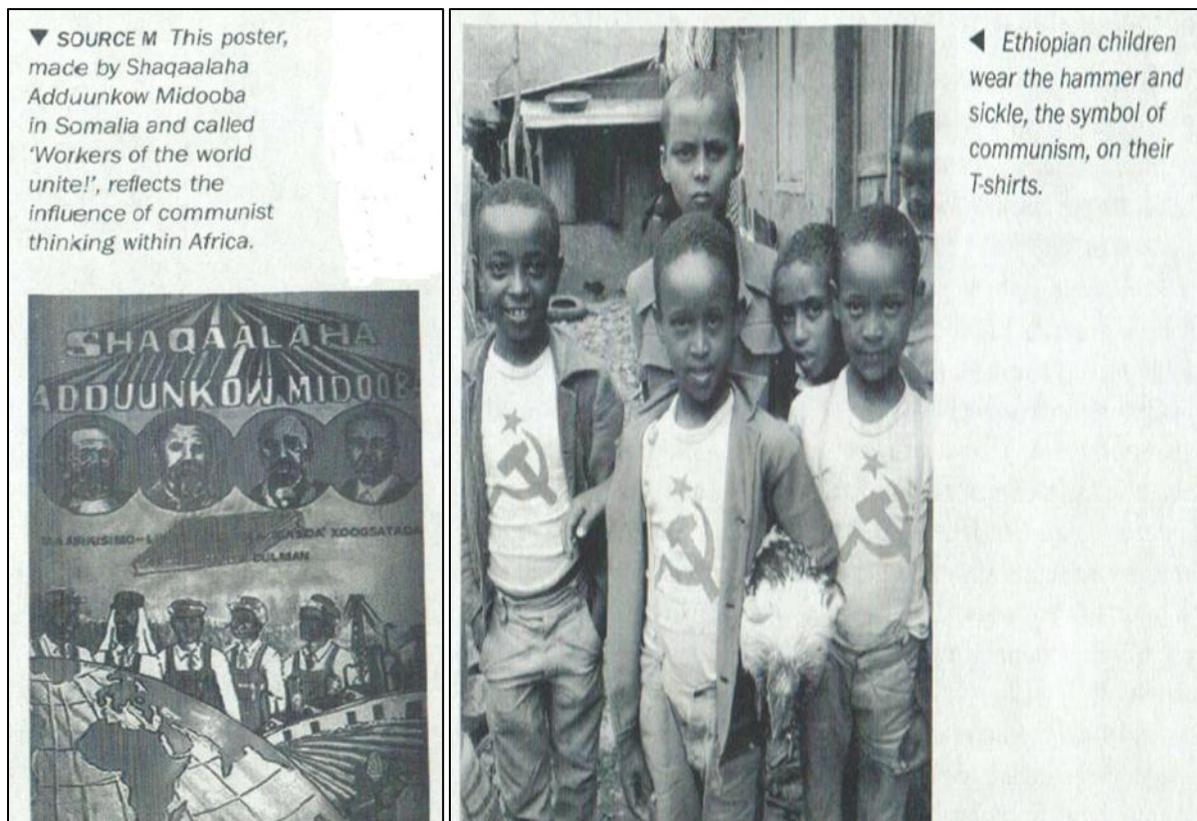
Three of the four selected textbooks have visual text that constructs a position for Africa within a broader world context. In *Textbook 3* (p. 101) there is one world map (Africa included) and smaller maps of Africa providing statistics of aspects such as low literacy levels, short life spans, high doctor-patient ratio, population, trade and Gross National Product (GNP) in comparison to the rest of the world. The map, shown in Figure 6.2, depicts Africa spatially even though it is primarily meant to explain the phenomenon of military coups in Africa.

Figure 6.2: Africa in the world (*Textbook 3*, p. 101)



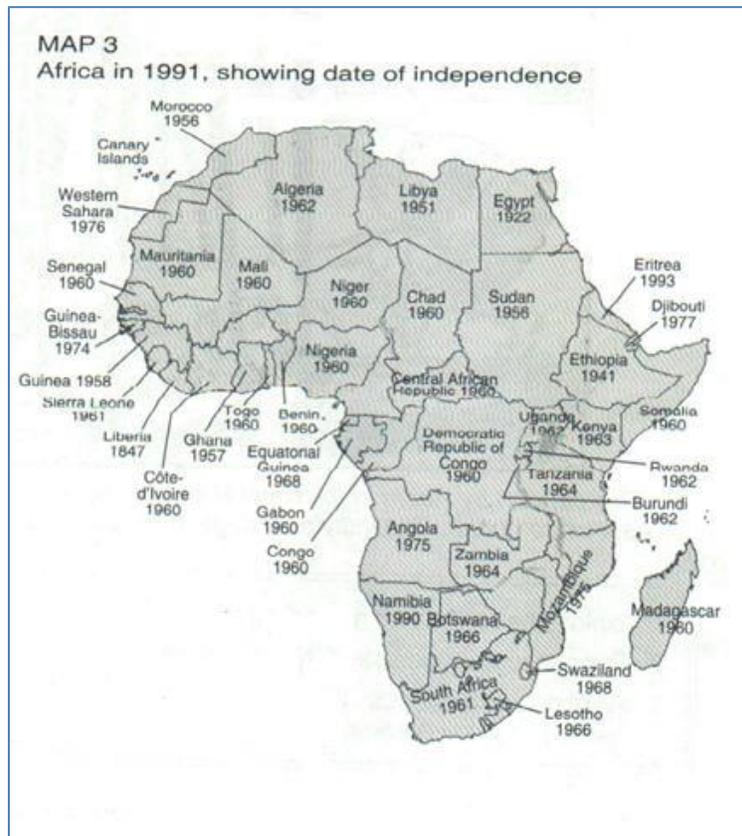
This global representation is also evident in *Textbook 4* where there is a poster on communism that is made in Somalia depicting world communist leaders speaking to Africa and its workers (at centre of globe) with the inscription that “workers of the world unite” (p. 108). The textbook captions this poster as a reflection of “the influence of communist thinking within Africa.” This gives the impression that communist thinking in Africa constructed Africa as part of a global world of workers. The same idea – of Africa as part of a global phenomenon – applies to the picture of Ethiopian children wearing hammer and sickle attire (p. 86). The two visuals are depicted in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: Africa as part of the communist world (*Textbook 4*, p. 108; p. 86)



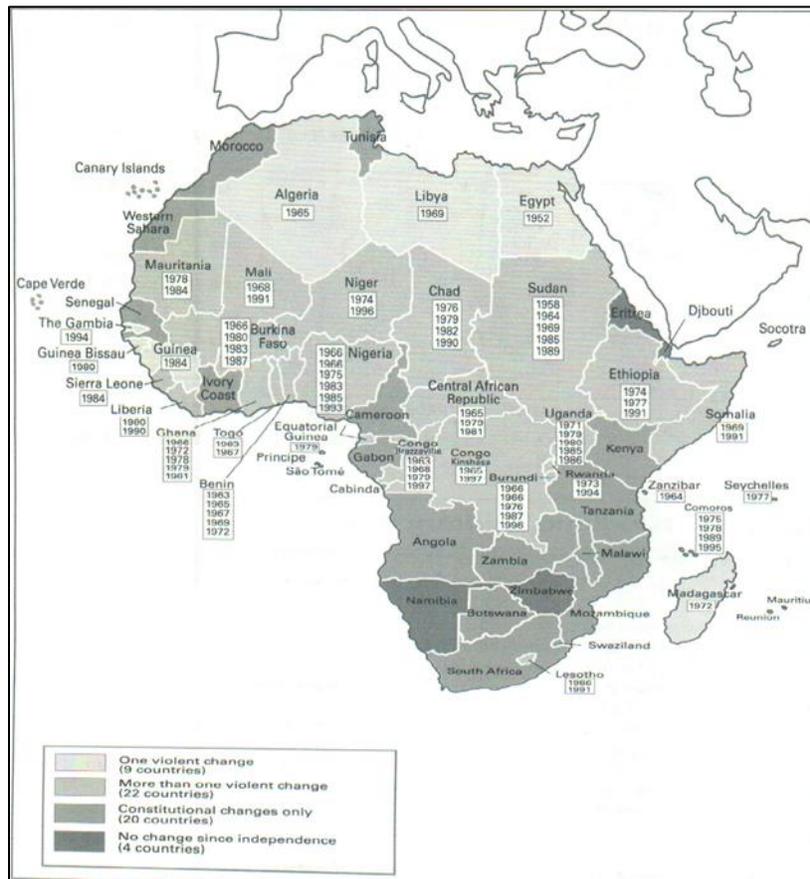
Besides being constructed as part of a wider world, Africa is also constructed as a distinct, unitary spatial entity. *Textbook 1* has the most maps that construct the geographical designation of Africa. There are three maps of Africa on page 58, the most relevant of which shows “Africa in 1991, showing date of independence.” The map is shown in Figure 6.4. While the map shows the whole continental landmass of Africa and its countries therein, the only islands that it includes are Madagascar and the Canary Islands. In the same textbook, a drawing of a naked and chained man in a womb-like Africa (*Textbook 1*, p. 53) as shown in Figure 6.17 constructs Africa as a whole continent including only Madagascar as its related island.

Figure 6.4: Map of Africa (*Textbook 3*, p. 58)



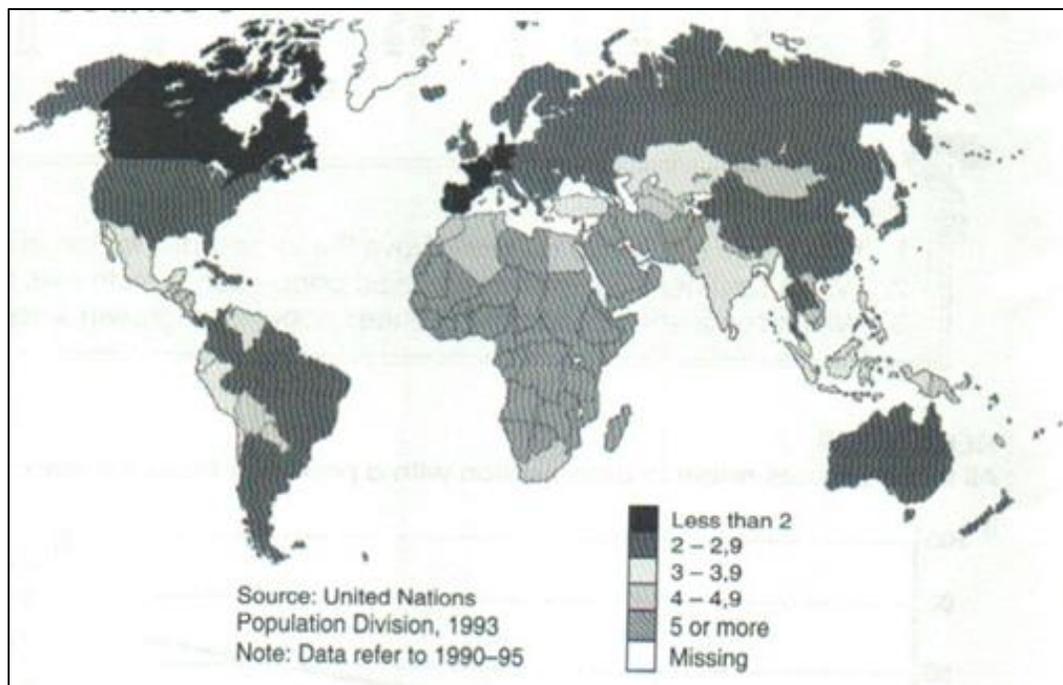
The only map of Africa that includes all the related islands is in *Textbook 3* (p. 99) explaining changes in government over the continent. The map (Figure 6.5) emphasises that Africa is not only the continental mainland. Therefore, the analysed textbooks contain mixed representations of the islands of Africa in relation to the continental mainland. The discord over the representation of some countries of Africa is not evident in these two textbooks, regarding the maps identifying Western Sahara as a country, in spite of contentions over its legitimacy (*Textbook 1*, p. 58; *Textbook 3*, p. 99).

Figure 6.5: Map of Africa showing all islands (*Textbook 3*, p. 99).



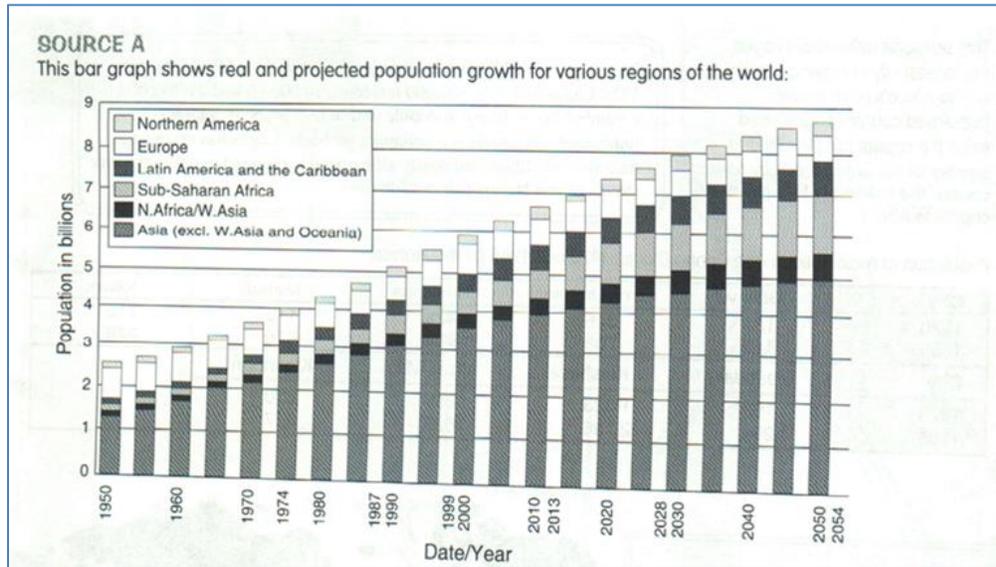
However, as with the verbal text, there are cases in the visual representation of the spatial notion of Africa where Africa is not constructed as one unit. Nonetheless, while the verbal text in some textbooks is explicit about the differences between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, the visual text only carries implied and insinuated constructions. For instance, in the world map in *Textbook 1* (p. 92) showing world fertility rates, the whole of Africa has the same colour shade with the exception of South Africa, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, thus depicting the five countries as different from the rest of Africa (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6: Map making an exception of South Africa, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (*Textbook 1*, p. 92)



Similarly, the graph shown in Figure 6.8 also exhibits how North Africa is separated from sub-Saharan Africa and is instead joined to western Asia (*Textbook 1*, p. 91).

Figure 6.8: A graph revealing a time frame for post-colonial Africa (*Textbook 1*, p. 91)



Furthermore, the influence of the rest of world on Africa is represented in *Textbook 1* as having affected much of Africa, but not South Africa. This is shown through the cartoon (Figure 6.7) featuring the then Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd pointing out that the influence of world politics should not permeate into South Africa (p. 60). These examples are manifestations of exceptionalism of certain regions or countries from the rest of Africa. They construct a picture of an Africa that can be differentiated spatially thus constructing a multifarious notion of Africa. It should be added that Africa in the cartoon featuring Verwoerd is spelled as “Afrika” (*Textbook 1*, p, 60) crediting this lexicalisation to the Afrikaans language since all other verbal text in the cartoon is in Afrikaans.

Figure 6.7: Map showing the exception of South Africa (*Textbook 1*, p.60)



Since only *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 3* have maps of the continent of Africa, the other constructions of Africa are found through maps of the sub-regions or even countries of Africa. For example, *Textbook 2* has no map of post-colonial Africa, with the only available map depicting the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea, but in the process also showing neighbouring Sudan, and Djibouti and even Yemen and Saudi Arabia which are geopolitically outside Africa (p. 87). This map can be paralleled to the political map of Zimbabwe which also features neighbours South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia (*Textbook 3*, p. 82). Both maps are shown in Figure 6.9. Therefore, *Textbook 2* presents maps of only the countries under focus at a particular point and contextualises them only with the neighbouring countries. This nationalistic representation is different from what is found in *Textbook 1* where, even when the focus is on one country (the Congo), it is contextualised within the whole continent, showing all mainland African countries, and not just the neighbouring states (*Textbook 1*, p. 100). The map of the Congo in Africa is featured in Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.9: Regional maps (*Textbook 2* p. 87; *Textbook 3*, p. 82).

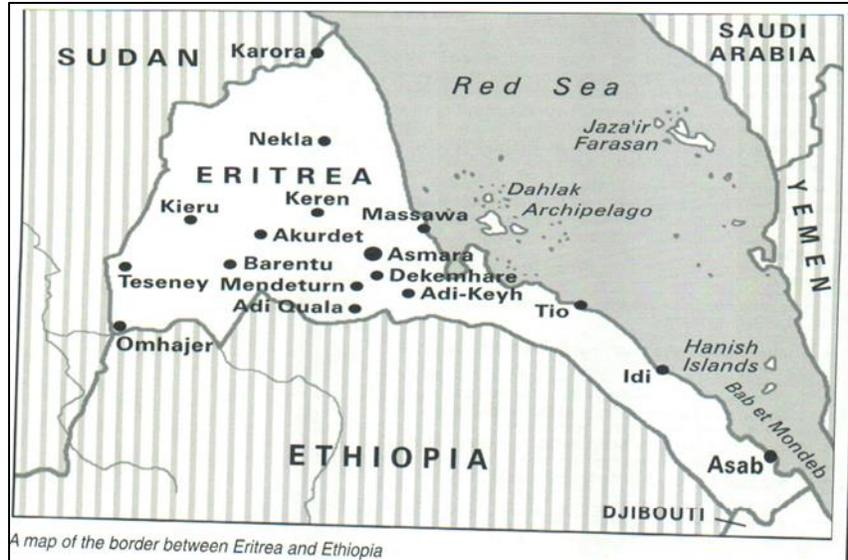
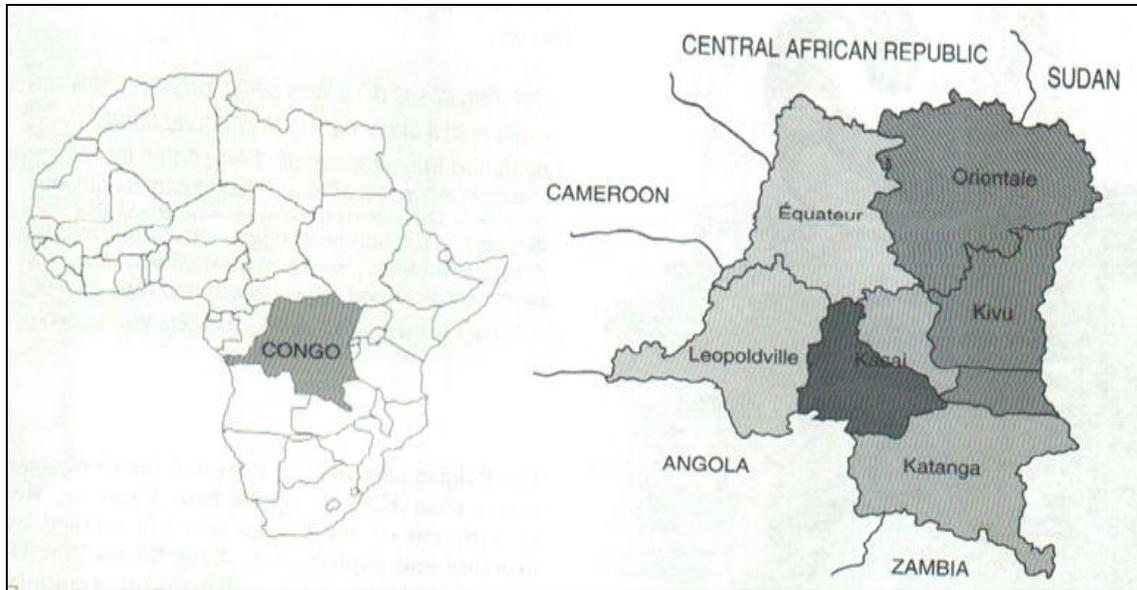


Figure 6.10: The Congo contextualised within Africa (*Textbook 1*, p. 100).

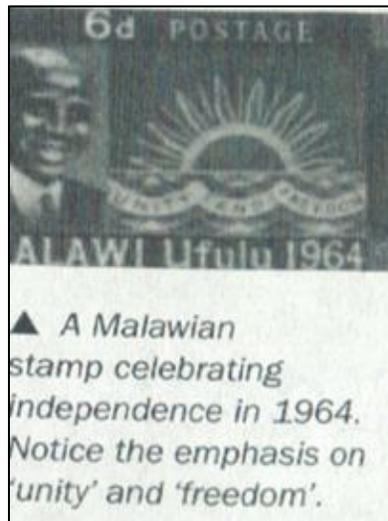


In the analysed section in *Textbook 4*, there is no map that depicts Africa in the post-colonial period. This means that the only visual text reference to Africa is through captions of visuals from different countries. As is in the verbal text, it can be seen which countries and regions are used as examples from which the textbook reader can then construct a spatial notion of Africa. The difficulty with this analysis of captions was that some captions are not clear and may even not specifically mention the name of the concerned country. For example, in *Textbook 4*, the caption that “crowds celebrate the overthrow of Nkrumah” (*Textbook 4*, p. 81), evidently leaves it to the assumption of the reader that the crowds in question were in Ghana since that was Kwame Nkrumah’s country. Such an example is evidence that the visual text sometimes does not offer sufficient information on an issue and can only be better comprehended through reading the verbal text.

Nevertheless, some captions are specific and give the names of the places concerned. Notwithstanding, the only region referred to in a caption in *Textbook 4* is East Africa in a cartoon on corrupt politicians shown in Figure 7.15 (*Textbook 4*, p. 85). In addition, an analysis of references to particular countries in the visual text can show emphasis of certain spatial parts of Africa at the expense of others. For example, in *Textbook 4* the visuals are mainly in reference to countries in either East or West Africa. With the exception of the Malawian

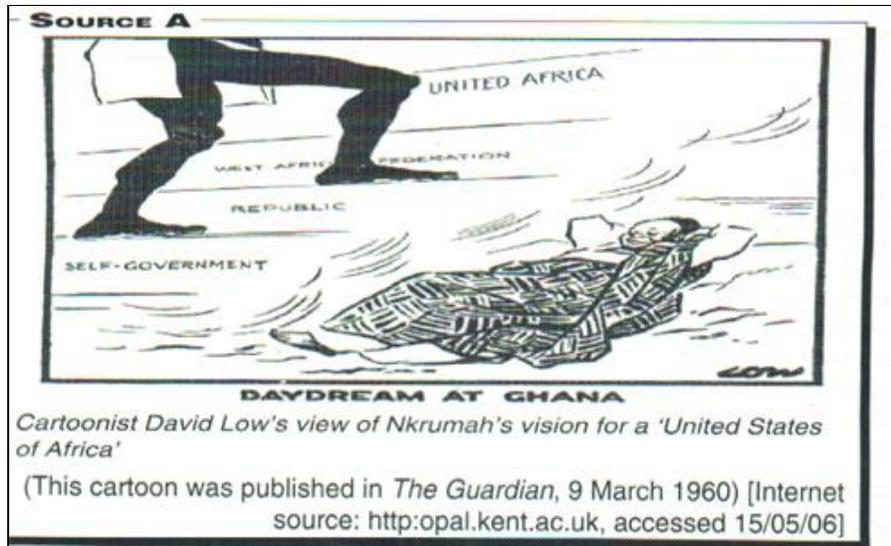
postage stamp (Figure 6.10), there is no reference to countries in southern Africa. Similarly, the textbook's visual captions do not refer to countries in North Africa either.

Figure 6.11: A Malawian postage stamp (*Textbook 4*, p. 78)



As already alluded to, most of the visual text in the sections sampled in the textbooks is in specific reference to a particular country rather than Africa in general. Examples of such references include the Malawian postage stamp above and the picture of Ethiopian children in Figure 6.3 (*Textbook 4*, p. 78; p. 86). The fact that the visuals refer to particular countries, together with the absence of clear maps of the continent dealing with the political periods under review in the books, can serve to construct an Africa that is spatially unstable. As an example, this multifarious notion of Africa is constructed in *Textbook 2* which has a cartoon (shown in Figure 6.12) representing the possibility of Africa as a single united country as nothing but a “daydream in Ghana” (p. 61).

Figure 6.12: A cartoon depicting the unfeasibility of a united Africa (*Textbook 2*, p. 61)



To sum up the findings in this theme, I have described how the textbooks present constructions and contestations of a spatial notion of Africa. As with the verbal text, the visual text contains contending contestations of Africa since the textbooks construct Africa as defined by its spatial position in the world. Yet the same textbooks continue by constructing Africa as a distinct spatial unit although its essence is also contested in that some of its sum parts such as islands and even regions and/or countries are excluded. The visual text in the sampled textbook sections therefore constructs Africa as homogenous and (simultaneously) as multifarious.

6.2.2.2 A temporal notion of post-colonial Africa

There is little reference to time which can be used to reflect the post-colonial dimension of Africa in the visual text. By virtue of the nature of visual text, most of the reference to time is either in the captions or the accompanying narrative (verbal) text. However, just as some visuals reflected the spatial notion of Africa by showing the countries under focus, some did exhibit dates of the actual historical activity which then revealed an idea of the timeframe for postcolonial Africa that the textbooks represented. For instance, in *Textbook 4* the visuals include the Malawian postage stamp of 1964 in Figure 6.11 (p. 78), the Biafran war in 1969 (p.

102), education in the 1970s (p. 101), the voter in 1973 (p. 88), the women in an Ujamaa village in 1974 (p. 82), the “Live Aid Concert” of 1985 (p. 87) and the family fleeing Burundi in 1995 (p. 91). I list these visuals because they have dates which reflect that the earliest reference to post-colonial Africa in the visual text of *Textbook 4* is 1964 and the latest in 1995.

Applying the same analysis criteria to other textbooks, the earliest date related to visual text in *Textbook 2* is 1960 with reference the two cartoons of Kwame Nkrumah (pp. 57; 61) with the latest being from “the 1980s” when Tanzanians spoke about Ujamaa (p. 53). Similarly, *Textbook 1* contains statistical tables of GDP, agricultural production and industrial growth in Tanzania; Kenya; Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire from 1960 to 1987 (*Textbook 1*, p. 97). The textbook also presents graphs indicating trends in population growth and urbanisation, with the x axis starting in 1950. As was shown in Figure 6.8, the time frame ends with a projection up to 2054.

The construction of a post-colonial dimension for Africa is also evidenced in *Textbook 1* which has dates of independence for all countries on the map of Africa on page 58 – as shown in Figure 6.4. However, the map (which I earlier commented on to be excluding islands with the exception of only Madagascar) creates some complications considering the fact that Liberia, for instance, is shown to have gained its independence in 1847, long before virtually the rest of Africa experienced Western colonisation. Other notable dates of independence on the map are for Egypt in 1922 and South Africa in 1961. According to the same map, the last country to gain independence in Africa was Eritrea in 1993. *Textbook 3* also has a map with post-colonial dates, but in this case showing changes in governments over the continent containing dates from 1952 in Egypt to 1998 (Figure 6.5).

Therefore the visual text in the selected textbooks does not construct a uniform temporal dimension for post-colonial Africa. This can be illustrated in the timelines that are summed up in Figure 6.13. Working with the dates in the table, the temporal notion of post-colonial Africa from the visual text can be described to be ranging from 1847 to 2050. This is evidently different from the description from the verbal text which ranged from the 1960s to the present-day. Although the latest dates in three of the textbooks are in the 1990s, it can be seen that there is a tendency to construct the post-colonial Africa in a state of temporal perpetuity.

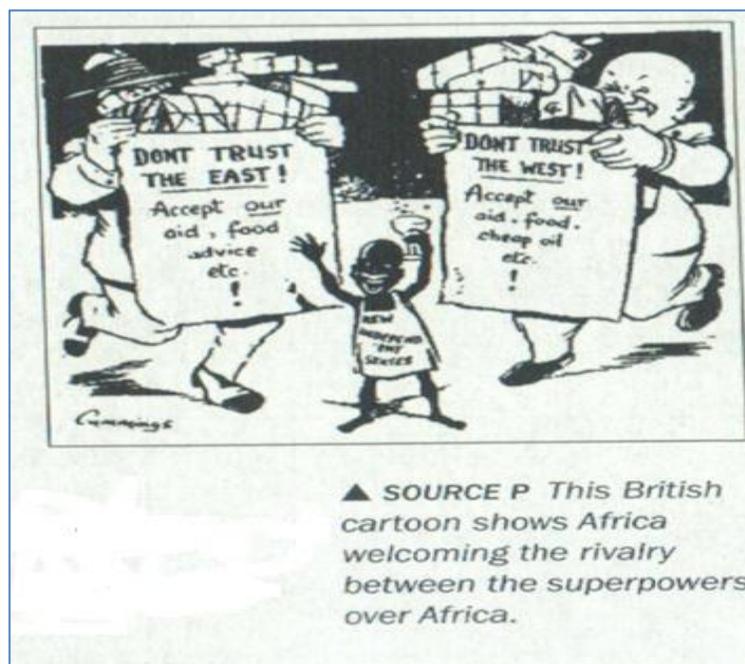
Figure 6.13: Timeframes for postcolonial Africa from the four textbooks

Textbook	Timeframe
Textbook 1	1847-1993
Textbook 2	1960-2050
Textbook 3	1952-1998
Textbook 4	1964-1995

6.2.2.3 A humanised notion of Africa

The visual text in the analysed textbooks also represents a humanised notion of Africa; meaning that it is not just the space or time which constructs Africa but also the humans associated with it, as explained under the same theme from the verbal text. For example, there are cases where the concept Africa is visually constructed from a racial and religious point of view in *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 4*. A case in point is the cartoon whereby Africa is represented as welcoming the Cold War rivalry of the East versus the West. In this cartoon (shown in Figure 6.14) Africa is personified and represented by a caricatured black childlike being whose gender is not apparent (*Textbook 4*, p. 109).

Figure 6.14: Africa as a human being in *Textbook 4* (p. 109)



There are other visuals in which Africa is represented by people. For example, in the Somali poster on the influence of communism within Africa shown in Figure 6.3, Africa is represented by both a map and Black male workers (*Textbook 4*, p. 108). Furthermore, in *Textbook 2*, the developing world (where Africa belongs) is depicted as a skinny lightweight Black man who is being flipped up in the air wildly by the developed world through the United Nations (p. 84). This visual is shown in Figure 6.15. In such representations, Africa ceases to be just a space, and is anthropomorphised into a human body. The human body can also be related to race and gender. In an adaption of the popular pyramid caricature of the class system in Feudal Russia (shown in Figure 6.16), Africa is represented by Black people at the bottom of the pyramid, with more male representation than female (*Textbook 3*, p. 105). In addition, the steps that Africa takes towards unification (shown in Figure 6.12) are depicted through the legs of a Black person whose gender can be assumed to be male (p. *Textbook 2*, 61). However, there is one map (in Figure 6.17) that represents Africa as a mother's womb, thus making Africa female with a maternity gender role. Therefore, Africa is represented by a human being whose gender is ambiguous, although the male representation is evidently dominant.

Figure 6.15: A humanised developing world (*Textbook 2*, p. 84)

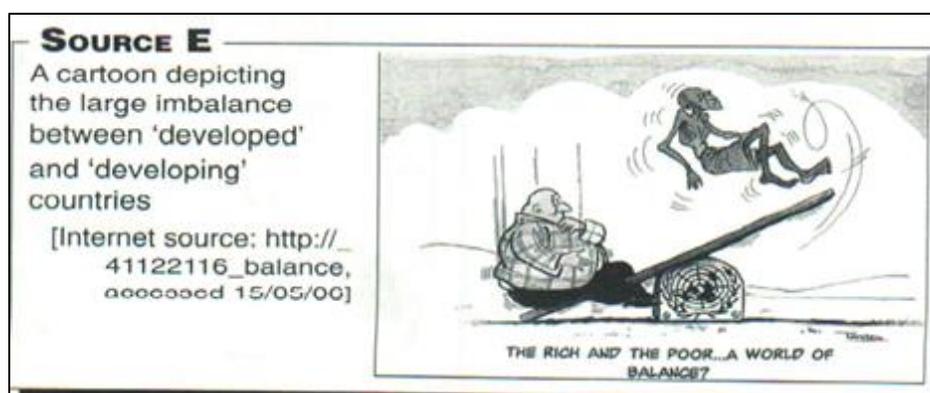
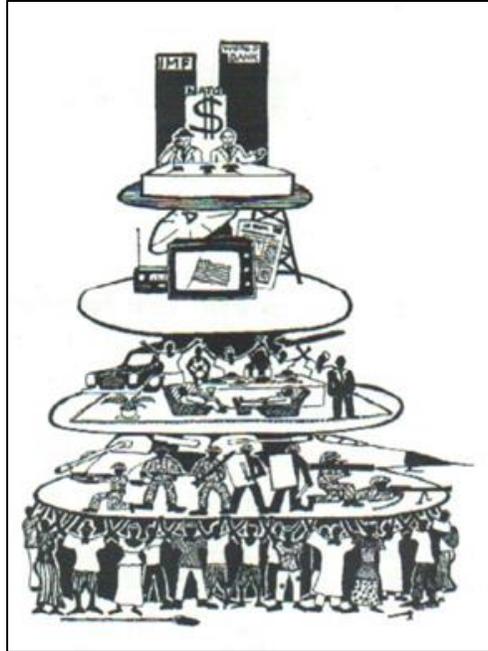


Figure 6.16: Africa represented by Black people (*Textbook 3*, p. 105)



It can be concluded that the humanised notion of Africa that is constructed in the visual text of the analysed textbooks follows a representation of Africa as racially Black and predominantly male. There are also denotations of Africa not being fully developed as represented by the infantile being and the man in the dream. This description is unlike that from the verbal text whereby Africa is humanised in various dissimilar ways. Nonetheless, cases of difference can be detected such as the map (already featured in Figure 6.2) showing population division in the world in *Textbook 1* (p. 92). In that map, the whole of Africa has the same colour shade with the exception of South Africa, Egypt and Libya. This is a manifestation of exceptionalism of certain regions or countries from the rest of Africa since it implies that the populations in those countries are different from those in the rest of Africa.

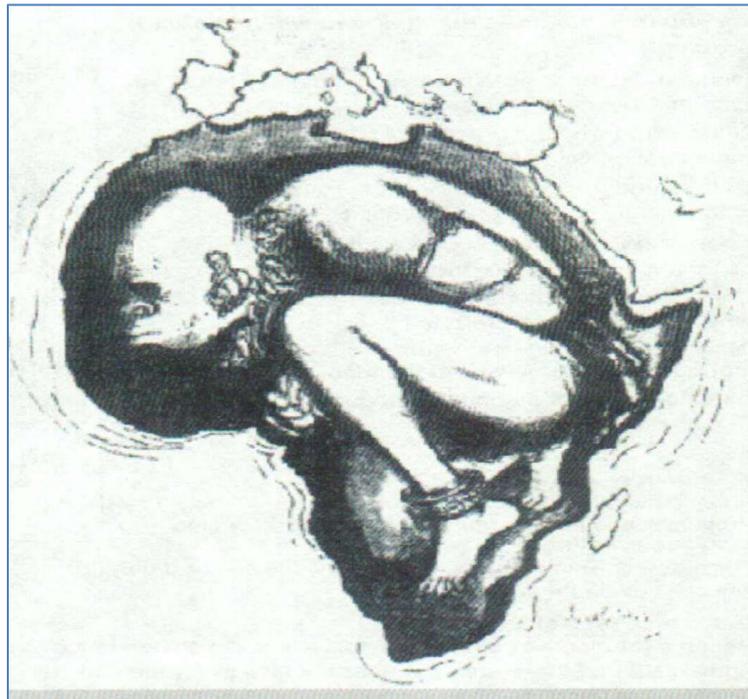
6.2.2.4 An experiential notion of Africa

The majority of the findings on the visual text were in relation to the experiences of Africa as a continent. As with the verbal text, these experiences are both positive and negative, although the negative are more dominant. The findings also reveal the agency, or lack thereof, of Africa. As explained in the previous section, the decision on whether the visuals were negative or

positive was influenced by my theoretical framework of discursive postcolonialism. The concept of agency has also been explained in Chapter 2 and in Chapter 5.

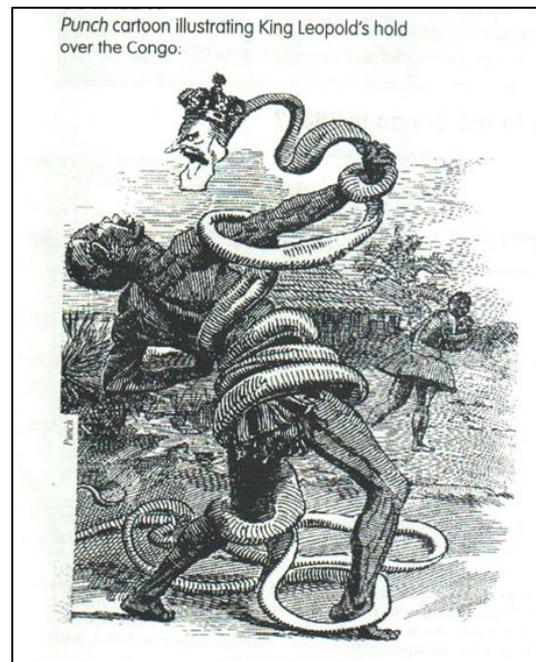
As is evidenced in some of the examples to be given below, most of Africa's problems are constructed to be a result of exploitation by both outside countries and local elites, particularly politicians. However, there are a few instances where Africa is visually depicted as blameless in all the exploitation and problems it faces. *Textbook 1* illustrates this construction of Africa through a drawing of a womb-like Africa carrying a naked, chained man already referred to earlier (p. 53), and this is shown in Figure 6.17.

Figure 6.17: Africa as a mother's womb in *Textbook 1* (p. 53)



The illustration in Figure 6.17 shows how Africa had to experience the figurative burden of pregnancy for it to be in a postcolonial condition. This construction links postcolonial Africa to an Africa that suffered the burden of Western colonisation. The burden of colonisation is reinforced in the cartoon, shown in Figure 6.18, depicting the Belgian King Leopold II in imperial control of the Congo – Leopold represented by a python and the Congo by a Black man (*Textbook 1*, p. 99). The visuals, in this way, emphasise the victimhood of Africa, but this experience of victimhood is carried over to post-colonial Africa. For instance, in *Textbook 2* (p. 54), there is a cartoon explaining how non-governmental organisations in Tanzania acted as if they were helping Africa, when in fact they were exploiting Africa’s resources. This visual is shown in the next chapter in Figure 7.8. Such a visual is an example of how Africa is visually constructed as a victim of plunder from outside.

Figure 6.18: The Congo represented by a black man (*Textbook 1*, p. 99)

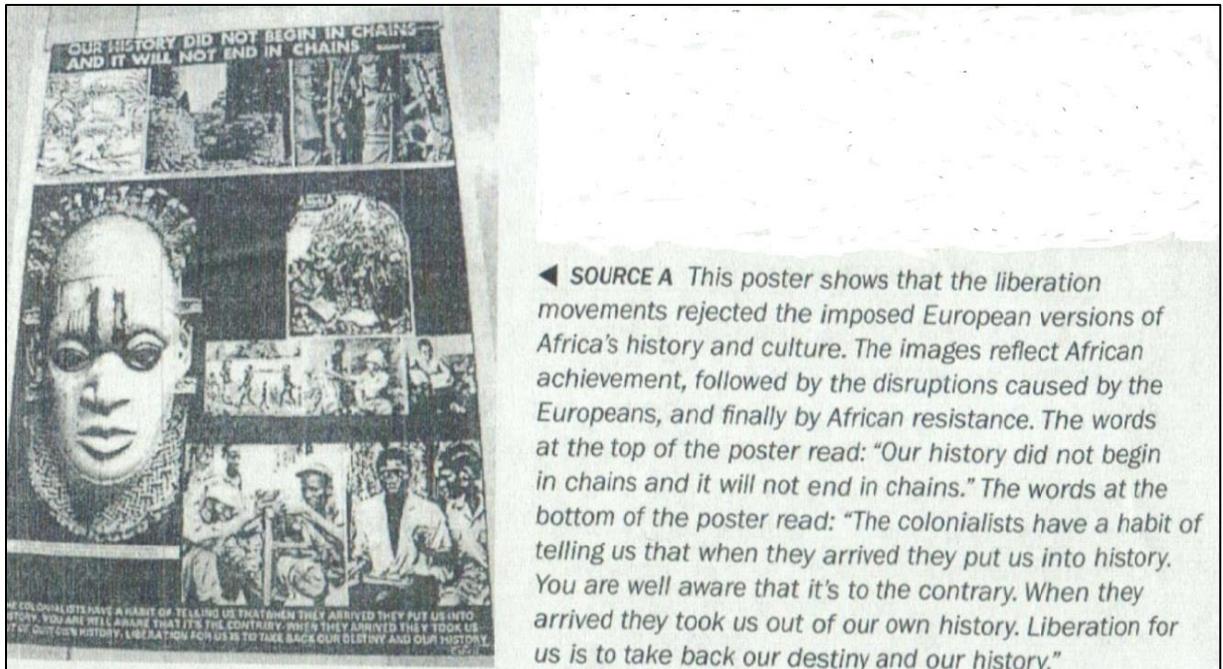


There are both homogenous and multifarious visual constructions of Africa’s experiences of the end of colonisation, which has already been described as fuzzy. Some of these contestations are

not only across textbooks, but within one textbook, and even within one visual. An example is the map in *Textbook 1* (p. 58) already referred to earlier in Figure 6.4 which depicts dates of independence for the whole of Africa. The map constructs all of Africa, including countries such as Ethiopia and Liberia, as having experienced Western colonialism at some point, making it a homogenous representation of the colonial experience. Simultaneously, however the fact that each country is depicted as having its own date of independence can also be seen as constructing a multifarious notion of Africa, meaning that the colonial experience was not uniform. The same type of construction is shown in *Textbook 3* (p. 99) where the map of all Africa (in Figure 6.5) depicts changes in governments in the different countries, thus depicting varying experiences. Therefore there are cases whereby one visual contains both constructions and contestations of Africa's experiences.

Other examples of the visual text constructing a homogenous notion of Africa in terms of experiences include a poster that is made out of a collage of various aspects meant to reflect African history from an Africanist historiography perspective (*Textbook 4*, p. 78). The narrative therein is of a glorious past in Africa, "followed by the disruptions caused by the Europeans and finally by African resistance." Africa's past experience is generalised in this poster which is shown in Figure 6.19.

Figure 6.19: A poster with an Africanist interpretation of Africa's experiences (*Textbook 4*, p. 78)



The cartoon cited earlier in Figure 6.14 on Africa enjoying the Cold War clashes also constructs Africa as one unit (represented by the childlike being), experiencing the past in a similar homogenous way as does the drawing of the naked, chained black man in a womb-like Africa in Figure 6.17 which constructs an identical visual experience of oppression of Africa (*Textbook 1*, p. 53). The same representation applies to the two cartoons in Figure 6.20 from *Textbook 1*, where Africa is constructed as a poor beggar as evidenced by the labels and the begging cup. Although the cartoons give different explanations for Africa's poverty, they nevertheless construct Africa as a single entity experiencing the same condition of poverty, regardless of its cause. This description of Africa's experience of poverty tallies with the humanised notion of Africa described above as Black, male and infantile.

Figure 6.20: Two cartoons on Africa as a poor beggar (*Textbook 1*, p. 75)



The visual text that does not construct Africa's experiences as uniform covers the experiences according to specific regions and countries. At a regional level, the differences are highlighted in the graph shown earlier (Figure 6.3) on population growth in regions of the world. The graph constructs sub-Saharan Africa as unique while, North Africa is grouped regionally jointly with "W Asia" *Textbook 1* (p. 91). Therefore North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa are constructed as having different experiences of population growth. The use of sub-Saharan Africa to represent Africa's experiences is also reflected in the table showing the effects of monocropping in Africa shown in Figure 6.21. The choice of countries used to illustrate these effects is limited to sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of the Comoros (*Textbook 1*, p. 88). This construction of

Africa tallies with the verbal text of the same textbook that separates North Africa from sub-Saharan Africa.

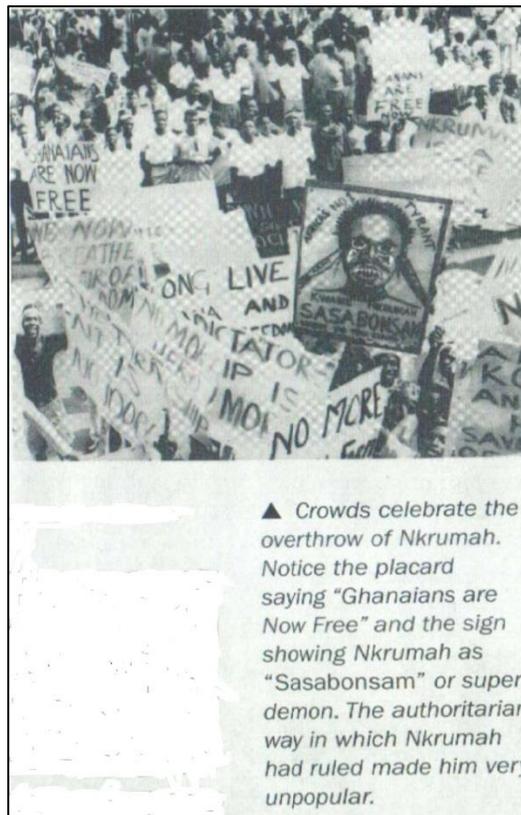
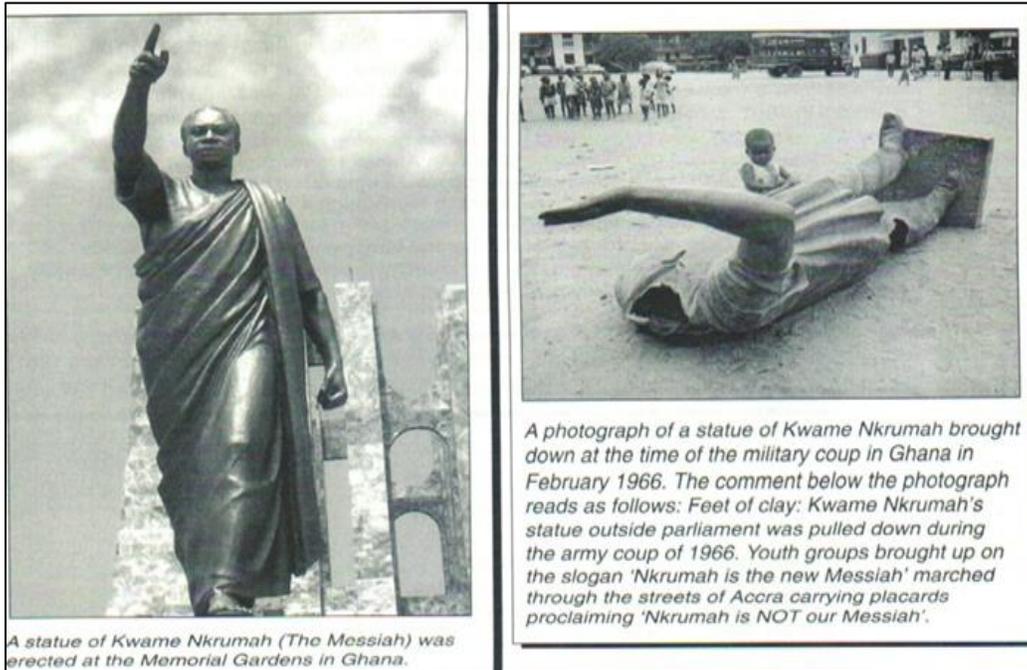
Figure 6.21: Experiences mainly limited to sub-Saharan Africa (*Textbook 1*, p. 88)

Table showing African economies' dependence on production of a single mineral or crop

Country	Commodity	% of total exports
Uganda	Coffee	95
Burundi	Coffee	91
Chad	Cotton	69
Ghana	Cocoa	66
Zambia	Copper	88
Niger	Uranium	80
Comoros	Cloves	80
Liberia	Iron	63
Botswana	Diamonds	78

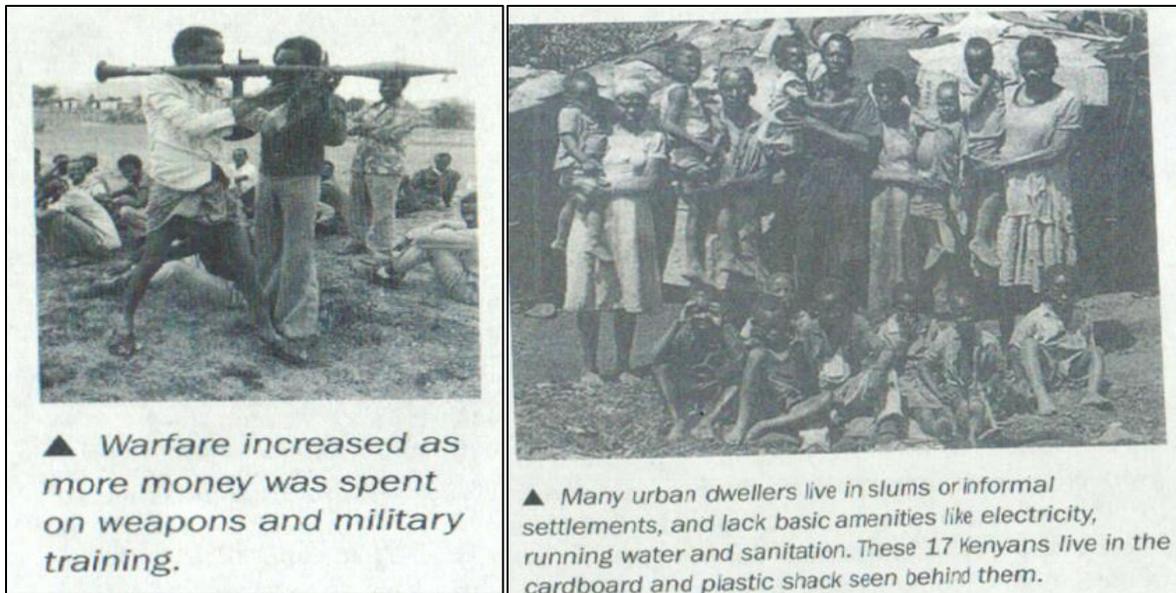
As with the verbal text, the experiential notion of Africa in the visual text is constructed through negative and positive experiences. The earlier paragraphs of this subsection have already revealed some of the negative experiences such as poverty. The negative experiences are constructed as mainly political tragedies in Africa in general and in particular regions and countries of Africa. An example of the tragedies in particular countries can be represented by the two pictures featuring two Kwame Nkrumah statues, an earlier one presenting him as “the messiah” and the later one showing his statue taken down and broken with children playing around it (*Textbook 2*, p. 80). This postcolonial tragedy of anticolonial turned post-colonial governments facing ignominious culminations is also depicted in the picture of demonstrators celebrating the 1966 coup in Ghana (*Textbook 4*, p. 81). These pictures on Ghana are shown in Figure 6.22.

Figure 6.22: Political tragedy in Ghana (*Textbook 2*, p. 80; *Textbook 4*, p. 81)



Many other experiential tragedies appear visually in the other textbooks. For instance, in *Textbook 4* there are visuals in reference to post-colonial tragedies such as warfare (p. 99), environmental disasters such as locust attacks (p. 100), slums (p. 100), starvation (p. 103) and child abuse (p. 102) and these are illustrated in Figure 6.23.

Figure 6.23: Examples of post-colonial tragedies in Africa (*Textbook 4*)

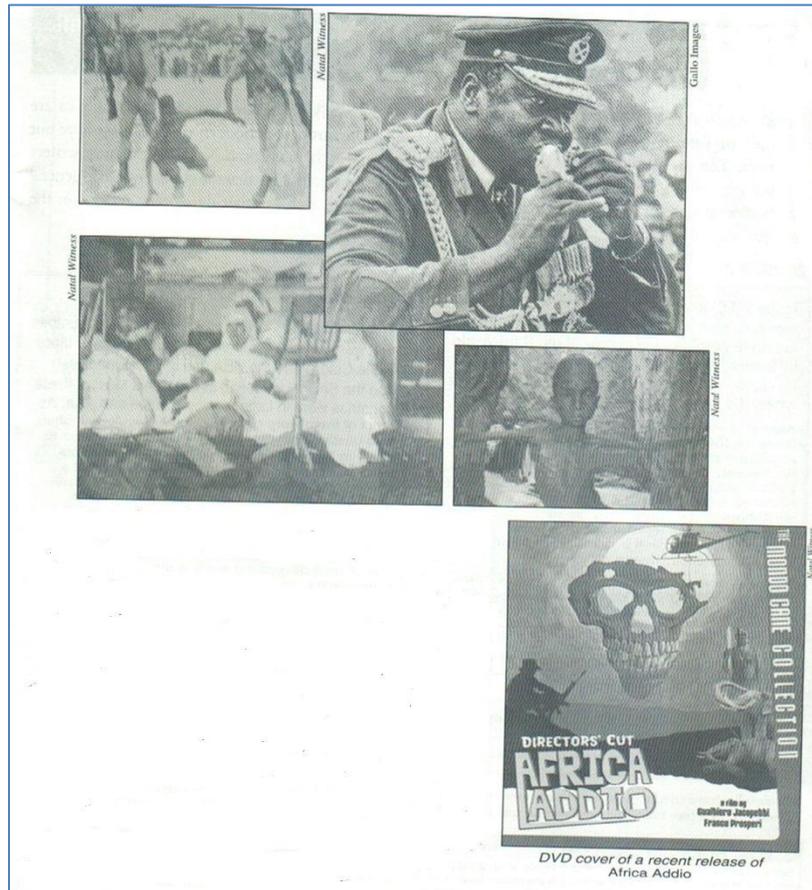


Poverty features as one of Africa's main experiences. As previously shown in the cartoon in Figure 6.14, Africa is represented as, not just as naïve, but also experiencing underdevelopment and infantile poverty (as is evidenced by the begging cup in the hand). This is corroborated by the two cartoons in Figure 6.20 from *Textbook 1* showing Africa as a poor beggar as evidenced by the labels and the begging cup. However, the cartoons also send different messages as is explained in the verbal text. While one cartoon gives military dictatorship on the continent as the explanation for Africa experience of poverty, the other one depicts Africa's poverty as a result of Western deception.

The representation of Africa's negative experiences is pronounced in *Textbook 1* (p. 77) where there is a collage of visuals (Figure 6.24) splashed over one page showing scenes of chaos in DRC in the 1960s, military abuse; a picture of a gluttonous Idi Amin, a picture of a famine victim in Ethiopia and a cover of the DVD "*Africa addio*" featuring failures such as wars, poaching, and murders as Africa as represented by a human skull. The verbal text does explain that this view of Africa is projected in the West; nevertheless the fact that it is reproduced in the textbooks also reinforces that negative view. The fact that the collage of pictures covers virtually the whole page of the textbook highlights the negative construction. This negative view is also buttressed by the picture of many skulls of those brutally murdered in the Rwanda genocide (*Textbook 1*, p. 82).

It should also be noted, that in cases where the analysed textbooks identify specific countries that represent the negative experiences of Africa, some countries, such as South Africa, are not particularly depicted or mentioned. There are also virtually no negative representations of North Africa. Therefore, the negative experiential notion can generally be associated with Tropical Africa.

Figure 6.24: Negative representations of Africa on one page in *Textbook 1* (p. 82)



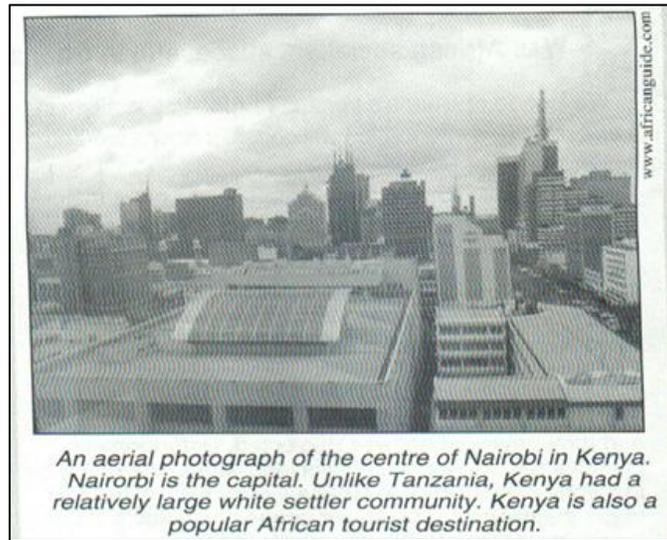
Although the experiential notion of Africa is constructed as mainly negative, there are also some visuals which paint Africa's experiences in a positive light. In *Textbook 4* these visuals include a poster on democracy and "gender equality" in an unidentified country (p. 89), a picture of children happily at school (p. 94) and a picture of women from an unidentified country receiving an education (p. 101). These visuals are shown in Figure 6.25. While it is contentious what constitutes a negative experience, my theoretical orientation lend me to consider concepts such as democracy, gender equality and access to education as determining positive experiences.

Figure 6.25: Positive experiences in Africa (*Textbook 4*, p. 89; p. 94p. 101).



Infrastructural development can be taken as another example of positive experiences in Africa. In *Textbook 1*, this is evidenced by a picture of the central business district of Nairobi which depicts considerable infrastructure (p. 96). However, as shown in Figure 6.26, this infrastructural development is represented through the caption as evidence of colonial settler development.

Figure 6.26: Infrastructural development in Nairobi (*Textbook 1*, p. 96)



Unlike the Nairobi picture, the projects that represent infrastructural development in post-colonial Africa are presented in the textbooks as a waste of money by African leaders and can thus also be construed as a negative experience. This is the case with the picture of Aswan Dam in Egypt (Figure 6.27) which is described in the narrative text to have been built from borrowed money and was poorly planned and mismanaged (*Textbook 3*, p. 91).

Figure 6.27: An example of unplanned infrastructural development (*Textbook 3*, p. 91)



This wasteful grandeur is also represented by the picture of a German-made organ which was in Mobutu's palace. The caption of the picture goes further to describe other items of luxury that the then Zairean president enjoyed at the expense of the country's populace (*Textbook 1*, p. 108). In *Textbook 2*, this grandeur is shown through a picture of the lavish coronation of Emperor Bokassa of the present-day Central African Republic (p. 72). These examples of wastefulness are shown in Figure 6.28. The infrastructural projects that represent the experiences of post-colonial Africa are, therefore, mostly symbolic rather than representative of development. The symbolism is aptly represented by the visuals of the Independence Arch in Ghana (*Textbook 1*, p. 95) and the Basilica of Notre Dame in the Ivory Coast (*Textbook 1*, p. 96) as shown in Figure 6.30.

Figure 6.28: A depiction of Africa's wastefulness (*Textbook 1*, p. 108; *Textbook 2*, p. 72).

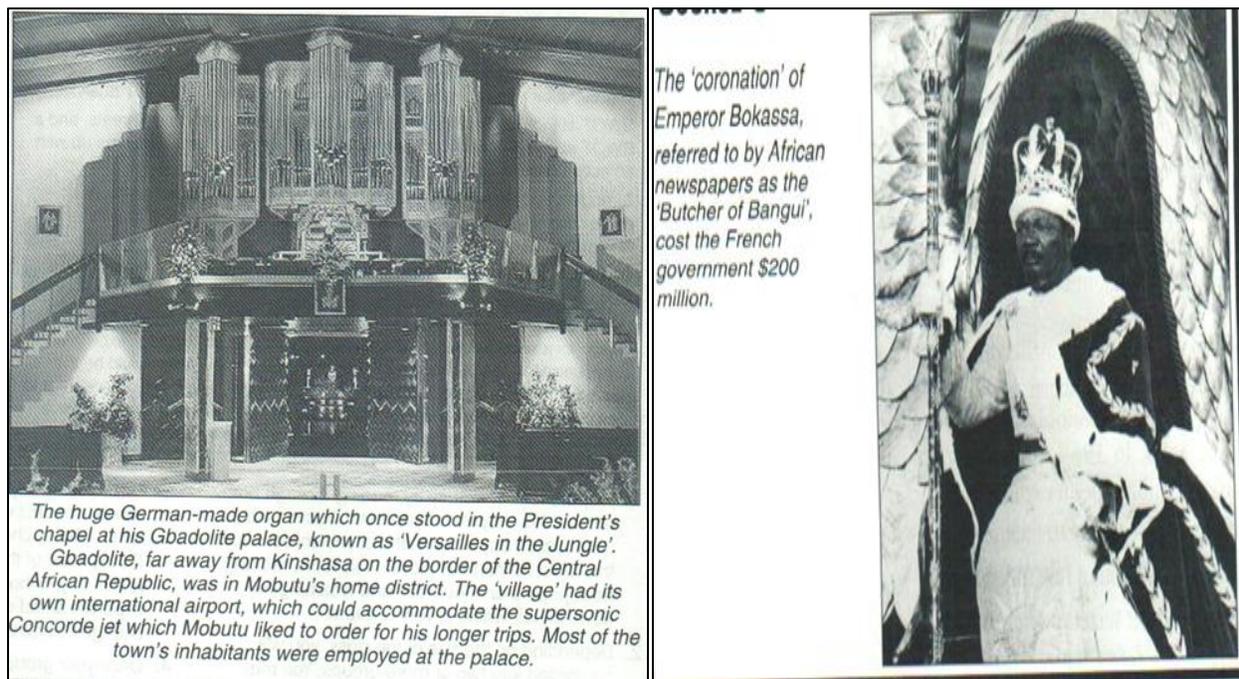
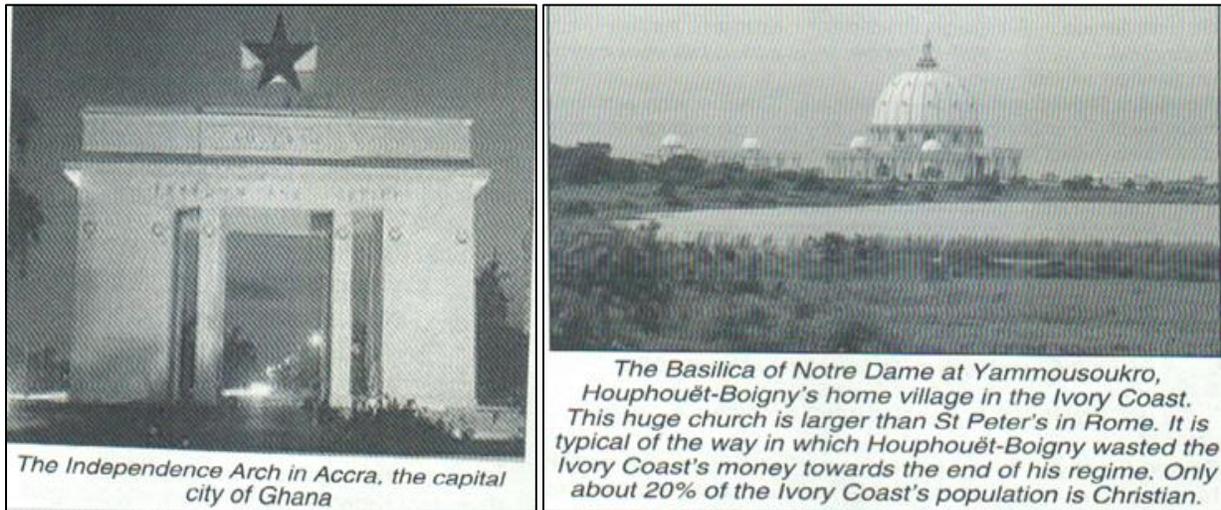


Figure 6.29: Symbolic infrastructure in post-colonial Africa (*Textbook 1*, p. 95; p. 96)



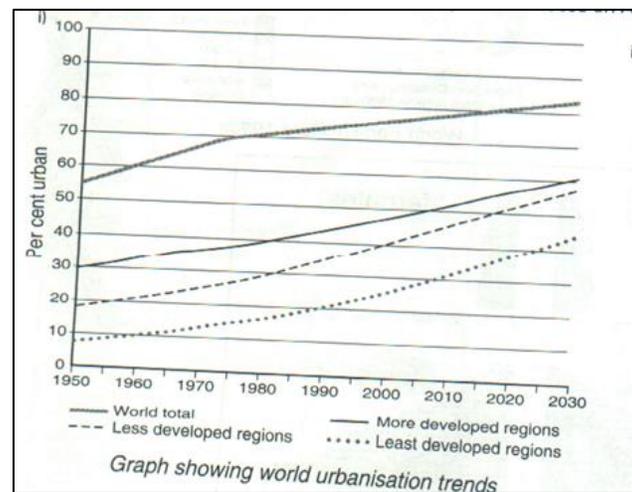
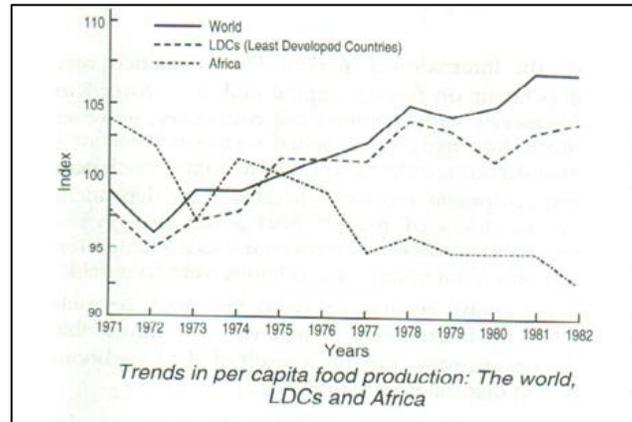
Besides being represented as either positive or negative, the experiences of Africa are also represented as only part of a greater scheme of things unfolding in the broader world context. This is very clear in *Textbook 1* where there is a timeline showing “events in Africa in the context of World events.” The event to be identified first on the timeline is the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, an event that happened in Europe (p. 76). As shown in Figure 6.30, the timeline constructs a picture of Africa’s experiences as influenced by mainly Western experiences. Such a representation of Africa’s experiences is also evident in the cartoon referred to earlier in Figure 6.15, in which the developing world (where Africa belongs) is depicted as a skinny lightweight man who is being flipped up in the air wildly by the developed world through the UN (*Textbook 2*, p. 84).

Figure 6.30: Africa's experiences as influenced by mainly Western experiences (*Textbook 1*, p. 76)

YEAR	
1960	Berlin Wall constructed. Cold War tensions less focused on Europe. Harold Macmillan makes Wind of Change speech. 18 African states gain independence, including Congo, Central African Republic, Gabon, Nigeria, Togo, Benin and Senegal.
1961	Cameroon gains independence.
1962	Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Algeria gain independence. Cuban Missile Crisis.
1963	Kenya gains independence.
1964	Zambia and Tanzania gains independence.
1965	The Gambia gains independence.
1966	Nkrumah overthrown in a military coup in Ghana. Botswana and Lesotho gains independence.
1967	
1968	Height of the Vietnam War. Period of intense left-wing pressure. 1960s counter-culture at its height with hippies, drugs and protest songs. Much violent resistance from New Left in Europe. Equatorial Guinea gains independence.
1969	American Neil Armstrong first man to walk on the Moon.
1970	
1971	
1972	
1973	Yom Kippur War between Israel and Arab countries leads to a sharp increase in the price of oil.
1974	Portuguese government that had resisted decolonisation collapses. 1974 onwards: Period of increasing economic pressure on most sub-Saharan African countries as a result of high oil prices and low commodity prices.
1975	Portuguese withdraw from Angola and Mozambique. Civil war breaks out in both places. Particularly bad in Angola where the Soviet-backed MPLA government in Luanda is opposed by the American-backed FNLA operating from Zaire, and South African-backed UNITA, operating from South West Africa (Namibia). MPLA later supported by Cuban troops.
1976	Shah of Iran overthrown in a revolution headed by the Ayatollah Khomeini. Further sharp rises in oil prices.
1977	
1978	1978 onwards: Period of "Stumpflation": Low growth, high unemployment but also high prices and inflation.
1979	
1980	
1981	

Textbook 1 and *Textbook 3* are the most consistent in visually constructing Africa's experiences in contrast to other parts of the world. In *Textbook 1*, the graph on page 87 depicts "trends in per capita food production: The world, [Least Developed Countries] LCDs and Africa." In this depiction, Africa is constructed as distinct from the world and thus cannot be generalised with the rest of the world. In yet another graph in *Textbook 1* (p. 91), Africa is depicted as the least developed region in the world. These graphs, separating Africa's experiences from those of the rest of the world, are shown in Figure 6.31.

Figure 6.31: Africa's experiences separated from the rest of the world (*Textbook 1*, p. 87)



The graphs in Figure 6.31 are related to other visuals referred to earlier under previous themes such as Figure 6.8 which, in addition to revealing a time frame for post-colonial Africa, also shows sub-Saharan Africa to have the highest population growth in the world (*Textbook 1*, p. 91). Figure 6.2 also serves to compare Africa's statistics of aspects such as low literacy levels, short life spans, high doctor-patient ratio, population, trade and GNP in comparison to the rest of the world (*Textbook 3*, p. 101). This kind of representation is also evident in the pyramid caricature shown in Figure 6.16 whereby a suffering Africa carries the burden of international bodies such as the WB and the IMF (*Textbook 3*, p. 105). All these examples represent Africa's experiences as influenced by experiences of the world outside the continent.

The paralleling of Africa’s experiences with the rest of the world portrays post-colonial Africa as dependent, particularly on the Western world. Further evidence can be found in the picture of the *Live Aid concert* in a jam-packed Wembley stadium in London as shown in Figure 6.32. The visual illustrates how “foreign governments and non-governmental organisations” gave support for Ethiopia (*Textbook 4*, p. 87). It is the same textbook that contains the cartoon presented earlier (Figure 6.14) of “Africa welcoming the rivalry between the superpowers” (*Textbook 4*, p. 109). Such representations reveal an Africa that lives on validation from outside powers. The use of the West as a comparative is evidenced by the picture of the Basilica of Notre Dame in the Ivory Coast (Figure 6.29) which is qualified as “bigger than St Peter’s in Rome” (*Textbook 1*, p. 96).

Figure 6.32: an example of Africa’s dependence on the Western world (*Textbook 4*, p. 87)

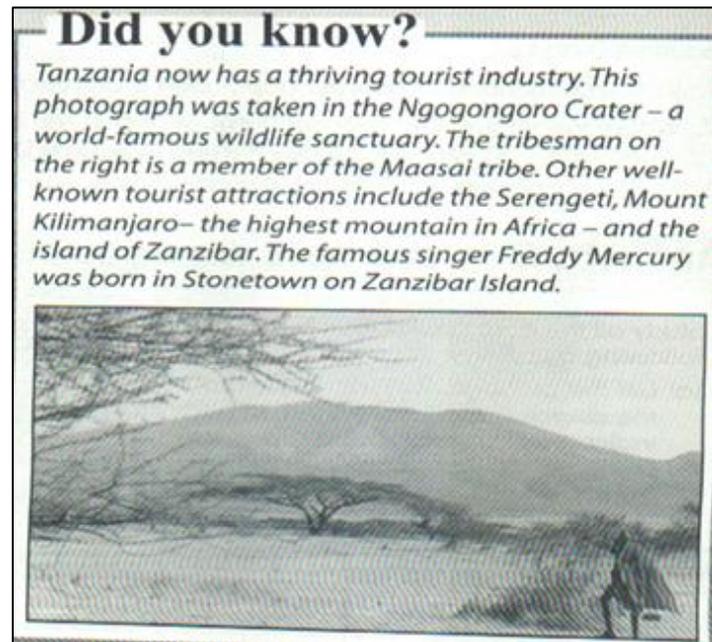


Another case of such Western validation is represented in the caption of the picture of the Ngorongoro crater sanctuary (Figure 6.33) which claims that “the famous singer Freddy Mercury was born in Stonetown on Zanzibar Island” (*Textbook 1*, p. 94)²². Furthermore, the Ngorongoro crater sanctuary is represented as an example of the many “tourist attractions” in Tanzania (*Textbook 1*, p. 94). In this case, the “positive” aspects of Africa (such as the natural

²² Freddie Mercury was a British musician who was popular as the lead vocalist of the band Queen.

environment) are portrayed as worthy by virtue of the experience of visitations by tourists from outside Africa. Such findings indicate a form of Western universalism whereby Africa's experiences are validated and qualified using the Western world as a measuring stick.

Figure 6.33: Validation of the Ngogongoro Crater (*Textbook 1*, p. 94)



The findings therefore show that the experiential notion of Africa is mainly negative even though the continent had undergone a symbolic rebirth with the advent of Uhuru. Africa is constructed as a haven of tragedies such as war, genocide, poverty and political oppression. The representations that are seemingly positive are mainly symbolic and even then their worth is validated by experiences of the West and Western people.

6.2.2.5 Summation

The findings from the analysis of the visual text revealed that Africa in the textbooks is constructed through the spatial, the temporal, the humanised and the experiential notions. Spatially, Africa is represented in three ways: as part of the wider world; as a unique standalone; and as divided into geopolitical regions and countries. Nevertheless, some of its

sum parts such as islands and even regions and/or countries are missing in this representation. The temporal notion of post-colonial Africa from the visual text can be described to be ranging from 1847 to 2050 portraying a tendency to construct the temporal perpetuity of post-colonial Africa. The humanised notion of Africa reveals it as racially Black, predominantly male and as not being fully developed and infantile. Experientially Africa is constructed as having undergone a symbolic rebirth, but continues to have many negative experiences such as underdevelopment, poverty and tragedies such as dictatorships, war, and genocide. The positive experiences are mainly represented as symbolic and validated by Western standards. There is evident omission of South Africa and North Africa from the negative experiences.

The description of the findings from the analysis of the visual text on Africa in the selected textbooks shows that the construction of Africa is also fraught with contestations. All the themes above described how the notion of Africa is not uniform across and within textbooks. Some of the visuals made constructions of meanings on their own while others could only be understood after reading the related verbal text.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter presented the descriptive findings of the analysis of the construction of Africa through the verbal and the visual text. For both types of text, I presented the findings within the framework of four notions of Africa: the spatial, the temporal, the humanised and the experiential. In both the verbal and visual text, the spatial notion of Africa is constructed at three levels: as a space within a larger international space, as a distinct homogenous space, and as divided into places such as regions and countries. In the visual text, the regions are only geopolitical while in the verbal text they are also physical. I also found that in both the verbal and visual text some of the sum-parts of Africa such as islands and even regions and/or countries are omitted while others are constructed as unique.

Regarding the temporal notion, Africa is represented over the past, present and future, although it was shown that the present is made part of the past. I reach this conclusion based

on the findings from both the verbal and visual text that the post-colonial era is treated as if it is still continuing in the present day, with the visual text even projecting it further to as far as 2050. The visual and the verbal text also differ over the beginning of the post-colonial period; the former generalising it to the 1960s while the latter goes back as far as 1847. Therefore the temporal notion of post-colonial Africa is constructed in an ambiguous manner because of the contradictions in representation.

Africa is also given a humanised construction in the analysed textbooks – whereby it gets its essence by virtue of the humans associated with it. There are differences in the representation in the verbal and visual text. In the verbal text, Africa is identified according to aspects such as the race, culture and religion and ideology of the people living in it. As a result, Africa is divided into these categories, thus assuming a heterogeneous nature. However, the visual text constructs an Africa that is racially Black, predominantly male and not fully developed and infantile. Nevertheless there are cases of exception in the visual text whereby some countries are not included in this generalised humanised notion and where Africa is represented as female.

The fourth notion of Africa as constructed by virtue of its experiences shows some similarities between the verbal and visual text. Both forms of text give importance to Uhuru with the visual text representing it as a symbolic rebirth. The verbal text then represents Africa more as an arena rather than a player in its history. In cases where Africa is constructed as a player in its history, it is portrayed largely as a victim who is exploited. The visual text does not portray Africa as an arena, but as a player in its history. However, the experiences that give Africa its essence in the textbooks are negative experiences such as underdevelopment, poverty, corruption, dictatorships, war, and genocide. There are also a few cases of positive experiences but those in the visual text are mainly symbolic and the textbooks validate them by Western standards. As is the case in all other notions, the experiences are constructed as both homogenous and multifarious.

The findings thus show that both types of text have contending and contesting meanings of Africa across and within these themes. The meaning of Africa is therefore sometimes not well

defined in the textbooks especially because there are many cases of exceptionalism especially regarding South Africa and the Maghreb region. While the visual and verbal text also had contending representations, they also worked together to highlight comprehensible representations of Africa. It should also be noted that the analysed textbooks did not generate findings for each and every theme. This was especially so for the visual text whereby most of the findings came from virtually two textbooks per theme. The next chapter presents the findings on the analysis of the construction of the African being.

CHAPTER 7

DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS ON THE AFRICAN BEING

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of the description of the findings of my analysis of the four selected textbooks. While the previous chapter focused on the construction of Africa, in this chapter I will describe findings on the construction of the African being. I separated the description of findings into two chapters because they deal with two different concepts. Furthermore, one chapter on the description of all the findings would have been too long; hence I present the findings in two chapters so as to make the presentation less cumbersome and more coherent. This chapter is divided into two sections, as was the case in the previous one. The first section comprises findings from the verbal text and the second section consists of findings from the visual text. Each of the two sections is further divided into subsections according to the themes under which the findings are organised. By the end of this chapter I will have concluded the description of findings which I will sum up as firm findings to be taken to the next stage of analysis, which is interpretation.

7.2 Themes on the African being

The themes that I present here are from the discourses used in relation to the concept “African” and its alternative lexicalisations within the verbal text of the analysed textbooks. I also analysed the visuals by making meaning of the discourses they produced with the support of their captions. The themes that I arrived at were also in the form of notions, as with the themes in the previous chapter. To give an analogue of the description in this chapter: if the

African being were a golem,²³ the notions that the textbooks construct would be the sum-parts of the golem of the African being to which the textbook users are exposed. Using discourse theory, the African being is socially constructed and therefore is actualised by the discourses on the African in the textbooks. There are five notions that actualise the African being that I will present in this chapter: the spatial, the physical, the philosophical, the cultural and the experiential. These notions can then be taken as criteria for Africanness according to the textbooks.

7.2.1 Verbal text (narrative text and paratext)

7.2.1.1 A spatial notion of the African being

This theme regards the identification of the African being by virtue of spatial habitation. In relation to the criteria for Africanness discussed in Chapter 2, in this theme a being becomes African by virtue of the space within which he/she is geographically located. There was limited explicit mention of the African being in reference to geographical location in the analysed textbooks with only *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 3* producing relevant data. Of the two, the only textbook which is explicit about the spatial notion is *Textbook 3* which makes mention of “African political leaders, economists, politicians, businesspeople, managers, academics and civil servants in Africa and abroad” (p. 90). Although –and because – the textbook does not identify personal examples of these Africans at home and abroad, it creates the assumption that a being can be African even if they do not physically live on the African continent. Such a construction of the African being overlapped with the racial construction of the African as Black (explained in the next theme), thus implying that Black people living out of Africa continue to retain their Africanness. In fact, the paratext in *Textbook 3* explains the concept of African internationalism which covers “Africans in Africa and in the African Diaspora” (p. 49). Similarly, White people living on the African continent remain Europeans (*Textbook 2*, p. 57).

²³ A golem is a Jewish mythical being that is artificially created into life to serve its creator, the best example being the Prague golem that the Jews created ostensibly to protect themselves during the times of the pogroms.

There is also evidence from the four analysed textbooks, that being a citizen of and living in a particular country in Africa does not translate one into being an African. One case where this is evidenced is when *Textbook 1* (p. 101) refers to “whites living in South Africa.” As shall be seen in the theme on the physical notion below, these Whites are not constructed as Africans in the same textbook. The same case applies when both *Textbook 2* (p. 57) and *Textbook 4* (p. 84) explain how Whites in Kenya were seen as part of the nation, when simultaneously they were not considered African. To prove the conception that one can be a citizen of a particular African country without being African, *Textbook 2* notes that “Nkrumah believed that Ghanaians would see themselves as Africans” (p. 56). This shows that, according to the textbook, it is possible to be a citizen of any race of an African country without necessarily being considered African.

Textbook 3 also has this type of spatial notion when it says that: “They [South Africans] wanted to demonstrate that African rule did not work” (p. 110). This implies that while there were some Africans in the country, there were also people who could be referred to only as South African, but not African. *Textbook 1* also makes the same kind of linguistic choices which prove that South Africa is part of Africa, but then is not clear on whether the inhabitants are African. This construction is clear in this statement:

We can see that the reasons for Africa’s relative backwardness form one of the most important modern debates about the continent. This major debate is particularly important for us, living as we do in one of Africa’s most important countries. We need to understand what went wrong, not only so that South Africa can avoid the pitfalls, but also so that we can play our part in the African Renaissance (p. 79).

In the above statement, the use of the use of the referential cohesive device “we” is clearly more in reference to the South African being, rather than the African being. However the paratext in the same textbook explains how Thabo Mbeki was the chairperson of the newly formed African Union in Durban (*Textbook 1*, p. 64), thus showing an example of a South African who has been represented as African.

However, the construction of Africanness based on spatial habitation does not apply to human beings only. For example the four textbooks refer to African countries (e.g. *Textbook 3*, p. 93; *Textbook 1*, p. 88; *Textbook 4*, p. 80), African states (e.g. *Textbook 2*, p. 61) and African nations

(e.g. *Textbook 3*, p. 104). In all these cases of lexicalisation, it is implied that these are countries or nations that are physically located on the African continent. In the previous chapter, I also noted how the term “African countries” was also used as an alternative lexicalisation to Africa. This shows how being geographically located in Africa translates to Africanness when it applies to phenomena other than human beings, because in relation to human beings, other aspects such as race are brought into the picture.

In this theme, I can conclude that the textbook sections that I analysed construct a limited, but diverse spatial notion of the African being. It is evident that the textbooks, on one hand, confer Africanness on people by virtue of the fact that they live on the continent. On the other hand, the textbooks seem to also acknowledge the Africanness of some people who do not live on the continent and deny it to some who are inhabitants. For example, being South African or Ghanaian is sometimes not treated as a guarantee for being regarded as African. The criteria for Africanness was evidently not limited to space only and overlapped with criteria such as physical appearance, which is the next theme to be described.

7.2.1.2 A physical notion of the African being

A major finding on the African being in the verbal text is that aspects of physical appearance such as race and gender are a major determinant of Africanness. In this regard, there are many cases where “African” and “Black” are lexicalised as the same phenomenon. For example *Textbook 1* mentions that: “Black soldiers ... learned that the army would not be Africanised and that white officials would still be in command” (p. 102). The implication of this statement is that a phenomenon can only be said to be racially Africanised if it is predominantly or wholly Black. Inversely, if it is predominantly White it cannot be considered as Africanised because White people are implicitly not constructed as African. This conception of Africanisation is also seen in this statement:

Although many independent states supported the OAU’s principles of non-racialism, governments came under increased fire from their countrymen for not favouring

policies of Africanisation. This meant that the expertise of European and Asian personnel had to be replaced with that of African-born citizens (*Textbook 2*, p. 89).

It is noteworthy that *Textbook 2* is the same textbook that lexicalised Whites as Europeans, and therefore in the statement, it is implying that African-born citizens are Black. Racialised Africanisation is also evident in *Textbook 4* when it is mentioned that “White-owned farms were bought, not nationalised, and sold to African farmers” (*Textbook 4*, p. 84). The paratext also refers to Africanisation as “giving preference to Africans for jobs and government contracts” (*Textbook 4*, p. 84). In this case, Africans are also constructed as direct opposites to the Whites, thus creating a profile of the Africans as Blacks. This implication is also evident in *Textbook 1* which claims that: “The chaos and brutality of Congo independence spread fear among whites living in South Africa” (*Textbook 1*, p. 101). As described in the preceding theme, as the description “whites living in South Africa” paints a picture of people who are living in a country, but are really not of that country. Implicitly, White people are constructed as people living on the continent, but are not of the continent. This, therefore, inversely confirms the textbooks’ construction of Blacks as Africans and other races as not. The same meaning is constructed when *Textbook 1* refers to “writers on Africa” (pp. 78; 80). The constructed meaning is that writing on Africa, or doing anything on Africa, does not necessarily translate to being African.

Textbook 2 constructs issues of race with respect to Africanness in a similar manner to *Textbook 1*. As with the case of Whites in South Africa, *Textbook 2* notes how Kenya’s “President Kenyatta appealed especially to the white community in the former settler colony not to leave Kenya, but to help build the nation” (*Textbook 2*, p. 57). While this apparently seems to mean that White people were part of the Kenyan nation, it also has the connotation that the White community would have felt the urge to move because they did not belong to a post-colonial Kenya. This connotation can be understood better in the context of how the same textbook says that, “At the start of independence, many European officials who had been in control of various organs of state ... left the continent en masse” (*Textbook 2*, p. 89). This statement elucidates the textbook’s earlier constructions of White people in Kenya; that even those White people who remained behind were still Europeans, and not Africans.

The linguistic choices in *Textbook 3* also reiterate the construction of Africans as Black. In reference to the contentious land issue in post-colonial Zimbabwe, the textbook states that: “Since colonisation, the African majority had resented the fact that the small white population owned most of the fertile land in the country” (*Textbook 3*, p. 83). In this quotation, Africanness is also contrasted to Whiteness, thus implying the lexicalisation of Africans as Black. This construction is also evident in *Textbook 2* which writes about a “black majority” in countries such as Kenya and Zimbabwe (p. 62). In addition, the paratext in *Textbook 4* shows a relationship between negritude, Black consciousness and African socialism (p. 84). This relationship seems to confirm the use of Blackness as a racial criterion for the African being. However, there is a contradiction when the same textbook refers to “Black African” (*Textbook 3*, p. 95), implying that there might be other Africans who are not necessarily Black.

While the four textbooks tend to generalise the African being as Black, there is an exception in *Textbook 2*. With reference to Gamal al Nasser’s term of rule in Egypt, the textbook refers to the country’s inhabitants as “fellow Arabs, Muslims and Africans” (*Textbook 2*, p. 55) implying that Arabs are also African. The textbook further claims that Nasser believed in Pan-Arabism (*Textbook 2*, p. 55) which can be taken as an alternative to Pan-Africanism. Nasser’s belief in Pan-Arabism is also confirmed in *Textbook 1* (p. 64) and also in the paratext of *Textbook 3*, which notes that “until Nasser’s death, Egypt was called United Arab Republic for Egypt” (p. 55). Still, both *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 2* credit Nasser with contributing to African unity with the former textbook explaining how Nasser and Nkrumah “both believed in unification across borders” (*Textbook 1*, p. 64). This means that, according to the two textbooks, it is possible for one being to be both African and Arab. However, in the other two textbooks, there is a conspicuous silence on Arabs being considered as Africans.

An analysis of the historical personalities that are mentioned in the textbooks in relation to post-colonial Africa also reveals the main racial group which represents the African being. The major characters that are referred to in the textbooks are virtually all Black. This is evidenced by the fact that the common characters that feature in the analysed theme in all the four textbooks include people like Kwame Nkrumah, Patrice Lumumba, Mobutu Sese Seko, Haile

Selassie, Julius Nyerere and Idi Amin. Several other Black characters (many of them political) feature in at least two of the four textbooks per character. The denotation is therefore that the African being is represented by Black people. There are, however, a few cases of historical characters that were not Black, but feature in the textbooks. These exceptions are Hendrik Verwoerd of South Africa (*Textbook 1*), Gamal al Nasser of Egypt (*Textbook 2* and *3*) and Ian Smith of Rhodesia (*Textbook 2*). Of the three exceptions, only Nasser seems to be mentioned at the same level as the major nationalists listed above. As previously mentioned, the other two (Verwoerd and Smith) are cited in the sense that they were actually Europeans, and not Africans. Therefore, it is clear that the racial construction of the African being in the textbooks can generally be said to be Black.

In terms of gender, the textbooks refer to Africans as a collective such that there were no gender-specific referential cohesive devices (pronouns) such as 'he' and 'she.' Gender-specific pronouns are only used in reference to particular historical characters. Nevertheless, it is evident from the analysis that the Africans mainly referred to were male characters. *Textbook 1* has no single mention of any particular female historical character making the male character representative of the post-colonial African being. The other three textbooks have limited mentions of female historical characters or women overall. *Textbook 2* mentions women in general when it explains that "the entry of women to formal employment changed the face of families and their traditional roles completely" (p. 92). The same textbook also dedicates a single paragraph to the "the social challenges that women faced in independent African states" (p. 93). As for *Textbook 3*, there are only two mentions of women, the first being Miriam Makeba as one of the world-famous African musicians (p. 96) and the second being the citation of women's organisations amongst opposition groups to post-colonial African dictatorships (p. 101). The fourth textbook only has a paragraph on the challenges facing women in post-colonial Africa (*Textbook 4*, p. 94). Therefore, the few references to women serve as exceptions to the textbooks' verbal text construction of the African as essentially Black male.

From this theme, it can be concluded that the physical notion of the African being is constructed in terms of race and gender. The textbooks clearly construct the African being to

be represented by a Black and predominantly male being. It is evident that people who were not Black are constructed as not African, even if they were born and died on the African continent. There is definite ambiguity when it comes to the Africanness of Arabs in North African countries.

7.2.1.3 A cultural notion of the African being

The analysed textbooks construct the African being to be of a certain cultural bearing. While culture is a broad concept, I found data on aspects such as ethnicity, language, arts and tradition in the sense that they were discussed in Chapter 2. Particular historical characters in the textbooks are identified, amongst other things, by their ethnic belonging reflecting the nature of the African being. An example of this can be seen in *Textbook 1* which declares this on Patrice Lumumba: “He was a member of the Beteteta (*sic*) tribe, a subgroup of the Mongo” (p. 102). The paratext in the same textbook also identifies King Mwambutsa IV of Burundi as ethnic Tutsi and further explains his leadership on the subject of the Hutu/Tutsi tensions (*Textbook 1*, p. 65). The same nature of identification is present in *Textbook 3* in this statement: “It [Nigeria] became independent from Britain in 1960 under Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a Hausa from the north and President Namdi Azikiwe, an Ibo from the east” (p. 80). It should be noted, however, that these are the only cases of identification of historical figures by ethnicity, almost making them exceptions rather than the rule. These examples from *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 3* are given when the textbooks are bound to explain on issues of ethnicity and political power in the Congo and Nigeria respectively. Notwithstanding, it cannot underplay the fact that those textbooks construct the African beings as belonging to particular ethnic identities. The importance of ethnicity is cemented with the statement by *Textbook 4* that “few countries had ethnic unity” (p. 91). The same representation is implied in *Textbook 3* which points out Nigeria’s “ethnic diversity” and how the people of the country “can be subdivided into many subgroups” (p. 80).

There are also limited references to issues of language when referring to the cultural characteristics of the African being. Nevertheless, *Textbook 2* states that the countries of West

Africa had “diverse languages” (p. 61). This notation buttresses the notion that African beings are diverse with no single African language as a common cultural denominator. Similarly, *Textbook 3* evinces that: “The three major ethnic groups [in Nigeria] can be further subdivided into many subgroups that speak different languages. All in all, it is estimated that there are about 250 different ethnic or linguistic groups in Nigeria” (p. 80). Evidently, ethnicity and language are constructed as inextricably related aspects of cultural identity and the African being is not constructed as homogenous.

Textbook 3 further explains on matters of language with regards to the African being in this way:

Colonial languages such as English, French and Portuguese remained the official languages in many independent countries. This excluded the majority, who could not speak these languages, preventing the development of a sense of nationhood based on a shared common language (p. 86).

The implication of this statement is that English, French and Portuguese are not African languages since they are not spoken by the majority, especially considering that the same textbook refers to the majority as African and hence Black on page 83, as was described in the previous theme.

The relationship between language and race is also shown further in *Textbook 3*. When discussing African literature, the textbook identifies the prominent writers to include Chinua Achebe, Camara Laye, Ngugi wa Thiongo and Wole Soyinka (*Textbook 3*, p. 95). The significant issue is that these novelists are all Black, thus linking African literature (which is an aspect of culture) with Black writers. Notably, the textbook states how Soyinka’s novel, *The Interpreters*, “is considered by many to be the first truly African novel” (*Textbook 3*, p. 95). The tension that emerges from such constructions is that the novels regarded as African include those that are written in languages such as English, which the same textbook constructs as a language that is not African. It can therefore be concluded regarding African languages that it is mainly *Textbook 3* that uses linguistic choices which reflect a conflicting construction of the nature of African languages.

Other aspects in the analysed textbooks relating to a cultural notion of the African being are tradition and religion. One word that is closely tied to the African concept in this respect in the analysed textbooks is 'tradition.' Regarding the African as traditional works in a way in which African culture and way of life is constructed is as uniform and different to systems from other parts of the world. For example, *Textbook 2* writes about the way concepts such as "multi-party democracy" were "foreign systems" that were "new to many African countries" and not compatible with the traditional systems (*Textbook 2*, p. 89). To confirm this view, the paratext in *Textbook 1* claims that Nyerere was a traditionalist, by virtue of his Ujamaa efforts (p. 70).

However, there is also evidence of the textbooks viewing African cultures as being related in some ways to cultures from other continents. For instance, while *Textbook 2* argues that African Socialism was different from Marxism, it seems to share Nyerere's view that "socialist principles were inherent in African tradition" (*Textbook 2*, p. 49). On the same issue, *Textbook 1* argues that African Socialism "presented itself as a uniquely African adaptation of socialist principles" (*Textbook 1*, p. 68). The paratext in the same textbook further claims that Chinese communism was culturally closest to Ujamaa (*Textbook 1*, p. 69). Although not exactly similar, the views from the two textbooks are that cultures are not entirely unique and can develop from each other. However, *Textbook 4* takes a different view, especially in reference to how Nkrumah's African Socialism was "sometimes very different" from the "indigenous aspects" of "traditional African society" such as "communal land-ownership, collective decision-making and the classless structure of village communities" (p. 81). The textbooks therefore show both uniqueness and similarities of cultures across Africa and the world.

The arts are another aspect that the textbooks use to construct a cultural notion of the African being. *Textbook 3* takes the issue of cultural blending further with this statement: "African musicians have been very successful in mixing traditional rhythms and instruments with modern ones, with the products remaining truly African" (*Textbook 3*, p. 96). The constructed representation is that as long as a particular culture contains ingredients of primordial African concepts – such as the "mbira (thumb piano)" – then the resultant culture remains authentically African (*Textbook 3*, p. 96). In other words, for a particular being to be African, it

does not have to consist of only cultural ingredients associated with the continent. Yet this construction is contested in the same textbook. As noted earlier, the textbook refers to Wole Soyinka's *The Interpreter* as "the first truly African novel" (*Textbook 3*, p. 95), meaning that there could have been other novels coming out of Africa, but they cannot be strictly considered as African.

The use of phrases such as "African tradition" (for example in *Textbook 2*, p. 49) seem to imply that there is a singular tradition and culture. *Textbook 1* actually writes about one "African culture" which was revived after the attainment of independence (p. 78). Nevertheless, *Textbook 2* makes it clear that just as there are diverse languages and ethnic groups in Africa, there are also diverse religions (p. 61). None of the analysed textbooks is explicit about what would be regarded as African religion. Nevertheless, the fact that *Textbook 3* writes about "the Christian south against the Muslim north in Chad" creates the impression that Christianity and Islam qualify to be considered as some of the different African religions. The same can be found when *Textbook 4* explains how Nigeria experiences division between "the Muslim Hausa people of the north and the Christian south" (p. 102). This example reflects a combination of religion, ethnicity and geographical location. It also shows how the African being is not limited to one singular culture.

The theme described in this subsection therefore showed that the analysed textbooks do construct a cultural notion of the African being. In this regard, the textbooks mainly focus on ethnicity, language, arts, tradition and religion. The textbooks construct a flux cultural notion, with some generalising African culture, while some preferred to specify a culture to a particular people and place. There was also evidence of hybridisation of cultures whereby different cultures were merged to produce a version of African cultures. Therefore, the construction of the African being based on one cultural denominator is problematic.

7.2.1.4 An experiential notion of the African being

Another featuring theme is on how the multiple experiences of the African being are an aspect that can be regarded as a criterion for Africanness. The nature of this notion is the same as was applied for the meanings of Africa in Chapter 6. The experiential notion of the African is constructed in all textbooks as largely a shared experience and that is why it has already been mentioned that there are no gender-specific pronouns. This collective experience is also mainly constructed as full of challenges. There is little mention of a time when the post-colonial African experience can be seen as positive.

From a largely economic point of view, *Textbook 1* notes that the post-colonial African experience was that of “a short-lived boom” (p. 88). *Textbook 3* shares the same view noting that this “modest growth” took place in the 1960s (p. 92). Similarly, *Textbook 2* (p. 75) confirms that Africans experienced a “troubled honeymoon” in the 1960s. *Textbook 4* (p. 107) also constructs the same 1960s as a period of “economic progress” in Africa. All four textbooks concur that only in the 1960s was the general African economic experience that of some semblance of positive development. From then on, the African experience is that of challenges.

The shared African experience is generalised to have degenerated into crisis in the 1970s and 1980s. *Textbook 4* (p. 107) constructs the 1970s as a period of “an economic crisis” while *Textbook 3* refers to “persistent economic problems” (p. 104). *Textbook 1* links this experience to two narratives. The first narrative is that, from a neo-colonial perspective, Africans were suffering the effects of the dominance of Western capitalism on African countries. The second is the conservative view that it was from this period onwards that the African leaders generally became more authoritarian and at the same time tried to implement “unwise policies” (p. 88). An example of such unwise policies is given in *Textbook 3* as demonstrated that, “African leaders borrowed a lot of money to fund their projects” although “the hydroelectric projects did not generate the predicted industrialisation” (p. 91). *Textbook 4* also takes note of such policies by explaining that “some countries used scarce resources and foreign loans for prestige projects (such as presidential palaces, conference halls, airports, hotels and foreign embassies)”

(p. 97). This constructs a picture of Africans being victims of both international and internal negative factors.

Although it was noted in Chapter 6 that post-colonial Africa is represented as continuing into the present-day, not all textbooks make any reference to a generalised African experience in the 21st century. Nevertheless, to this effect, *Textbook 3* writes that: “Although Africa entered the 21st century with a burden of debt, economic growth in the first decade of this century has shown a promising trend” (p. 104). *Textbook 1* buys into this promising trend by writing about “the African Renaissance” (p. 79) meaning that the positive experiences are still to come.

Concerning neo-colonial experiences, *Textbook 2* (p. 94) explains that the view that Western organisations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were guilty of “economic imposition and a form of neo-colonialism” was a perception of the African leaders. Therefore, the textbook is not explicit if Africans in the post-colonial period actually experienced new forms of colonialism or not. However, from a political point of view, neo-colonialism is expressed as an African experience with regard to foreign military intervention. *Textbook 3* devoted a whole unit to this issue, explaining that: “foreign military intervention involvement in some African countries was an external factor that contributed to political instability in post-colonial Africa” (p. 110).

Politically, Africans are constructed to have experienced constant instability with military dictatorships, coups and one party states being common features in post-colonial Africa (*Textbook 2*, pp. 68-69). To avoid repetition, most of these experiences are also described in the previous chapter under the theme on the experiential notion of Africa. The argument here is that the textbooks reveal that what Africa experienced is the same thing that all Africans experienced. In other words, the term Africa, is actually used, in some cases, as an alternative generic lexicalisation for Africans. The only difference is that while *Textbook 3* writes about Africans “in Africa and abroad” (p. 90), the experiences of those abroad are not explained.

Textbook 1 shows attempts at a balanced representation of Africans’ role in determining their experiences. There are a number of times when the textbook gives contrasting alternative

narratives of a particular issue in a way that enables the textbook user to reach their own conclusion. An example is on the issue of African independence, or lack of it. The textbook provides “the neo-colonial argument” and “the conservative view” (*Textbook 1*, p. 88). On one hand, the former argument is that Africans are still dependent on the external capitalist system and need to rethink their values to move away from it. On the other hand, the latter view is that external factors are not the reason behind whatever problems African countries face; rather, it “emphasise[s] the unwise policies of the new African governments” (*Textbook 1*, p. 88). *Textbook 1* does not want to entirely blame the problems that Africans experienced on Africans and instead, leaves it open to interpretation, whether the reason is internal African values or African vulnerability to Western neo-colonialism.

On the same issue, *Textbook 2* does not make it a matter of interpretation, but rather states that African states were guided by predominantly two sets of approaches: “While some African states opted to pursue new forms of colonialism or neo-colonialism after independence, others opted for socialism because they viewed capitalism as synonymous with colonialism and oppression” (*Textbook 2*, p. 49). Using transitivity analysis, that the textbook used the verb “opted” implies that the decisions of the post-colonial African governments were a mental process which was thus informed by their political values. Nevertheless, *Textbook 1* (pp. 65-66) does not generalise the systems of government that developed in post-colonial African countries, highlighting different systems such as monarchy, multiparty democracy, the one-party state and dictatorships. The paratext in *Textbook 1* also explains how the attempts by King Mwambutsa IV of Burundi as a constitutional monarchy failed (p. 65). These representations construct Africans as having experienced diverse political systems.

To sum up this theme, the textbooks construct the experiences of the post-colonial African to be mainly shared. They also show that few of these experiences were positive and these were limited to the early 1960s. The rest of the post-colonial period is constructed to be a time of negative experiences for the African being. Two of the textbooks also represent the African experience as improving with even greater prospects for the future. Therefore the post-colonial Africans’ experiences are not constructed as uniform over time. The textbooks also reveal

contending representations on the agency of the Africans as some blame the negative experiences on external forces while others argue the problems to be rooted within Africans themselves. It can therefore be concluded that the experiences of Africans are not constructed as homogenous.

7.2.1.5 A philosophical notion of the African being

It is also evident in the textbooks that there is a construction of the notion that the African being is aligned to a particular philosophy. Philosophy is also a broad concept, but for the sake of these findings I related it to a way of thinking that is actualised by action. In other words, I work on the premise that the way the African being thinks is informed by a particular philosophical standpoint. I was able to detect this philosophical notion through some concepts in the textbooks that can be regarded as African. There were two types of such concepts, the first example being that of the concept which is presented in the textbooks in its primary form, that is, in a particular African language. The other type of concept is secondary in that it can be viewed as an African version of an otherwise universal concept. I also analysed the values that the textbooks seem to be representing as African values thus revealing an African philosophy.

The dominant concept in the case of concepts that I have referred to as primary (expressed in a language that can be considered African) is Uhuru, which is featured across all four textbooks as they cover the theme “How Uhuru was realised in Africa.” However, as mentioned in Chapter 6, only *Textbook 2* does not offer an alternative lexicalisation of Uhuru in the verbal text. *Textbook 1* does so by saying, “The word *uhuru* is the Swahili word for *freedom*” (*Textbook 1*, p. 53). Similarly, *Textbook 3* does so by saying, “In this chapter you will look at how African countries achieved Uhuru (freedom) from colonial rule” (*Textbook 3*, p. 59). Similarly, *Textbook 4* states that, “The word *uhuru* means ‘freedom’ in Swahili, a language which is widely spoken in East Africa” (p. 68). The fact that the word Uhuru is chosen for use, instead of other English lexicalisations (such as independence) implies the promotion of a particular African philosophy through the use of an African concept.

There are a few other cases of concepts that are written in the textbooks in a language other than English (the language in which the textbook is basically written), but in particular African languages. Ubuntu is one such example of a concept that is constructed as a uniquely African concept. In *Textbook 2*, Ubuntu is cited as one of the new political values and ideas that influenced African leaders after independence (p. 49). The paratext in *Textbook 3* identifies Ubuntu as both Zulu and African (p. 49). Other examples of an African concept in *Textbook 2* include harambee, “a Kiswahili word meaning ‘pulling together’” (*Textbook 2*, p. 57). *Textbook 3* also contains examples such as the “*chimurenga* music style” and “the *mbira* (thumb piano)” (*Textbook 3*, p. 96). In *Textbook 4*, examples include “*griots* (traditional storytellers)” who were considered to be an essential group in the promotion of African culture (p. 78). According to the paratext in *Textbook 1*, Julius Nyerere was called “*uwilima (sic)*” meaning “teacher” (p. 69). The use of these primary concepts gives a representation of an Africanist philosophical orientation of the African being that is constructed in the analysed textbooks.

Another concept that is evident in the textbooks is Ujamaa. This concept is somehow different because in some instances in the textbooks it is written in its primary form, while in others it is also presented as African Socialism. It is, therefore, represented as a uniquely African concept on one hand, and, on the other hand, as an African variation of the universal concept of socialism. *Textbook 1* goes further to say that Ujamaa was called African Socialism in Senegal and referred to as Humanism in Zambia (p. 72). The paratext also claims that Ghana adopted a modern, hence different, form of African Socialism (*Textbook 1*, p. 71). African Socialism as Humanism is also mentioned in *Textbook 4* where the paratext goes further to claim that it had protestant Christianity foundations (p. 85). It is *Textbook 2* that gives the view that it was called Ujamaa in Tanzania (p. 49). In *Textbook 3* there is also mention of Ujamaa, which is additionally described as a “traditional African socialist system” (p. 77). The paratext in *Textbook 1* supports that what makes Ujamaa an African philosophy is that it was pre-colonial (p. 65). *Textbook 4* takes a slightly different approach. Although it mentions African Socialism and Ujamaa (in the case of Tanzania), the two concepts are not necessarily presented as alternative lexicalisations of the same phenomenon. Instead, Ujamaa is lexicalised as “solidarity” and represented as a basis of African Socialism in Tanzania, rather than as the same concept (*Textbook 4*, p. 81).

Therefore the concept of African Socialism is portrayed alternatively as (or at least as related to) Ujamaa. The paratext in *Textbook 1* summarily identifies all the forms of African Socialism in Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia as personality cults (p. 72). It can still be seen that the diverse use and representation of the concept of Ujamaa adds another Africanist dimension to the philosophical notion of the African being.

As mentioned earlier, each of the analysed textbooks also contains what I called secondary African concepts – which can be viewed as African variations of universal concepts. From *Textbook 1*, examples of the concepts include “African Renaissance” (p. 79) and “African nationalist propaganda” (p. 83). *Textbook 2* has examples such as “African unity” (p. 47), “African identity” (p. 56) and “African elite” (p. 91). In *Textbook 3* are “African traditions of governance” (p. 89) “African literature,” a “truly African novel” (p. 95) and “African drumming, dancing and singing” (p. 96). From *Textbook 4* it is “African music, art and literature” (p. 78), “African history and archaeology” (p. 78). All such concepts can be seen to be constructed as African variations of otherwise universal concepts thus reflecting an African philosophy which borrows from international knowledge systems.

An analysis of the use of nominalisation and lexicalisation was useful in revealing how African variations of concepts are used in relation to Africans in the textbooks. All the textbooks use the nominalisation of the “African leaders” (*Textbook 1*, p. 75; *Textbook 2*, p. 60; *Textbook 3*, p. 106; *Textbook 4*, (p. 79). This constructs African leaders in a positive way as opposed to the political leaders being referred to with nominalisations such as “rulers” (*Textbook 3*, p. 98) or “dictator” (*Textbook 1*, p. 77, *Textbook 2*, pp. 60, 63, *Textbook 4*, p. 85). These linguistic choices reveal contention across and within the same textbooks on the philosophical viewpoint of the nature of the politics of post-colonial African governments.

With reference to humans, there are also different cases of nominalisations which are prefixed by the attribute “African”. In *Textbook 4* there is mention of “African nationalists” (p. 78), “African farmers” (p. 84), “African entrepreneurs” (p. 84) and “African songwriters” (p. 97). This reflects a varied spectrum of African history makers. This is not the case in *Textbook 2* where the selection of Africans is from a limited range with cases such as “African elite” (p. 91), and

“African jazz, poets, novelists, intellectuals, writers [and] storytellers” (p. 76). The same types of history makers are found in *Textbook 3* where there is mention of “African musicians” (p. 96). Finally, *Textbook 1* has more unexceptional lexicalisations such as “African peasant” (p. 90) and “Black soldiers” (p. 102). All these linguistic choices represent African concepts which can be taken as African variations of universal concepts, thus constructing an African philosophy which is not unique.

In addition to an analysis of concepts, the textbooks also verbally construct African philosophy through the representation of the values that are linked to the African beings in the textbooks. These values can be linked to both the concepts above and to experiences in the preceding theme of the experiential notion of the African being. It is worth noting that in *Textbook 2* the abandonment of multiparty democracy in the 1960s and 1970s (p. 68) is generalised to have occurred in many African countries and is linked to the growth of dictatorships. *Textbook 2* is explicit that opting for multiparty parliamentary democracy was akin to “transplanting a foreign system” (p. 89); in other words democracy was not an African political philosophy. This explains the development of personality cults which, according to the paratext in *Textbook 1*, were based on “blind faith” in leadership (p. 66). However, the same paratext claims that Nyerere was a democratic leader (*Textbook 1*, p. 70). Against this backdrop, the reader can be persuaded to accept that experiential trends such as military dictatorships, coups, one party states (*Textbook 2*, pp. 68-69) and tyranny in the Congo, Central African Republic and Uganda, (*Textbook 2*, p. 71) were, invariably, African values which were mental and material processes (according to transitivity analysis) in reaction to the “unAfrican” values of multiparty parliamentary democracy.

Textbook 3 shares the same representation of African political values thus revealing the same aspect of African philosophy. It notes that one of the reasons why post-colonial African countries faced political turmoil was because the “Africans inherited Western political systems with which they were not familiar” (*Textbook 3*, p. 87). The implication is the same – that Africans had their own political values, and therefore philosophies, which were incompatible with the systems that they inherited after colonisation. This is made clear through this

statement: “Instead of multiparty democracy, many African governments adopted single-party systems, as they sought to find an appropriate form of government” (*Textbook 3*, p. 89). This serves to confirm that, according to the textbook’s verbal text, multiparty democracy is not an African value. While *Textbook 4* (p. 89) acknowledges the lack of a strong practice of multiparty democracy in post-colonial African countries, it roots for single-party dictatorships on the colonial administrative practices, rather than claiming it to be a traditional African value.

While other textbooks are not explicit in terms of what African political values are – if democracy is not – *Textbook 2* identifies them. The values include “African Unity, solidarity, equality, self-reliance and *ubuntu*” (*Textbook 2*, p. 49). The same textbook links these values to the idealistic political values of Tanzania’s Ujamaa such as “neighbourliness, solidarity and togetherness” (*Textbook 2*, p. 57). These values can be seen to have been represented as African political values since Ujamaa is also called African Socialism in the textbooks. This is especially so in *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 2* which, as noted earlier, argue that Ujamaa was essentially an African philosophy. However, *Textbook 1* goes further to say that Ujamaa was based on the values of, not just African people, but specifically “rural African people” because they viewed the extended family as important (p. 65), implying that Africans have different philosophies depending on their location. *Textbook 4* is however cautious that while African Socialism was seen in Tanzania as promoting “indigenous aspects” such as “communal land-ownership, collective decision-making and the classless structure of village communities” (p. 81), in other countries, such as Ghana, it took a different essence. The paratext of *Textbook 3* explains that Nkrumah’s philosophy of conscientism is based on African pride (p. 56). These findings show that African philosophy is revealed through values such as communalism.

Regarding this theme, it can be said that African philosophy is constructed through African concepts and African values. But the concepts were described to be varied such that they cannot be generalised as one single African philosophy. Similarly the values that are constructed differ according to the issue under focus. For example, *Textbook 1* shows that regarding the issue of Pan-Africanism and African Unity, the Africans could be viewed as conservatives, moderates and radicals (p. 63). This creates a picture of Africans having diverse

values and thus with no real common denominator. The textbooks, on one hand homogenise African philosophy and, on the other, construct it as diverse. However, *Textbook 3* constructs a common and positive outlook on the values of Africans by saying that: “One of the continent’s assets has been the determination and spirit of its people” (p. 104). This apparently assumes that Africans can be regarded as having a mystical common denominator which binds them together. The variety of findings speaks to the fact that there is not really one generalisable African philosophy in the textbooks.

7.2.1.6 Summation

In this section I presented the description of the findings from the analysis of the verbal text on the construction of the African being. I presented the findings in the form of themes organised according to the spatial, the physical, the philosophical, the cultural and the experiential notions of the African being. Within these themes there were both constructions and contestations of the description of Africanness and the nature of the African being. There were also some findings that overlapped across themes.

The spatial notion of the African being revealed that while space was a factor, it was not always the determinant of Africanness. There are references to Africans both in Africa and abroad. However, the description also showed that there are some people in Africa who might not qualify as Africans. The physical notion added to the qualification of who the African being can be. Although there were some ambiguities, particularly on the Africanness of the Arabs, the description showed that the African being is predominantly Black and male in essence. Concerning the cultural notion, ethnicity, language, arts, tradition and religion were the aspects that the textbooks highlighted. African culture was constructed as flux, with strong evidence of hybridisation of cultures. The African being is also characterised by experiences that are predominantly negative. The textbooks only identify the early 1960s as periods of positive experiences, and two of them have an optimistic view of the future. There are also contending representations of the agency of the African being in these experiences. Finally, the hybridity of

concepts that can be considered African further reveals the flux nature of African philosophy in the verbal text. Even the values that are in the textbooks are varied, and the textbooks do not consistently link these values to all Africans. Nevertheless, there is a sense that communalism dominates the philosophy of the African being.

7.2.2 Visual text

Just as in themes on the visual representation of Africa described in in Chapter 6, the themes on the meaning of the African being mainly came from *Textbook 1* and *Textbook 4*. I also arranged these themes according to the spatial, the physical, the philosophical, the cultural and the experiential notions of the African being. Some of the visuals to which I make reference in this chapter have already been described in Chapter 6; so I will make cross-references to them in the cases where they are useful for the themes in this chapter.

7.2.2.1 A spatial notion of the African being

This first theme was not as obvious in the visual text as it was in the verbal text. Even so, there was some visual data that was worthwhile, however modest. The only reference to an African being and spatial location is in *Textbook 1* where there is a drawing of a chained man in a foetal position in a womb-like Africa (p. 53). This visual appears in the previous chapter in Figure 6.17 and it paints a picture that the issues to be covered under the particular topic deals with people of the African continent. The other denotation of the drawing is that the characteristics depicted of the man in the womb are the characteristics of the African. Therefore, the African being is constructed as born in Africa.

The other three textbooks do not contain any visual text that refers to the African being as located in Africa, and this is especially so for *Textbook 3*. Nevertheless, *Textbook 2* and *Textbook 4* do have captions which seem to imply geographical location. Although there is no explicit reference to the African and geographical local in general, there are a few examples in the two

textbooks referring to the identity of people by virtue of their spatial location. For example, in *Textbook 4* there is the picture of “Ethiopian children” (p. 86), which has already been referred to earlier in Figure 6.3 on the spatial notion of Africa in the previous chapter. Similarly there are visuals of “Tanzanians” (p. 51) and “Kenyans” (p. 73) in *Textbook 2* as shown in Figure 7.1. These visuals are relevant because the identity of the people in the picture is based on the location of where they were, rather than any verification of their nationality. To explain further, a demonstration of people in Kenya consequently becomes a demonstration of Kenyans, even if the nationality of all the people is not verified. This frame of thinking would therefore imply that people found in Africa are subsequently regarded as Africans.

Figure 7.1: Identity of Tanzanians and Kenyans (Textbook 2, p. 51; 73)



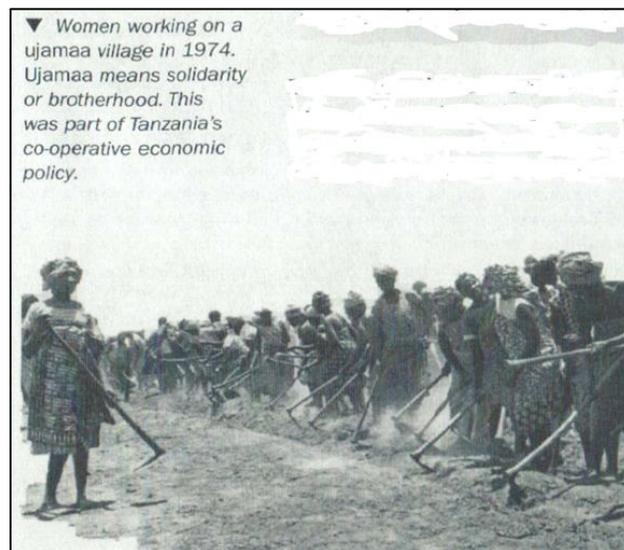
To sum up this theme, the limited visual text constructs the African being as someone who is either born or is found in the African continent. The limited representation of the spatial notion of the African being also shows that people found in some parts of Africa such as the islands

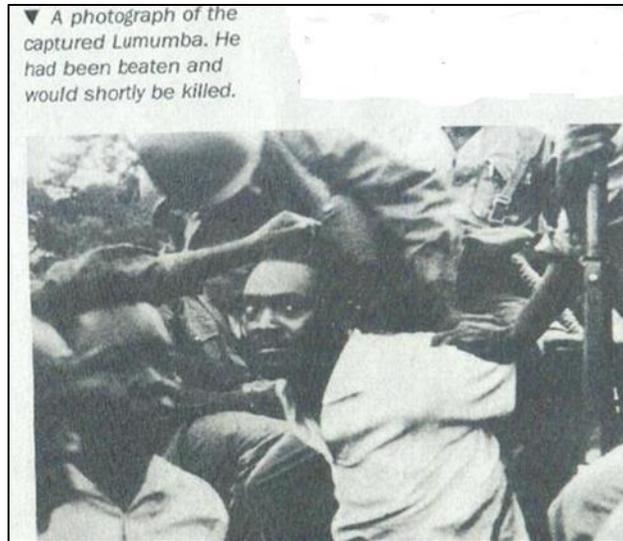
(except Madagascar) are excluded from this construction. It is also worth noting that in the visuals featuring people from South Africa, they are not represented as Africans. This will be further described in the next theme dealing with physical appearance.

7.2.2.2 A physical notion of the African being

The analysis of the visual text revealed the physical nature of the African being that the textbook constructs. Physical appearance was mainly in reference to race and gender. Regarding race, virtually all of the visual text in all the textbooks constructs Africans as Black people. In *Textbook 4* this includes the picture of children at school in Figure 6.26 (p. 94), the picture of starving children in Biafra in Figure 6.23 (p. 103), the picture of women working in an Ujamaa village (p. 82) and the picture of Patrice Lumumba of Congo (p. 110). The last two pictures are shown in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: Examples of Black people in *Textbook 4* (p. 82; p. 110)

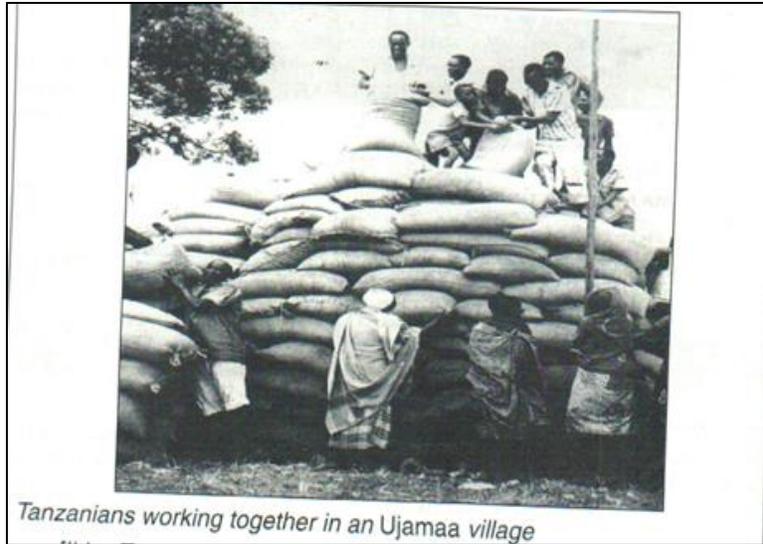




Examples of the representation of Black people as Africans from *Textbook 2* include the picture of Tanzanians marching in support of Arusha declaration of 1967 (p. 51) shown in Figure 7.1, the picture of political leaders Julius Nyerere, Milton Obote and Jomo Kenyatta (p. 49) and the picture of Tanzanians working in an Ujamaa village (p. 50). The latter two pictures are in Figure 7.3.

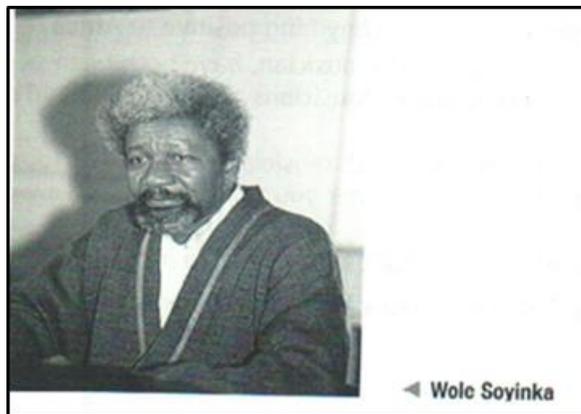
Figure 7.3: Examples of Black people in *Textbook 2* (p. 49; p. 50)

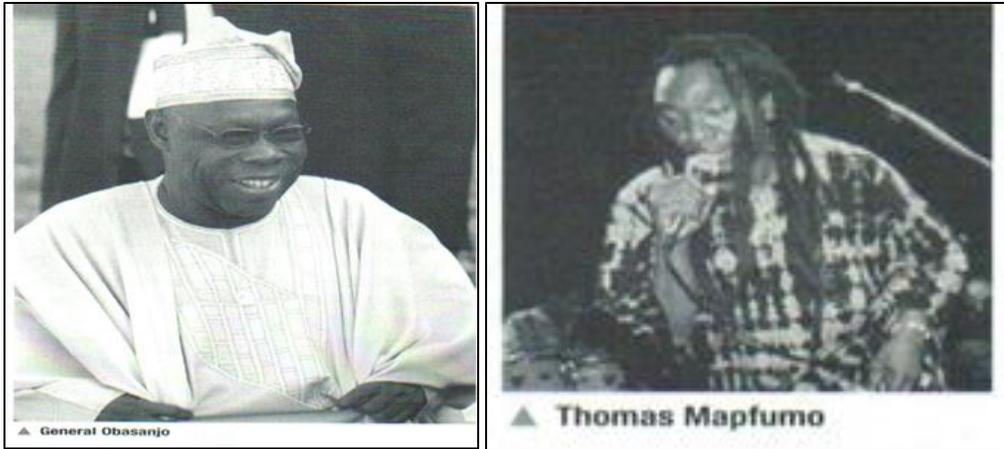




In *Textbook 3*, the examples of the representation of Black people as African include the pictures of General Obasanjo of Nigeria (p. 81), playwright Wole Soyinka (p. 95) and musician Thomas Mapfumo (p. 96). These visuals are shown in Figure 7.4.

Figure 7.4: Examples of Black people in *Textbook 3* (p. 81, p. 95, p. 96).





From *Textbook 1* the examples of representations of Black people that can be taken include the picture of East African leaders, Nyerere, Obote and Kenyatta which is similar to the one in Figure 7.3 (p. 70) and the picture of Felix Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire with Nyerere (p. 73) which is shown in Figure 7.5. Since this is a chapter on post-colonial Africa, the implication is that the people in the visuals are the Africans that are dealt with in the topic.

Figure 7.5: An example of Black people in *Textbook 1* (p. 73)



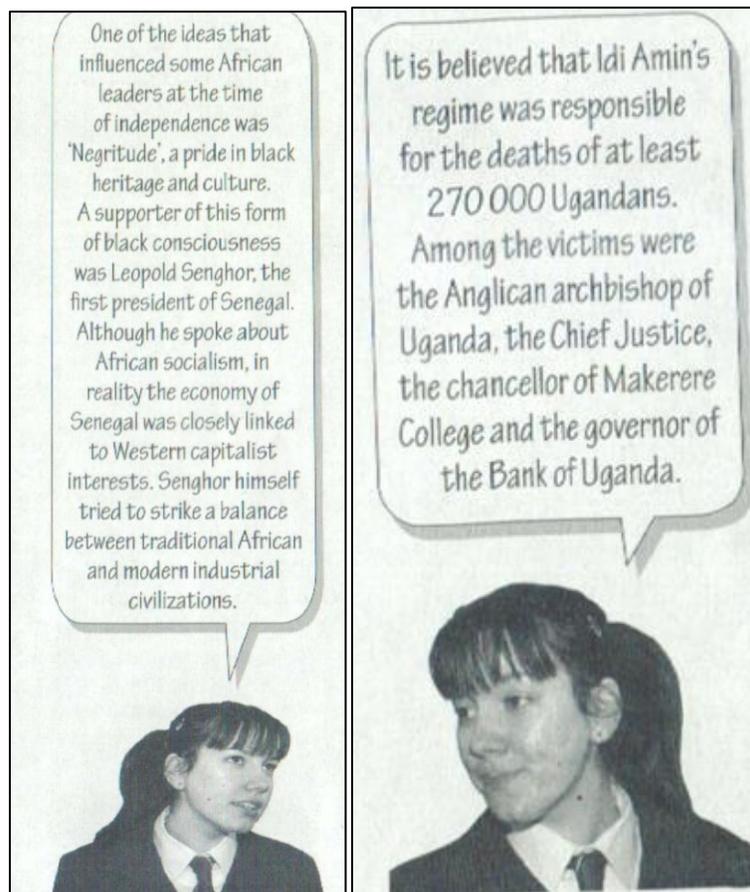
In all the textbooks, there are a few exceptions where people who are non-Black appear. In *Textbook 1*, the only exceptions are the cartoon of African leaders as dogs under Khrushchev's leash (p. 57) in Figure 7. 20; two cartoons of Verwoerd (p. 60) in Figure 6.7, the picture of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Gamal Nasser of Egypt (p. 64), the picture of Patrice Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjold from the United Nations (p. 102) and the picture of Mobutu Sese Seko of the Congo with USA President Ronald Reagan (p. 107). The last three pictures are shown in Figure 7.6.

Figure 7.6: Cases of visuals featuring people of different racial groups in *Textbook 1* (p. 64; p. 102; p. 107)



Evidently, historical characters that are not Black appear visually when in the company of a Black person. To show the connection between Blackness and Africanness, the caricature on world financial oppression referred to earlier in Figure 6.16 shows the IMF and WB on top and represented by White figures while Africa is represented by Black people at the bottom (*Textbook 1*, p. 61). The same cartoon can be found in *Textbook 3* where it is used to explain Africa's debt crisis (p. 105). The only pictures with a mix of races in *Textbook 4* are those of the talking heads in the paratext where there is a White girl talking about negritude (p. 84) and another talking about Idi Amin (p. 105) as shown in Figure 7.7. These are not pictures of real historical characters being covered in the textbook and the talking heads can be regarded more as commentators than actual Africans who are being covered in the textbook's historical content.

Figure 7.7: "Talking heads" featuring visuals of a White girl (*Textbook 4*, p. 84; p. 105)



Nevertheless, there are a handful of cases where Africans are not racially defined as Black. In one cartoon in *Textbook 2*, a Tanzanian is represented by a seemingly White (or at least colourless) being as shown in Figure 7.8. South Africa is also represented by Whites as shown in the cartoon of the Commonwealth club in 1960 (*Textbook 2*, p. 57). Another cartoon in *Textbook 2* shown in Figure 7.9 portrays South Africa as a white sheep, but more importantly joined by Dr Hastings Banda of Malawi who also becomes a white sheep by virtue of associating with South Africa (p. 63). Therefore in losing his Africanness, Banda also loses his Blackness. Such a racial representation of South Africa is also evident in Figure 6.7 in the cartoon featuring Hendrik Verwoerd delimiting South Africa from world politics (*Textbook 1*, p. 60).

Figure 7.8: A Tanzanian as White (*Textbook 2*, p. 54)

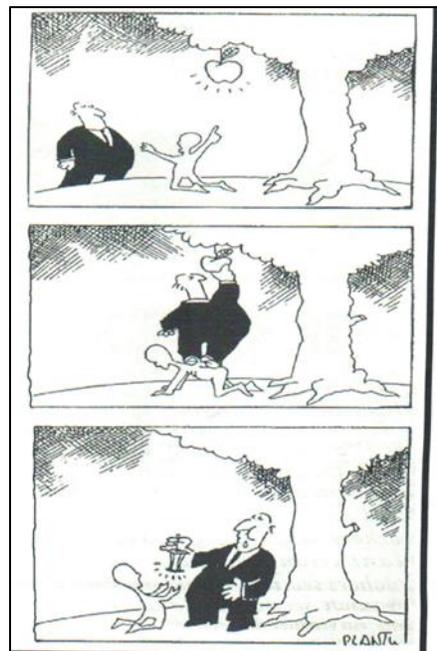
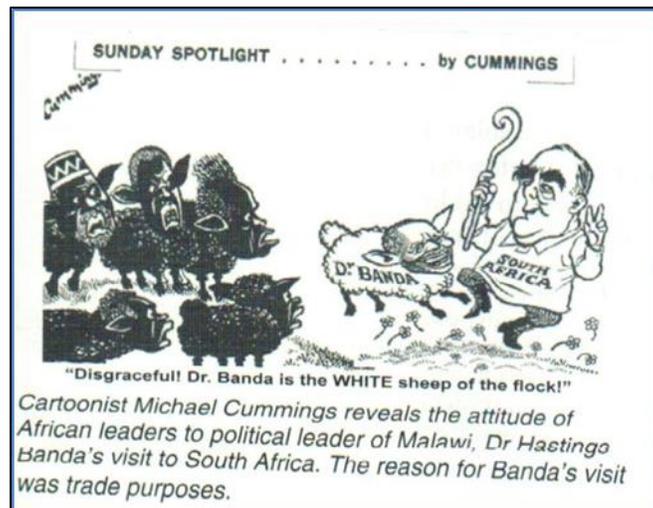
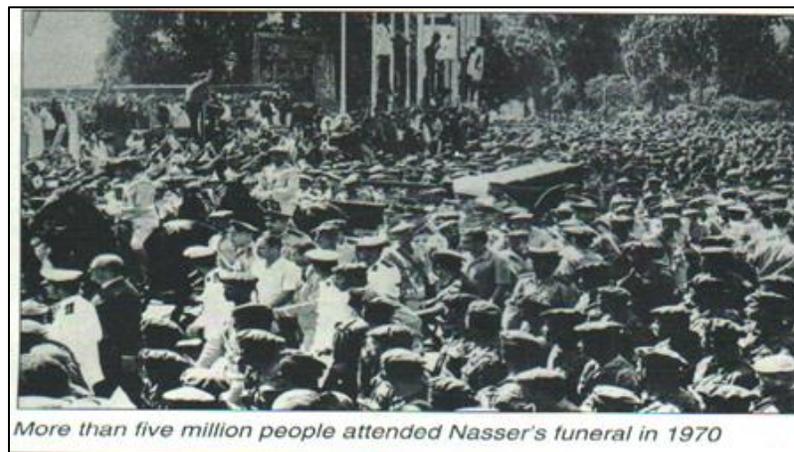
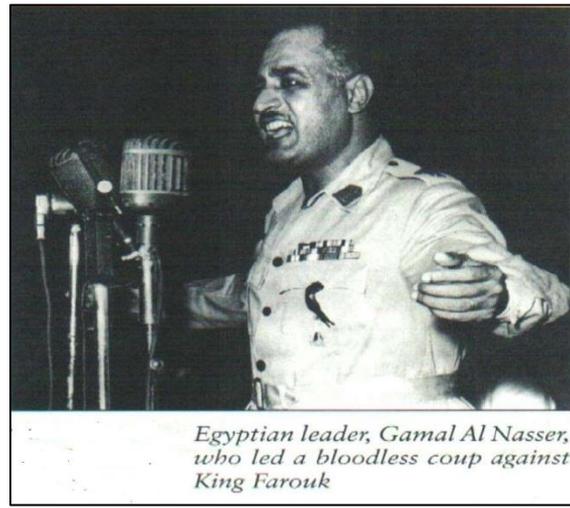


Figure 7.9: South Africa represented as White (*Textbook 2*, p. 57; p. 63)



The only Arab to be depicted visually in *Textbook 1* is Egyptian President Gamal Nasser who, as shown in Figure 7.6, appears in a picture with Nkrumah depicting diplomatic harmony as they sat together, smiling (p. 64). Nasser is also the only Arab to appear in a picture in *Textbook 2* (p. 55) while another picture shows a multitude of more than 5 million people of different races at Nasser's funeral (p. 56). Therefore, the position of the Arab as an African being in the visual text is rather ambiguous.

Figure 7.10: Visuals featuring Arabs *Textbook 2* (p. 55; p. 56)



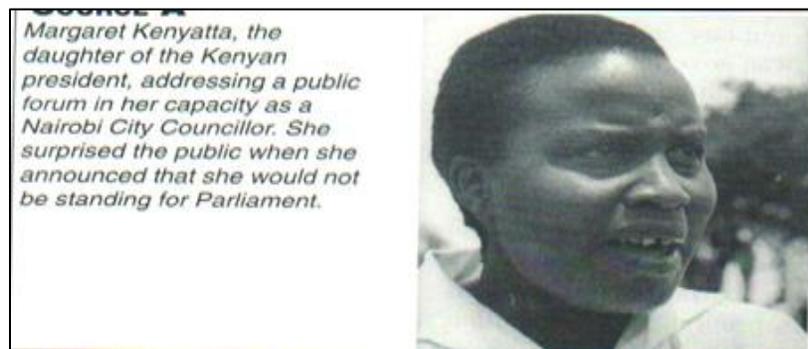
Gender representation also reveals how the textbooks construct a physical notion of an African. In all the four textbooks, the representation of women can be regarded as token. The majority of the visual text in *Textbook 4* features men. Nevertheless, there are cases in the textbook where women are also shown, such as those working in an Ujamaa village in Figure 7.2 (p. 82), women getting an education in class in Figure 6.26 (p. 101) and a poster encouraging the vote for women, also in Figure 6.26 (p. 89). In *Textbook 1*, there is only one visual of a woman, a peasant (carrying a baby on her back), who, as shown in Figure 7.11, is portrayed next to a picture of a male “African peasant” (*Textbook 1*, p. 90).

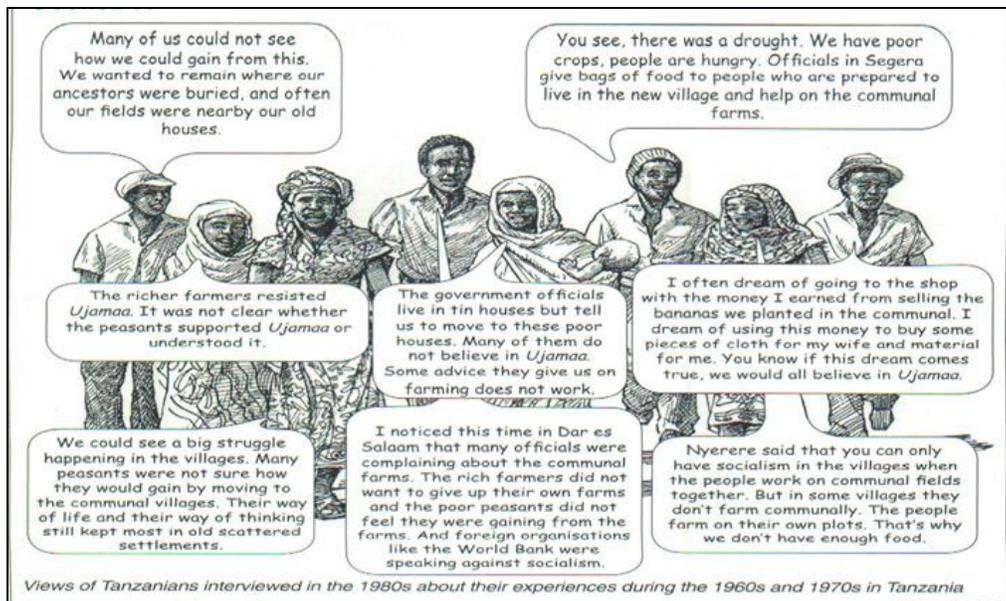
Figure 7.11: Gender representation in *Textbook 1* (p. 90)



Textbook 2 has two visuals featuring women; one being a close-up picture of Margaret Kenyatta as a city councillor (p. 93), and the other one being a drawing featuring four Tanzanian women and four men (p. 53). Both visuals are shown in Figure 7.12.

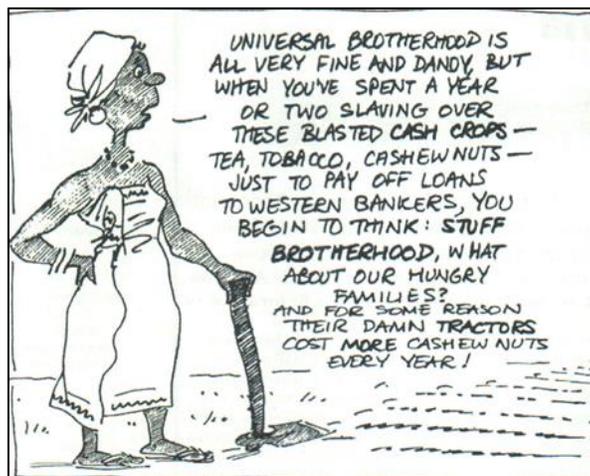
Figure 7.12: The only visuals featuring women in *Textbook 2* (p. 53; p. 93)





Textbook 3 has a cartoon of a woman in her fields with a hoe in her hand speaking out against universal brotherhood (p. 79) as shown in Figure 7.13. With only these few visual depictions of women in all the analysed textbooks, it can be seen that masculinity represents Africanness.

Figure 7.13: Woman representation in Textbook 3 (p. 73)



To conclude this theme on the physical notion of the African being, it can be said that the textbooks emphasise Blackness as representing Africanness. The White people in the visual text

largely feature because they are interacting with some Black people, rather than in their own accord. As in the verbal text, the Africanness of the Arabs is left ambiguous. The African being is also largely represented by the male figure, although there are a few cases of women in the visual text.

7.2.2.3 A cultural notion of the African being

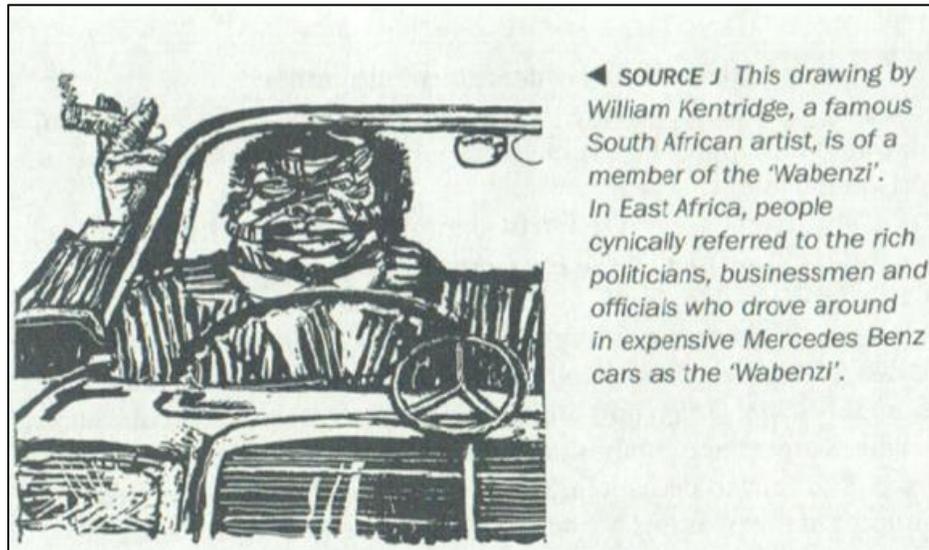
This theme features the construction of the African being in relation to issues such as ethnicity, traditions, attire and values. Unlike in the verbal text, there was a silence when in terms of language as a cultural aspect since all labelling in drawings and captions were written in English, the language in which the textbooks are written. Only two textbooks have visual text that clearly defines some of the characters therein through ethnicity. *Textbook 4* identifies the people fleeing from ethnic violence in Burundi as victims of the clashes between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups (p. 91). In *Textbook 2*, the caption of the picture of Ngugi wa Thiongo identifies him as “Kenyan (Gikuyu)” showing that nationality alone is not sufficient identity for an African being and hence it needs to be reinforced by ethnicity (p. 91). These visuals, shown in Figure 7.14, are the only two cases in which ethnic identity is used to describe people in the visual text which the textbooks construct as African and, therefore, they can be taken as contentions of the major construction.

Figure 7.14: Visuals with captions that identify ethnicity (*Textbook 4*, p. 91; *Textbook 2*, p. 91)



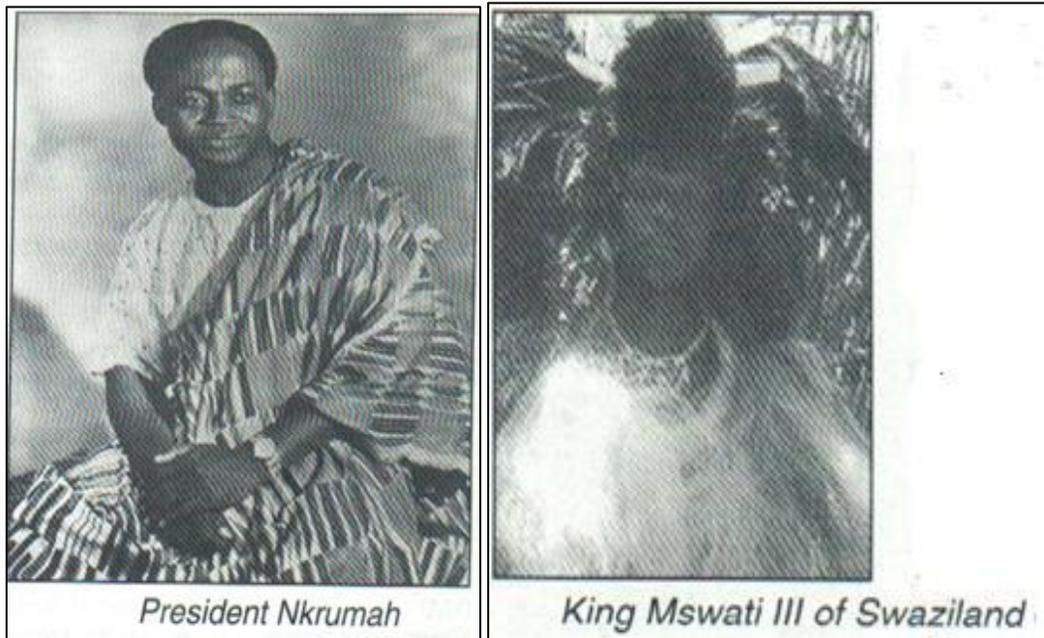
It is evident that the visual text in all four textbooks constructs hybrid meanings of African culture. Aspects such as attire and its related accessories in the visuals also revealed the construction of hybrid African culture. For example, the attire in most of the visuals can be regarded as customarily Western. In *Textbook 4*, the cartoon of “wabenzi” depicts a Black man dressed in a business suit with a cigar in hand, while driving a Mercedes Benz in Figure 7.15 (p. 85). The pictures of the family fleeing Burundi in Figure 7.14 (p. 91) and Patrice Lumumba in Figure 7.2 (p. 110) also depict them in originally Western clothes.

Figure 7.15: An African in Western clothes and accessories (*Textbook 4*, p. 85)



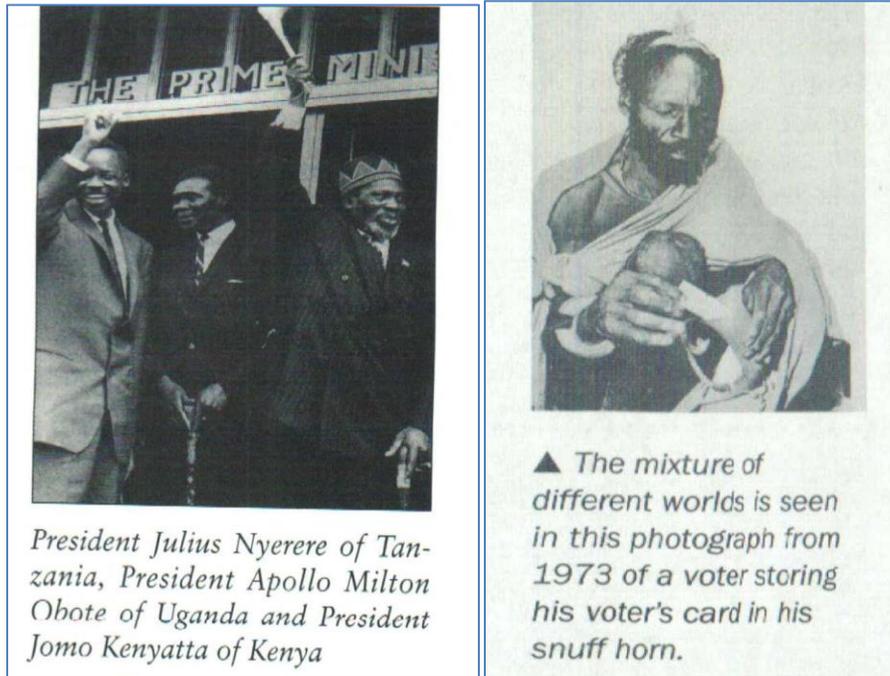
In contradiction, in *Textbook 1*, there are visuals of African leaders dressed in what can be termed African attire and examples include the picture of President Nkrumah (p. 63; p. 61) and the picture of Swaziland's King Mswati (p. 65). Even in cartoons, Nkrumah is depicted in traditional kinte cloth attire as depicted in Figure 7.9 (*Textbook 2*, p. 57). In *Textbook 3*, former Nigerian President, General Olusegun Obasanjo is also depicted wearing traditional Nigerian attire (p. 81) and so is musician Thomas Mapfumo (p. 96), both of whom are depicted in Figure 7.4. Thus the textbooks reveal contending cultural constructions since the representation of African attire contradicts that of Western attire. It should be noted though, that the African attire that the personalities wear are different and, therefore, reflect the diverse traditional attire across African cultures.

Figure 7.16: African leaders in traditional attire (*Textbook 1*, p. 63; p. 65)



The hybridity of African culture through attire is not only reflected across different visuals, but sometimes even with one particular visual. In some visuals, the personalities wear both what can be regarded as originally Western dress and what can be regarded as African dress. For instance, the picture of East African leaders (Nyerere, Obote and Kenyatta) shows them in Western suits but with accessories that can be called African such as a headdress in the case of Kenyatta and sticks and a swatter in their hands (*Textbook 1*, p. 70). The same picture, but taken from a different angle, appears in *Textbook 2* (p. 49) and is depicted in Figure 7.17. The hybridity is also illustrated in the picture captioned “the mixture of different worlds” showing a man in traditional dress with a voter card that is kept in a snuff horn (*Textbook 4*, p. 88). This picture is also depicted in Figure 7.17. Such data reveals that, at a personal level, these visuals indeed represent the African being as a cultural hybrid.

Figure 7.17: Pictures depicting hybridity of attire (*Textbook 2*, p. 49; *Textbook 4*, p. 88)



African culture is also constructed at a collective level and depicting gender roles. The picture of women working in an Ujamaa village in Figure 7.2 (*Textbook 4*, p. 82) reveals the role of women in post-colonial Africa to be limited to working the fields. On the other hand, the poster on the vote for women (p. 89) and the picture of Black Muslim women getting an education in class (p. 101), both shown in Figure 6.26, also show the changing cultural perceptions towards women. In *Textbook 2* the drawing illustrating the views of Tanzanians, as depicted in Figure 7.12, shows an equal number of men and women, each of them expressing their own views (p. 53). In the same drawing, women wear the same kind of attire. Therefore, although male dominance is more evident, the visuals show an attempt, albeit insufficient, to paint women in a positive light in a transforming African culture.

The cultural notion of the African is dominated by hybridity and transformation. Although there are visuals depicting traditional African cultural practices such as dress and gender roles, there are more visuals showing a transforming culture with a heavy Western influence. As a result

there is very little representation of traditional aspects such as ethnicity. Even those cultures that are represented (through attire, for example) reveal diversity of African cultures.

7.2.2.4 An experiential notion of the African being

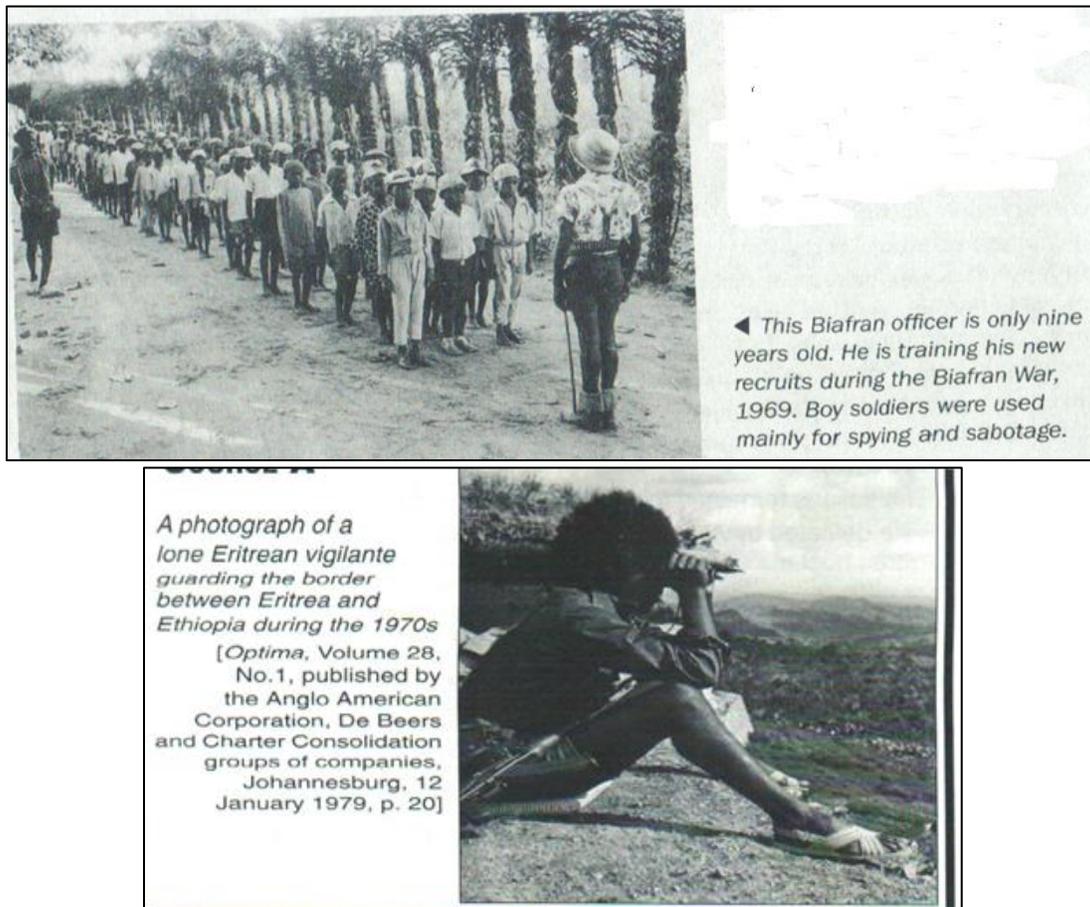
To understand the experiential notion of the African being I identified activities that are represented in the visual text. The challenge was that there are many close up pictures which do not give much details of the activity of the individuals concerned. Examples of such pictures include Wole Soyinka in Figure 7.4 (*Textbook 3*, p. 95), Margaret Kenyatta in Figure 7.12 (*Textbook 2*, p. 93) and Moise Tshombe in Figure 7.18 (*Textbook 1*, p. 103). As Figure 7.18 shows, even the captions may not reflect any activity or experiences that were being undergone.

Figure 7.18: A close-up picture of Moise Tshombe which does not give much detail of experiences (*Textbook 3*, p. 95).



Of the visual text that actually reveals activities, there is very little that constructs Africans as experiencing considerable positive development in the post-colonial era. One negative experience is that of war. For example, in *Textbook 4*, there are pictures of Africans in war as shown in Figure 6.23 (p. 99), and child soldiers (p. 102) in Figure 7.19. On the issue of war, *Textbook 2* has a picture of an Eritrean vigilante on the watch out (p. 87). In *Textbook 3* (p. 111) there is a picture of a post-war situation with soldiers clearing landmines in Angola in 1993 while in *Textbook 1* there is a picture of skulls of people murdered in Rwanda genocide (p. 82). Therefore all the textbooks construct an experience of war and conflict for the post-colonial African.

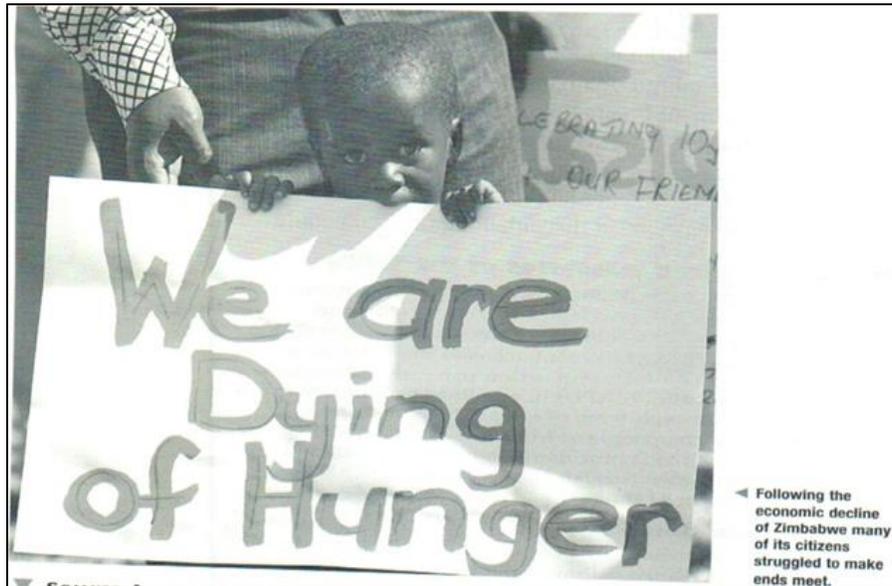
Figure 7.19: Visuals depicting experiences of war (*Textbook 4*, p. 102; *Textbook 2*, p. 87; *Textbook 3*, p. 111)

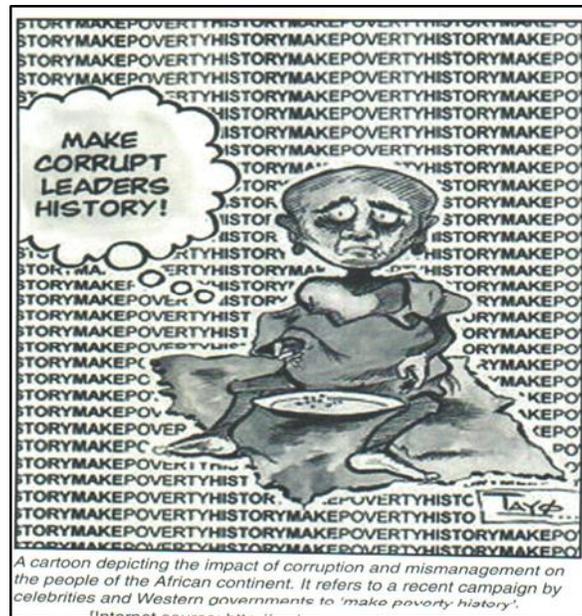




The other experiences centre on negative issues such as poverty, famine and starvation. Material and technological poverty is depicted in *Textbook 4* in visuals such as that of women pictured working in an Ujamaa village all using hoes to till the land in Figure 7.2 (p. 82), while the children pictured at school in Figure 6.25 are not wearing school uniform (p. 94). The same textbook also has pictures of starving children depicted earlier in Figure 6.23 (p. 103) and people receiving food aid shown in Figure 7.20 below (p. 108). There is also a picture of a famine victim in Ethiopia shown as part of the collage in Figure 6.24 from *Textbook 1* (p. 77). In *Textbook 3* hunger is illustrated in a picture on economic decline in Zimbabwe where a child holds up a poster written: “We are dying of hunger” (p. 84). However, there is a smartly dressed man behind the child as also shown in Figure 7.20. *Textbook 2* also has a cartoon of a poor, starving and malnourished African exhibiting a wretched demeanour (p. 90). The cartoon, also featured in Figure 7.20, shows that the poor African worries more about corrupt leaders than poverty.

Figure 7.20: Visuals depicting an African experience of hunger (*Textbook 4*, p. 108; *Textbook 3*, p. 84)



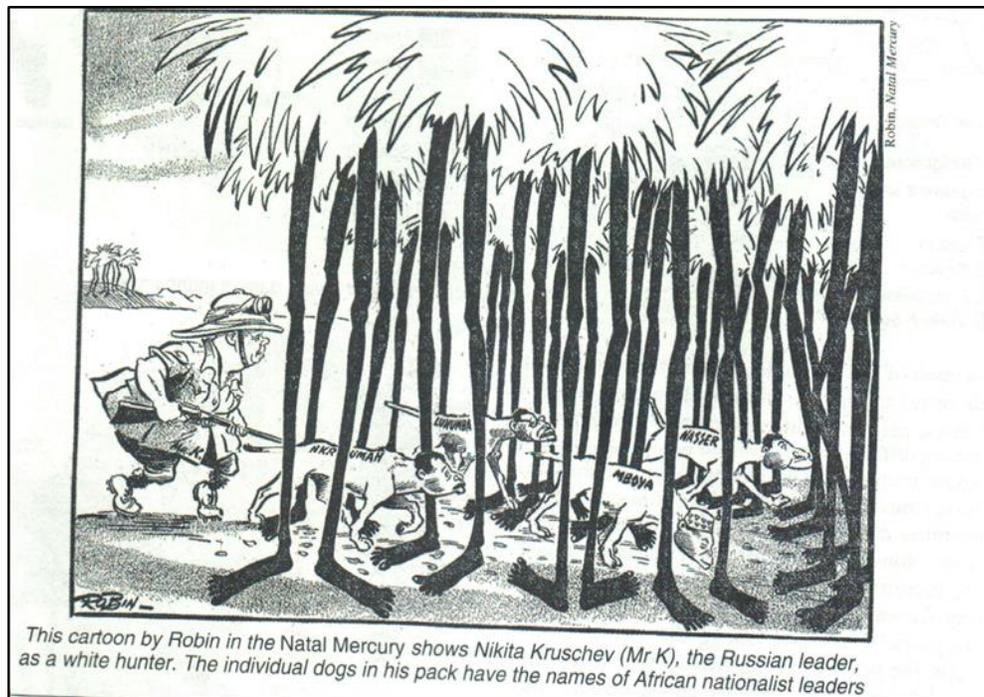


Africans are also constructed to be experiencing oppressive and corrupt governments in the post-colonial period thus leading to a new quest for freedom. The oppression and corruption can be viewed in Figure 6.22 which features the picture in which Kwame Nkrumah is referred to as a “super demon” (*Textbook 4*, p. 81). The tragedy that Africans experienced in the postcolonial period is also demonstrated in Figure 6.22 in the two pictures of Nkrumah’s statues in *Textbook 2*. One picture depicts the statue of a positive and buoyant Nkrumah as “the messiah” while adjacent to it is the picture of Nkrumah taken down and vandalised with children playing around it (p. 80). This depiction constructs an African experience whereby anti-colonial heroes are ultimately rejected by their own people. The separation of post-colonial African leaders from their citizens is illustrated by the caricature of “wabenzi” politicians in Figure 7.15 (*Textbook 4*, p. 85) which depicts greedy and corrupt African leaders who experienced opulence at the expense of the ordinary African citizens.

Figure 6.20 which features two cartoons on Africa as a poor beggar depicts contrasting African experiences. In one of the two cartoons, Africans are oppressed and abused by the African leaders such that even when they receive outside aid, it lands in the hands of the corrupt leaders. In the other cartoon, the African is portrayed as an innocent being trapped into

begging by the conning strategies of the World Bank, Group of Eight (G8)²⁴ and Western democracy *Textbook 1* (p. 75). The two cartoons thus create contrasting representations of the roots of the poverty and oppression of the ordinary Africans. However, in this regard, the cartoon in *Textbook 1* (p. 57) of African leaders as dogs unleashed by Khrushchev paints the leaders as serving the interests of foreign communist ideologues to the detriment of the citizens of Africa. The cartoon is shown in Figure 7.21.

Figure 7.21: African leaders represented as dogs of war in a forest of Africans (*Textbook 1*, p. 57)



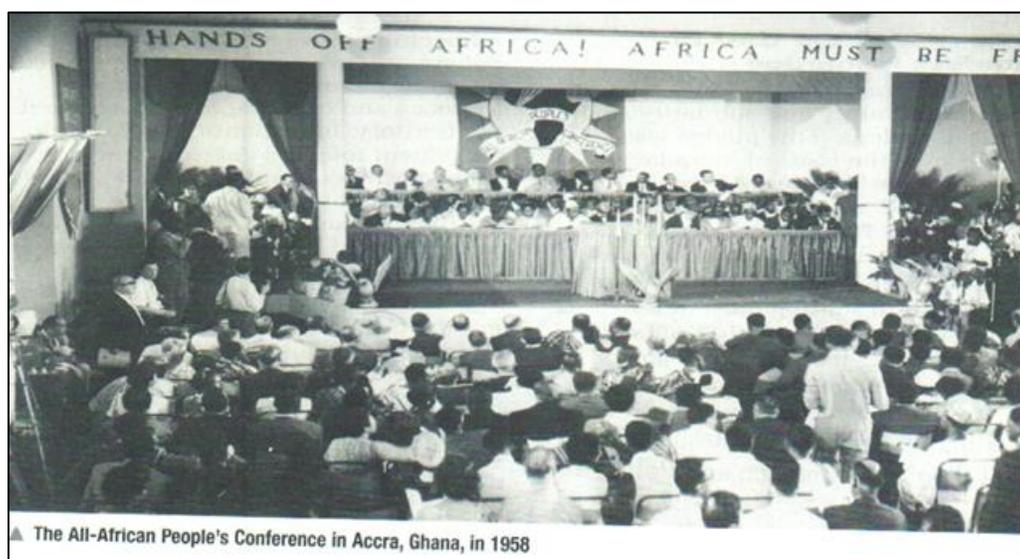
The experience of oppression of the African being is constructed to go hand in hand with the experience of the quest for freedom even in the post-colonial era. In *Textbook 4*, the freedom narrative is shown in the picture of crowds celebrating the fall of Nkrumah with a placard saying “Ghanaians are now free” in Figure 6.22 (p. 81). Similarly, the picture of Kenyans demonstrating against Ugandan president Idi Amin in Figure 7.1 implies a case of Africans challenging an African political leader (*Textbook 2*, p. 73). Not all leaders are constructed as enemies of their

²⁴ The G8 is an assembly of some of the world’s largest economies i.e. United Kingdom, Germany, United States of America, Russia, Japan, Italy, France and Canada

people though, as can be gleaned from the picture of “more than 5 million people” at Nasser’s funeral in Figure 7.10 from *Textbook 2* (p. 56). Therefore the experiences of Africans are constructed as diverse as some were disgruntled with their leaders while others were not.

Although the theme under focus is on post-colonial Africans, the visual text also retained the anti-colonial narrative, thus linking the post-colonial experiences of Africans to their colonial experiences. For example, the cartoon in Figure 6.18 shows how the Congo was exploited by Leopold, the Belgian monarch (*Textbook 1*, p. 99). In *Textbook 1*, this anti-colonial narrative is depicted in the drawing (Figure 6.17) of a chained man in a womb-like Africa, representing the impending birth of freedom from colonisation (p. 53). In addition, as shown in Figure 6.19, the poster collage in *Textbook 4* (p. 78) refers to freedom fighters against Western colonisation, promoting their importance in post-colonial Africa. *Textbook 3* also has an example of anti-colonial visual text in a picture of the All-African People’s Congress in 1958 with the declaration that “Hands off Africa! Africa must be free” (p. 107). This picture is shown in Figure 7.22 below. These examples of anti-colonial representations reveal how the textbooks’ visual text connects the colonial and the post-colonial experiences.

Figure 7.22: An example of an anti-colonial visual (*Textbook 3*, p. 107)



The visuals of experiences also move from the past into the present by depicting neo-colonialism. For instance, the cartoon of a woman speaking against universal brotherhood in Figure 7.13 also constructs a meaning that universal brotherhood is tantamount to neo-colonialism (*Textbook 3*, p. 79). Furthermore, the cartoon in Figure 6.20 depicts the issue of neo-colonialism through the efforts of the World Bank, the G8 and Western democracy. This view is also illustrated in Figure 7.8 in *Textbook 2*, where a cartoonist creates an impression of NGOs exploiting Tanzanians (p. 54). In *Textbook 2* the picture of the capture of Patrice Lumumba is implied to be a manifestation of neo-colonialism with his execution being carried out “on the instruction of a Belgian officer” (p. 78). The same picture appears in *Textbook 1* with a different caption (p. 104). All this visual text serves to construct a continuing experience of colonialism, even in the post-colonial times.

Figure 7.23: An example of a neo-colonial experience (*Textbook 2*, p. 98)



The behaviour of Africans that is depicted in the visual text also reflects their experiences. For example, the representation of child birth also reveals an experience of population growth. The graph in Figure 6.8 from *Textbook 1* shows Africans (sub-Saharan Africans to be specific) to be reproducing at a very high rate (p. 91). This is supported by the table in Figure 7.24 showing population growth in the Congo to have more than doubled between 1970 and 1985 and the

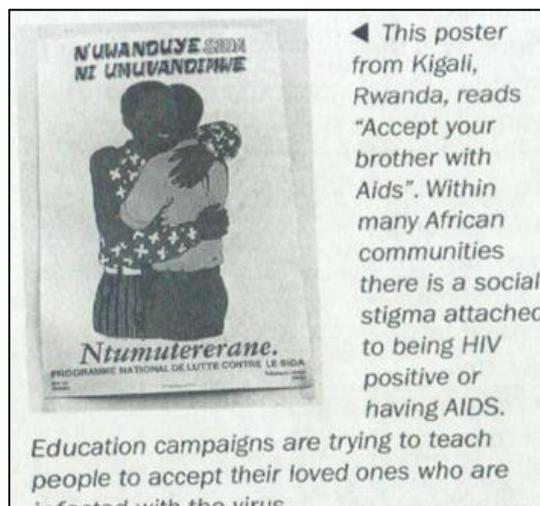
world map in Figure 6.6 which proves that Africans, with the exception of South Africans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians, have the highest fertility rate in the world (*Textbook 1*, p. 92). Therefore the demographic experiences of Africans are not visually represented as uniform.

Figure 7.24: The African experience of population growth (*Textbook 1*, p. 92).

Population of major cities in the Congo (Zaire), 1970 and 1985 (In thousands)					
City	Bukavu	Lumbumbashi	Kananga	Matadi	Kikwit
1970	135	318	429	110	112
1985	418	765	938	216	346
City	Mbandaka	Kinshasa	Mbuji-Mayi	Kisangani	
1970	108	1 323	256	230	
1985	294	2 796	625	557	

In spite of the mainly negative experiences identified above, there are visuals in which Africans are represented as resilient and have a positive outlook in spite of the challenges. The resilience is represented in the picture of Ethiopian children in Figure 6.3 shows them in a shanty background but with smiles on their faces while the poster on AIDS in Figure 7.25 also shows smiling faces (*Textbook 4*, p. 86; p. 100).

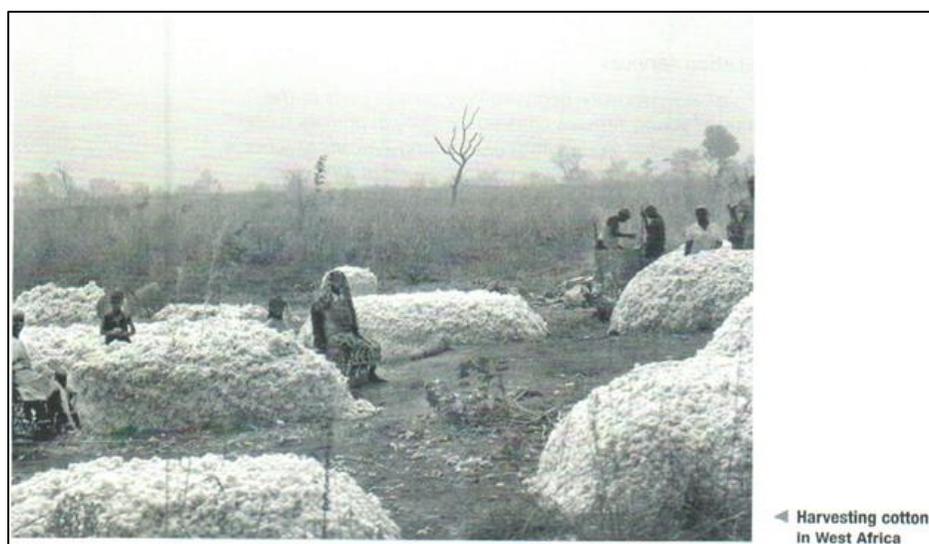
Figure 7.25: A positive outlook on challenges (*Textbook 4*, p. 100)



There are, however, visuals depicting positive experiences, particularly cases of African cooperation and unity at both the level of the leaders and that of the citizens. For example, the picture of Presidents Nyerere, Obote and Kenyatta in Figure 7.3 shows African leaders appearing in one accord (*Textbook 2*, p. 49). This does not mean that all African leaders are depicted in unity. To illustrate divisions amongst African leaders, from the same textbook, the cartoon in Figure 7.9 shows that aligning with the Apartheid government of South Africa, as was done by Dr Banda of Malawi, would be tantamount to behaving in a way that is not consistent with other African leaders – leading to Banda and South Africa being ostracised by other leaders since they are white sheep amongst black sheep (p. 63). This visual is therefore another case of differing African experiences.

At the level of the citizens, there are also visuals depicting African unity and cooperation in three of the selected textbooks. In *Textbook 4* (p. 82) unity is depicted in the picture of women working in an Ujamaa village (Figure 7.3), while in *Textbook 2* (p. 50) there is also a picture in Figure 7.3 of Tanzanians working together in an Ujamaa village as a sign of cooperation and success. This cooperation and productivity is also depicted in the picture in Figure 7.26 of people harvesting cotton in West Africa (*Textbook 3*, p. 93).

Figure 7.26: African cooperation and productivity (*Textbook 3*, p. 93).



The findings presented under this theme show that the post-colonial African being does have an experiential notion. This notion is mainly constructed out of negative experiences, which show Africans in general suffering from oppression by both local and international forces. The experiences are generally the same as those explained under the same theme in Chapter 6. The findings also show the Africans to have experienced few positive developments such as cases of unity and cooperation. The experiences of the African are also represented as not always uniform as some Africans (such as in South Africa and North Africa) had unique experiences. The experiences of the African islanders are also omitted.

7.2.2.5 A philosophical notion of the African being

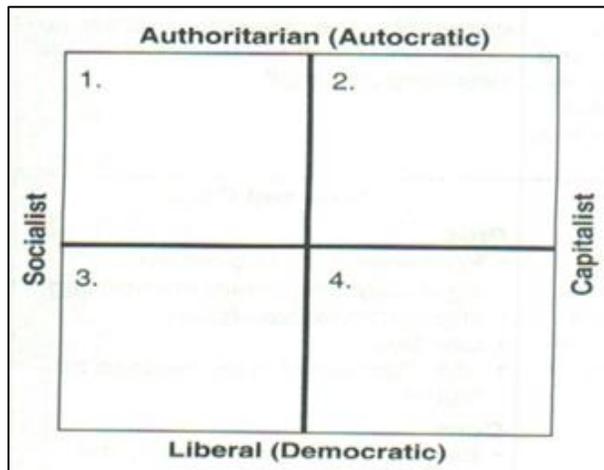
As with the verbal text, the visual text in the analysed textbooks constructs an African philosophy through depicting concepts and values related to the African being. Some of the evidence overlaps across themes. For example, the anti-colonial poster collage referred to earlier in Figure 6.19 from *Textbook 4* (p. 78) also promotes an African version of history, culture and arts. The collage claims that there is an African way of looking at the past in Africa, but African epistemology has been distorted through colonial discourse. This promotion of an African perspective is also evident in the cartoon in Figure 7.13 featuring a woman speaking against universal brotherhood (*Textbook 3*, p. 79).

The political values and ideologies that are represented in the visual text reveal hybridity in philosophy and in some cases a takeover of Western thought. For instance, in *Textbook 1*, there are three diagrams that can be connected to issues of ideology and they are shown in Figure 7.27. The first is a diagram of the nature of governments in general (p. 67) and the other one depicts a political spectrum in the form of quadrants of socialism/capitalism and liberalism/authoritarian (p. 68). The diagrams show concepts that are rooted in Western thought which are not applied directly to the African context. The third diagram in the same textbook represents ideological views on African development, from a left wing, centrist and right wing perspective (*Textbook 1*, p. 78). Although this diagram is referring to African issues, it

is also looking at them through the lens of a Western viewpoint of what a political spectrum should be.

Figure 7.27: Diagrams on universal views of political thought (Textbook 1, p. 67; p. 68; p. 78)

<p>Description Full Socialist State with no private ownership. The government controls the economy completely. This type of economy is often called a 'command economy'.</p>	<p>Description This type of state is described as having a 'mixed economy'. There is a mixture of private and public ownership. The economy is more regulated than in a full capitalist state, but less than in a fully socialist state.</p>	<p>Description Full Capitalist State with no public ownership. The government plays no significant role in the economy and is described as 'small'.</p>



Left wing	Centrist	Right wing
<p>Some writers and thinkers have tended to lay most of the blame for Africa's lack of development on the legacy of colonialism and its continuation in the form of neo-colonialism. For these commentators, Africa's problems can very largely be blamed on sources outside the continent, such as, for instance, international capitalism.</p>	<p>Those who occupy this position in the middle tend to see Africa's problems as emerging out of an interaction of external and internal factors. Neither the external nor the internal factors on their own should be seen as the main causes of Africa's problems.</p>	<p>Writers and thinkers at this end of the spectrum tend to blame Africa's woes very largely or entirely on Africans themselves, particularly African leadership. They might concede that some of colonialism's effects on Africa were negative, but they consider that African countries have had plenty of time to recover from any bad effects. They claim that many features of colonial rule were positive, and usually point to modern infrastructure and Westernised institutions providing a basis for further development as examples of its benefits.</p>

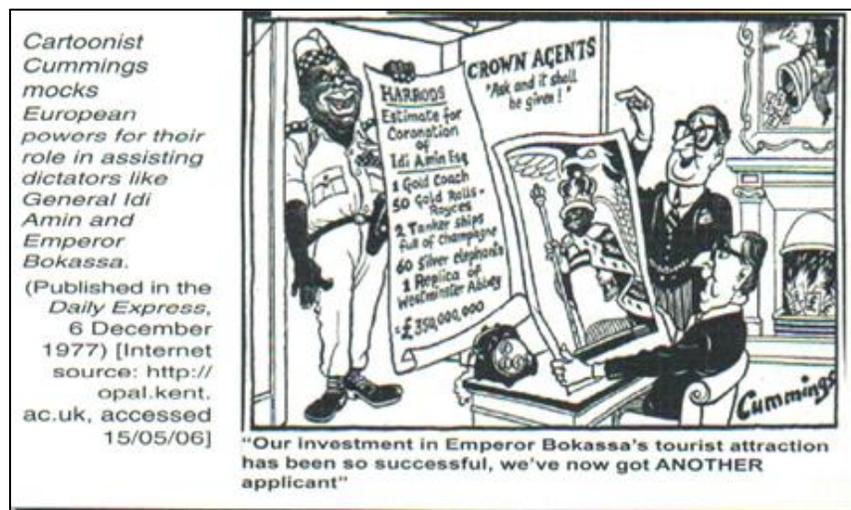
The experiences of the Africans described in the previous subsection also help create an understanding of the values underpinning African philosophy. For example, African leaders are represented as people who value wasteful luxury and grandeur. One example of such grandeur, as shown in Figure 6.28, is in the picture of the coronation of Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Republic with symbols of authority (*Textbook 1*, p. 66). The same picture appears in *Textbook 2* (p. 72). Other examples of grandeur have already been described in the previous chapter under the theme on the experiential notion of Africa in section 6.2.2.4. The visual text in the textbooks in general constructs the values of African leaders as unscrupulous. The caricature of the “wabenzi” politicians in Figure 7.15 (*Textbook 4*, p. 85) depicts further evidence of the selfish and depraved values. This representation is augmented by the picture of Idi Amin in military attire greedily devouring food in public in Figure 6.24 (*Textbook 1*, p. 77). The selfish politicians are thus represented as having values that are not central to the interests of the ordinary citizens as long as they have power, as is shown in a cartoon in Figure 7.28 featuring poor Africans welcoming a politician arriving in a helicopter to visit them (*Textbook 1*, p. 97).

Figure 7.28: Differing experiences for the African politicians and the African public (*Textbook 1*, p. 97)



The cartoon in Figure 7.21, where some African leaders are depicted as dogs unleashed by the Soviet leader Khrushchev, in a forest of African legs (*Textbook 1*, p. 57) illustrates how the leaders are used by foreign powers to abuse their own citizens. In the same manner, in *Textbook 2* (p. 73), Emperor Bokassa and Idi Amin are presented as “crown agents” who were supported by European powers (Figure 7.29). All these representations reflect a political philosophy whereby an African leader is manipulated by outside forces, but locally cannot be challenged and lives in luxury at the expense of the Africans populace.

Figure 7.29: African leaders represented as agents of foreign philosophies



There are also some positive values in the visual text which speaks to the philosophical orientation of the African being. These include unity, freedom and a bright future, represented by the rising sun, in the Malawian postage stamp referred to earlier in Figure 6.11 (*Textbook 4*, p. 78). The representation of unity and freedom is also evident in the picture in Figure 7.22 of Africans at a people’s congress in Ghana in 1958 stating that “hands off Africa! Africa must be free” (*Textbook 3*, p. 107). The congress also portrays the ideal of “solidarity or brotherhood” at the level of political leadership, an ideal which is also represented at the level of the ordinary citizens in the picture of women working in an Ujamaa village in Figure 7.2 (*Textbook 4*, p. 82). Most of these values are more of ideals rather than a reality as seen in the campaign poster and the postage stamp. Even the picture of women working together is evidently a staged picture, thus reflecting an ideal of cooperation. *Textbook 2* (p. 50) also has a picture of people “working

together in an ujamaa village” depicting cooperation and success as was shown in Figure 7.3. The idea of cooperation and good production is also represented in the picture in Figure 7.26 with the caption “harvesting cotton in West Africa” (*Textbook 3*, p. 93). There are also ideals of democracy and gender equality as seen in Figure 6.25 which features a campaign poster (*Textbook 4*, p. 89) and equal opportunity as represented in the picture women getting an education in class (*Textbook 4*, p. 101).

It can be said that the philosophical notion of the African being in the visual text is that it comprises anti-colonial and postcolonial ideals. The visual text also reveals progressive ideals of African unity, equality and cooperation which are meant to build a brighter future. However, the visual text that is not idealistic shows that the political philosophy that guides the way of life of most Africans leaves the citizens poor and oppressed while the people in power live in opulence. The analysis also showed that African philosophy is not essentially purely African since ideas from Western thought are applied in many of the visuals. Therefore the African being is constructed to have a hybrid and varied philosophy.

7.2.2.6 Summation

The visual text was strong in depicting the construction of some notions of the African being more than the others. For example, the physical and the experiential notions had more findings, while other notions such as the spatial and philosophical had limited findings. In addition, the constructions also contained contestations as was also the case in the verbal text.

In terms of space, the African being was constructed by the visual text to be either born or found in the African continent, with the emphasis of those from sub-Saharan Africa and largely excluding South Africans and those from islands of Africa. Physically, the African is constructed as Black and predominately male. There are ambiguities concerning the Africanness of racial groups such as Arabs, but Whites are excluded from Africanness. With regard to the cultural notion of the African being, the visual text emphasised hybridity and diversity. The African being is also actualised by experiences which are largely negative such as wars, poverty, and

oppression by both internal and external forces. It should be noted that the experiences are not always generalised. Philosophically, the African being is constructed as someone who has their own epistemology as revealed by ideals and values of equality, unity and cooperation. However, practically the African being is constructed as having a philosophy which enables oppression and inequality.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I set out to continue the presentation of the findings from my analysis with a focus on describing how the four History textbooks constructed the African being. My description shows that the analysis produced virtually the same themes, with differences in terms of the extent of representation. I presented the findings from my analysis of verbal data and visual data separately, although there were overlaps and interrelationships across the sections and also across themes within the same section. The description showed that the constructions of Africa and the African being were also intertwined with contestations and there were many cases of fluidity and greyness.

I conclude this chapter by summarily describing the construction of the African being in the analysed textbooks. While the verbal text revealed that Africans can be found both in Africa and abroad, the visual text seems to emphasise being born and living in Africa as criteria for Africanness. The visual text mainly focused on people from Tropical Africa, thus excluding people from South Africa, North Africa and the islands of Africa from its criteria of Africanness. In fact, both forms of text denote the exclusion of some people on the African continent from Africanness, especially so when race is considered. Therefore, the spatial notion of the African being is constructed in ambiguity.

Regarding the physical notion, race is a major criterion of Africanness. The African being is constructed in both the verbal and visual text as Black. White people are virtually ruled out and Arabs are treated with ambiguity. However, the use of the term 'Black African' in the verbal text seems to qualify that there are other Africans who are not necessarily Black. In addition,

although there was some female representation, the African is physically represented as largely male in both the verbal and visual text.

In the construction of the cultural notion of the African being there was representation of aspects such as language, arts, tradition, religion and, to a lesser extent, ethnicity in the verbal text. The visual text focused more on dress and gender roles. African culture was largely constructed as diverse and flux, even though there were also cases of generalisation of the African being. Therefore, the African being is largely represented as a cultural hybrid, with a marked representation of the influence of Western culture. Where a distinction is made, African culture is represented as traditional, while Western culture is represented as modern.

The experiences that make the African being are represented as largely negative as was also seen in Chapter 6. Both forms of text emphasise post-colonial Africa problems such as lack of development, wars, poverty, and oppression by both internal and external forces. The verbal text identifies the 1960s as the only period of notable positive experience and there is little reference to the contemporary experiences of the 21st century, although there are a few instances of representation of an optimistic future. The visual text describes some positive experiences such as access to education and cases of gender equality. However, most of the experiences that could be considered as positive are also represented as fundamentally symbolic. There are also contending representations of the agency of the African being in the textbooks as the Africans are, in some cases, represented as victims, while, in other cases they are as participants in determining their own fate.

The final theme was on the philosophical notion of the African being which was constructed through the representation of concepts and values that were associated with the African being. Here, the representation was that of an African being with hybrid philosophies with a mixture of African communalism and Western thoughts. The philosophy of the African being is also represented as ideally progressive and positive, but practically negative, particularly because it has led to the negative experiences previously identified. Nevertheless, the African being is constructed as having a positive outlook for the future, which is also idealistic.

The African being can be seen to be constructed in the analysed textbooks as multidimensional. Such findings also apply to the construction of the African being described in Chapter 6. As guided by my methodology, the descriptions can only be made sound meaning of through interpretation. Therefore, in the next chapter I will move on to present the interpretations of the findings described in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 8

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

8.1. Introduction

In the preceding two chapters I presented the findings of my descriptive analysis of the four South African History textbooks that I selected for this study. As explained in the methodology chapter, I conducted a CDA of the textbook section which covers the history of post-colonial Africa. In the descriptive analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7, I mainly found that Africa was constructed in the textbooks as four-dimensional: the spatial, the temporal, the humanised and the experiential notions. Correspondingly, the African being was constructed as five-dimensional: the spatial, the physical, the philosophical, the cultural and the experiential notions. It should be noted that although the textbooks are centrally vetted, there were evident differences across and within the textbooks, but assuming that one is exposed to these books collectively, they would discover trends and patterns that culminated into the stated notions of Africa and the African being.

The descriptive notions on their own do not make full meaning of the construction of Africa and the African being in the analysed textbooks. To make meaning of this description of text and its implications I will present the interpretation in this chapter. According to Janks (1997), the interpretation part is called processing analysis which involves the analysis of discourse practice from a situational and intertextual angle. In other words, in this chapter I will link the descriptive findings in Chapters 6 and 7 to the literature that I reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3, with respect to the context that I illuminated in Chapter 1 within which the textbooks are produced. It is this kind of analysis that ultimately elucidates meanings of Africa and the African being since meaning is at the core of interpretation. Only after attaining these meanings can I

understand the kind of African consciousness that is constructed by South African history textbooks.

For the sake of coherence, the organisation of this chapter tallies with the organisation of Chapters 6 and 7. Therefore, this chapter is divided into two sections – on the meanings of Africa and the African being respectively. These two sections are then divided into subsections on the verbal text and the visual text.

8.2 The meaning of Africa

8.2.1 Verbal text

8.2.1.1 A spatial notion of Africa

The findings described in Chapter 6 showed how Africa was spatially constructed by means of the verbal text in different ways. In some cases, Africa is spatially constructed as part of a bigger world. The meaning that is emerging from the textbooks is that one cannot make sense of Africa without contextualising it within a wider geographical space. This implies that the spatial essence of Africa can only be understood if Africa is viewed as distinct from other spatial entities. Implicitly, the meaning is that the rest of the world cannot similarly be spatially essentialised if its sum parts such as Africa are not actualised. As shall be explained later, the wider world is mainly used as a tool to measure the relativity of Africa, for example in terms of development. This kind of construction is not new as it was mentioned in Chapter 2 that, from the earliest cartography, Africa was always constructed as part of a wider world (Butler & Rhys, 1908; Johnston, 1894). The representation of Africa as part of a more expansive space can result in a construct within the textbook user's mind that Africa cannot be understood in isolation. According to Bayart (2000) Africa is "neither more nor less part of the planet" (p. 217). This is now more so with the continuing push towards globalisation where Africa is represented as part of the global village (Thapisa, 2000).

It was described how the representation of Africa also takes a different positioning in the same textbooks. The fact that some of the textbooks decide to contextualise Africa within just the Third World reflects an attempt to construct Africa as belonging to a special group of spatial regions and not the global village as such. Therefore, there is a contradiction where Africa is, on one hand, constructed as belonging to the whole world as such, and on the other, belonging to the Third World.

In other cases, the verbal text represents Africa as a distinct standalone space – not belonging to a bigger space. The spatial notion of Africa as one distinct unit is fundamentally represented in the verbal text as static and unchanging (from the precolonial era, through the colonial into the post-colonial era). In such cases, Africa is constructed as a given, almost implying that the space that is Africa today has always been known as Africa. This is contrary to the literature arguing that there have been alternative lexicalisations to Africa before (such as Libya and Ethiopia) and that the space that these lexicalisations have referred to has not been constant (Butler & Rhys, 1908; Johnston, 1894). This rigid representation of Africa also constructs Africa as a space that will eternally remain the same. In addition, the construction of Africa as “the birthplace of humankind” in *Textbook 4* (p. 79) carries the connotation that Africa is important in human history since all humans originated from that space. Such a construction tallies with van Dijk’s (2006) view that Africa is from where everyone in the world comes. It also tallies with the discourses that were characteristic of the time of the 2010 FIFA World Cup where visitors to South Africa were told that they were “Welcome home” because of the hominoid fossil remains found in the country.

While there are cases of generalisation of the African space, the same textbooks’ verbal text also represents Africa as not one absolute spatial unit. The use of lexicalisations such as ‘sub-Saharan Africa’ or ‘Tropical Africa,’ with *Textbook 1* openly declaring its focus on sub-Saharan Africa as representative of Africa is evidence of this. In this respect, the textbooks follow the view of the Sahara acting as a barrier and not a bridge or highway through Africa (Grinker & Steiner, 2005). This is despite the fact that the Sahara is a relatively recent geographical phenomenon if the history of humankind is considered in its totality.

In addition, even sub-Saharan Africa itself is subject to cases of exceptionalism. The use of the lexicalisation 'Tropical Africa' spontaneously implies the exclusion of South Africa (since only a minute fraction of the country lies between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn). While scholars such as Hood (2003); Mamdani (1999); Morton, (2007) and Van Dijk, (2006) argue that the original name of Africa did not refer to the whole continent, they also argue that it originally referred to North Africa. Therefore, what is considered the real Africa in the textbooks goes contrary to the original meaning of Africa as a space (which mainly focused on North Africa). This shows that the notion of Africa has been flipped over time, with the Sahara acting as a major geographical screen.

The descriptive findings further showed that there is a little reference to natural regions, such as the Great Lakes Region and the Sahel, in the textbooks. These representations imply the construction of Africa as a collection of distinct places rather than one homogenous space. This spatial meaning of Africa is not emphasised much in the textbooks since there is a silence on cardinal point-based regions such as West Africa or southern Africa. As already noted, North Africa is mentioned in spite of the textbooks committing to focus on sub-Saharan Africa. The conspicuous featuring of North Africa is not only a contradiction, but also further demonstrates the uniqueness that is accorded to the Maghreb in the textbooks. The silences on the other cardinal point-based regions can be explained by the argument given by Mamdani (1999) that sub-Saharan Africa is constructed as homogenous and as such, for example, what happened in Central Africa is taken as representative of what happened in East Africa.

While in some cases Africa was constructed as a homogenous space, the textbooks also constructed it as heterogeneous. For example, the singling out of the merger of Tanzania and Zanzibar as the most successful political union implies that the spatial unity of Africa is still far-fetched. The only unions that are foregrounded, thus constructed as successful, in the textbooks are organisational unions such as OAU and AU, SADC and OCAM and ECOWAS. By spatial unity, I refer to the eradication of boundaries such as national political borders which were drawn, for the most part, by Western colonialists and maintained by post-colonial nationalist governments. The textbooks are produced in such a nationalist post-colonial context

and thus portray that sense of nationalism which results in countries being represented as different.

The findings interpreted in the foregoing two paragraphs attest to a multifarious spatial notion of Africa that is constructed by the textbooks. This multifarious notion is constructed in the main by virtue of the references to particular places which are part of Africa. As already alluded to, countries from the Maghreb and southern Africa (particularly South Africa) are barely mentioned, indirectly confirming the spatial construction of Africa as consisting of countries in the Tropical region. The recurrent mentioning of particular countries, such as Rwanda, Burundi and Nigeria, and the general focus on countries in Tropical Africa, means that there are countries which are portrayed as more representative of Africa than others. This is what Mamdani (1999, p. 128) meant when he explained that, in common discourses “Equatorial Africa – between the Sahara and the Limpopo – is what was referred to as the ‘real Africa’ or ‘the Dark Continent’.” Based on this finding, it therefore cannot be assumed that an African country is that which is located on the continent of Africa. The spatial construction of Africa becomes even more complicated when the term Africa is used interchangeably with OAU (and thus AU) as was presented in some of the textbooks, especially if one considers the fact that a country like Haiti which is not located on the continent, has been a member of the AU since 2013 (*Haitian Times*, 2013).

As already alluded to, the spatial silences are more evident with regard to South Africa and the islands of Africa. Concerning South Africa specifically, the description of findings in Chapter 6 revealed how all the textbooks, albeit in different ways, constructed exceptionalism. The historical references to South Africa seem to serve as a comparison between Apartheid South Africa and the rest of the continent. Only *Textbook 1* declares South Africa to be “one of Africa’s most important countries” (*Textbook 1*, p. 79) constructing a South Africa that is part of Africa. Nevertheless, this view of South Africa constructs a case of exceptionalism in that it is assumed that the countries of Africa do not carry equal importance and South Africa is constructed as both special and unique. This exceptionalism is what Mamdani (1999) referred to regarding the position of South Africa in Africa. In addition, none of the analysed textbooks spatially locates

the islands of Africa in the verbal text. The silences on islands in the verbal text create a mind-set whereby the textbook users view the islands as not *de facto* part of Africa. Such a construction relates to Collins and Burns' (2007) view that some islands are sometimes regarded as "of Africa rather than in it" (p. 21).

In Chapter 2, I quoted Hood (2003, p. 26) to have pointed out that "Africa in Greco-Roman times was a geographically and intellectually imprecise construct." From the analysis of the verbal text in the selected textbooks, it seems that the quotation continues to apply to the present day. The linguistic choices show that the name of the continent is granted as Africa, but its spatial designation still has some contestations or, at best, some lack of clarity. Therefore, the spatial meaning of Africa is vague, with evidence of both inclusivity and exclusivity with reference to South Africa, North Africa and the islands of Africa. The unstable construction of Africa in the textbooks also relates to the contending discourses on Africa in the South African context.

8.2.1.2 A temporal notion of post-colonial Africa

The concept of post-colonial Africa is also not uniformly constructed in the verbal text of the analysed textbooks. The lexicalisations within the textbooks seem to imply that the start of the post-colonial era in Africa can be marked by the advent of independence. However, the complication is that independence is not a well-defined concept within the textbooks. The representation in the textbooks clearly defines Uhuru which is alternatively lexicalised as freedom. The confusion that the textbooks raise is that they tend to use "post-colonial" and "post-independence" interchangeably. This use would imply that the postcolonial period in Africa started with the beginning of independence from Western colonisation. The fact that the textbooks construct Uhuru as freedom and not as independence means that independence and Uhuru are not represented as being similar. The lack of clarity is particularly evident if one considers two factors: that independence for some countries did not necessarily entail freedom; and that some countries, such as Eritrea and South Sudan did not necessarily gain their independence from a Western country. This is the crux of the contention over the use of

the concept colonial with reference to South Africa, for example, since dates of independence such as 1961 are not associated with freedom in the country. As a result, the textbooks construct a fuzzy temporal notion of post-colonial Africa whereby both the beginning and the end of post-colonial Africa cannot be unambiguously determined. In fact post-colonial Africa is constructed as temporally perpetual in nature and thus unending. This makes Uhuru to be constructed as a process rather than an event.

Nevertheless, the description of findings showed that in spite of the ambiguity in the verbal text, the pattern emerging from the analysis is that post-colonial Africa is constructed to be ranging from the 1960s to the present-day. The verbal text shows the 1960s to be a unique period where there was economic growth against great odds; the 1970s to be the beginning of crises in most of Africa which climaxed in the 1980s; and the 1990s to be marking the beginning of new hope for democracy and growth. This construction shows that post-colonial Africa in the textbooks is also constructed as an assortment of different temporal frames, implying that different parts of Africa have not had the same temporal notion of the post-colonial condition.

The textbooks tend to use colonialism as a time-marker, in African history as is observed by McClintock (1993). This approach is problematic as attested by the ambiguities and differences on the meaning of post-colonial Africa across the analysed textbooks. In fact, Tosh describes post-colonialism as nothing more than just a convenient, but superficial chronological marker (Tosh, 2009). This is in addition to the argument that using colonialism as a significant time-marker results in giving colonialism the prominence and prestige that postcolonial textbooks are supposed to counter (McClintock, 1993). Therefore the textbooks become embroiled in the entanglement of trying to frame Africa within a post-colonial time.

While post-colonial Africa is linked historically to the colonial past in the verbal text, it is not represented as connected to the pre-colonial past and there is little reference to the future. Only one textbook (*Textbook 4*) constructs present-day Africa to be connected to both the past beyond Western colonialism and the future. All the other textbooks only refer to Africa's past as from the colonial period. Silences on the precolonial past construct it as a romantic idealised period that has not contributed to the largely negative experiences which were described in the

experiential notion of Africa (Adebajo, 2004). This portrayal also goes hand-in-hand with the narrative of constructing Africa as destroyed by Western colonialism. Focusing on just the colonial past, however, does not develop a holistic historical consciousness whereby the textbook users develop an awareness of the nature and role of history in determining the past, present and future (Ross, 1984; Rösen, 1993; Seixas, 2006).

The interpretation of the findings on the temporal notion of Africa shows that the verbal text of the analysed textbooks constructs a confused notion of the post-colonial period. Nevertheless, the same textbooks produced a pattern of post-colonial Africa as represented in the period from the 1960s to the present-day. It can, therefore be said that there are contradictions within the same textbooks over the meaning of Africa in a temporal dimension. These contradictions give credence to Tosh's (2009) assertion that the post-colonial is an ambiguous construct. The confusion over the meaning of post-colonial in the textbooks also relates to the South African context in which the date of independence is sometimes acknowledged as 1961, but is not celebrated at all or independence is confused with the advent of 'freedom' in 1994.

8.2.1.3 A humanised notion of Africa

This theme emerged because of cases in which the analysed textbooks tend to construct Africa by virtue of the humans who can be associated with the concept Africa. For example, the Maghreb is lexicalised as Arab Africa, while sub-Saharan Africa is called Black Africa. This has two implications: that there are two Africas and that the two Africas are synonymous to two distinct racial groups. The pace of Africa is also linked to religion in *Textbook 3* where there is reference to the "Christian South against the Muslim North in Chad" (p. 110). This then constructs the places within Africa to be identifiable by virtue of the religions of their occupiers. The issue with such a construction is that it makes some people as not belonging to the parts of Africa with which they are not identified. For instance, someone from "Black Africa" becomes foreign in "Arab Africa." It also excludes from Africa anyone who is neither Black nor Arab. But it then means that an Arab, for instance, from the Middle East can still feel at home in Arab Africa. This racialisation of Africa, according to Mamdani (1999), is a result of the Arab

incursions of the 7th century AD and in the view of Fage and Tordoff, (2002, p. 5) resulted in sub-Saharan Africa being lexicalised as “Negro Africa.” Therefore, the humanisation of Africa in the textbooks in many ways borrows from discourses that have been in existence for centuries in literature on Africa.

Other humanised notions of Africa stem from the identification of parts of Africa by virtue of their ideologies (such as the Casablanca and the Monrovia groups) and languages (such as Anglophone and Francophone Africa). Using ideological groups to represent Africa is problematic because not all of Africa, especially today, can be divided into supporters of either the Casablanca or Monrovia groups. Furthermore, the majority of countries in Africa never belonged to either of the two groups since members were only those countries that had then attained independence. Similarly, not all of Africa can be described as just either Anglophone or Francophone since Britain and France were not the only colonial powers in Africa and it excludes Ethiopia which avoided Western colonisation. The exclusion of groups, such as the Lusophone, reflects the textbooks’ lack of identification with other parts of Africa

To sum up, the verbal text to a greater extent constructed a multifarious humanised notion of Africa since Africa was represented as not necessarily belonging to one homogenous group of humans. This representation in the verbal text relates to what Grinker and Steiner (2005) argue on the question of the Sahara being either a barrier, a bridge or highway through Africa. But of more relevance is the discussion of the view by Fage and Tordoff (2002) that Africa was increasingly being defined through the conceptualisation of the continent’s inhabitants rather than on its own physical make up.

8.2.1.4 An experiential notion of Africa

Three clear subthemes emerged from the description of the experiential notion of Africa showing how Africa is constructed into essence by virtue of its experiences. In fact, the dominant meaning of Africa in the verbal text is concerned with what Africa has experienced and continues to experience in the post-colonial period. Most of the experiences are generalised in the textbooks, although some of the generalisations are qualified with

statements such as “in many African countries” (*Textbook 1*, p. 86). The choice of the word ‘many’ instead of ‘a few’ or ‘several’ shows how the textbooks still try to generalise the experiences. The generalisation of these experiences has the effect of implying that post-colonial Africa started at the same time (related to the theme on the temporal notion of Africa) and that the experiences of Africa are singular and homogenous.

In the first sub-theme, I described how the textbooks constructed Africa as an arena of the experiences. This has the meaning that Africa itself is constructed as not having played a part in its own past but served as a playground for other players to come and play out their actions. In this way, Africa is represented as lacking in agency. This representation tallies with the view of Africa as incapable of generating history as enunciated by scholars such as Hegel (1956) and Trevor-Roper (1965). This representation can also be understood through Gyekye’s (1995) argument that Africa has always been seen through negative representations mainly emanating from European thought and that these discourses still continue to dominate knowledge on Africa.

The second subtheme on the experiential notion of Africa dwelt on how Africa, is represented in the verbal text as a victim, particularly of the Western world. This victimhood is described in events that happened in both the colonial and the post-colonial periods. Such a construction of Africa removes the responsibility for the problems on the continent away from Africa and places it in the hands of other agents. While there is evident identification of the Western world as the perpetrators, Africa is also constructed as being victim to non-human phenomena such as environmental catastrophes, droughts and famine, and other human-directed problems such as civil wars or world events, and economic crises and the Cold War. The construction of Africa as a victim implies that Africa was thriving before colonisation and that the problems that Africa experiences in the post-colonial era are a result of Western colonialism and neo-colonialism (Adebajo, 2004).

The final subtheme was on the positive and negative experiences of Africa. While acknowledging the subjectivity of the terms “positive” and “negative,” I used my theoretical framework to describe the negative experiences as the ones that portrayed Africa as deficient

and incapacitated while the positive experiences represented Africa with agency and the ability to achieve. Although *Textbook 1* warns against emphasising the negative issues, all four textbooks share more negative than positive experiences about Africa. The major negative experiences of Africa include civil wars, undemocratic rule, corruption, poor policy and service delivery, economic stagnation and regression leading to poverty. Thus the meaning of post-colonial Africa is essentialised by negativity. This fits with the description of Africa by Adams, King and Hook (2010) who have virtually nothing positive to say about post-colonial Africa, something that was characteristic of the notion of Africa through Western eyes within colonial discourses.

The positive experiential notion is evident in the verbal text of the textbooks. However, there is a tendency to focus on particular countries when describing the positives. For example, Botswana is singled out as exceptional when referring to good governance in Africa. The positive experiences are also attributed to specific time frames. For example, the textbooks argue that the 1960s was generally a period of positives in many African countries. The emphasis on the negative experiences of Africa reveals Mamdani's (1999, p. 132) "dual assumption" whereby, on one hand, Africa is viewed as a collective failure or "Dark Continent" while, on the other hand, some success stories are distanced from the collective African designation. In further revealing the dual assumption, particularly in *Textbook 2* and *3*, South Africa, for example, is represented as one of the active players in Africa together with Western countries. South Africa is thus constructed as experientially different from the rest of Africa and as if it were not part of Africa. This interpretation can be linked to the discourses within the South African context on whether South Africa and Africa share the same experiences.

In addition, exceptionalism was also revealed in the verbal text, not just by omission, but by how some places are constructed as different from the rest. As already noted, Botswana is given as an exception to the post-colonial problems besetting Africa, such as lack of democracy, military dictatorships and abuse of power. In this way, Botswana is not omitted, but is represented to be experientially different to what is constructed to have been happening in the rest of Africa. Another case of exception is Tanzania which, in addition to be constantly used as

a case study, is used in *Textbook 2* in several instances as a comparison to other countries in Africa. For example, Ujamaa, Tanzania's African Socialism, is presented as an alternative to Ghana's version of African Socialism. These representations can be interpreted as constructing an Africa that has both homogenous and multifarious experiences.

The verbal text even compared Africa's experiences of issues such as development to the rest of the world rather than viewing it as part of the world. In this respect, Neubert (2005) argues that comparing Africa, for instance to Europe should not be about relativity but about how and what things differ – which is not what the analysed textbooks do. Instead, in the textbooks the rest of the world is seemingly setting a benchmark for Africa to emulate in terms of experiences.

To sum up this theme, the experiences of Africa in the textbooks largely tally with the negative stereotypes as revealed by researchers such as Adams, King and Hook (2010). The construction of Africa as lacking agency by virtue of being an arena where players come to make history reveals traces of the views of Africa through Western eyes as was represented by scholars such as Hegel (1956) and Trevor-Roper (1965). By being represented as an exploited victim, Africa's construction of lack of agency is further reinforced. In spite of such generalised constructions of the experiential notion of Africa, the cases of exceptionalism through omission or differentiation reveal contesting homogenous and multifarious experiential notions of Africa. In the case of South Africa, the discourses in the country also construct differentiation.

8.2.1.5 Summation

The interpretation of the representation in the verbal text is that Africa is a spatially imprecise construct as has always been the case in earlier representations in history. The imprecision of Africa stems from the generalisations of Africa as a unit on one hand, and the ambiguities on the place of, especially, South Africa, North Africa and the islands of Africa on the other. This unstable construction of Africa relates to the contending discourses on Africa emerging out of South Africa.

On the temporal notion of Africa, the meaning that emerges from the verbal text of the analysed textbooks is also confused. While post-colonial Africa is represented as temporally ranging from the 1960s to the present-day, there are contradictions on the concept of being post-colonial. These ambiguities result in the place of South Africa in post-colonial Africa being constructed as unique since the country fails to fall perfectly within this time frame because of the prolonged protraction of apartheid.

The findings which revealed the representation of Africa as taking a human form related to a meaning of Africa that is based on the conceptualisation of the continent's inhabitants. Representing Africa as human has the implication that space cannot be divorced from the people that occupy it, thus meaning that Africa cannot be understood without factoring in the occupants. In that regard, the emerging meaning was of a multifarious humanised notion of Africa since the inhabitants' race, religion and ideology were not always generalised as common in the verbal text.

When Africa was constructed on the basis of the experiences, it is constructed as lacking agency as it is represented as either an arena or an exploited victim. The lack of agency augurs well with the largely negative experiences associated with Africa in the verbal text. The emerging meaning largely tallies with the mainly negative stereotypes that have dogged Africa even in the past. In spite of such generalised constructions of the experiential notion of Africa, the cases of exceptionalism through omission or differentiation reveal contesting homogenous and multifarious experiential notions of Africa.

The meaning of the contestations in the verbal text can be understood on the basis of the contestations within the discourses that dominate the context within which the textbooks are produced. The hybridity of the meanings of Africa reveals the diverse nature of Africa and the diverse discourses about it in South Africa. Therefore, the existence of uncertainties in the textbooks was not surprising if one considers the diversity of discourses illustrated in the background and contextualisation of this study. While the views of van Dijk (2006) and Markowitz (1996) that Africa does not actually exist might seem extreme, the verbal text of the

analysed textbook confirms the complications discussed in the literature review with regard to trying to pin down Africa as a concept.

8.2.2 Visual text

8.2.2.1 A spatial notion of Africa

Maps were the main source of data for the spatial construction of Africa in the visual text. While the literature expressed the contestations over the naming of Africa (Feinberg & Solodow, 2002; Johnston, 1894; Johnson, 1991; Hood, 2003; Mamdani, 1999; Morton, 2007), the visual text largely did not reflect contestations over the name of the space, with the one exception where Afrika is used as the Afrikaans lexicalisation. Such a representation of Africa is in tandem with current dominant post-colonial discourses whereby Africa is the traditional lexicalisation for the continent, with the exception of alternative discourses which may prefer Ethiopia or Afrika (Nehusi, 2004).

Where Africa was visually constructed in the textbooks as part of a larger world, the meaning of Africa was represented through comparison with other parts of the world. As a result, Africa was constructed as not isolated from the rest of the world. From a perspective of history education, the contextualisation of Africa in the world is essential if learners are to develop historical literacy (Wineburg, 1993).

In the two textbooks with maps which constructed Africa as a distinct spatial entity, it was evident that the islands of Africa were generally taken for granted. Only Madagascar is shown to be part of Africa, but islands such as the Comoros, Mauritius, Seychelles, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe and Réunion are omitted. This exclusive portrayal means that the mainland represents the visual spatial notion of Africa. However, all the islands feature in *Textbook 3*, thus constructing an inclusive meaning of Africa. This inclusivity is made more evident by the fact that the map identifies Western Sahara as a country which is a deliberate political statement by the textbook since the sovereignty of Western Sahara is contested in some fora. This political stance tallies with the discourses of liberalism in South Africa, based on which the

government of South Africa has diplomatic ties with Western Sahara and keeps calling for its self-determination (UPES, 2009).

The distinction between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa in the visual text is not as clear as was represented in the verbal text. In fact, the only allusion to this distinction is in *Textbook 1* (which also strongly states this standpoint in the verbal text) where a map of Africa depicts South Africa, Egypt and Libya as exceptions to the rest of Africa. This distinction supports the exceptionalism of North Africa and South Africa that was constructed in the verbal text of the textbooks. Although Mamdani (1999) raises issues with South African exceptionalism, the findings described in Chapter 6 reveal an exceptionalism that also extends to North Africa. Similarly, the exceptionalism of North Africa contradicts the meaning of Africa in early cartography, whereby present-day North Africa used to be the space that was called Africa (Butler & Rhys, 1908; Johnston, 1894).

Other visuals revealed a multifarious spatial notion of Africa for they did not represent Africa as a single unit. This was the case with visuals with captions merely referring to particular African countries and not to Africa as a whole. These country-specific visuals create a direct contestation to the homogenous spatial notion of Africa that is also evident in the same textbooks.

To sum up this theme, as was the case in the verbal text, the spatial meaning of Africa is represented as unstable in the visual text of the analysed textbooks. This meaning is validated by the way Africa is constructed within and across textbooks as simultaneously spatially homogenous and multifarious. Therefore both forms of text confirm Hood's (2003) assertion of Africa being a geographically and intellectually imprecise construct.

8.2.2.2 A temporal notion of post-colonial Africa

For this theme I arrived at the descriptive findings through constructing timelines based on the dates on the visuals that are in the textbooks. As seen from Figure 6. 13, the textbooks have varying timeframes for post-colonial Africa. This reveals a complication in the construction of

post-colonial Africa since a country such as Liberia is represented as having been post-colonial before some countries were even colonised. Such a complication lies at the heart of the contestations of postcolonial theory, especially the contestation over identification of the start and end of the post-colonial period (St-Pierre, 1997; Tosh, 2009). The contestation over the post-colonial time marker promotes the construction of a multifarious temporal notion of Africa whereby it is easier to look at specific countries rather than Africa as a single unit. It should be noted that the analysed textbooks were published before events, such as the independence of South Sudan occurred, which have further contributed in complicating the temporal notion of post-colonial Africa.

Similarly the description in Chapter 6 also illuminated differences in the temporal future projection of post-colonial Africa. Such a positioning is related to the arguments by St-Pierre (1997) and Tosh (2009) on the demise of post-colonial time. Three of the textbooks deal with issues in post-colonial Africa up to the mid-1990s giving an impression that the post-colonial period ended then. The exception is *Textbook 1* which features a visual that projects post-colonial issues to 2050, thus constructing a future consciousness for the textbook readers. As argued by scholars on historical consciousness – chief of whom is Rüsen (1993) – an historical consciousness is not only grounded in the past but the present and future.

The visual text in the analysed textbooks shows us that the temporal notion of post-colonial Africa has an unstable meaning, because of the differences in post-colonial time-frames across and within textbooks. Nevertheless, the dominant meaning is that post-colonial Africa started from the 1960s to the 1990s, unlike the verbal text which constructed the post-colonial as continuing into the present-day.

8.2.2.3 A humanised notion of Africa

The description of how Africa is visually represented by virtue of the people associated with it revealed that Africa was also constructed as racialised and gendered. By constructing Africa as fundamentally racially Black, the visual text racialises Africa similarly to the verbal text. The identified exceptions to the representation of Africa as Black are South Africa, Egypt and Libya.

As with the verbal text, the meaning that is constructed in the visual text is that of Tropical Africa as “Negro Africa” (Fage and Tordoff, 2002, p. 5).

The visual representation of Africa as predominately male is different from the verbal text where Africa is not gendered. It was discussed in the literature review that Africa, and space in general, had for a long time been feminised thus representing a justification for exploitation (Schipper, 1987; Stambach, 1999; Stratton, 1994; Wasike, 2009). Therefore the visual text in the analysed textbooks has a meaning that goes contrary to what the literature has identified in terms of a gendered notion of Africa.

It can be summed up that the humanised notion in the visual text shows Africa as having a stable meaning, unlike other notions. The construction of Africa as largely male and Black links Africa to the African being. Africa is also constructed as not fully developed and this can be linked to issues of underdevelopment which are also dealt with in the experiential notion of Africa.

8.2.2.4 An experiential notion of Africa

The descriptive findings on the experiential notion of Africa from visual text were more comprehensive than on the other notions, but also full of contestations. One major finding in this theme was that of Africa in general being constructed as an innocent victim of exploitation from forces from outside the continent. Africa is thus represented as having been in bondage and the coming of the post-colonial era was equivalent of a rebirth. In spite of this rebirth, the exploitation is represented as continuing in the post-colonial era. This representation means that Africa might be post-colonial but is not experiencing a postcolonial condition. The visual text therefore reinforces St-Pierre’s (1997) argument that being postcolonial is a virtual impossibility and, in fact, “‘postcolonial’ is only too often a polite expression for states that are both economically and culturally neocolonial” (p. 10).

In this neo-colonial depiction, Africa is thus constructed as lacking in agency as was the case in the verbal text. The only agency that Africa is credited for is for actually participating in its own

exploitation. This constructs a meaning of Africa that is based on incapacitation relating to self-determination, with propensity for self-infliction with the help of outside powers (Adams, King & Hook, 2010).

The foregoing representation is evidence of a homogenous construction of the experiential notion of Africa in that all of Africa is constructed as having experienced Western colonisation and the Cold War. In contrast, the fact that each country is represented as having its own date of independence shows a multifarious notion of Africa's experiences. Africa's experiences are also constructed in the visual text to have been regional. North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa are once again constructed as having had differing experiences in relation to, for example, population and economic growth. In one outstanding case, North Africa was constructed as being so unique that it was paired with Western Asia rather than with sub-Saharan Africa. This representation furthers the view of the Sahara as a physical and ideological bridge or barrier between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa (Grinker & Steiner, 2005).

As was the case in the verbal text, the experiences of Africa as constructed in the visual text were described as largely negative, with a few positives. Although it is debatable what can be considered a positive or negative experience, I base my interpretations on the postcolonial theoretical perspective. The negative experiences of Africa, such as a lack of democracy, warfare, environmental disasters and poverty are congruent with Adams, King and Hook's (2010) description of post-colonial Africa. This negative description is dominant in many discourses on Africa and is captured in Mamdani's (1999, p. 132) "dual assumption" where there is a focus on the negatives of Africa with the positives being regarded as exceptions. It is not to argue that Africa has not been home to problems. In fact, leaving out negative experiences would be tantamount to blatant historical bias. However, it is the argument of Gyekye (1995) that negative discourses on Africa became so dominant during the colonial period that they remain the default discourses even in the post-colonial era. The focus on negative experiences is aptly exemplified with regards to infrastructural development in post-colonial Africa, which could have been a positive experience, but is in the analysed textbooks ultimately negative since the representative infrastructure are largely white elephants.

The noteworthy dual assumption is that when particular countries are identified with negative issues, South Africa, the country in which the analysed textbooks are produced for use, is conspicuously not mentioned. While the silences on South Africa constitute evidence of South African exceptionalism (Mamdani, 1999), they can also be understood by bearing in mind the temporal notion of Africa which is generally the period from the 1960s to the mid-1990s. Therefore, South Africa is excluded if Uhuru is considered to have only been established in the country in 1994.

The positive experiences of Africa that feature in the textbooks' visual text include issues of gender equality and access to education for women and children. Issues of women and children's rights are significant in present-day South Africa guaranteed by the country's liberal constitution. With the role of school history to promote democracy and human rights as stated by the NSC, it is not surprising that the textbooks contain representation of women and children, albeit meagre.

Africa's experiences in the visual text of the textbooks are in some cases contextualised within wider global experiences, sometimes for comparison or for contextualisation of events. From a historical consciousness point of view, this is expected for learners to make meaning of events by contextualising them globally (Seixas, 2006; Rüsen, 1993; Rüsen, 2003; Wineburg, 1993). However, in this representation the global events such as the Cold War are only constructed as having an effect on Africa, without Africa influencing global events in turn. This lack of agency to contribute to the world experiences can be linked to the representation of Africa as infantile and underdeveloped.

In Chapter 2 I quoted Barr (2011) to have argued that some writers fail to find anything positive about Africa, so much so that they tend to ignore the human inhabitants of the continent and focus on the continent's natural resources. This is the case in the finding where Africa is seen only to contribute a natural environment to the world such as the Ngorongoro crater sanctuary that can attract international tourists. The paralleling of Africa's experiences with those of the rest of the world constructs a post-colonial Africa that is dependent, particularly on the Western world. The same can be construed out of Africa's experiences of being valued and

qualified through an association with the Western world. A suitable example is the way the Island of Zanzibar is represented as the birthplace of Freddie Mercury of the musical group Queen ostensibly to qualify the experiences of Zanzibar. Similar to the way colonial Africa experientially depended on its qualification by Europe, post-colonial textbooks still continue to use the Western world to qualify the value of Africa. This is the crux of the arguments by Said (1978) and McClintock (1993), namely that it is futile to try to move into a postcolonial condition while still using the frameworks that were used in the colonial period.

It can be concluded that Africa is given its meaning in the visual text of the analysed textbooks by experiences that are largely negative. The visual text matches the verbal text in constructing a stereotypical African experience of negativity and victimhood. Furthermore, the experiences of countries in Tropical Africa can be interpreted to be representative of the experiences of Africa. Nevertheless, there were cases of exceptionalism through differentiation and silences as was the case in the verbal text. The only divergence is that the visual text does not construct Africa as an arena, but more as a participant in its own domination.

8.2.2.5 Summation

To sum up the findings in this section, I have interpreted how the visual text in the analysed textbooks constructs meanings of the four notions of Africa that I described in Chapter 6. It is evident that the findings on the visual text were lesser than the verbal text. Concerning the spatial meaning of Africa, the visual text produced contending interpretations. On one hand, Africa is constructed as a given, with maps showing it as a whole. However, the fact that the maps have geo-political borders of countries within them implies that Africa should not be regarded as a homogenous spatial unit. The contested nature of Africa was further interpreted through the silences and exceptionalism of some parts of Africa such as South Africa, North Africa and the islands. Therefore, as with the verbal text, the visual text produces a meaning of Africa that is geographically and intellectually imprecise (Hood, 2003).

The construction of Africa through notions other than the spatial relates to the view by Kapuściński, et al. (2010, p. xviii) that while Africa “at one level, Africa refers to an actual

geological unity ... at another level it refers to more.” With reference to the temporal notion, the meaning of post-colonial Africa is even more unstable in the visual text than in the verbal text. Although it can be generally interpreted from the visual text that post-colonial Africa started in the 1960s and continued to the 1990s, references to dates in the 19th century and as far ahead as 2050 destabilise the interpretation of temporal notion of Africa. In this temporal notion, South Africa is excluded such that its history seemed to be running parallel to the rest of Africa. The construction of the temporal notion of post-colonial Africa added to the complexity of our understanding and thus exposes one of the fundamental problems related to postcolonial theory namely the identification of the temporal boundaries of the post-colonial.

The humanised notion of Africa in the visual text was interpreted as having a firmer meaning than other notions. Africa is humanised by being constructed as largely Black and male. This is in contrast to the multifarious representation in the verbal text whereby the textbooks did not portray a common race, religion and ideology for Africa. Such a humanisation therefore makes Africa less abstract to the extent of turning it into a participant in the historical process. This participation is elucidated in the experiential notion. However, the fact that the humanised Africa is also constructed as childlike reflects an Africa that is underdeveloped.

Unlike in the verbal text whereby one of the major findings was the representation of Africa as an arena, the visual text constructed Africa as a participant in its experiences. However, Africa was constructed as a victim of internal and external domination. Therefore Africa becomes a participant in its own domination. The experiential notion of Africa in the visual text is largely negative as is the case with the verbal text. While some of these negative experiences are particularised to relevant countries, most of them are generalised, especially with respect to Tropical Africa. The cases of exceptionalism through differentiation and silences served to reveal Mamdani’s (1999) dual assumption whereby the positive are particularised while the negative are generalised. The complications on the imprecisions of the concept of Africa can be understood through the argument that Africa is not a self-constructed concept, but a construct of human thought and experience through discourse (Grinker & Steiner, 2010). The four notions of Africa interpreted here confirm Kapuściński, Grinker and Steiner’s (2010) contention

that Africa is more than just a “geological unity” and a holistic understating of Africa can be achieved through studying the text on the concept. In the next section is an interpretation of the description of the findings on the meaning of the African being.

8.3 The meaning of the African being

8.3.1 Verbal text

8.3.1.1 A spatial notion of the African being

The analysis as described in Chapter 7 showed that the textbooks did not yield many findings from the verbal text linking the African being to a particular space. This could be because the spatial aspect is taken for granted as was noted in Chapter 2 that some discourses simplistically assume that an African is from Africa. However, the description revealed that two textbooks did not limit Africanness to a particular space as they referred to Africans in Africa and abroad. This implies that one does not have to be living in Africa to be called an African. Such a construction tallies with the typology of Africanness as presented by Dei (1994) and Mazrui (2005) who refer to Africans by birth and Africans of the soil respectively. This construction is also closely related to the racial notion interpreted in more detail in the next theme whereby the textbooks imply that Black people living out of Africa remain Africans and White people in Africa are either referred to as Europeans or Whites in Africa.

Furthermore, the descriptive findings of the verbal text revealed that living in Africa does not make one African regardless of citizenship or race. This is exemplified by the cases of Ghanaians and South Africans being represented as having the prerogative to be either considered as African or not. The main interpretation then is that being a citizen of a country in Africa does not make one African since Africanness supersedes national identity. Such a representation evidently emphasises national identity over collective continental identity, as opposed to the case of German textbooks whereby the national dimension is almost absent (Rüsen, 1993; Soysal, 2008). This also links to the strength of nationalist ideologies which have been used in most post-colonial states in nation-building efforts.

The idea of national identity is clarified in *Textbook 1* and *3* which I described to be making reference to South Africans as “they” and “we.” It should be noted that when “they” is used it is in reference to White South Africans clearly separating them from Black South Africans. It is thus evident that in some cases Black South Africans sometimes qualify as Africans, although in *Textbook 1* South Africans are inclusively grouped as people living in one of Africa’s most important countries. The discourses of the context within which these textbooks were produced support this view since the populations of South Africa are historically constitutionally divided into Africans, Whites, Indians and Coloureds and although the Apartheid acts were scrapped, this racial classification is still used to facilitate, for example, the Employment Equity Act. Subsequently, according to the textbooks, living in Africa, or being of Africa, does not necessarily mean being African.

The case of humans who can be regarded as of Africa, but not African is also clear in the case of people found in North Africa. The findings showed that there was very little verbal text referring to North Africans effectively excluding them from the discourse of Africans. When they were included, as was in the case of Egypt, *Textbook 2* classified them as “Arabs, Muslims and Africans” (p. 55). The interpretation that can be made here is that Arabs and Muslims can be separated from Africans. Although this issue is more racial and is interpreted further in the subsection on the physical notion of the African, it speaks to North African exceptionalism whereby Maghreb Africa and its residents are differentiated from Africa south of the Sahara (Grinker & Steiner, 2005; Mamdani, 1999). Similarly the silences on the islands of Africa also construct an exceptionalism whereby their inhabitants are excluded from the African discourse (Collins & Burns, 2007).

It can be concluded that the spatial notion of the African being consists of constructions and contestations. The meaning that can be made is that the textbooks, for the most part, construct the African as represented by someone from Tropical Africa, thus largely excluding people from North Africa, South Africa and the islands of Africa. The contradiction is that simultaneously the textbooks seem not to use spatial habitation as a scope for Africanness, with some people living out of Africa being referred to as the African Diaspora. This contradiction serves to construct an

unstable meaning of the African being and shows that geographical habitation on its own is a contentious criterion for Africanness.

8.3.1.2 A physical notion of the African being

The findings of the physical notion of the African being overlapped with and complemented the spatial notion as noted in the preceding subsection. The major physical aspects that featured in the findings were race and gender. In terms of race, it was evident that the term 'African' is alternatively lexicalised as 'Black.' Therefore, when referring to race, it is evident that the African being is Black, with Whites being referred to as 'Whites in Africa' or even as Europeans. The Whites referred to in the textbooks are mainly from South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe – countries that experienced settler colonialism. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the textbooks construct anybody who is associated with Africa as African. As was shown in Chapter 2, some literature is categorically explicit that being African is a race – in this case the Black race (Fage & Tordoff, 2002; Mazrui, 2005; Mboukou, 1983; William, 2003). Such discourse is officially recognised in South Africa, where the term Black is officially replaced by African, while those who were once called European are now officially referred to as Whites. The sensitivities around the term 'Black' are not limited to South Africa, which is why the former Black Americans are now officially called African Americans. Therefore the meaning of the African being in the textbook seems to be influenced by both internal and external Pan-Africanist discourses championed by Africanist scholars such as Cheik Anta Diop. The African being in the textbooks is thus not categorised into different groups of Africanness as is maintained by Mazrui (2005) and William (2003), p. 239).

As was illustrated in the descriptive findings, the characters that are explicitly identified by name in these textbooks are all Black with the exception of a few political leaders such as Hendrik Verwoerd of South Africa, Ian Smith of Rhodesia and Gamal al Nasser of Egypt. Nevertheless, I have previously explained how such individuals are racially classified as either White (in the case of the former two) or Arab (in the case of the latter) in these textbooks. The fact that Whites and Arabs are visually represented in a virtually similar manner can be taken as

a sign of the influence of CG Seligman's stance that present-day northern Africans are actually of "Caucasoid stock" and hence should be viewed as Europeans (Fage & Tordoff, 2002). Therefore, regardless of the fact that some White and Arab personalities feature in the textbooks, it remains clear that the racial meaning of the African is Black.

Although it seems clear that the African being has a clear racial meaning in the verbal text, there are a few exceptions which demonstrate some contestations on the racial profile of the African. This is the case with the example of the linguistic choice of 'Black African' which can also be interpreted to imply that there are other Africans who are not Black. That single linguistic choice leaves room for lexicalisations such as 'White Africans' or European Africans and Arabic Africans as contended by Armah (1999). Indeed, I showed in Chapter 2 that some individuals, such as Ruth First, who did not fall into the Black racial category still regarded themselves as Africans. In addition, the article by Dlanga (2011) with the headline "White people are African too!" exhibits the existence of the discourses on the Africanness of White people in South Africa. The use of Blackness to refer to Africanness in South African textbooks can also be regarded as problematic, especially if one considers how organisations such as the Black Consciousness Movement comprised people who would otherwise be classified as Indian and Coloured in South Africa. The fuzzy contextual meaning of the African being in South Africa can thus be seen to be applied in the analysed textbooks although the dominant construction is that of Blackness as criteria for Africanness.

As was seen in the findings, the textbook that had the most mentions of female historical characters was *Textbook 3* which featured only two women. The other three textbooks did not even feature any female characters at all. The implication of such discursive choices is that the African being is constructed as represented by males. This resonates with the experiential notion to be discussed below, whereby the experiences of males are dominant. Such discourses are consistent with the way the continent of Africa has sometimes been feminised as a 'she' or as 'Mother Africa,' while the African being is masculinised (Schipper, 1987; Stambach, 1999; Stratton, 1994; Wasike, 2009).

Despite the evident minor contestations, it can be concluded that the African being is constructed through the verbal text to be physically represented by an archetypical Black male. To understand the meaning of this representation, one has to consider the context of South Africa in which African refers to Black. The Africanness of Arabs is ambiguous and White people are not constructed as African. It is on the basis of this physical notion of the African being that Black people that are not in Africa are also considered as African. The use of male characters to represent the African being can be seen as part of a broader problem of women not featuring in history textbooks in general (Schoeman, 2009; Fardon & Schoeman, 2010). This construction has been argued to be stemming out of both internal and external discourses.

8.3.1.3 A cultural notion of the African being

The representation of the African being in the analysed textbooks can be associated with several cultural traits. One of these traits is ethnic belonging whereby some of the prominent African characters are identified as belonging to a specific ethnic group found in Africa. But it must be emphasised that only four historical characters were identified by ethnicity which is why I referred to them as exceptions. My interpretation, therefore, is that there is not much emphasis on ethnicity in the textbooks. There is, nevertheless, evidence that the textbooks identify the ethnic diversity found on the African continent. The downplaying of ethnicity could be an omission by the textbook producers or a conscious exclusion. If it is an omission it could stem from the fact that the majority of the authors of the analysed textbooks do not belong to any of the primordial African ethnic groups, and thus might not have such issues always foregrounded within their discourses. Indeed, discourse theory raises the issue of attitudinal meta-discourse whereby writers, despite their efforts to be objective, always write using the frames of references that their social interactions have developed within them (Oteíza & Pinto, 2008). Conversely, conscious exclusion could be an effort of nation-building, bearing in mind that the internationally discredited Apartheid government emphasised ethnic differences and the post-Apartheid government is trying to diffuse ethnic tensions – which happen to be a major source of conflict on the African continent.

The ethnicity diversity manifested in the verbal text of the analysed textbooks can be related to the issue of linguistic diversity amongst Africans. The findings showed that the textbooks similarly did not dwell much on the issue of African languages. Nevertheless, it was explained that languages such as English, French and Portuguese were described as official in African countries, but still colonial (thus not African). This language situation is typical of a post-colonial society attempting to sever ties with colonial vestiges such as language. Therefore, much as English, French and Portuguese are colonial languages, Africans are still heavily reliant on them, to the extent of being labelled Anglophone, Francophone or Lusophone. Indeed there are many records of how African leaders at the OAU and AU have failed to make progress stemming from disputes over language. An example is when former Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano addressed the AU in Swahili, much to the chagrin of some of the delegates in the chamber (*BBC News Online*, July 6, 2004). Therefore, the post-colonial African is constructed as a being that might have an African language, but continues to rely heavily on the former colonial language.

The issue of African literature relates to culture through African language. It must be noted though, that it is only one textbook (*Textbook 3*) that has a representation of what could be considered African literature. The writers of African literature that are identified in the textbook's verbal text are determinably racially Black. This then implies that literature becomes African once it is written by Black people, even if the literature is written in those languages already identified as colonial. A typical example is *The Interpreters* by Wole Soyinka which is represented as a "truly African novel," implying that some of the African novels are not in actual fact African novels. This implication can be related to Mazrui's (2005) typology of Africanness which suggests that there are different types of Africans with some being more African than others. This search for African purity is complicated, just as pure Blackness is complicated, especially if one considers issues of cultural hybridity that will be explained shortly.

The analysed textbooks also refer to the arts, revealing a traditional/modern dichotomy. However, the dichotomy is not consistently clear-cut throughout the verbal text. One example is the suggestion that even when a concept, such as art, has a mixture of traditional and

modern (Western) ingredients, it can still be considered to be African art – and hence African culture. This construction speaks to the concept of hybridity which is a major concept in postcolonial theory. Baker Jr., et al., (1995) remind us that returning to native wholeness in a post-colonial society is practically impossible, such that all postcolonial phenomena are invariably hybridised. This would mean that the African being cannot be identified by purity. In terms of language and arts, the complications are that while Swahili, which is a hybrid language, is virtually accepted as an African language, Pidgin in West Africa is generally not.

In trying to make meaning of the traditional/modern dichotomy the textbooks also represent it as a traditional/foreign dichotomy with practices such as multi-party democracy being referred to as foreign. However, the textbooks also blur the dichotomy by revealing that some traditional African concepts inherently share some characteristics with foreign constructs. The example that is given to this effect is African Socialism, which is represented as traditional, while simultaneously constructed as containing traits of Western forms of socialism. Furthermore, the textbooks suggest that there are different versions of African socialism, thus implying a multifarious nature of African culture. Although this example speaks to cultural hybridisation of the African being, it will be explained further in the section on the philosophical notion of the African with which it overlaps.

Further complications over the meaning of the cultural notion of the African being in the verbal text are with regard to religion. The textbooks are silent over what constitutes African religion, but the findings described how people who are constructed as African are, through language use, also identified by religions such as Christianity and Islam. Therefore, the Africans in the verbal text are identified by religion as much as they are identified by ethnicity and geographical location. The Africanness of Christianity and Islam is as contentious as the Africanness of languages such as English and French leaving the meaning of African culture even more unstable.

Therefore when referring to the meaning of the African being's culture, the interpretation is that the textbooks construct a flux cultural notion, with some cases generalising African culture, while other cases specified a culture to a particular people and place. The generalisation of

African culture speaks to the view by Dei (1994) and Grinker and Steiner's (2010), while the multiplicity of cultures is related to the contention by Appiah's (1992) and William (2003) it is precarious to refer to one African culture. There was also evidence of hybridisation of cultures whereby different cultures were merged to produce a version of African cultures. The complication is to accept hybrid cultures as African since this would be akin to applying the one-drop rule that was applied in the USA racial classification (Hollinger, 2005). Similarly, if Mamdani's (1999, p. 129) contention that Creolised people are culturally "neither wholly African nor wholly non-African" is applied, then there would be virtually no African culture in the textbooks, since the cultures are represented as creolised.

8.3.1.4 An experiential notion of the African being

The African being is essentialised in the verbal text of the analysed textbooks by experiences that are both individual and collective and also positive and negative. It was also described how the post-colonial Africans have experienced the effects of both internal and external pressures such as neo-colonial activities of organisations such as the IFM and WB and former colonial powers. The mentioning of neo-colonialism reflects the relevance of debates on colonialism, especially in the country in which the textbooks are produced. As a post-colonial society, South Africa still engages with discourses over the role of colonialism in the present day. To this effect, William (2003) regards an African as someone who has a memory of the experiences of the exploitation of their race. It would be folly to ignore debates on colonialism altogether, considering that the government of the country in which the analysed textbooks are produced is led by a party (the ANC) which was formed on the basis of anti-colonialism as the South African Native National Congress in 1912 (Mbeki, 1992).

The interpretation that can be generalised from the verbal text in the textbooks is that Africans experienced a brief honeymoon period in the 1960s and early 1970s. From then on their experiences are represented as mainly negative, although there is mention of the fact that in the 21st century things will get better for the Africans. The future consciousness here is that of a bright future which tallies with the African Renaissance which was one of the philosophies of

the then President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki (Mbeki, 1999). However, it has been noted by scholars such as Wertsch (2006) that most collective schematic narratives always tell a story of a disrupted past and a bright future which materialises after good has conquered evil, making the narrative from the textbooks no different.

The experiences of Africans are constructed in the same way as those of Africa; that is they are mostly negative. The difference is that with regard to the Africans, there is a differentiation between the experiences of the political elite and those of the general citizens. It must be noted that these experiences do not involve those in the Diaspora which – in this case – brings into question their inclusion in the construction of Africans, unless they are considered to be Africans who have deficiency in agency. Therefore, the meaning of the experiential notion of the African being is multifarious as Africans are constructed as having had different experiences.

The multifarious experiential notion is also revealed in relation to the different political systems that Africans experienced in the post-colonial period. In addition, the fact that these political systems are represented as options that the Africans chose implies that Africans have had the agency to choose their destiny in terms of political system. However, it was shown that Africans were mainly constructed as reactive in policy formulation, thus negating the view that Africans were constructed as having agency. With reference to Miller et al. (1981), the textbooks construct a mentality of both individual and system blame meaning that Africans blame themselves for the problems they face, but simultaneously blame 'other' people for their problems.

It can be said that the experiential notion of the African being is that Africans are constructed as having undergone both similar and unique experiences. For the collective continental experiences, there was evident focus on sub-Saharan Africans, with North Africans, South Africans and the islanders largely excluded. The exclusion of South Africans from the African experience tallies with the statement by Thabo Mbeki that South Africans were not quite African, but European (Adebajo, 2004). There was also a differentiation between experiences of

the political elite and ordinary citizens, creating the impression that the political elite were key factors in the negative experiences of the ordinary Africans.

8.3.1.5 A philosophical notion of the African being

The final theme in the verbal text concerns how the African being is constructed by virtue of philosophical orientations. The implication is that the African being as constructed in the verbal text of the analysed textbooks has a certain kind of thinking which is manifested by the concepts and values on which the African's knowledge and actions are based. This analysis was based on Said's (1978) argument that postcolonial societies have to be characterised by postcolonial knowledge that is demonstrated through the concepts that the society uses. In other words, a society cannot be postcolonial if its mind is not constructing independent thinking.

As was shown in Chapter 7, there were two types of concepts which can be associated with the African being. The first type of concept is the kind that is presented in the textbook in its primary form; that is in a particular African language without any attempt to translate it into the medium of learning (in this case English). Examples of this type of concept include *Uhuru*, *Ujamaa*, *Ubuntu*, *harambee*, *chimurenga*, *mbira* and *griots*. These linguistic choices transcend mere lexicalisation and inform a particular philosophy in terms of African knowledge systems and values which have a place within a global knowledge and value system (Gupta, 2012; Ocholla, 2007; Sefa Dei, 2002).

It is evident that the textbooks still try to translate these African concepts into English and, in the process, do not necessarily arrive at uniform translations. One of the reasons for this could be genuine mistranslation based on inadequate knowledge of the languages as most of the terms are evidently not South African. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the translation of these terms is a futile exercise as they are concepts in their own right based on a particular context and translation takes them out of context and accords them a different meaning. Examples from outside Africa include German concepts such as *zeitgeist* and *schadenfreude* which have cemented their place in global Anglo-Saxon knowledge systems. Therefore, in

purveying African concepts, the textbooks can be said to be promoting an African being with an African knowledge system. Admittedly the concepts are few, but they nonetheless make the statement that postcolonial education in South Africa is characterised by the introduction of non-colonial concepts (Said, 1978).

Another issue that arises out of these African concepts is the dominance of concepts from outside South Africa, particularly Swahili concepts. This speaks to two complications. Firstly, as already noted earlier, Swahili is a hybrid language whose authenticity as an African language has still continued to come under question. The second issue is that if these concepts are accepted as African philosophy, it is not clear what happens to other concepts from other parts of Africa. To put it in other words, the verbal text seems to be promoting philosophies based on concepts mostly from East Africa, yet the textbooks are meant for learners in South Africa. Therefore, while Appiah (1992) claims that Africans do not have a common conceptual vocabulary; the textbooks have created some common concepts such as Uhuru.

The second type of concept that was in the descriptive findings is the African variation of otherwise universal concepts. Again, the use of these concepts varies amongst textbooks, but they serve to show that Africans also have a philosophy whose concepts share similarities with universal concepts. In this way, the textbooks are also showing that philosophies can be universal and for whatever concepts are found in other parts of the world, Africans have their own variations. An example that was given is African Socialism, which the textbooks tried to prove was not necessarily a borrowed philosophy. Not all scholars agree with this as Guèye (1999, p. 249), for instance, argues that African Socialism is not an African “legacy of indigenous ideologisation.”

Besides the use of concepts, African philosophy in the verbal text is constructed through the revelation of what can be regarded as African values. Although these values vary across textbooks, it was evident that the textbooks seemed to imply that examples of such values include “African Unity, solidarity, equality, self-reliance and *ubuntu*” (*Textbook 2*, p. 49). Other values include the extended family, communalism and classless societies. The textbooks also imply that these values can be more visible in rural African societies, thus linking

African/Western values to the traditional/modern dichotomy discussed under the cultural notion. Again the textbooks seem to mean that there is a common denominator to African philosophy – that there is a uniformity of thinking amongst Africans.

Regarding the philosophical notion of the African being, the verbal text in the textbooks contains some generalisations. The textbooks do promote the contribution of African philosophy to the global knowledge system. The textbook user is exposed to concepts from mainly outside South Africa, creating the impression that African philosophy excludes South Africans, amongst other Africans. The values that African philosophy represents are largely generalised and are presented as traditional and static. It should be noted that while postcolonial theorists encourage the advancement of subaltern philosophies in post-colonial text, others such as Wallerstein (1988, p. 332) are of the view that attempts to find “a ‘specifically African’ set of ideas or concepts or worldviews that could substitute for, supplement, or rebut a Western set” is problematic as this results in what Western philosophies have been doing to the Subaltern. The textbooks can be seen to be constructing African philosophies, in some cases, as substituting, and in others, as supplementing Western philosophies.

8.3.1.6 Summation

To conclude this subsection, the verbal text of the analysed textbooks manifested a construction representative of an African being that was riddled with internal contestations. The spatial notion reveals that an African is someone that is from sub-Saharan Africa thus excluding North Africa and the islands. However, the complication of using space to determine Africanness is that some people in sub-Saharan Africa are excluded from the African designation. This is especially so in South Africa whereby other criteria such as race come into play. It is also on the basis of race that the textbooks do not delimit Africanness to inhabitants of the African continent, but also to the Diaspora. As a result the meaning of the spatial notion of the African being is unstable, as was discussed in the literature review, leaving it to other notions to stabilise it.

The interpretation of the representation of the physical notion showed less contestation in determining Africanness. The African being in the verbal text is represented as Black and male. There is evidence of African nationalist discourse which emphasises Blackness as equal to Africanness, which is the reason why Black people in South Africa are officially referred to as Africans. This meaning of Africanness, leave population groups such as the Arabs in a position of ambiguity, if not exclusion to discourses of Africanness, while Black people out of Africa become included. The representation of the African as male speaks to the oft referred to perpetuation of patriarchy in History in general and in countries such as South Africa in particular.

The cultural notion of the African being in the verbal text was interpreted to have more complicated meanings. African culture is represented as homogenous on one hand and multifarious on the other. But what further complicated the meaning is that African culture is also represented as hybrid, but is still acceptably African. In fact, the hybrid representation is the most dominant, such that it can be concluded that cultural hybridity is the hallmark of the post-colonial African being.

The African being is also represented as having undergone largely diverse, thus hybrid, experiences. But as was the case with the experiential notion of Africa, there is evidence of a level of a dual assumption when it comes to the African being. Many of the negative experiences that are attached to the African being are generalised to sub-Saharan Africans, in this way excluding the North Africans, South Africans and the islanders. Another key finding is that the experiential notion is differentiated between that of the political elite and the African populace. Therefore the experiential meaning of the African being in the verbal text is also unstable and depends on to whom it is being referred. Africans are represented as having together suffered mainly negative experiences.

Finally the meaning of the philosophical notion of the African being is more generalised than contested within the analysed textbooks. The construction of a uniform African philosophy was based on the adoption of concepts such as Uhuru as African concepts which can be used as common denominators. African philosophy is also represented as part of the global knowledge

system to which it also contributes. The contribution of South Africa in this regard is not portrayed as considerable.

8.3.2 Visual text

8.3.2.1 A spatial notion of the African being

Despite the few findings on this theme, the descriptive analysis revealed how the textbooks link space to African identity. The frame of thinking that is applied here is that if one is of the African space then they are consequentially African. Similarly, if they are in Kenya then they are Kenyans. While linking identity to space, such a representation does not perfectly tally with Mazrui's (2005, p. 70) concept of "Africans of the soil" it is the most simplistic of criteria to identify Africanness. It is on the same basis that Dei (1994, p. 3) labels himself "a continental African by birth" and speaks to the arguments within the South African context on how African South African citizens are. The concept of linking Africanness to being of Africa can be extended to neoliberal ideology whereby one can claim belonging in whatever space one is found (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Morley & Robins, 2002). Such a criterion also enables immigrants to claim identity with the space they are found in whether they were born into it or not.

Figure 6.17 is the only visual that is explicit in revealing this link between space and Africanness, as it depicts the African living inside Africa. In that image, the whole of the African mainland is linked to the African being. However, only one island (Madagascar) is shown with the other islands therefore excluded from the link between space and African identity. Therefore the spatial notion that is constructed in this visual text is that being born on the African mainland and Madagascar makes a person African. Being born on other islands of Africa is thus construed as of not much worth in determining one's Africanness. Notwithstanding, one cannot ignore the fact that the body is situated in the African mainland, thus leaving Madagascar with no direct human connection. This construction confirms Collins and Burns' (2007) view about Madagascar being of Africa rather than in it and contradicts Hurles, Sykes, Jobling, and Forster (2005) who contend for the existence of partially African Malagasy people. Hence the African identity of people of the islands is diminished in the visual text of the analysed textbooks.

While there were limited findings linking the African being to the African space, it can be concluded that the visual text implies that the African being is someone who inhabits Africa, the space. This meaning is evidently different from the meaning in the verbal text where inhabitation was proved not to be a suitable criterion for Africanness. The contentions in the contextual discourses over who is African can be seen manifest in this theme of the spatial notion of the African being.

8.3.2.2 A physical notion of the African being

The findings on this notion revealed a focus on race and gender in the visual text. In terms of race, based on the characters found in the analysed textbooks, the African was mainly constructed as Black as was the case in the verbal text. The ambiguity of the Africanness of the Arab people was also evident by the fact that there was only one Arab personality depicted alone visually. The Whites were constructed as the 'other,' only featuring in the visuals because they are accomplices of the African (Black person). This makes the meaning of the African as Black clear. The construction of African being as physically Black tallies with the Pan-African criteria of Africanness which is mainly racial (Du Bois, 1925; Dei, 1994; Mazrui, 2005; Mboukou, 1983; William, 2003).

Nevertheless there was evidence that the visual representation of the African being as Black is not totally rigid. As illustrated in Figure 7.9, Hastings Banda was represented as having lost his Blackness, and thus his Africanness, and became a white sheep for aligning with White South Africa. This issue is explained further in the section dealing with the African and African behaviour. What is telling, in relation to the physical notion, is that there are exceptions to Blackness being criteria for Africanness. Similarly, White South Africans are constructed not as Africans. As a result, a case of exceptionalism is revealed in this construction (Mamdani, 1999). The ambiguity regarding South Africans and Arabs in the visual text can be understood within a context of contending discourses such as South Africa.

In terms of gender, although there are cases of representation of women, the dominant representation is that of the African as a masculine being. The representation of the African by

a male speaks to the argument whereby some discourses appropriate a female denotation to Africa the continent while the African being is given a male denotation (Stambach, 1999; Wasike, 2009). The interpretation that scholars such as Schipper (1987) and Stratton (1994) give to this representation is that it serves to emphasise patriarchy by foregrounding the experiences of men at the expense of women and children (as shall be argued under the experiential notion).

It can therefore be concluded about the physical notion of the African being that the visual text of the analysed textbooks has a similar representation as the verbal text. The representation of the African as Black tallies with the official race discourses in South Africa where the term African is used to refer to a Black person. The complication arises when the term has to be applied at a continental level where race discourses are not similar. This representation also reveals a national rather than continental consciousness (Rüsen, 1993; Soysal, 2008). The representation of the African being by a male also reflects continuing patriarchal discourses. Therefore, although there were some destabilising exceptions, the meaning of the physical notion of the African being in the visual text is more stable than other notions. The representation goes contrary to van Dijk's (2006, p. 25) argument that "from a genetic perspective, all people continue to be Africans."

8.3.2.3 A cultural notion of the African being

The findings showed that African culture was constructed in the visual text mainly through a representation of language and ethnicity. Unlike in the verbal text, the issue of language was not detectable in the visual text save for in the captions, where English was used for pragmatic reasons (as the medium of instruction). The pragmatic use of English speaks to the nature of the textbook – it having come to Africa as a colonial construct and now being used as an educational instrument in post-colonial Africa. Even the same analysed textbooks in the verbal text describe English as a colonial language. This issue is explained further in the next chapter when I theorise the nature of the South African History textbook in relation to this study.

The limited construction of Africanness based on ethnicity in the visual text can also be explained by the nature of both visual text and the construct ethnicity. To explain, from a social constructionist perspective on which this study was grounded, ethnicity is a social construct which is thus difficult, if not subjective, to discern in a visual in a textbook unless there are corresponding labels or captions accompanying the visual to that effect. All the same, ethnicity of the African being was not prominent in the verbal text either, so its absence in the visual text is consistent with the way the analysed textbooks construct the African being in relation to ethnicity. Evidently the textbooks try to downplay ethnicity which has been one of the major causes of problems in post-colonial Africa. It should be noted that South Africa, the country in which the textbooks are produced has not had acute ethnic tensions in comparison to other African countries in the post-colonial era (Ake, 1993). This downplaying of ethnicity could also be taken as evidence of the influence of postmodernism and globalisation whereby minority differences are deemphasised and collectivist thinking is emphasised (Brubaker, 2009).

With limited findings on key cultural factors such as language and ethnicity, it was revealed in the descriptive analysis that cultural hybridity was dominant in the visual text. Cultural hybridity was revealed mainly through visuals of dressing and related accessories by personalities that were constructed as Africans. The constructed meaning of the African is that of a being whose culture is mixed with other cultures, particularly Western cultures. The cultural representation in the visual text implies that Westernisation has taken root in African people that they cannot disconnect themselves from it even in the post-colonial era. Such cultural hybridity tallies with William's (2003) claim on the precarious nature of culture-based African identity. Hybridity of the African being is also evident in the form multiplicity of different African cultures in the textbooks. The evidence is that the aspects that are portrayed representing African culture – such as attire – are not consistent across all visuals. This enforces the argument that the post-colonial being cannot possibly revert to assume the nature of a pre-colonial being (Baker Jr., et al., 1995). Similarly, the post-colonial African culture cannot possibly revert to the nature of a pre-colonial African culture.

Although masculinity was described to be dominant, it was also mentioned in the descriptive analysis that the visual text depicted changing gender roles of Africans in post-colonial Africa. The changing roles illustrate how the visual text in the textbooks constructs African culture as dynamic and thus not trapped within a frozen configuration. This construction is contrary to the views of African culture as static (De Vos, 2009; Ocholla-Ayayo, 2002). It is even contrary to some of the constructions in the same analysed textbooks which simultaneously closely link African culture with being traditional and represent the African being in a patriarchal manner.

It can be concluded that the textbooks do not represent a single African culture, but diverse African cultures as argued by Appiah (1992); van Dijk (2006) and William (2003). However, these cultures are not visually represented as directly linked to particular ethnic groups. Therefore, although the visual text did not yield much construction of a cultural notion of the African being, what was evident was that the post-colonial African being is a cultural hybrid, on whose being Western culture has been etched over time and cannot be totally eradicated. At the same time, the visual text represents a construction of diverse African culture thus deconstructing the idea of a single African culture.

8.3.2.4 An experiential notion of the African being

As noted earlier in the theme on the physical notion, the experiences of males are dominant in the visual text. In addition, in cases where the textbooks had close-up visuals, it was not easy to decipher the experiences associated with Africanness. Although the experiences were described to have been both positive and negative, the former were the dominant experiences.

Examples of the negative experiences include war, poverty, famine and starvation. It would be highly subjective to deny that some Africans have had such experiences in the post-colonial era. Nevertheless, the choices that the textbooks make in representing these experiences visually reveal underlying discourses and influences. For example, when a textbook covers virtually a whole page with visuals depicting negative African experiences, the interpretation is that of a negative representation of Africa. Parallels can be made of the visual representation of the holocaust whereby debates ensue over how graphic the visuals have to be while portraying an

objective picture (Ibrahim, 2009; Zelizer, 2001). In addition, according to Rüsen (2000), a continental consciousness cannot be constructed if both the negatives are generalised while the positives are particularised to countries, and vice versa.

The main emphasis in the description was that these negative experiences are caused by corrupt African leaders who are also depicted as authoritarians who were labelled eventual villains after being anti-colonial heroes. The corrupt leaders either oppress their people on their own volition or working in cahoots with external forces such as during the Cold War. There are two interpretations to this representation. Either the post-colonial Africans have not developed necessary leadership skills to govern their countries or that these undemocratic experiences represent the African way. Evidently, these are generalising views that can be equated to the quote by Adams, et al. (2010) which links Africa to a litany of troubles. Such representations which construct Africans as deficient either way are evident in both colonial and postcolonial discourses. In an effort to construct Africans as victims, the visual text in these postcolonial textbooks buy into the colonial discourse of Africans lacking in agency in the case of the first interpretation, or as vindictive towards each other as in the case of the latter.

Related to the above argument is another interpretation that can be given – that the experiences of the ruling African elite have been different from those of the ordinary African citizens. This representation thus constructs the experiential notion of the African being as unstable because of multifarious African experiences. For example, the textbooks construct Africans (particularly the leaders) as people who value grandeur and white elephants. Simultaneously, the ordinary citizens are constructed as too voiceless to challenge this opulence. This interpretation challenges the argument by William (2003) that Africans have had largely similar experiences; while confirming Adebajo's (2004) contention that Africans have had different experiences.

However, the ordinary African citizens are constructed as being able to find joy in the midst of problems in visuals that show Africans exhibiting positive demeanours (such as smiling) in spite of the negatives depicted in the visuals. The interpretation here is that Africans are thus constructed as either resilient or naïve. The more plausible interpretation is that Africans are

depicted as naïve. This representation of naivety was also evident in colonial discourses which depicted Africans as childish and naïve (Hegel, 1956; Kipling, 1899).

However, the exception to the representation of African leaders as enemies of their people is that of Gamal al Nasser whose funeral is depicted with millions of people in attendance thus showing a case of a post-colonial African leader who is revered even on his demise. This representation speaks to exceptionalism of North Africans. Another example of exceptionalism is in relation to descriptions of Africans having experienced high population growth with the exception of Egyptians, Libyans and South Africans. Therefore Africans in North Africa and South Africa are made exceptional as is made the corresponding space. This further confirms Mamdani's (1999) argument of exceptionalism.

The colonial experience is also represented and linked to neo-colonial experiences. This anti-colonial narrative permeating in a post-colonial textbook can be linked to the context whereby history textbooks in South Africa cannot be overtly pro-colonialism when the incumbent government was formed out of an anti-colonial movement. It also speaks to a historical consciousness whereby the issues of the present day are linked to colonial times. This historical consciousness will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

The final representation of experiences concerns African unity at both the level of the leaders and the ordinary citizens. The cartoon of Hastings Banda of Malawi and South Africa being ostracised can be equated to cases when some African leaders and even citizens have been accused of behaving in an unAfrican way. Such a construction can be equated to the example of Nelson Mandela's clash with other African leaders over the issue of the then Nigerian President Sani Abacha (Akokpari & Nyoni, 2009, p. 128).

At the level of ordinary citizens the visuals showing rural people working can be linked to the argument that the value of Africans working together are experienced by rural people. Therefore the visual text corroborates the verbal text which links African values to rural experiences. This is a worldwide conception, and in Africa it is maintained that rural experience is the true African experience, particularly through many safari tourist advertisements. This creates a problematic because most of the experiences in the events and characters in the

textbooks are urban. This then takes us back to the notion engaged with earlier in the verbal text of the distinction between an African concept and a 'real' African concept.

It is evident that the experiential notion of the African being produced many interpretations. The experiences were represented as both homogenous and multifarious thus meaning an unstable nature of the African being as in the verbal text. Therefore, the African beings are constructed as having diverse experiences of post-colonial Africa. Although for the majority of the characters the representation is that of negative experiences, there are exceptions to this such as South Africans, North Africans, islanders and the political elite.

8.3.2.5 A philosophical notion of the African being

This theme did not yield much description of an African being from the visual text. The descriptive analysis revealed anti-universalism in some visuals, while simultaneously others looked at African ideology through a Western lens. Therefore the visual text in the textbooks was self-contradictory in that it seemed to construct African philosophy while simultaneously constructing hybrid philosophies. On this issue I can refer back to the issue explained in the preceding theme whereby some concepts (values) are constructed as more African than others.

It is evident that the philosophical notion of the African being also has an unstable meaning in both the visual and verbal text. In fact, the visual text complements the constructions in the verbal text, rather than suggesting unique representations. For instance, the visual text complements the verbal text in the construction of a philosophical notion of unity and freedom. However these philosophical constructions can be regarded as post-colonial ideals rather than realities. These constructions can be equated to the contemporary philosophy of "African solutions to African problems" (Goldmann, 2005, p. 459) which has remained more of an ideal than a reality. The best evidence of this idealisation is that most of the pictures with representations of African unity are posed for and thus not realistic. Therefore the visual text complements the philosophy that is represented in the verbal text in that it attempts to promote an African philosophy, but fails to extricate it from universal philosophies.

8.3.2.6 Summation

It is worth noting that overall the visual text did not yield as many issues to discuss as the verbal text on the construction of the African being. Nevertheless there were sufficient, if modest, issues to interpret for each theme. In this section, as in the other sections, it was evident that the visual text depicted contradicting meanings of the African being. The contradictions support the argument by Guèye (1999, p. 247) that factors such as race, and geographical or ethnic belonging are “purely phenomenal, superficial dimensions.”

Nonetheless, it was clearly evident that, spatially, the African being is mainly linked to the African mainland. This contradicts the verbal text which did not focus on space as a major determinant, thus including Africans in the Diaspora. Therefore, the verbal and the visual text did not complement each other in their representations of the African being. Crucially, the visual text also showed evidence of exceptionalism of people from South Africa, North Africa and the islands, thus making their Africanness contestable.

Physically the African was identified as Black and mainly masculine. Therefore races that are not Black were excluded from this criterion for Africanness. The visual text can therefore be interpreted in virtually the same way they construct the physical meaning of the African being. The male representation of the African being is also a sign of the marginalisation of women in history, whose roots are not just limited to Africans only but to the patriarchal systems that dominate the world.

In terms of culture, the visual text in the analysed textbooks revealed unstable construction of the African being's culture. There were cases of representation of both a homogenous culture and multifarious cultures. But the dominant construction was that of hybridity whereby African culture is constructed as neither uniform nor pure. Therefore, the visual text reveals cultures, and not a single culture. The multifarious nature of African cultures was represented through the diversity of cultures practiced by Africans and also the hybridity within one's assumed culture. Therefore, the cultural notion of the African being is constructed as unstable.

The interpretation of the experiences of the African being is based on mainly negative experiences. The experiences were represented as both homogenous and multifarious with the negative being more homogenous than the positive. The exceptions to the negative experiences included South Africans, North Africans, islanders and the political elite. Therefore, the visual text produced an unstable meaning of the experiential notion of the African being, making experiences complicated criteria for Africanness.

Finally, the philosophical notion of the African being was shown to be more idealistic than real. However it was also unstable in that while the textbooks constructed a notion against universalism, they also represented universalised conceptions being applied to Africans. It is against these universalised concepts that the African being is measured as was done in the verbal text.

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to conduct a higher level of CDA by interpreting the findings that I had described in Chapters 6 and 7. I used literature, especially from Chapter 2, to interpret the meanings of Africa and the African as represented in the textbooks. I also used the context in which and for which the textbooks were produced and my theoretical framework (discursive postcolonialism) to make sense of these interpretations. The interpretation showed that the meanings of Africa and the African being were riddled with multiple meanings with hybridity and ambiguity which Bakhtin (1981) would refer to as heteroglossia. The strong featuring of ambiguity gives credence to Guèye's (1999, p. 247) view that some of the criteria that have often been used to determine Africanness are "purely phenomenal, superficial dimensions." I noted in the literature review that Armah (1999) states how aspects such as geographical location, race, language, culture, attitude and experiences have been used to qualify one as an African. The textbooks that I analysed confirmed some of these notions, but other notions also emerged from the analysis.

The spatial notion applied to both concepts of Africa and the African being. The interpretation was that Africa was constructed as spatially imprecise in both the verbal and visual text and this unstable construction of Africa can be linked to the contending discourses on Africa emerging out of South Africa. As for the construction of the African being, the verbal text and the visual text did not make all similar constructions, especially with regard to the Diaspora. The differences between the verbal text and the visual text were interpreted on the basis of the nature of the data that each form of text produced. Both forms of text however agree on the focus on people in Tropical Africa as representative of the African being.

The temporal notion only applied to the concept of Africa. The analysis of this notion helped in terms of developing an understanding of what constitutes the post-colonial in Africa. Based on the concept of historical consciousness, I was therefore able to evince the historicity of Africa. The meaning of post-colonial Africa is more unstable in the visual text than in the verbal text. Furthermore, in both forms of text, the place of South Africa in post-colonial Africa was interpreted as ambiguous and the country fails to fall perfectly within this time frame because of the prolonged protraction of apartheid. I interpreted this temporal ambiguity as the basis of much of the South African exceptionalism that is in the analysed textbooks.

The concept of Africa was also represented in a humanised notion in a way that Africa was constructed according to the people that were linked to it. In the verbal text, a humanised notion of Africa was shown to be multifarious as it was linked to race, religion and ideology. However, there were firmer meanings in the visual text, focusing on race and gender. In this case, the verbal and the visual text did not work in rapport, since they produced different meanings. While there were some ambiguities, the visual text represented Africa as Black and male, reflecting the dominant discourses of African nationalism and patriarchy.

The representation of the physical notion was only with regard to the African being and it had less contestation than any other notion. Race is a major criterion for Africanness in both the verbal and visual text. This is not surprising considering that discourses of race are relatively most dominant in the South African context. While the constitution has abandoned population groupings of the apartheid era, these categories are still officially being applied and when they

are used, the term African is used to refer to members of the Black race. Therefore Black and African are generally represented as the same concept. As a result, the Africanness of Arabs is represented in ambiguity while that of race groups such as Whites is overlooked. In addition to being Black, the African being is represented by a male being in both forms of text, reflecting the marginalised position of women in history, and in the textbooks to be particular.

Regarding the cultural notion of the African being, the verbal and visual text complemented each other in constructing similar meanings. There are both cases of homogenous and multifarious constructions of African culture. However, the most dominant construction is that of hybrid meanings of African culture. The African beings are represented as culturally hybrid in the sense they are products of different influences which they cannot completely undo even in the postcolonial condition. This means that cultural hybridity is not limited to South Africans only as former President Thabo Mbeki seemed to have observed.

The interpretation that I made of the meaning of the experiential notion was also unstable. The key finding from both the verbal and visual text is that Africa and the African being are largely represented as having undergone negative experiences in the post-colonial era. Where experiences were homogenous, they were mainly negative and referred to people in Tropical Africa, thus making exceptions of South Africans, North Africans and people from the islands of Africa. The instability of the experiential notion of Africa mainly stems from the differentiation between the ruling elite and the general populace. The elite are represented as living in luxury and, in cahoots with outside forces, oppressing the citizens, while the citizens bore the brunt of poverty, environmental and health disasters, war and underdevelopment. In representing the experiential notion of the African being, the verbal and the visual text work in complement. The negative representation of Africa demonstrates a continuation of negative representation that can be traced back to deep time, but especially from the time of the age of Western exploration into the age of Western colonisation (Wallerstein, 1988).

Finally, the meaning of the philosophical notion of the African being was not constructed in the same manner in the verbal and visual text. The verbal text showed that African philosophy could be generalised through the use of concepts that can be regarded as African. African

philosophy was also constructed as part of the global knowledge system to which it also contributes. However, South Africa is not represented as contributing much to African philosophy. The visual text had a more unstable notion of the philosophical notion of the African being. While universal concepts were applied to Africans, the visual text also showed anti-universalism and hybridity. In addition African philosophy was also represented as idealistic rather than real.

In summation, the constructions of Africa and the African being in the analysed textbooks were largely unstable and ambiguous although there were traces of homogeneity. These constructions show how the two concepts cannot be taken for granted, such that while they are sources of emotional contestations, other quarters have even dismissed them as imaginary and non-existent (van Dijk, 2006). However, other scholars such as Ottaway (1999) contend that while Africa and Africanness are invented, they can actually become real. The constructions in the analysed textbooks manifest this process of the two concepts being actualised through discourses. This interpretation is supported by Chinua Achebe's statement that: "There isn't a final identity that is African. But, at the same time, there is an identity coming into existence" (Appiah, 1992, p. 73).

However, these interpretations do not make complete sense without explanations of why the constructions were simultaneously riddled with contestations. Therefore, in the next chapter I take the study further by theorising my findings in relation to theories on the nature of the history textbook and on African consciousness. I will explain the nature and role of text in the findings bearing in mind the arguments over text and how it can construct a particular mind-set for its readers. I then explain the kind of African consciousness that the textbooks promote using my conceptual and theoretical frameworks and, on the basis of the explanations, conclude my study.

CHAPTER 9

EXPLANATION AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand how South African History textbooks construct African consciousness. The analysis focused on Grade 12 History textbooks because they are the ones that cover content on Africa in the post-colonial era. In the previous chapter, I interpreted the findings from the analysis which was done in Chapters 6 and 7. This chapter's purpose is twofold: to finalise the study and to conduct the final CDA methodological move in this thesis, namely the explanation of findings. Such a move will have allowed me to fully answer my key research questions, in the process theorising the findings since I conducted this study on the premise that theory is the basis of any science – social science included.

Since this is the final chapter of my thesis, I will begin by reviewing all the chapters that I have covered thus far in order to give some perspective of how I arrived at this point. After the review, I will then make the final methodological move of explaining my findings. After the explanations and statement of my thesis, I will then reflect on the methodologies that I applied, with a view to assessing their suitability and effectiveness. My reflection will focus principally on the nature and role of text in its different forms. This will be followed by personal reflections on the research process, leading to the final conclusion.

9.2 Review of the study

In this section I provide a review of my entire study by go over the major points arising out of each of the chapters in this thesis.

9.2.1 Chapter 1 – Introduction to the study

In Chapter 1 I provided a background to this study by referring to some of the discourses on Africa and Africans emerging from the macro-level of politicians. I explained how South Africa has been caught between trying to be a unique country on the African continent, while simultaneously still trying to be part of a broader African agenda. I then explained the focus and purpose of this study which can be summarily captured in the overarching research question which is:

- What is the nature of African consciousness that is constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?

The overarching research question was enquired through the following sub-questions:

- How is Africa constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?
- How is the African being constructed in contemporary South African History textbooks?
- Why are the concepts (Africa/African) constructed in that way?

I also explained the rationale and motivation of this study in Chapter 1. I explained these at a personal, professional and conceptual level. Although the personal and professional rationales were important, it was the conceptual rationale that would guide me through the study as a golden thread of interest. I also illuminated, in Chapter 1, how History textbooks can be an important tool in both constructing and reflecting the dominant discourses on African consciousness in the country. After elucidating the issues of theory and methodology I then provided a chapter-by-chapter outline of the thesis. By the end of the chapter I had explained

how this study was both significant and worthwhile. This process set the scene for the rest of the thesis.

9.2.2 Chapter 2 – Literature on African consciousness

This was the first of two literature review chapters. The aim of Chapter 2 was to engage with literature that was concerned with African consciousness. In order to do that, I started by presenting the discourses that emerge from the literature on the concept of Africa, especially on its origins and meanings. I then reviewed literature on Africanness with a major focus on the criteria that scholars present for Africanness such as culture, race, origin and history. After this I then came up with a conceptual framework on African consciousness. In order to make better sense of this framework, I first reviewed literature on consciousness and then on historical consciousness. I showed how literature basically described consciousness as a mental state of awareness. Therefore historical consciousness was presented as a mental state of awareness informed by a historical dimension (the past, present and future). This discussion ended with my presentation of Rüsen's (1993) typology of historical consciousness which I adapted to construct a conceptual framework for African consciousness. This adapted framework showed how there can be four types of African consciousness – the traditional, exemplary, critical and genetic.

9.2.3 Chapter 3 – Literature on History textbooks

Since my study focused on the intersection between African consciousness and History textbooks I also had to engage with literature on History textbooks. In this second literature review chapter, I firstly explained the position of the textbook in general as an aspect of educational media whose key audience comprises teachers and learners. I also engaged with literature on the textbook genre and the contentions over its nature and content considering the diverse interest groups in textbook production. I also explained how the diverse interest groups affected the agency of the authors. I then moved on to History textbooks in particular and demonstrated how they can help in the construction of historical consciousness. This

argument was built around literature on the nature of text – verbal and visual. The literature that I reviewed showed how text can construct a particular mental awareness for its audience. This therefore justified why I was analysing South African History textbooks for African consciousness.

I finalised Chapter 3 by reviewing literature on research on issues related to History textbooks, particularly in South Africa. In that section I showed that although research on history textbooks is not necessarily new, little has been conducted to make History textbook research a thriving academic field. I then showed that although the end of apartheid ushered in a relative increase in History textbook research, I could find none on Africa and Africanness. Through Chapters 2 and 3 I managed to justify the need for my research by demonstrating the major areas that had been covered and also the gaps in literature.

9.2.4 Chapter 4 – Theoretical considerations

As the need for my study had been justified the next step was to explain how issues of theory related to this kind of study. I first explained why I had to embrace theory in my study; that is, to make the study a scientific endeavour. I then expounded the theory of postcolonialism showing how it was volatile and full of contestations. I then explained how these contestations have conceived different types of postcolonialism, leading me to choosing discursive postcolonialism as a theoretical framework. I also elucidated the role of discourse theory within my theoretical framework. Nevertheless, I also spelt out how no theory was complete and how it was virtually impossible to find a theory that is a perfect match to any particular study. I therefore argued that the weaknesses of discursive postcolonialism actually further justified the need for this study because I also had to make theoretical contributions at the end (which I do in this concluding chapter).

9.2.5 Chapter 5 – Research design and methodology

I started Chapter 5 by explaining how the theory I had adopted fit studies conducted in a social constructionist paradigm. I then explained social constructionism in relation to issues of epistemology, ontology and human nature and agency. I also showed the implication of the social constructionist paradigm on the nature of my understanding of Africa, Africanness and History textbooks. The next step was to explain the application of the qualitative approach in my study after which I described my research design of phenomenology. I clarified that although the textual data with which I was dealing was secondary data, my research can still be considered as empirical.

After outlining the major developments and arguments in international textbook research I then explained and justified the choice of CDA as my methodology, bearing in mind that this is a methodology that has been mostly applied in the languages. I emphasised the importance of considering language use and context in analysing text. I moved on to describing the sample of four contemporary History textbooks which I found to be in predominant use at the time of starting my research. As I noted in Chapters 1 and 5 these books have since been eclipsed with the production of new textbooks for the new CAPS system.

The next thing I did in Chapter 5 was to explain data generation in terms of the choice of Grade 12 History textbooks and the chapters covering the topic on Uhuru. I also explained the selection of the verbal and visual data that I analysed. I then illustrated how using Fairclough's CDA meant analysing both verbal and visual data at three levels: explanation (social analysis); interpretation (processing analysis) and description (text analysis). I also spelt out that for verbal text I mainly focused on five aspects of functional grammar: lexicalisation; referential cohesion devices; the use of nominalisation; the use of active and passive voice; and patterns of transitivity (Janks, 1997). I also revealed that for visual text I applied symbolic visual semiotics.

9.2.6 Chapter 6 – Description of findings on Africa

The findings of this study were presented in two descriptive chapters of which Chapter 6 was the first. The focus of Chapter 6 was a description of findings on the meaning of Africa. The

findings on Africa were first described as they were analysed from the verbal text (narrative and paratext). I described the construction of Africa in the textbooks according to four major notions which became themes: the spatial; the temporal; the humanised; and the experiential. For all the emerging themes there were simultaneous cases of generalisation and exceptionalism thus revealing an unstable construction of the concept of Africa in the verbal text of the selected textbooks.

The findings from the visual text were also presented in the form of the four themes from the verbal text – the spatial, temporal, humanised and experiential notions. Therefore the visual text corroborated the construction of an Africa that is multidimensional. Similarly, Africa was not uniformly constructed across and even within the textbooks. I also explained how some of the visuals did not make sense in isolation; but needed to be corroborated with the verbal text. For both the verbal and visual text, there were cases of exceptionalism, particularly for South Africa, and generally for regions such as North Africa. However, there were also some cases of inclusivity.

9.3.7 Chapter 7 – Description of findings on the African being

This was the second of two chapters in which I described the findings of my analysis of the construction of the African being. It was also divided into sections – on the verbal text and the visual text. At a descriptive level the African being was constructed in the textbooks, in all the text, to be five-dimensional – the spatial, the physical, the philosophical, the cultural and the experiential. It must be noted that some books yielded more findings than others. There were cases where some visuals on the construction of Africa also produced findings on the African being. Nonetheless, the findings from visual text on some themes – such as on the physical and the experiential notions of the African being yielded more findings than others such as on the spatial and philosophical notions.

There were also constructions and contestations across and within textbooks as was the case on the meaning of Africa. For example, in some cases Africans were generalised while others were more specified (especially by nationality, although there was limited identification of

Africanness by ethnicity). Throughout the chapter I also revealed how the South African being was in many cases branded exceptional, particularly in examples where Africans were characterised by negative vices such as wars, lack of democracy and lack of economic development. The major finding was that the African being was constructed through hybridity and ambiguities in the text.

9.2.8 Chapter 8 – Interpretation of findings

After describing the findings in Chapters 6 and 7 I then made my second methodological move of interpretation in Chapter 8. By interpreting, I made sense of what the findings implied. In other words, this is the chapter where I answered what the meaning of Africa and the African being was in the analysed textbooks. Although it was difficult to generalise, some patterns emerged. To summarise the construction of Africa in the textbooks, the spatial was constructed as mainly sub-Saharan Africa; the temporal as post-1960s; the humanised as mainly Black; and the experiential as mainly negative. As for the African being, the spatial African was mainly constructed as sub-Saharan African; the physical as Black and masculine; the philosophical and the cultural as hybrid; and the experiential as mainly negative. These generalised patterns were imbued with contesting constructions within and across the analysed textbooks, resulting in an imprecise construction of Africa and the African being. The interpretations that I made were supported by the discourses emerging from the context of South Africa – where the textbooks were produced. I also interpreted the findings using the literature from Chapters 2 and 3. For example, I used Grinker and Steiner's (2010) argument on the influential role of discourse (particularly Western discourse) in the construction of Africa. I also referred to postcolonial theory to explain the hybridity constructed in the textbooks, particularly how these mixed messages constructed not just a double consciousness as propounded by Du Bois (1925), but multiple African consciousnesses.

In summation, what is clear from the interpretation of findings is that the analysed textbooks construct Africa and the African being as multidimensional and largely ambiguous. As a result, the Africa and African being that the textbooks construct are idealistic rather than fully

actualised. Simultaneously, there is the exceptionalism of South Africa and the South African from this construction as most of the constructions focus on the region and people of Tropical Africa. This exceptionalism constructs an “Othering” of Africans who are not from South Africa. In fact, South Africa was constructed as framed within a different concept of the post-colonial compared to the rest of Africa. A combination of Western and South African discourses was seen to be informing the constructions that made South Africa exceptional in the analysed textbooks. It is also evident that the multiple consciousnesses that emerge from the textbooks focus on the colonial past and the postcolonial present, meaning that it does not stem from deep time and neither does it foster a future vision. Africa and Africans are constructed as part of the world, but not necessarily as equal players, but either as victims, or lesser partners. In relation to the nature of the textbooks, I mainly discovered that while visual text had certain constructions, their meanings could be understood better if corroborated with the constructions from the verbal text. This is not to say that the two forms of text always agreed, since there were contradictions within and across textbooks. Based on these key findings, I can now make the third and final methodological move, which is explanation of findings.

9.3 Explanation of findings

According to my CDA methodology, explanation entails social analysis, meaning the analysis of sociocultural practice. Theorisation will be the main feature of this explanation. I noted in Chapter 4 that researchers use theory for diverse purposes and that my theory played conceptual, methodological, and epistemological roles. Indeed, theory permeated all chapters of this thesis, but in this chapter, I dwell on the methodological role in which theory explains the findings. I will conduct my explanation of findings by firstly using both my conceptual and theoretical frameworks to theorise the kind of African consciousness that the textbooks promote. I will then explain the findings in relation to the nature of the South African History textbooks and African consciousness. In other words, I use the theory (discursive postcolonialism) to explain the concept (African consciousness) as constructed in South African history textbooks. It is this process of explanation that yields abstraction of my thesis.

9.3.1 Theorising of African consciousness

In Chapter 2, I reviewed literature to devise a model of African consciousness comprising the understanding of the meanings of Africa and the African being through the lens of historical consciousness. I illustrated, with the help of Figure 2.1, the adapted framework for African consciousness contrived through the historicisation of Africa and the African being. However, the findings from my analysis revealed that there is no one African consciousness thus fashioning a different model from the one in Chapter 2. That is the crux of my study's contribution which I will explain in this section.

One major finding emerging out of this study is that the meanings of Africa and the African being in the textbooks are multidimensional because they comprise a multiplicity of notions. As shown in the description and interpretation of findings, Africa in the analysed textbooks was constructed as four-dimensional while the African being was five-dimensional. It can therefore be argued that, on one hand, the similarities of some notions across Africa and the African being show the interrelated nature of the two concepts (Africa and the African being). For

example, some dimensions, such as the spatial and experiential notions, applied to both Africa and the African being. On the other hand, the differences prove that, in spite of the apparent connection, the relationship between Africa and the African being should not be viewed in a simplistic manner. In other words, it cannot be taken for granted that all phenomena that are concerned with Africa are actually African. In fact, since the two concepts (Africa and the African being) are different, they largely have their own unique criteria for meaning. For example, my descriptive and interpretive analysis showed that the philosophical and cultural notions applied to the African being but not to the concept Africa. Therefore, this study revealed that the interrelationship between Africa, Africanness and historical consciousness is not actually as perfectly neat as conceptualised in Chapter 2. In fact, my conceptual framework had referred to a holistic African consciousness represented by the metaphor of a Gordian knot, whereby all the three strands had to be tight lest the knot loses strength. My findings however, show that it is a practical impossibility to achieve a holistic African consciousness because the concepts are multidimensional and not necessarily totally compatible.

The argument of the impossibility of a holistic African consciousness can be further supported by the ambiguities and the imprecisions that characterised most of the constructions in the analysed textbooks. The seemingly contradictory constructions in the textbooks represent what Bakhtin (1981) would refer to as heteroglossia. Discursive postcolonialism is useful in explaining why the textbooks have such ambiguous and imprecise constructions of African consciousness. In Mbembe's view, (as cited in Hitchcock, 1997, p. 236), the multiple dimensions of Africa and the African being reflect "chaotic plurality," one in which conflict and contradiction are the very mark of postcolonial 'being.'" This means that it is impossible to have stable meanings in a postcolonial condition because not all the effects of colonialism can ever be undone. It is in such cases that Baker Jr., et al. (1995, p. 1047) argue that "the return to one's 'native' land is a paradigmatic impossibility." It should be noted that a post-conflict society such as South Africa is usually characterised by contending views, especially if it is founded on trying to come to terms with its past through embracing multiculturalism (Rüsen, 1991).

Furthermore, I noted in explaining my conceptual framework that African consciousness is not just about being, but also about becoming (Kwang-Su, 1999). This argument is worth considering because it also adds to the explanation of the ambiguities and imprecisions to which the textbooks related. My findings showed that the ambiguities construct an African consciousness that is idealistic rather than fully actualised. Discursive postcolonialism further elucidates that since discourses are socially constructed, their meanings are not only contextual but are always in a state of erasure and “always elusive, always deferred, always multiple, always somewhat paradoxical” (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 103). Indeed, the African consciousness that is constructed in the textbooks is elusive, deferred, multiple, and somewhat paradoxical. The textbooks therefore confirm that African consciousness is what Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000, p. 8) refer to as an “empty signifier” – an object that is never fully meaningful such that the textbook producers give their meanings to it.

The exceptionalism of South Africa and the South African was also a key finding. Although South African exceptionalism was not the only form of exceptionalism, it is significant for my findings because South Africa is the country in which and for which the textbooks analysed are produced. As illustrated in the background to this study, the “othering” of Africans who are not from South Africa, particularly those from Tropical Africa is evident in the everyday contextual discourses in South Africa. With reference to postcolonial theory, one of the complications that scholars such as McClintock (1993) spell out is on the time frame of the postcolonial period. It is this temporal complication that contributes to the construction of South African exceptionalism since most of the history of postcolonial Africa that is covered in the analysed textbook sections occurred while South Africa was still under Apartheid. However, there are other historical references in other parts of Africa that occurred when South Africa was past Apartheid, so this explanation is not fully enlightening. Therefore the role of South African contextual discourses is important in explaining South African exceptionalism. It is also worth noting that even Western and South African discourses tend to generalise Tropical Africa, thus promoting South African exceptionalism (Mamdani, 1999).

My conceptual framework referred to a historicised concept of Africa and the African being; that is contextualising the concepts with space and time (past, present and future) (Rüsen, 1993; Kwang-Su, 1999; Taylor, 2003; Seixas, 2006; Wassermann, 2008). In relation to this, one key finding was that the textbooks do not historicise Africa and the African being in deep time and neither do they foster a future-oriented consciousness. The focus is on only the colonial past and the postcolonial present can be explained by postcolonial theory. According to scholars such as McClintock (1993) and St-Pierre (1997), there is a tendency for people in a postcolonial condition to privilege colonialism such that they end up ignoring all other history that is not associated with colonialism. Therefore, in trying to be anti-colonial, the textbooks actually privilege colonialism. Furthermore, the fact that Africa and Africans are constructed as part of the world, but not necessarily as equal players, but either as victims, or lesser partners reflects ambiguity in the textbook over universalism or particularism (Said, 1978; Hitchcock, 1997). In terms of space, the already explained South African exceptionalism makes it difficult for a South African textbook user to contextualise themselves in the unfolding history of their world, and not merely their immediate context (Wineburg, 1991).

The multiple forms of African consciousness that manifest in the analysed textbooks are constructed in both individual and collective forms. It was evident that the collective consciousness is dominant and can be divided into sub-forms such as national, regional and continental consciousness. To give an example, the homogenous construction of Africa in the textbooks is evidence of collective African consciousness. However, the South African exceptionalism in most representations in the textbooks implies that the textbook users (learners and teachers in the South African education system) are meant to have a unique collective national consciousness rather than a collective African consciousness (Rüsen, 1993; Soysal, 2008). This is what Miller, et al. (1981, p. 495) refer to as a group consciousness which entails “identification with a group ... regarding the group's relative position in society along with a commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group's interests.” This means that the South African learners and teachers who use the selected textbooks may develop a confusion of different types of consciousness which is similar to the double consciousness about which Du Bois and Fanon wrote (Moore, 2005).

Based on the above explanations, I am able to argue how this study contributed to the theorisation of African consciousness. According to the framework of the nature of African consciousness that I adapted from Rüsen's (1993) typology of historical consciousness (Figure 2.1), consciousness can be understood to exist in four forms: traditional, exemplary, critical or genetic. I will argue that the findings from my study do not perfectly dovetail within this conceptual framework because the African consciousness that is constructed in the textbooks is largely fluid and sometimes contradictory. To explain, I found cases of traditional African consciousness in instances where Africa and the Africans were constructed as homogenous. Another particular example of how the textbooks promote a traditional African consciousness is how, in many cases, the African was represented as racially Black implying that people of any other skin colour were not African. Therefore, in cases when the meanings of Africa and the African being were represented as pre-given and unquestionable, the textbooks constructed a traditional African consciousness for their audience (Rüsen, 1993).

There were also cases of exemplary African consciousness from the findings. This type of consciousness implies that the analysed textbooks acknowledged difference in meanings, but still related the difference to expected regularities (Rüsen, 1993). This means that the textbooks construct an exemplary African consciousness by providing benchmarks to the meaning of Africa or the African being even in cases whereby difference is acknowledged. A specific example is when Tropical Africa was portrayed as the real representation of Africa; meaning that while the Maghreb might be accepted to be in Africa, the expected regularity is Tropical Africa. This shows how the textbooks move from constructing a traditional African consciousness in some instances to an exemplary African consciousness in others.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed that there are also constructions of critical African consciousness in the textbooks. I explained in the conceptual framework that critical consciousness entails a mental state which problematises the normative and pre-given obligations. To illustrate this point, I use the example of hybridity construction in the textbooks whereby the product of a mixture of a presumably African concept and a Western concept was argued to be an African concept. This means that the textbooks imply that the nature of the

African concept is neither pre-given nor fixed and thus can change in meaning over space and time.

The textbooks did not construct a genetic African consciousness because they did not promote the idea that anyone can be an African being. They still constructed criteria for Africanness, which meant that, at any given point, some beings were constructed as Africans while others were not. Taking into consideration the argument that the analysed textbooks contain traditional, exemplary and critical African consciousness, I therefore argue that the textbooks construct a bricolage of African consciousnesses. This means that the textbooks do not construct only a single African consciousness which neatly fits into one specific category of the four propounded by Rüsen (1993). The bricolage of African consciousnesses implies a consciousness conundrum manifesting in the textbooks and relating to the hybridity which has already been argued to be characteristic of postcolonial representations (Bakhtin, 1981; Hitchcock, 1997; Baker Jr., et al., 1995). Based on my study, I therefore acknowledge the utility of Rüsen's typology, but go further to challenge its straightjacket nature. I also challenge the typology on the basis of my ontological position which questions the possibility of pigeonholing phenomena into separate compartments since they are socially constructed and not fixed. I thus argue that the concept of African consciousness is more of a process than a given and this representation tallies with arguments by Kwang-Su (1999) and Appiah (1992) that African consciousness be regarded as a becoming rather than a stable being. In addition, the different types of consciousness are related to and thus influence each other. Ultimately, the African consciousness that the textbook audience extracts from the textbooks depends on how they engage with the text.

A further theoretical contribution of my study is with regard to the potential implications of the African consciousness that is constructed in the analysed textbooks. It is not prudent to be formulaic about social sciences, bearing in mind that the social constructionist perspective, within which I worked, does not view the unfolding of events as predictable. Nevertheless, I argue that the kind of African consciousness that is promoted in the textbooks most likely leads to the polar affect, which, according to Miller et al. (1981), is a preference of the group one

identifies with over others. The evidence is that the only time 'we' was used was in any of the analysed textbooks, it was in reference to South Africans. According to al-Badarin and Maagerø (2008) the use of the first person plural (we/us) is common in countries where the educational discourse is dominated by the promotion of a nationalistic group consciousness. This has already been proven with the cases of South African exceptionalism that is found in the analysed textbooks. On the ground in the South African context, nation-building discourses are evident as demonstrated by the common use of concepts such as "simunye" (we are one) and "rainbow nation." Literature abounds on how nationalism, for all its positives, can also be malignant through othering (Wingfield, 2004; Kersting, 2009; Hammett, 2011). In the case of this study, it is the rest of Africa, particularly Tropical Africa, that is constructed as the other – just as discourses of othering were noted in Chapter 1 to be emerging from South Africa (including from the leadership). If South Africans see themselves as different from the rest of the African continent, then they can possibly develop the polar affect which has the potential to contribute to misunderstandings such as xenophobia. This development was explained by Aldridge (2006, p. 663) who argues that silences and occlusion mean that learners are denied "access to relevant, dynamic, and often controversial history or critical lenses that would provide them insight into the dilemmas, challenges, and realities of living in a democratic society"

Nonetheless, because of the contradictions found in the textbooks, the polar affect should not be exaggerated. There are also cases of polar power – which implies contentment or discontent over the condition in which one's group finds itself. Therefore, despite how negative or how positive Africa and Africans are constructed, South Africans are sometimes also constructed in the analysed textbooks as part and parcel of the African situation. It should be noted that the use of the first person 'we' in reference to South Africans was only seen once and therefore was not a dominant construction. However, the cases of South African exceptionalism were dominant such that the national uniqueness was evident in the analysed chapters. This is unlike the case in Germany where Soysal (2006) states that the national aspect is almost absent in the History textbooks which foreground the European dimension.

9.2.2 History textbooks and African consciousness

In the previous subsection, I focused on explaining the nature of African consciousness and in this subsection I focus my explanation on South African History textbooks. Although literature pointed out that learners, teachers and society tend to view textbooks as presenters of “cut and dried certainties” (Anderson & Day, 2005, p. 335), the analysis showed that the representation of Africa and Africanness in the textbooks was not in any way certain. The analysed sections of the textbooks were characterised by contradictions and inconsistencies such that the meanings of Africa and the African being were revealed to be multiple and sometimes fuzzy and unstable. Therefore, this research showed how wrong learners and teachers are if they take textbooks as purveyors of definite constructions. Indeed, as was shown in the previous section, the textbooks construct multiple consciousnesses because they do not contain one particular meaning.

With regard to the construction of Africa and the African being, the textbooks might have contained contradictions and ambiguities, but it can still be said that they still followed an identifiable “schematic narrative template” (Wertsch, 2006, p. 55). The template that can be identified is that of an Africa and African beings who were victims of colonisation and, after fighting colonisation, were subjected to different types of governments, many of which did not benefit the ordinary citizens. Both the verbal and visual text in the textbooks fed into this narrative. Such a narrative attests to the influence of revisionist history in Africa in the post-colonial period (Van Wyk Smith, 2009). In fact, I have already pointed out that the ambiguities are characteristic of postcolonial textual representations. Other scholars, such as Baker (2014) contend that heteroglossia has always been a characteristic of representational text, including colonial text on indigenous South Africans.

Furthermore, this study demonstrates the relationship between text and the construction of consciousness. This relationship confirms the argument by Moore (2005) that consciousness is knowledge-based. Textbooks, according to Evans (1991), are vehicles for knowledge. In the case of this study, the knowledge concerns an awareness of Africa and Africanness. This

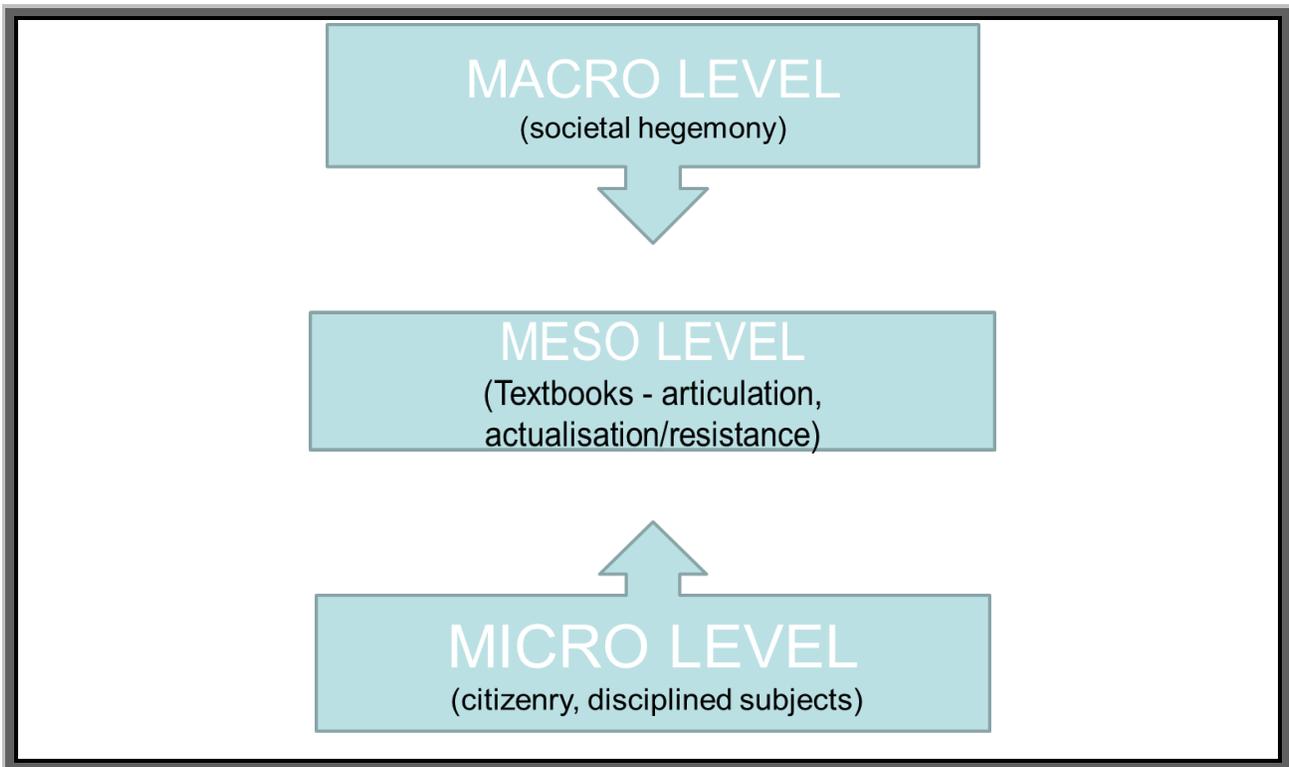
consciousness is then found to be permeating what Naseem (2008, p. 25) refers to as “educational discourse” of a particular country because it is rooted in a mental state. It is this permeating educational discourse that I argue to have influenced the schematic narrative template I have explained earlier. This explanation tallies with my observation that, at a political level (the macro-level of discourse), African leaders tend to produce post-colonial and revisionist discourses, particularly when they are grandstanding. The assumption would then be that the dominant discourse at a macro-level can be articulated through policymakers to become dominant educational discourses. As Dimitriadis & Kamberelis (2006) note, in the hands of a disciplined subject (the textbook audience) at the micro-level of discourse, these articulated ideas can then be actualised to become a particular consciousness that can be linked to particular action.

However, I also argue that depending on the context, some schematic narrative templates run in contention to various other narratives. This speaks to the complexity of the history textbook which sits at the interface of public discourses and audiences of these discourses. This explanation is illustrated in the model in Figure 9.1 whereby I theorise the position of the history textbooks in the discourse realm.

In Figure 9.1 I explain that while the macro-level of power produces the dominant discourses, the micro-level of the citizen also contributes to the discourses that permeate the History textbooks. If the textbook users are regarded as an audience then it can be argued that the audience also hold some power to receive what they expect to see, hear or read. As Mohammed (2008) argues, there can be three responses to reading a History textbook: confirmation, exploration and confrontation. Therefore, the History textbook sits at the interface of power and the audience which is what Van Dijk (2003) refers to as the meso-level of discourse. At the meso-level is where the history textbooks are involved in the articulation, actualisation and resistance to the various discourses. This model thus accepts the view by Bruner (1987) that consciousness has two landscapes: “outer landscape where the action that takes place through the unfolding plot while the other the inner landscape is revealed through the inner consciousness of the protagonist” (p. 20). The outer landscape is therefore the

consciousness emanating the macro-level while the inner is the reflection of the individuals at the micro-level.

Figure 9.1: A postcolonial understanding of the place of textbooks in discourses



Applying this model to South Africa, I argue that the macro-level of power is in itself full of contentions. As explained in Chapter 1, the contemporary political sphere is characterised by a ruling government comprising competing voices with a largely liberal African liberation movement (the ANC) working in coalition with a labour organisation (COSATU) and the far left (the SACP). This unique mix means that it is possible to have contending views about Africa and Africans at the macro-level of discourses. At the micro-level, South Africa is officially a democracy and thus there is evidence of reasonable attempts to tolerate dissenting voices. These dissenting voices produce varying views about Africa and Africans as well. As Van Dijk (2003, p. 355) noted, even the less powerful will often “resist, accept, condone, comply with, or

legitimate such power, and even find it 'natural.'" As noted in Chapters 1 and 3, the South African DoE (2000) actually admitted that individual South Africans had different views and therefore the department wanted to use the study of history to promote a particular historical consciousness. As a result when the differing discourses from the top and from below meet at the meso-level of textbook production, there is not just articulation but also resistance. The textbook burning incident in South Africa referred to in Chapter 2 is typical of the resistance from the micro-level of discourse (Siebörger, 2008, Van Eeden, Wassermann, 2009). This can explain the multiple forms of African consciousness that emerged out of the analysed textbooks.

It is important to draw an understanding of the meso-level of discourses where the history textbook is located since the textbook is the focus of this study, in terms of how it constructs an African consciousness for the textbook users. It should be noted that the nature of History textbooks itself is problematic and understanding it enhances an understanding of the constructions and contestations therein. The textbook concept has Western roots and was introduced into most of Africa as part of the colonial education system and the publishers of the textbooks that I analysed existed as publishers through the colonial period in Africa, and South Africa in particular.²⁵ With reference to postcolonial theory, both the textbook as a concept and the selected textbook publishers in particular were once purveyors of colonial discourses and the same publishers, among other things, are now used as tools with which to construct a post-colonial African consciousness.

It is also worth noting that the profiles of the authors show that they are mostly White South Africans. These factors cannot be ignored in trying to understand how postcolonial Africa and the African being are constructed in the selected textbooks, particularly considering my earlier argument on the agency of the authors and the publishing houses. It is even more worth noting that one of the most stable constructions in the textbooks was that Blackness entailed Africanness, so the authors actually denied themselves of Africanness. This means that the construction of Africanness was done by people who regard themselves as the other. Although

²⁵ Heinemann Publishers were established in 1890; Longman in 1724; Oxford in 1586 and Shuter & Shooter in 1925.

the textbooks are produced in a different time from the heydays of the BCM, the statement by Ndebele (1972, p. 14) that: “So many things are said so often to us, about us and for us but very seldom by us” seems to remain relevant. However, even if the authors were Black, it cannot be deducted that the representations would be vastly different considering the long-term intellectual effects of colonialism and Western civilisation on the African population. Postcolonial theory entails that text written within a postcolonial condition will produce postcolonial discourses which break away from the formerly dominant colonial discourses (Said, 1978). Therefore the continuation of colonial discourses on Africa can be interpreted as signalling the indication that the textbooks are produced in a post-colonial era but not in a postcolonial condition.

My contention is therefore that the hybridity that is evident in the textbooks is not merely a reflection of government expectations, but also the hybrid nature of the textbook producers in question. I am thus arguing that the meso-level of discourse in South Africa consists of History textbooks that are hybrid in that they have traces of both colonial and post-colonial features. It can also be added that the macro and micro-levels of discourse are also hybrid since they are products of colonialism, even if they might not appreciate that heritage. In addition, there are more stakeholders in textbook production in relatively democratic societies such as South Africa than in despotic contexts. This shows that the meso-level of discourse in South Africa has many contending voices. Based on these considerations, it is therefore not surprising that the African consciousness that is constructed in the selected textbooks is also full of contentions. In other words, the different forms of consciousness in the analysed textbooks are responding to the different stakeholders involved in the production of the textbooks at the meso-level of discourse. The multiplicity of stakeholders in the production of History textbooks has an effect on the issues of “authorial voice,” “personal agency” or “author visibility” in the textbooks (Paxton, 1999, p. 318). I argue that the differences in meanings that were shown to exist across the analysed textbooks reveal the influence of the authors. For example, *Textbook 1* from the outset declared its focus on sub-Saharan Africa, while other textbooks were vague about it. My argument here is that while stakeholders such as the state definitely played a role in determining the nature of the textbook content, the textbooks did not always say the same

things and this can be credited to the different authors and their publishing houses. Paxton (1999) adds that one of the ways in which textbook authors are made invisible is when their names are not made available to the public creating an impression of a hidden (and hence presumably trustworthy) hand in textbook authorship. However, since the authors of the analysed textbooks are all identified, the textbooks are not written in the anonymous mode that Paxton (1999) calls *textbookese*. Even the differences within one textbook show the possibilities of the involvement of different authors, thus speaking to what was identified by Lebrun et al, (2002) as the complexity of the group of people involved in the production of one textbook.

In Chapter 3 I also discussed Selander's (2008) typology of different types of text that can be found in textbooks; that is narrative, explanatory, persuasive and instructive. If one were to focus on the verbal text, it is possible to use Selander's (2008) typology to explain the nature of the textbooks that are used in South African schools based on the ones that I analysed. From the linguistic choices in the textbooks, it was evident that these textbooks did not fall under just one category, but were both narrative and explanatory texts. As was explained in the typology, narrative texts focus on narrating the events that took place while explanatory texts explain the phenomena that characterised post-colonial Africa (Selander, 2008). There were a few cases of the use of the persuasive text (*Textbook 1*, p. 109; *Textbook 4*, p. 78) but these were more of exceptions than notable. There are two implications of this finding. Firstly, they can be taken as evidence of the cleansing of the South African education system of overt indoctrination since the persuasive text and particularly the instructive text is mainly used in education systems characterised by immense propaganda. Secondly, the fact that the textbooks do not fall within one particular category means Selander's (2008) systematic typology can be challenged. In fact, based on this study, I argue that there is a significant problem with the use of typologies within the social sciences in that they purvey positivist thinking whereby meanings are fixed and inflexible. As was shown in the previous section of this chapter, this is also the issue I raised with Rüsen's (1993) typology of historical consciousness, just as I had an issue with Mazrui's (2005) typology of Africanness in Chapter 2.

To conclude this section, I put forward my main thesis which is that the South African History textbooks construct a largely unstable African consciousness which mirrors the discourses that emerge out of the country in relationship to Africa and the African being. This study has shown that the textbooks actually speak more to their audience than to official discourses. While official discourses in the first decade of the 2000s purveyed South Africa to be taking a lead in promoting an African Renaissance, this research has shown that the History of postcolonial Africa that is studied through textbooks does not promote a definitive African consciousness for the South African learner. Instead, it promotes a conundrum of African consciousnesses in such a way that the learners absorb diverse notions of Africa and the African being. In as much as diversity of views is essential, especially in multicultural societies such as South Africa, the diversity that my research revealed is more of a confusion of consciousnesses rather than one that facilitates the development of individual thought. I noted in Chapter 1 that the textbooks that I analysed have been overtaken by new CAPS-approved textbooks with the Grade 12 textbooks only being used in 2014. It would therefore be worthwhile to analyse the new textbooks to find out if the nature of African consciousness continues to be ambiguous or if it has stabilised. It is noticeable that my theoretical leanings had much to do with the conclusions that I have reached regarding the construction of African consciousness in South African History textbooks. This is because these theoretical perceptions also had much to do with the methodologies that I applied and if analysed from a different perspective, the results would have been different. In the next section I reflect on my methodological choices.

9.3 Methodological reflections on the study

As I designed this research, one of my concerns was that the methodologies on the analysis of History textbooks have not been fully organised and centralised (Weinbrenner, 1992; Pingel, 2010). In this section, I reflect on my methodological choices and argue my contributions to history textbook research. My initial understanding of the nature of text had a huge bearing on the methodological choices that I made at the outset. For example, I had bought into the argument by LaSpina (1998) and Väisänen (2008) that all data that is found in textbooks is text

since it has a certain meaning that it conveys. This view, I had shown, had support from CDA scholars such as Janks (1997) who argued that text comprises signs which can be either verbal or visual. However, even though I worked under this premise, some complications were revealed as the analysis unfolded.

Most of the literature referred to on the nature of text focused mainly on language (and thus verbal text) and not visuals (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Donlan, 1980; Frier, 1998; Jeans, 2005; Paxton, 1999). The descriptions and interpretations in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 demonstrate that the data from the verbal and the visual text spoke to basically the same themes although in comparison, the visual text produced less data. For example, the visual data on the spatial notion of the African being was minimal compared to the verbal data. Therefore, visuals in the analysed textbooks can be argued to have been more complementary to the verbal text than saying their own standalone representations (Frier, 1998; Osler, 1994). This study therefore revealed that although visuals can be considered text, it is more worthwhile to study them together with verbal text since some visuals do not have detailed captions and on their own might be easily misinterpreted. A case in point is the collage in Figure 6.24 from *Textbook 1* (p. 77) showing negative experiences such as war, famine, abuse and dictatorship. On their own they quickly construct Africa negatively and it takes the explanations in the verbal text to understand that the textbook is attributing such negativity to the Western world. In addition, the application of CDA to visual text was even more subjective than it was to the verbal text. For example, I interpreted the picture of children at school not wearing school uniforms as a sign of material poverty (*Textbook 4*, p. 94). However, in reality and depending on the context, some children do not wear school uniforms simply because their schools do not have school uniform policies or they are opposed to rigid educational systems. Therefore it is subjective to view lack of school uniforms as signalling material poverty. Faced with such subjectivity, I had to rely on the findings from the verbal text to contextualise the meaning of such visual text. Therefore, I arrived at the conclusion that while verbal text can construct deeper meanings on its own, some visual text will require complementary verbal text to construct comprehensive representations.

Another of the methodological complications in the analysis was the realisation that not all the visuals in the textbooks were actually produced by the textbook publishers. This was especially so for pictures of which some are in the public domain thus diminishing what, according to Paxton (1999, p. 318), can be termed as “authorial voice.” Although it can be acknowledged that the textbook publishers did not necessarily create all the visuals in the textbooks, I maintain their selection is not innocent either. In addition, if the visuals were already in the public domain, it then implies that the textbooks are confirming the discourses in the public already and not really constructing new ones (Osler, 1994). This then supports the argument that I raised in Chapter 4 (and explained in the previous section) that discourses at a macro-level and micro-level can influence discourses at the meso-level of History textbooks.

From my analysis of the textbooks I also noted, that sometimes silences can be telling. This was not new knowledge as it has already been discussed in the literature review that inclusion and occlusion both work to evince particular constructions in the textbooks (Millas, 1991; Wertsch, 2000). It was significant in this study that although Fairclough’s CDA focuses on linguistic choices and visual representation, silences are equally important. For example, without noticing the omission of islands from the meaning of Africa or the silences on South Africa, it would have been difficult to understand the exceptionalism that is promoted in the textbooks. Therefore although Fairclough’s CDA was largely useful, there were certain aspects that could not be fully encompassed.

There were also other aspects of CDA that I did not fully utilise since they did not completely relate to the phenomena on which I was focusing. For example, although I did transitivity analysis as suggested I did not apply it fully on the basis of Janks’ (1997) advice that a full application is for very large scale studies. It should also be noted that I had found very limited evidence of the application of CDA in textbook analysis. I therefore had to adapt the methodology to my study. For example, while Fairclough’s CDA suggested that the three level of analysis (description, interpretation and explanation) be done and presented simultaneously, I separated them into different chapters. Doing all of them together would have been easier had I been analysing very limited text, but for a large scale thesis, presentation of such data

would have been cumbersome. It was my view that separating the three methodological moves would make the findings more comprehensible and also conform to the general structural conventions of the PhD thesis. However, in doing so, I had to engage with the profound meanings of description, interpretation and explanation before I could proceed.

Finally, while conducting CDA, the temptation was to become attracted to other forms of CDA. Indeed, many new forms of CDA have emerged since the rise of functional linguistics (Breeze, 2011; Tenorio, 2011, Rogers, 2004; Gee, 2004). Therefore, the type of CDA that I used was basic. In fact, Fairclough (2013) himself has also further published new developments of his CDA; however his CDA is still rooted in the basic functional linguistics although he places more emphasis on hegemony and relational discourses in a capitalistic world. I decided to adhere to one form of CDA in order to keep my focus and also not to become embroiled into a myriad of unnecessary scholarly references. I therefore chose the CDA positioning that serves the purpose of my study in terms of understanding representation in text. Therefore, I strove to keep my methodology simple but academically rigorous.

9.4. Personal and professional reflections on the study

Conducting this study was more than a research process for me; in fact it was also a self-reflection on my being and the discourses that both surround and emanate from me. My motivation to conduct a study of this nature was both personal and professional as explained in Chapter 1. At a professional level, as someone who is involved in the teaching of African history modules at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, this research had a huge impact on my teaching. In fact I have incorporated many ideas from my study into my teaching. For example, two of the units in one of my B.Ed Honours modules are on 'Discourses on the meaning of Africa' and 'Discourses on the meaning of Africanness.' The literature that features in this thesis also features as recommended readings in the module readings. Part of the assessment also involves the analysis of the representation of Africa in history textbooks.

Simultaneously, my teaching has also exposed me to some of the discourses on issues concerning Africa coming from South African youth in History. Evidently the youth are influenced by both official and unofficial discourses in the country. One example of an issue that has been discussed in the undergraduate class concerns xenophobia in South Africa. The students have also expressed their personal views and feelings concerning the state of Africa and the immigration, particularly of other Africans, into South Africa. These class discussions therefore represent some of the micro-level discourses in South Africa, with these students also being part of the audience of History textbooks (they have used the analysed textbooks in school and will use the CAPS-approved versions once they qualify as teachers). If one considers Mamdani's (1999) argument that an African Renaissance depends heavily on the quality of the African intelligentsia, then the students that I have engaged with are part of the future African intelligentsia and their views represent part of the African consciousness in South Africa.

In addition, when I started this study, my university dubbed itself a "premier university of African scholarship." Conducting this study also made me aware not to take this statement for granted. Through my study, I have been empowered to critique the policies at my university (I also work there). For example, one policy in my school is that students use APA 6th referencing. If one considers postcolonial theory, the expectation would be that a premier university of African scholarship would be taking the lead in developing its own referencing style. Therefore, this study has inculcated in me a consciousness to critique and thus understand and enrich my professional practice.

At a personal level, the research process had an effect on my self-understanding, being someone who has always considered myself as an African. I therefore take this study to have been a major step in my development as part of the African intelligentsia discussed in the preceding paragraph. This research made me realise the many things I took for granted about my self-construction and my constructions of the 'Other.' Growing up and being educated in Zimbabwe I was exposed to post-colonial revisionist Africanist historiographies which were heavily influenced by an educational discourse of communism and anti-colonialism. I now view myself as someone who grew up with a traditional African consciousness and this study has

played a significant part in my developing other forms of consciousness, with a specific growth in tolerating difference rather than viewing it as a flaw. Therefore this study has not just been significant in terms of my working towards a PhD qualification, but also in developing myself at conceptual, professional and personal levels.

9.6 Shortcomings of the study

In spite of my efforts to conduct this study with academic rigour, I still can acknowledge some shortcomings. Some of the weaknesses have already been noted in my methodological reflections. Still, it is worthwhile to note that this study could have been conducted in many different ways depending on theoretical, methodological and research design choices. One of the shortcomings to acknowledge is that the study focused on the analysis of the selected textbooks only, but did not go further to find out how the textbooks were actually being used and how the textbook audience received them. This means that I could not present the actual effects of the African consciousness that is constructed of in the textbooks.

The study also does not focus on providing solutions to the problems that are identified in the textbooks. As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 5, the focus is limited to understanding the construction of African consciousness. This means that I do not necessarily proffer recommendations of what should be done in the textbook writing process. Neither do I suggest which type of African consciousness the textbooks are supposed to construct. It is on this basis that it would be worthwhile to conduct further studies including the textbook users (teachers and learners). It would also be worthwhile to analyse textbooks from other countries as I had set out to do at the conception of this study.

9.6 Conclusion

I set out in this chapter to show the contribution of this study by theorising the nature of African consciousness that is constructed in South African History textbooks. To do so, I started by theorising the African consciousness that I described, and interpreted in the preceding three

chapters. I then theorised the knowledge at the intersection of South African History textbooks and African consciousness, making use of discursive postcolonialism. These two sections led me to reflect on my entire study – methodologically, professionally and personally. I then ended by reviewing the entire study through all the chapters.

This study revealed that South African History textbooks do construct an African consciousness as it had through the constructions of Africa and the African being. However, my findings showed that there is more than one form of African consciousness that is promoted in the textbooks. Instead the textbook users are exposed to multiple African consciousnesses. The context within which these textbooks were produced is essential in this finding as the textbooks contain discourses that both emanate from, and influence the textbook audience. Therefore the South African intelligentsia that emerges from using these textbooks have diverging views of Africa and the African being. What is telling, though, is that South Africa and its people are largely constructed as divorced from the African historical narrative. Since this narrative is presented as having being negative, South Africa is therefore excluded from it. This has a possibility of creating a polar affect whereby South Africans are constructed to become a united nation while frowning upon the rest of Africa.

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APPENDIX A



**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**

Research Office, Govan Mbeki Centre
Westville Campus
Private Bag x54001
DURBAN, 4000
Tel No: +27 31 260 3587
Fax No: +27 31 260 4609
Ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

9 March 2011

Mr. MT Maposa (207510363)
School of Social Science Education

Dear Mr. Maposa

PROTOCOL REFERENCE NUMBER: HSS/0105/011D
PROJECT TITLE: An assessment of the construction of African consciousness in contemporary Zimbabwean and South African History textbooks

EXPEDITED APPROVAL

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

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

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

Yours faithfully

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

cc. Supervisor – Prof. J Wassermann
cc. Ms. T Mnisi/Mr. N Memela

Postal Address:

Telephone:

Facsimile:

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Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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■ Howard College

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APPENDIX B