

**A DECOLONIAL CRITIQUE OF DISCOURSES  
OF WESTERN COLONIALISM IN SOUTH  
AFRICAN, NAMIBIAN AND ZIMBABWEAN  
SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

**LEEVINA MORGAN IYER**

**2023**

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AFRICAN, NAMIBIAN AND ZIMBABWEAN  
SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I, Leevina Morgan Iyer, declare that:

- (i) The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
- (ii) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- (iii) This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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Leevina M Iyer

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Date

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my forebears and paragons:  
The Iyer-Singh families.

## **ABSTRACT**

European influence in Africa has portrayed the continent through the perspective of Europeans while the African perspective has been neglected. The undeniable continuation of the hegemonic epistemic turmoil due to western colonialism in the Africa, is a perpetual challenge. One of the key sources of knowledge in the educational setting is History textbooks. Taking into account the multifaceted and complex angles through which historiographies of western colonialism are presented in these textbooks, the purpose of this study was to explore the prevailing colonial discourses in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks through a decolonial critique.

The theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality informed the theoretical underpinning of this study, resulting in a lens that acknowledged the remnants of western colonial influence in the existing post-colonial structures of Africa, but also challenged these oppressive Eurocentric hegemonies. Decoloniality and postcoloniality, both advocate that the generations of epistemic violence should be disrupted, thus making space for increased African agency.

Summarily, using Fairclough's (1995) version of CDA methodology, the analysis of the sample school History textbooks revealed five key discourses. These included the discourses of forces of western colonialism, conflict-fomentation, economic exploitation, environmental degradation, and anti-colonialism. In keeping with the idea that knowledge production, undeniably, continues to be influenced by the structures of western colonialism, it was not unexpected that the content in the sample school History textbooks varied, especially in terms of the prevailing historiographies. The understanding from this study was that school History textbooks are not completely decolonial. Rather, the sample textbooks illustrated discourses of western colonialism in Africa from a place of hybridity, which the theory of postcoloniality defines as a fusion of African identity and cultural influence from western countries. Given the political history of each of the sample countries, their political ideologies were reflected in the school History textbooks through the historiographies presented.

Considering the incongruity of historiographies in the sample school History textbooks, I have developed the 'Decolonial model of African epistemology' - a framework that could ideally be used as an educational tool to promote African indigenous knowledge, especially in school History textbooks by deconstructing existing historiographies,

challenging western episteme and promoting African historical consciousness. Ultimately, this study highlights that exposure to decolonial historiographies in school History textbooks may reduce the western colonial influence and could result in increasing physical and epistemic agency among African societies.

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Topics related to colonialism in the South African curriculum
Figure 1.2	Topics related to colonialism in the Namibian curriculum
Figure 1.3	Topics related to colonialism in the Zimbabwean curriculum
Figure 2.1	Racial hierarchy during western colonialism
Figure 2.2	The borders of pre-colonial Africa, based on ethnolinguistic differences
Figure 2.3	Major cities in pre-colonial Africa
Figure 4.1	A visual representation of the principles of a decolonising interpretive framework
Figure 4.2	A visual representation of the principles of postcoloniality
Figure 5.1	The textbook sample used for this study
Figure 5.2	Adaptation of Fairclough (1995) three-dimensional model of CDA
Figure 5.3	Fairclough's (1995) original three-dimensional model of CDA
Figure 5.4	Aspects of the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework
Figure 6.1	Visual image of African societies being 'othered' ( <i>Namibian Textbook 1</i> , p.99)

Figure 6.2	Visual image of African resistance in the midst of police brutality ( <i>Zimbabwean Textbook 3, p.138</i> )
Figure 6.3	Image showing how African societies were forced to adapt to the life in the city ( <i>South African Textbook 3, p.150</i> )
Figure 6.4	Depiction of the negative effects of western colonial processes on the African environment ( <i>South African Textbook 3, p.149</i> )
Figure 6.5	African reverence of land ( <i>Namibia Textbook 2, p.54</i> )
Figure 6.6	Anti-colonial sentiment depicted through poetry ( <i>South African Textbook 1, p.103</i> )
Figure 6.7	Literary illustration of anti-colonial sentiment ( <i>Namibian Textbook 2, p.76</i> )
Figure 6.8	Illustration of European ‘othering’ sentiment ( <i>South African Textbook 2, p.76</i> )
Figure 6.9	Political cartoon depicting Europeans as the “real outcasts” ( <i>South African Textbook 3 (p.231)</i> )
Figure 6.10	Emphasising the philosophy of Negritude ( <i>Namibian Textbook 1, p.153</i> )
Figure 6.11	Active participation of youth in South African politics ( <i>South Africa Textbook 2, p.200</i> )
Figure 6.12	Active participation of youth in Angolan politics ( <i>South Africa Textbook 3, p.132</i> )
Figure 6.13	Herero political structure ( <i>Namibian Textbook 1, p.20</i> )
Figure 6.14	Owambo political structure ( <i>Namibian Textbook 1, p.20</i> )
Figure 6.15	Nama political structure ( <i>Namibian Textbook 1, p.21</i> )

Figure 6.16	Oorlam political structure ( <i>Namibian Textbook 1, p.21</i> )
Figure 6.17	Memorial of slaves ( <i>South African Textbook 1, p.241</i> )
Figure 6.18	The National anthem of post-colonial Namibia ( <i>Namibian Textbook 2, p.95</i> )
Figure 6.19	A poster indicating the black power salute as a symbol of a united African society ( <i>South African Textbook 3, p.271</i> ).
Figure 6.20	A poster criticising the apartheid government accompanied by the black power salute as a symbol of a united African society ( <i>South African Textbook 3, p.235</i> ).
Figure 7.1	Racial hierarchy during western colonialism
Figure 8.1	The decolonial model of African epistemology

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFREL	African Religion
ANC	African National Congress
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CHE	Council on Higher Education
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
DoBE	Department of Basic Education
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FET	Further Education and Training
NBCE	National Curriculum for Basic Education
NRANC	Northern Rhodesian African National Congress
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
POI	Person of Indian-origin
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SASO	South African Students' Organisation
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SRANC	Southern Rhodesia African National Congress
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b>	i
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	ii
<b>DEDICATION</b>	iii
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	iv
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	vi
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</b>	ix

### **CHAPTER ONE      Introduction to the study**

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Background and contextualisation	1
1.2.1	Western colonialism in Africa	3
1.2.2	Western colonialism in South Africa	4
1.2.3	Western colonialism in Namibia	7
1.2.4	Western colonialism in Zimbabwe	9
1.2.5	Historiographies of western colonialism	11
1.2.5.1	Eurocentric historiographies	12
1.2.5.2	Neo-liberal historiographies	13
1.2.5.3	Marxist historiographies	16
1.2.5.4	Afrocentric historiographies	18
1.2.5.5	Postcolonial historiographies	21
1.2.6	Colonialism in the school History curriculum	23
1.2.6.1	The history curriculum in South Africa	23

1.2.6.1	The history curriculum in Namibia	24
1.2.6.1	The history curriculum in Zimbabwe	25
1.3	Rationale for the study	25
1.4	Purpose and focus of the study	29
1.5	Research design and methodology	30
1.6	Outline of thesis	33
1.7	Conclusion	35

**CHAPTER TWO      Literature review: Reviewing the literature on discourses of western colonialism**

2.1	Introduction	36
2.2	Discourses of polity	37
2.3	Discourses of economy	40
2.4	Discourses of society	42
2.5	Discourses of spatiality	45
2.6	Discourses of western colonialism in post-colonial Africa	45
2.7	Conclusion	51

**CHAPTER THREE      Literature review: Reviewing the literature on school History textbooks**

3.1	Introduction	52
3.2	The production of school History textbooks	52
3.3	Content in school History textbooks	58
3.3.1	Written texts in school History textbooks	58
3.3.2	Visual texts in school History textbooks	60

3.4	School History textbooks as a pedagogical tool in History education	61
3.5	Conclusion	65

## **CHAPTER FOUR      Theoretical Framework: Exploring the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality**

4.1	Introduction	66
4.2	The main tenets of the theory of decoloniality	67
4.2.1	Coloniality of power	68
4.2.2	Coloniality of being	70
4.2.3	Coloniality of knowledge	72
4.3	The main tenets the postcoloniality	75
4.4	The application of the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality to my study	78
4.5	A possible decolonial framework	80
4.6	Conclusion	84

## **CHAPTER FIVE      Mapping the methodological route**

5.1	Introduction	86
5.2	Paradigmatic considerations	86
5.3	Research design	88
5.4	Methodological considerations	90
5.5	Issues of trustworthiness	102
5.6	Ethical considerations	102
5.8	Conclusion	103

## **CHAPTER SIX Findings from the CDA**

6.1	Introduction	106
6.2	Findings from the CDA	107
6.2.1	Discourses of forces western of colonialism	107
6.2.2	Discourses of conflict-fomentation	125
6.2.3	Discourses of economic control	131
6.2.4	Discourses of environmental degradation	148
6.2.5	Discourses of anti-colonialism	154
6.6	Conclusion	185

## **CHAPTER SEVEN Interpretation of the findings**

7.1	Introduction	186
7.2	Interpretation of findings	186
7.2.1	Discourses of forces western of colonialism	187
7.2.2	Discourses of conflict-fomentation	195
7.2.3	Discourses of economic control	198
7.2.4	Discourses of environmental degradation	206
7.2.5	Discourses of anti-colonialism	210
7.3	Conclusion	220

## **CHAPTER EIGHT Explanations and conclusions to the study**

8.1	Introduction	221
8.2	Summary of the findings	221
8.3	Explanation of the findings	227

8.4	A proposed theoretical framework for decoloniality in school History textbooks	231
8.5	Conclusions from the study	234
8.5.1	A review of the study	234
8.5.2	Reflections and Recommendations	238
8.6	Conclusion	239

**REFERENCES** 241

**APPENDICES**

Appendix A	294
Appendix B	295
Appendix C	296
Appendix D	297

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Euro-North American modernity is a hegemonic epistemic challenge that African educational settings are currently experiencing (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Seroto, 2018). Within these epistemic challenges, western colonialism is a sensitive topic, particularly in the current global political climate. The foundation of the present state of formerly colonised countries such as South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe lie in their colonial past as they continue to perpetuate structures that import western colonial influence (Eko, 2003; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2021; Salah-Hannah, 2008). In light of this, western knowledge continuously acts as the point of departure for education as universal truths and traditional theories (Hammersmith, 2007). Consequently, it is important for History educational practitioners to investigate the colonial discourses in school History textbooks since learners are exposed to various historiographies and this has an impact on how they react to issues of colonisation when they enter the globalised world.

In light of the above, this study focuses on the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in Africa within South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean History textbooks, and critiques whether or not these discourses are decolonial in nature. All three are Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, and were subjected to historically and geographically similar colonial processes. In terms of the latter, South African, Namibia and Zimbabwe are located in the southern part of Africa and are neighbouring countries. Historically, all three countries were settler colonies and experienced relatively similar colonisation, which yielded unique effects in each country during the colonial and post-colonial periods. It must be noted that since this study is fundamentally historical in nature, dated sources of information are referenced.

### **1.2 Background and contextualisation**

Colonialism is a phenomenon that has a multitude of meanings that have evolved over time as its effects shaped the social, political and economic landscapes over the

centuries. According to Asante (2006), colonialism refers to a system by which one group of people claim resources for their own welfare, and impose their will and power on another group of people. Furthermore, colonialism, according to Nwanosike and Onyije (2011, p.624), refers to “the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically”. Moreover, colonialism has become synonymous with empire and imperialism (Page & Sonnenburg, 2003). The aforementioned views align with Ocheni & Nwankwo (2012), who affirm that colonialism is the domination of one country by another in its entirety, with the captor being a foreign country.

Moreover, colonialism, according to de Sousa Santos (2006), was manifested at the different levels of society, i.e.: the socio-cultural, economic, political and legal levels. de Sousa Santos (2006, p.147), continues that there are different levels of colonialism, such as at:

“the level of the daily practices of conviviality and survival, oppression and resistance, proximity and distance; at the level of discourses and narratives, common sense and other knowledges, emotions and affections, feelings and ideologies” (de Sousa Santos, 2006, p.147)

The abovementioned aspects did not work in isolation of each other. Rather, they were interconnected and acted in a manner, which resulted in a hegemonic battle between colonisers and the colonised.

Similarly, colonialism may also refer to the “combination of territorial, juridical, cultural, linguistic, political, mental/epistemic, and/or economic domination of one group of people or groups of people by another (external) group of people” (Murrey, 2020, p.316). Thus, de Sousa Santos’ and Murrey’s view implies that colonialism was only a physical, material practice, but it also negatively impacted on the intangible psyche of individuals.

Further, one of the trademarks of colonialism, was subordination, which according to Kumaravallivedu (2016), entails the marginalisation by dominating forces together with the self-domination by the dominated forces. In the context of Africa, the dominating

forces referred to the European colonisers such as Britain, France, Portugal and so forth; while the dominated forces referred to the African societies. In keeping with the aforementioned definition, Reinhard (2001), suggests that colonialism entails the authority of one group over a culturally heterogeneous group resulting in an exploitative relationship whereby the conquerors control all aspects of life of the conquered.

The characteristics and consequences of western colonialism currently resonates throughout the world in developed and developing countries alike. At this point, it must be made clear that this study will use the term western colonialism and not colonialism since Oliver and Oliver (2017), draw attention to the fact that there were processes and systems in Africa that can also be viewed as colonialism. These included 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries' African conquest of one ethnic group over another, as well as apartheid in South Africa; together with the philosophies of postcoloniality, neocoloniality, and so forth.

### **1.2.1 Western colonialism in Africa**

Western colonialism in Africa has been regarded from differing positions (Weiner, 2013), and the legacy of western colonialism in Africa, is held in opposing views. On one hand, Western colonialism is held in contempt for causing loss of identity, culture, political deterioration, economic decline and ultimately reconstructing lifestyles of African societies (Chuku, 2014, Igboin, 2014). On the other hand, western colonialism is acclaimed for ostensibly enlightening and progressing the African societies (Collins, 2017; Crawhall, 2004; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012; Pella. Jr, 2015; Weiner, 2013). Despite the perceived positive contributions of western colonialism, such as public services (Rodney in Gueye, 2018), the negatives are far greater (Gueye, 2018).

Principally, there were seven key European countries that wanted a part of the African continent colonisers on the African continent. These were Great Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Spain and Italy were the key (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). To avoid political tensions between these interested European countries over land in Africa, the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 was held, in which European countries engaged in a selection process of colonies that they wanted to acquire in Africa. At this partition, African countries were 'created' via natural and artificial boundaries (Michalopoulos &

Papaioannou, 2011, p.1). The Berlin Conference offered a platform for European countries to become dominant global entities with the acquisition of territories beyond Europe (Brezina, 2005). Ultimately, all African countries were colonised by European powers except for Liberia and, of which the latter was only briefly occupied by Italy during 1935-1941 (Young, 2012) (refer to Appendices A-C showing the pre-colonial and colonial borders in Africa).

Essentially, Africa has been identified in two perspectives. The first being the created perspective, and the second being reality (Andindilile, 2016). The created or imagined Africa has been developed through the accounts of the colonisers and the western perspective. The 'real Africa' refers to the actual geo-spatial and societal aspects that constitute the tangible and intangible characteristics of the African continent lived in by African societies. Against this backdrop, this study aims to critique the discourses in school History textbooks to identify which of the aforementioned perspectives are presented to learners, and to what extent are these historiographies decolonial in nature. Furthermore, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe experienced similar types of western colonialism. Effectually, South Africa was a settler colony seized and occupied by Britain. Zimbabwe was also occupied by the British and was primarily a settler colony. Namibia, on the other hand was initially colonised by Germany. She was then mandated to South Africa by the League of Nations in 1919. A comprehensive discussion of western colonialism in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe will be presented below.

### **1.2.2 Western colonialism in South Africa**

There were essentially two periods of western colonialism that South Africa experienced. The first was the colonisation of the Cape of Good Hope by the Netherlands in 1652, and the second phase was by the British in 1806.

In 1602, the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), was established in the Netherlands as a trading company. Dutch mariners were sent to explore sea routes that would make trading with other parts of the world possible (Ross, 1999). Ward (2009) points out that the correct translation of the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, is the United East India Company, although present-day historians refer to it as the Dutch East India Company (DEIC). The latter term will be used in this study

since it appears in the sample school History textbooks as DEIC. Principally, the Cape functioned as a refreshment station, whereby Dutch mariners could replenish food supplies and medication on their journeys between Europe and Asia (Corne, 2013).

Initially, it was not the intention of the Dutch to claim control over the land and resources of the Cape. Instead, the decision to colonise the Cape in 1650 came from the *Heeren XVII* (Lords Seventeen) directors of the DEIC, who concluded that the Cape was opportunely situated as a strategic geographical location as a halfway stop between Europe and the East, as well as a convenient trading site (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). The additional impetus to colonise the Cape came when the Khoi societies (the indigenous societies who occupied the Cape at the time of Dutch arrival to South Africa) became indisposed to supply the Dutch travellers with meat (Ross, 1999).

The Cape manifested into a Dutch colony when the Dutch forcefully appropriated the land from the indigenous Khoi societies. The Khoi societies primarily based their wealth on the number of cattle that they had. By taking away these resources, the Dutch divested the Khoi societies of their social power. The result was revolt and capitulate against the Dutch colonisers. The earliest freedom fighter against western colonialism in South Africa is considered to be the Khoi leader, Autshumao (Ward, 2009). According to Joyce (1999), Autshumao was a Dutch and English interpreter. He joined an English fleet and upon returning to the Cape, he was imprisoned for stealing cattle.

Further, the Khoi land was negatively affected with the arrival of the Dutch colonisers. There was an increase of Dutch immigrants to the Cape within the period 1685-1705. This migration was encouraged by the free passage offered by the DEIC. The entry of Dutch immigrants and policy of free burghers – whereby DEIC sailors could have their contracts terminated and generally become farmers – burgeoned the settler population in the Cape (Ross, Mager & Nasson, 2011). From these settlers would give rise to the Afrikaners in South Africa (Ward, 1999). In addition to the Dutch immigrants, there were French-speaking Protestants known as Huguenots, who had settled in the Cape and had become assimilated into the Dutch lifestyle (Mesthrie, 2002). In 1806, when the Dutch rule over the Cape ended, there was an estimated European population of 27,000 people (Feinstein, 2005).

The second phase of western colonisers in South Africa came in 1806 after the Battle of Blaauwberg when the British defeated the Dutch and conquered the Cape. The key motive for acquiring the Cape was its strategic positioning as a profitable sea route between Asia and the West (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). With the possession of parts of land in South Africa, the British came to control access to valuable resources such as gold and diamonds (Morris, 2004). Resources that held cultural significance to indigenous South Africans such as gold, were exploited by the British and served as raw materials to manufacture products that were then sold to other countries around the world, including Africa (Gueye, 2018). These finished products were also sold back to colonies including Africa. To gain favours with the indigenous people, especially African chiefs<sup>1</sup>, the British would offer them 'gifts' (Shadle, 2006). Reed (2016), argues that while this exchange may seem unlawful, these gifts were not meant to bribe the African societies, but was rather seen as a mutual ritual between locals and Europeans. Moreover, Fowler (2021), concurs with Reed in that the exercise of gifting was practiced in pre-colonial societies as a way of ensuring collaboration and peace between the African societies. This was evident to the African chiefs to whom gifts were given, that whilst bribes were conducted in sequestration, gifts were publicly presented (Shadle, 2006). The aforementioned ideas by Reed (2016) and Shadle (2006) are indicative of Eurocentric views rather than of decolonial sentiments.

In keeping with the factor of resources, when the Afrikaners were forced to move inland to find grazing land (Morris, 2004), they encountered local African leaders, and in some instances the Afrikaners experienced resistance whilst at other times they and African leaders worked together to fight against British control. For example, when the Warden Line was proclaimed between the Basotho and British territories, Moshoeshoe offered an alliance with Andries Pretorius to defeat the British sovereignty (South African History Online, 2018). This indicates that the Eurocentric view that human resources were invaluable to the Afrikaners when they required the aid of African societies.

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the word 'chief' in this study, denotes an African traditional leader whose rule is determined through their lineage (Ali, Fjeldstad & Shifa, 2020). The role of the chieftaincy differs among contemporary African countries, for example, in Ghana a bipartisan government exists, whereby customary and constitutional laws work in accordance with each other (Mawuko-Yevugah & Attipoe, 2021).

Successively, four states were established in South Africa: the *Oranje-Vrystaat* or the Orange Free State and the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* or the Transvaal under the control of Afrikaner settlers, and the Cape colony and Natal under the control of the British. Thereafter, in 1910, South Africa was proclaimed a Union under the British Empire which meant that the British South African administration could govern the land with the Empire merely acting as an ancillary to provide minimal involvement if necessary (Windel, 2009). Despite the decreased imperial involvement in South Africa, it was still considered a British colony. The result was the continued conflict over possession of land and resources between indigenous South Africans, British and Afrikaners (Oliver and Oliver, 2017; Dooling, 2007).

Consequently, in 1948, the Afrikaner-dominated National Party won the South African elections while still within the confines of British domination. This continued in spite of South Africa being granted independence from Britain and becoming a republic in 1961 (Oliver and Oliver, 2017; Ross, 2008). This indicated an end to official British rule in South Africa. However, increased racial oppression ensued under the white Afrikaner supremacy in the form of apartheid, and may be considered as the successor of colonial structures. During the apartheid era, National Party designed policies to enforce institutionalised racism, which further repressed black South Africans. According to Oliver and Oliver (2017), this era can be considered another form of colonialism known as internal colonialism. Nevertheless, since the focus of this study is on western colonialism, I will not provide a detailed background of the apartheid period in South Africa.

### **1.2.3 Western colonialism in Namibia**

Similar to South Africa, Namibia experienced two milestones in the colonial process. The first colonial invasion was in 1884 by Germany under the chancellorship of Otto Van Bismarck for it to become known as German South West Africa (Baker, 2011). The second colonial governance was in 1920 by Britain and South Africa.

At the Berlin conference, Germany claimed Namibia as its protectorate colony. Von Bismarck had no intention of directly ruling colonies in Africa, rather he appointed trading companies who would govern on behalf of the German Empire (Gabriel, 2012). In 1904, an anti-colonial war ensued between two main tribes of Namibia – the Herero

and the Nama, principally led by Chief of the Herero people, Samuel Maharero – and Germany led by Lieutenant-General Lothar von Trotha of the German Empire (Müller, 2013). The main cause was the increased pressure on land prompted by the expanded German occupation and resource exploitation in Namibia. The result was the mass genocide of approximately 80% of the Herero tribe, and 50% of the Nama tribe. Those that did not fight in the battle, were forced into the Namib Desert where they died of starvation or poisoned by drinking water at old water wells (Sarkin & Fowler, 2008).

Since South Africa was a colony of Britain during the First World War, she fought on the side of the Allies under the leadership of General Louis Botha. Subsequently the allies fought the Germans and defeated them in 1915 (Botha, 2007). Consequently, World War I officially ceased on 28 June 1919 with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. The treaty was drafted by the Allies in an attempt to subdue Germany's attempts at warfare. Part IV of the treaty withdrew all of Germany's colonies, including Namibia. With the withdrawal of Namibia as a German colony, Germany had lost trading routes, especially in terms of the Caprivi Strip that allowed access to the interior of Africa from the Atlantic Ocean (Marks, 2013).

Thus in 1920, the League of Nations awarded South Africa a Class C mandate to administer Namibia, which had come to be known as South West Africa. This mandate ostensibly called for the protection of indigenous Namibians, which however, was not the case in reality. This change in political structure saw an increase in British settlers. The South African administration also encouraged the migration of Afrikaners in the Northern Cape to Namibia (Botha, 2007). The underlying agenda of this decision could perhaps have been a strategy to decrease the number of Afrikaners and subsequently limit Afrikaner opposition to the British in South Africa. Since the Afrikaner National Party governed South Africa at that time, some Namibians considered themselves to be colonised by the Afrikaners rather than by South Africa.

The socio-political arena of Namibia was predominantly built on white privilege and oppression alike. Since the ultimate goal was to create unity among whites (Germans and Afrikaners), the German population in Namibia welcomed apartheid rule including segregation policies (Botha, 2007). The indigenous Namibians which included the Nama, the Herero, the Oorlam, the Owambo, among others; were subsequently

oppressed again. The Nama and Herero peoples were allocated reserves outside Ovamboland close to the mines. South Africa's strategy behind this was to create a migrant labour force of Namibians to white farms and mining areas. Additionally, Namibians were oppressed in the education sector as they were offered inadequate education (South African History Online, 2018).

In 1962, the World Court charged South Africa with misadministration and enforcing apartheid policies in Namibia. South Africa won the case, however this gave rise to a western version of political consciousness of Namibians (Melber, 2003). Thus emerged the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) led by Sam Nujoma. SWAPO represented the needs of all Namibian societies, however in an attempt to divide and conquer, the South African government stated that SWAPO was acting in the best interests of the Ovambo tribe. After persistent resistance against colonial rule from the Namibian societies and international pressure especially by the United Nations, Namibia had its first elections in 1989, with SWAPO winning and Sam Nujoma being elected as president (Arnold, 2017). Eventually, after years of German and South African oppression, Namibia gained independence on 21 March 1990 (Masson, 1995).

#### **1.2.4 Western colonialism in Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe was officially colonised by the British Empire in 1890. However, prior to the formal control, Zimbabwe was a widely sought after territory by other countries such as South Africa, Portugal and Germany (Zvobgo, 2009). These countries were interested in the mineral wealth of Zimbabwe, especially gold. Several people came to negotiate with Ndebele King, Lobengula. These people included Pieter Johannes Grobler, a representative of South Africa, Sir Sidney Shippard, British administrator for Bechuanaland (modern-day Botswana), as well as Cecil John Rhodes via his emissaries Charles Dunnell Rudd, Rochford Maguire and Francis Thompson. Rudd, Maguire and Thompson eventually lured King Lobengula with monthly payments of money and ammunition for defensive purposes. King Lobengula signed the Rudd Concession in 1888, and consequently gave the British exclusive rights of the minerals found in Zimbabwe. Eventually when Rudd, Maguire and Thompson failed to produce the concession for review, King Lobengula repudiated the concession based on the fact that it was signed on falsified information (Zvobgo, 2009).

Nonetheless, this did not deter Rhodes. He again attempted to acquire control over Zimbabwe by appealing for the incorporation of Zimbabwe and surrounding territories to be governed by the British Empire. In 1890, the British South Africa Company was granted royal charter to take over Zimbabwe Rhodes by Queen Victoria, giving Rhodes' company the authority to colonise the territory. Fearing Portuguese occupation of these territories, Rhodes began to intensify European settlement, especially in the Mashonaland area, which King Lobengula did not rule over. These settlers were referred to as the pioneers and consisted primarily of South African farmers, doctors, soldiers, and other practitioners in the primary, secondary and tertiary industries (Richards & Governe, 2003; Zvobgo, 2009).

In 1893, Major Patrick William Forbes led a collective colonial force in the Shangani Battle where the Ndebele were defeated. King Lobengula fled and the hoisting of the British flag in Bulawayo signalled the conquest of the Ndebele people in Zimbabwe by the British Empire, thus establishing the colony of Southern Rhodesia. Thus the lives of the Zimbabwean people changed for the worst as they were now defeated and conquered in all aspects of life (Ruzivo, 2017; Summers, 2002).

In the subsequent years, western colonialism brought about several official laws that denied indigenous Zimbabweans of their freedom. Some laws were analogous to that of laws passed in South Africa. For example, the Pass Law that was implemented in 1952 in South Africa by the Afrikaner government, had been enforced in Zimbabwe in 1902 by the British (Richards & Governe, 2003; West, 2002). In both countries the Pass Law had the same impetus: to govern the mobility of and to suppress the African societies in their own country.

Most countries in Africa gained independence from their colonial powers in the 1960s. Zimbabwe, on the other hand, took longer than most as there existed a polarity between the two dominant forces in politics at the time. On one hand, the British had accepted the idea that the African societies were ready to acquire independence, while, on the other hand, the Rhodesian white supremacists were resolved to keep their privileges and racial superiority in Zimbabwe. Eventually with the increased political resistance and rise in African Nationalism, Zimbabwe eventually acquired independence in 1980 (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009).

As seen in the above discussion, there exists an intrinsic political relationship between South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe as the processes of western colonialism similarly affected all the three neighbouring SADC countries. The three countries have a shared history of colonial oppression, the dispossession of land and the disintegration of the indigenous African cultures.

### **1.2.5 Historiographies of western colonialism**

A historiography, according to Vann (2018, p.1), refers to the chronicling of events in history that are based on careful and analytical evaluation of primary and secondary sources. These sources must be critically examined, authenticated, and synthesised to develop a verifiable narrative. Moreover, the term historiography also refers to the history and theory of historical writing. Additionally, White (1988), states that historiography refers to the representation of History through written discourses and verbal images.

Different periods in time gave rise to different historiographies (Geertz, 2001). One explanation for this is offered by Fleming, Bresler & O'Tool (2014, p.77), who state that "there is arguably no such thing as a history but multiple interpretations; any history makes selections and categorises the world in particular ways". These various historiographies have, over time, created a range of realities for different people. Another reason for multiple historiographies, according to Geertz (2001), is because of the differing political, socio-cultural, political and historical settings that societies were situated in at particular periods in time.

Consequently, towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there existed polarised historiographies in relation to discourses of western colonialism in Africa that emerged as a result of differing cultural and political systems stemming from the indigenous African societies on one hand, and the European colonists on the other hand (Ngcongco, 1980). The former were organised into decolonial historiographies and the latter into the Eurocentric historiographies. This view has not changed. According to Coquery-Vidrovitch (2014), the number of people as part of the African diaspora writing about African historiographies is presently comparable to colonial historiographies written by British and French historians, indicating the extensive contributions being made to decolonial praxis.

To this end, I acknowledge that there exist several historiographies, however, for the purpose of this study I have chosen those that are related to western colonialism in Africa. The colonial historiographies will include Eurocentrism Marxism and neo-liberalism. I will also discuss Afrocentric, African revisionist, and postcolonial historiographies as examples of decolonial historiographies. It must be made clear that these interpretations are not incapacious in their perspectives. Rather, they may overlap and have shared interpretations. The historiographies are presented chronologically from the earliest to the latest in terms of its influence in Africa.

#### **1.2.5.1 Eurocentric historiographies**

Fundamentally, eurocentrism refers to a cultural phenomenon that views the global cultures and their respective histories principally from a European perspective, particularly Western Europe (Pokhrel, 2011). Furthermore, Demir and Kaboub (2009), include North American thought to the contemporary definition of Eurocentrism, and state that Eurocentric thought is accompanied by the conviction that all global societies are measured against the social standards of the West. In contrast to Afrocentrists who used Egypt to explain the evolution of civilisations (Cobbs, Jr., 1997), Eurocentrists focus on Greece as the ubiquitous centre of knowledge production and advanced civilisation (Quayson, 2000).

Accordingly, Taiwo (1998) considers Hegel's work to be the starting point of the absence of African philosophy in the broader intellectual society. He states that it is not until the past 30 years or so that scholars have begun emphasising the importance of African views in philosophy. As briefly mentioned above, German philosopher, Friedrich W. Hegel was an example of archetypal western intellectual thoughts regarding Africa and her people. Hegel (1899) purported that African societies had no knowledge of God (Andindilile, 2016). Hegel also described African societies as having an "undeveloped oneness of [their] existence has not yet attained" and that they "exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state" (Hegel, 1899, p.111). This form of inimical Eurocentric thinking accelerated prejudicial behaviours and processes towards African societies.

Essentially, Eurocentric historiographies provide a justification for western colonialism in Africa while misrepresenting and often disregarding contributions made by Africans

(Chawane, 2016). According to the Eurocentric historiographies, western colonialism was a period of enlightenment and development in Africa, and the practices and colonial structures were all implemented with the African societies' best interests (Okon, 2014). African knowledge has been modified by western ideologies (Mudimbe, 1988 in Quayson, 2000). Chukwuokolo (2009), is in agreement and asserts that Eurocentrism essentially experimented on developing countries. These experiments, he says involved political, social and economic-driven changes that ultimately led to altered actions, and perceptions of the original way of living of African societies. In more recent years, African scholars have even fallen into the trap of using Eurocentrism as a point of departure for their African philosophies (Gwaravanda, and Ndofirepi, 2020).

In keeping with the above idea, Asante (2004, p.237), states that Eurocentrism brought about "ideological slavery". This was done by imposing western ideologies onto Africans and ultimately altering their existing values and philosophies (Gueye, 2018). Moreover, Chawane (2016), asserts that Eurocentrism can also be considered as being centered on an ethnocentric view, as it (and western ideologies) considered people from developing countries to be incapable of logical thinking or advanced higher order cognitive skills. Pokhel (2011) concurs, stating that Eurocentrism has inaccurately advocated that the solution to most of the world's problems are through western values such as social justice, individualism, secularism, democracy, and so forth as a way of improving humanity (Duzgun, 2020) and that is assuming that non-Western states required improving. The promotion of these western values has given Europeans a sense of superiority over peoples from non-western geolocations, such as Africa, Asia, and South America (Pokhel, 2011). The aforementioned discussion of Eurocentric historiographies indicates a direct correlation with my study which focuses on the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in Africa within South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean History textbooks.

#### **1.2.5.2 Neo-liberal historiographies**

In essence, neoliberalism is a political philosophy that is connected with market-related policies and measures to ensure their efficient functioning (Kenton, 2020). Neoliberal ideology fundamentally embraces materialism and supports commodification as a profit-making exercise (Hall, Massey & Rustin, 2015).

With reference to Africa, although initially accepted as a favourable economic philosophy, due to its promotion of increased freedom of individual choice, reduced government expenditure and intervention, and healthy free market competition, neoliberalism has received its fair share of criticism (Carlquist & Phelps, 2014). For instance, Simutanyi (2006) believes that neoliberalism inculcates the intensive regulations by the state for the economic crisis in Africa. That may have been true, at the turn of the second millennium; however, Chukwuokolo (2009) explains that whilst developing countries in Africa make their economies accessible to developed countries, they receive no tangible benefits. This is supported by the fact that contemporary policies in Africa that have been derived from neoliberalism have entrenched the deterioration of socio-economic conditions of Africans (Gatwiri, Amboko and Okolla, 2020). Such policies focus more on the means of production and less on aspects of the workers' health, have negatively entrenched inequality in Africa (Gatwiri, et. al, 2020; Graham, 2017).

Furthermore, the economic divide has essentially altered the view of African individuals' autonomy since it is not only economic in nature, but also includes inequalities in individuals' choices (Hall, Massey & Rustin, 2015). For instance, neoliberalism tends to favour multinational companies and individuals who have the resources to financially advance themselves (Carlquist and Phelps, 2014). Conversely, societies who do not have access to resources may not be able to reach the full financial level as those who can. Whilst the latter may choose to adopt the freedom of individual choice (as advocated by neoliberalism), for example selling the agricultural products, their organs (Caffentzis, 2002) or participating in wagering opportunities, these activities are not sustainable and nor is it assurance of a healthy return on investment.

Even though, governments, such as in South Africa, may be investing in initiatives seeking equality among the country's citizens, they are often controlled by the overarching power of international markets (Ansari, 2021). Moreover, the increasing demands on the economic sector has used neoliberalism to psychologically manipulate workers (Fairclough, 2010). Rather than seeing themselves as completely autonomous, they see themselves as being autonomous only within their capabilities. In other words, their skills allow them to work in certain arenas and they are rewarded

for using those skills (Fairclough, 2010). Moreover, individuals use their liberty to serve others and not necessarily for self-sufficiency. They work within a system that values skills and talents that bring in money (Fairclough, 2010). For this reason, individuals that lack skills, may find themselves working in the mines and in agricultural companies, whereby the multinational companies have a greater control over work conditions and salaries.

The negative radical alternatives ushered in by neoliberalism have hindered democracy in Africa by decelerating public dialogue about issues of economic, political and societal growth through a neoliberal lens (Fairclough, 2010). Commercialisation and a neoliberal focus on profit-making has led to corruption at all levels of business including the government (Hall, Massey & Rustin, 2015). Similarly, Gatwiri, Amboko and Okolla (2020), are convinced that Sub-Saharan African continues to be underinvested in, especially regarding its healthcare systems. For example, although assistance was given to South Africa by the World Bank, the latter's neoliberal economic choices has had a minor contribution to improve the lives of the majority of the population who continue to live in poverty-stricken conditions as a result of intergenerational mobility of inequality (Schneider, 2003; The World Bank, 2021).

Consequently, Fairclough (2010), acknowledges the advantages of globalisation as a result of neoliberalism, and states that it is not so much the process as it is the by-products of globalisation that is of concern. For example, globalisation entails the integration and interdependence of trading between counties (Fairclough, 2010), and is a result of the modernisation process of four aspects: empire, economy, religion and technology (Mazrui, 2009). However, considering the aforementioned intergenerational mobility of economy, globalisation fails to improve the lives of all peoples in Africa, and this further entrenches the divide between rich and poor, thus eluding to a form of Eurocentric thought. Furthermore, the above examination of neo-liberal historiographies links directly to my study which considers prevailing discourses of western colonialism in Africa, which primarily alludes to group inequalities between the African societies and the European colonisers.

### **1.2.5.3 Marxist historiographies**

In keeping with the proposition of class-based inequality, Marxist historiography consists of four main pillars, including philosophy, social theory, political economy and social practice (Das, 2019). According to Das (2019), social practice and changes are a direct result of the inclusion of Marxist philosophy and theory, which are fundamentally materialist in nature and ultimately reflects the different classes of social structures. Examples of these social structures include those who are the mechanisms of production, such as lower-end workers; and then there are those who benefit from the surplus of the manufacturing process, such as shareholders (Das, 2019). In Africa, the African societies would have been the workers, whilst the European colonisers would have been those who benefitted the profits.

In effect, Marxism analyses the means of production and class relations against the rise of capitalism, whilst particularly considering the tensions, exploitations and inequalities of working class people that includes the proletariat, and other outranked classes (Delaney & Harrington, Jr., 2009; Jessop, 2009).

Marxist scholar, Therborn (2018), maintains that the Marxist philosophy recognises the polarities of social categories with communities. Firstly, he describes the notions of deference and irreverence as the general perspective that people have towards governance, material wealth, and existing inequalities. The second aspect is that of individualism and collectivism. According to Therborn (2008, 2018), believes that the traditional Left were generally predisposed to irreverential collectivism, whilst the Right bloc were deference individualism. Thus, it is through this positioning that social actors and their roles may be understood better in ensuring parity or inequality.

Marxism, with specific reference to Africa, was influenced by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's Eurocentric view of Africa (Sayers, 2021). Hegel described Africa as being geographically and psychologically underdeveloped, and he was convinced that Africans had not grasped the concept of consciousness (Hegel, 1899). Accordingly, Marx posited that for things to become commodities, they should first be objectified; and applied that same notion to Africans. Marx believed that it was necessary for Africans to be involved in the process of slavery since more slaves resulted in a larger manufacturing output ensuring a higher level of industrialization (Marx, 1871). The popularity of Marxism in Africa has arisen from the tensions that exist with Marx's

aforementioned sentiment and the need for industrialization in Africa so that the continent could break the chain of dependence of foreign manufacturing.

Marxists such as Lenin, Hilferding & Bukharin, have advocated that in order for society to effectively engage in globalisation, they must be colonised (Ghandi, 2019). In keeping with this idea, Karl Marx, acknowledged as the father of Marxism, explained the treatment of Africans by indicating that they were seen as products to colonisers. He stated in his *Grundrisse* (1857-61, 72-73) that,

When two commodities are exchanged for one another, each is first equated with a symbol which expresses their exchange value, e.g., among certain Negroes on the West African coast, = x bars. One commodity is = 1 bar; the other = 2 bars. They are exchanged in this relation. The commodities are first transformed into bars in the head and in speech before they are exchanged for one another. They are appraised before being exchanged, and in order to appraise them they must be brought into a given numerical relation to one another ... Similarly, I equate the pound of bread with its exchange value, = 1/x or 2/x hours of labour time. I equate each of the commodities with a third; i.e., not with themselves. This third, which differs from them both, exists initially only in the head, as a conception, since it expresses a relation; just as, in general, relations can be established as existing only by being *thought*, as distinct from the subjects which are in these relations with each other.

In the above loaded explanation, Marx implies that the hours of time, the exchange value and abstraction of the value of the product all determine the willingness to barter for the product. For African societies, this meant that they were seen as commodities with value but no self-agency.

According to Meisenhelder (1995), Marxism did, in fact, hold the belief that western colonialism was progressive and regressive for the African continent. To explicate, Marx indicated that he believed that through western colonialism, Africa could be developed in different arenas. These arenas included the introduction of education, political centralisation, bureaucracy, and private property among others (Meisenhelder, 1995). Conversely, Marxists were also of the conviction that indigenous traditions and cultural superstitions could be eradicated through western colonisation of Africa (Meisenhelder, 1995). In light of the above discussion of Marxist

historiographies, it is clear that a distinct relationship exists between the socio-economic factors of the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in Africa.

#### **1.2.5.4 Afrocentric historiographies**

Departing from the aforementioned Eurocentric-related historiographies, the following section will include both, Afrocentric and African revisionist historiographies as they speak to similar models of decoloniality, which will be expressed below.

Essentially, the ultimate goal of Afrocentricity is to elucidate to the world the significant contributions that the African civilisation made throughout history as well as to express the importance of African heritage (Chawane, 2016). To achieve this, history would have to be modified and reconstructed to include the considerable contributions made by Africans in all aspects of life including the origin of anatomically modern human beings as attested through archaeological and genetic models (Herskovitz, Marder & Ayalon, *et al.* 2015). Furthermore, Africans would have to display a collective identity which can be achieved by having a common set of goals ideologies, purposes and views of life (Turner & Asante, 2002). Afrocentricity could be said to be a form of populism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as the African population have, for centuries, not had their concerns considered by the elites, i.e.: colonials and their ruling successors, who were ironically the people who gave the African societies problems in the first place.

Afrocentricity, according to refers to Asante (2017, p.231)

the intellectual work of a group of African philosophers, historians, and sociologists during the late twentieth century with varying degrees of attachment to the central idea that the key crisis in the African world is the profoundly disturbing decentering of African societies from a subject position within their own narrative.

In other words, Afrocentricity considers African narratives and brings to light African opinions that were oppressed in the past, on the African continent as well in the African diaspora. Cobbs, Jr. (1997), concurs and mentions that Afrocentrism is an attempt to represent African societies as subjects of the past, in contrast to Eurocentrism, which represented African societies as objects.

Fundamentally, as affirmed by Chukwuokolo (2009), Afrocentricity aims not to replace other historiographies, but rather to convey the accurate information about Africans and the undeniably remarkable role they played in history. Fundamentally, Afrocentricity aims to give the rightfully deserved recognition to African societies. It should not be considered the antithesis of Eurocentrism (Chawane, 2016), nor should it be believed to aim to create conflicting divisions with other historiographies. Furthermore, Afrocentricity does not prevent Eurocentrists from viewing the world on their own terms. Rather Afrocentricity acknowledges that different cultures have their own views of the world, and encourages Africans to be emancipated by having their own true perspectives of the world and of themselves.

Molefi Kete Asante (formerly known as Arthur Lee Smith until he legally changed his name in 1973), was considered to be the founder of Afrocentricity (Turner & Asante, 2002). Asante was considered to be the first to locate Afrocentricity in an intellectual arena (Chamane, 2016). Prior to this, other scholars used Afrocentricity in the context of politics or socio-economics. Asante, however, believed that Africans in Africa and in the diaspora (in the Caribbean and the Americas especially), should be open to accepting each other despite their citizenship. If an acceptance of blackness can be achieved, similarities can be embraced and the African culture can be clearly defined on an international scale (Turner & Asante, 2002). According to Verharen (2002), 'black', when referring to ethno-racial classifications, is synonymous with the fight for freedom, and this is what Afrocentricity accentuates.

Consequently, African Revisionism refers to the reclamation of a previously subjugated and discriminated peoples' history which was covered by then commonplace discourses (Mills, 1998; in King, Davis and Brown, 2012). With reference to this study, African revisionism emphasises the retrieval and rejuvenation of African histories and identities prior to being enshrouded by Anglophone and Afrikaner meta-narratives. Primarily radical, anti-apartheid historians and scholars initiated the emergence of revisionist historiographies in Africa in the 1970s (Lichtenstein, 2016). Essentially revisionists assert that the categorical racism, for example in South Africa, were a result, not only of Afrikaner nationalism metanarratives, but also to British involvement in the country (Nishino, 2011).

Subsequently, African revisionism began with highlighting the direct correlation between the type of political structures and the impact on the economy thereof (Saunders, 1988). Furthermore, Legassick and Minkley (1998) – the former considered the father of revisionism – state that the concept of revisionism went further to analyse the relationship between class and race. They also mention that the emergence of revisionist historiography coincided with the enhancing of Black Nationalism and the idea of bringing African social history to the fore was further motivated.

Moreover, as opposed to their prior counterparts in the academic field who were influenced by pseudo white intellectual superiority to African societies, Thabane and Guy (1979) considered ethnicity as a major component of identity formation among black South Africans. Additionally, in 1972, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, an African writer, stated that "Africa was a full partner in the development of the Old World, participating in a continual process of cultural give-and-take that began long before European occupation". Despite the initial attempts to bring original African episteme to the fore, De Cruz (2005), asserts that white supremacist accounts of historical events still exists and is accepted in South Africa

Prior to 1990, Revisionist historiographies were inherently associated with structuralism in that the latter reflects on the components that construct human nature (including behaviour and culture), the episteme (values and belief systems), and corresponding objects (de Almeida, 2015). Additionally, structuralism goes further to identify and analyse the relationship between these epistemological components and how these are manifested by the individual/s (Smith, 2020).

However, in the early 1990s, the cultural and linguistic social South African histories were viewed from a post-structuralist lens (Sparks, 2013). In contrast to structuralism, post-structuralism is related to the critical theory, and promotes linguistic systems as a necessary and critical tool for the development of social relations, and is intertwined in histo-cultural factors (Mason and Clarke, 2010).

Considering the express concern with critically deconstructing the innate identities and social structures of African societies, revisionist historiographies place emphasis on

unearthing the conditions and means of knowledge production during post-colonial African.

#### **1.2.5.5 Postcolonial historiographies**

At this point, it must be noted that for the purpose of clarity and cohesion, I discuss postcolonial historiographies in this section; albeit briefly because the theory of postcoloniality informs the theoretical framework for this study and I will thus provide a detailed discussion in Chapter Four.

Western accounts of Africa have for a long time gone uncontested, however in post-colonial Africa, Africans from all spheres of life are bringing the 'real Africa' to light (Andindilile, 2016). According to Larsen (2000), when referring to the 'real' or the 'imagined' Africa, Postcoloniality celebrates the liberation of the previously captured territories of the colonised nations. This implies that postcoloniality is an emancipatory ideology. Accordingly, Postcoloniality places emphasis on discursive practices rather than materialities of Africa (Nkomo, 2011).

Furthermore, using Postcoloniality as her point of departure, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1992), enunciates epistemic violence as the undermining of authentic discourses of, in her context of Indian women, by colonial manoeuvres. This concept of epistemic violence can be applied to indigenous people of colonised nations. Likewise, postcoloniality considers the narratives of indigenous minorities whom were affected by the colonisers (Bhabha, 1992). The explanation of Postcoloniality by Ambesange (2016), aligns with the abovementioned views in that he affirms that Postcoloniality analyses the processes of western colonialism, as well as the corollaries that followed. Moreover, Nielson (2020), states that Postcoloniality acknowledges the intellectual impedimenta that were widely shaped by western thinking and continues to influence the present-day colonised societies. More than that, Postcoloniality attempts to redress the negative consequences of western colonialism, and aims to reconstruct the lost identities of the indigenous peoples who were affected by western colonialism (Ambesange, 2016).

According to Bulhan (2015), Africa is not entirely free from the influences of Europeans. This is owing to the fact that with the end of western colonialism in Africa,

many countries were abandoned in a state of desolation. Leaders had little or no experience of efficient governance, countries received limited monetary aid, and lack of identity as African societies hindered their advancement as a community (Meredith, 2014). To complicate the situation, post-colonial Africa is in a state of liminality whereby the people have not completely transitioned from simple, sustainable indigenous living to a more complicated westernised worldview (Fongang, 2017), although the Postcoloniality does advocate that they should not have to fully transition to the western lifestyle. Despite the change in national symbols such as flags and anthems, after gaining independence from the colonisers, African societies cannot celebrate absolute freedom from European powers.

Consequently, one such change is language. As a consequence of British colonialism, English is one of the most widely spoken language, with 1.35 billion people in the world speaking English as at March 2021 (Szmigiera, 2021). In Africa, the total number of people who speak English amounts to 130 million speakers as at September 2021 (Oluwole, 2021). This means that just less than 10% of the African population are English speakers. Yet, there has been an increase in African countries opting for English as a medium of language in schools. These countries include Ethiopia, Rwanda, Tanzania, Senegal and Mali, together with the countries focused in this study, i.e.: South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Plonski, Teferra & Brady, 2013).

Ultimately, Postcoloniality also takes into account the particulars of European colonial expansion into continents other than Europe and the Americas; as well as the forced movements of the indigenous peoples, and subsequent negative consequences of the arrival of Europeans to other continents (Schwarz, 2000).

The above section has provided a composite overview of the main tenets of the historiographies that I believe are most relevant to my study. Of course, the various historiographies may sometimes challenges each other. For instance, Marxist scholars such as Das (2019), who states that the contemporary global village is largely capitalist in nature, which contradicts scholars such as Williams (2014), who argues that the global relations and political choices made by governments around the world are indicative that neo-liberalism is the dominant economic discourse in the world.

Naturally, I acknowledge that there are several other philosophical streams within the above historiographies such as Marxist and Socialist Feminism, Postcolonial Subaltern studies, and Religious Fundamentalism, among others. However, for the purpose of this study, which fundamentally focuses on discourses within school History textbooks, metanarratives are largely an all-encompassing feature rather than specific world-views. Nonetheless, if my analysis of the discourses does show semblance of more specified philosophical streams, I will include that in my findings and discussion chapters.

### **1.2.6 Colonialism in the school History curriculum**

For an thorough understanding of this study, it is imperative to determine what the curriculum in each of the sample countries encompasses in relation to western colonialism. This is important as a comprehensive knowledge will help in identifying the relationship between the school History textbooks as well as the official curriculum.

#### **1.2.6.1 *The history curriculum in South Africa***

Presently, South Africa's current national curriculum is the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), which was implemented in 2012. Table 1.1 below illustrates the topics included in the CAPS that deal with issues of western colonialism. It is evident that learners are officially exposed to issues of western colonialism at secondary school level, more specifically in the Further Education and Training (FET) phase from grades 10 to 12.

**Figure 1.1 Topics related to western colonialism in the South African curriculum  
(Source: Department of Basic Education, 2012)**

TOPIC	GRADE
European expansion and conquest during the 15th to 18th centuries	10
Colonial expansion after 1750	10
Ideas of Race in the late 19th and 20th centuries	11
Nationalisms - South Africa, the Middle East and Africa	11
Independent Africa	12

### 1.2.6.2 *The history of education in Namibia*

In the case of Namibia, the official curriculum is the National Curriculum for Basic Education (NBCE) and was implemented on 2016. The History syllabus in the Junior Secondary Phase within the NCBE mentions the phase that issues of western colonialism are primarily dealt with. (Refer to Table 1.2 below).

**Figure 1.2 Topics related to western colonialism in the Namibian curriculum**  
(Source: Namibian Ministry of Education, 2015)

TOPIC	GRADE
Namibia during the 19th century	8
Formal colonisation	8
Resistance and social dynamics	8
The war of national resistance 1904-1908	8
German and South African rule: 1909-1945	8
The period of European conquest and colonial rule	8
Social and economic change in Africa, 1800-1900	8
South African colonial administration 1945-1979	9
The struggle for political Independence and democracy	9
The struggle for economic development	9

### 1.2.6.3 *The history of education in Zimbabwe*

In Zimbabwe, as part of the Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education, History topics that relate to western colonialism can be seen in Table 1.3. Such topics are mandatory from Form 1 to Form 5.

**Figure 1.3 Topics related to western colonialism in the Zimbabwean curriculum**  
(Source: Zimbabwean Ministry of Education, 2015)

TOPIC	FORM
Early European contacts with Zimbabwe: Portuguese and the missionaries	1 and 3
Colonisation	2 and 3
Colonial administration in Rhodesia	2 and 3
Nationalism	2 and 4
Imperialism in Africa	5
Colonisation of Zimbabwe and primary resistance	5
First Chimurenga/ Umvukela 1	5
Colonial administration in Rhodesia	5

### 1.3 Rationale of the study

The rationale for my study is threefold. Firstly, from a personal standpoint, there exists internal tensions within myself in terms of my identity. I am a direct product of British colonisation of South Africa. I am a South African citizen who has lived through the apartheid and democratic eras in South Africa. At the same time, I have Indian ancestors, some of whom arrived in South Africa as Indentured labourers, and the others as 'Passenger Indians'. The latter classification of Indian people were not contractually obligated to the British government, and paid for their own travel to the then Natal province in South Africa (Gopalan, 2016; Hiralal, 2013). In this light,

presently I am classified as a 'South African Indian', 'Indian', or 'Asian' (Statista Research Department, 2021). In the international arena, however, I am classified as an Indian.

I have had first-hand experiences of my cultural identity crisis in two western countries: Norway and the United States of America. My answer to the question, "where are you from" was always the same: I am from South Africa. However it was the follow-up statement "you don't look African", which required me to deeply contemplate my response. I was surprisingly unaware of the different ways in which people viewed me, outside of my country. To my knowledge my identity was first defined by nationality, that being South African. However, it appeared that people at the aforementioned international arenas first saw ethnicity. In an attempt to avoid having to explain how my ancestors were taken to South Africa by perfidious British authorities, I simply stated that I am a fourth generation Person of Indian Origin (PIO) living in South Africa. According to Amrute (2012), PIOs are descendants of indentured labours. This term was essentially a comprehensive version of my political identity. I find this defective, since I was born on the continent of Africa, which means I am justifiably of African origin.

Given my aforementioned identity crisis, I am aware of the change in all aspects of African society, and perceptions of the continent of which I am a directly affected. My interest therefore lies in what informs the current lifestyle, cultural beliefs, traditions, and ultimately African identity. Undeniably, the key source for this change was western colonialism (Bulhan, 2015). Africa has been reinvented historically, geographically and scientifically by western colonialism, and this has affected people from across the demographic spectrum. Therefore, by conducting this study I will be able to explore the historiographies that learners are exposed to through school History textbooks, that undoubtedly influence identity formation.

Secondly, from a professional standpoint, as an ex-teacher in a primary and secondary school, I had become part of a body that used textbooks as a main teaching and learning resource. History textbooks often develop a particular knowledge for shaping learners. Textbooks generally convey the societal norms and expectations that learners should meet in everyday life (UNESCO, 2010). I observed that some of the

textbooks used were outdated yet they still formed the basis of teaching (besides the official national curriculum policy). Since textbooks are the preferred pedagogical tool in almost all schools around the world (Jobert, 2015; Kasmaienezhadford, et.al, 2015; Lam & Lidstone, 2001; Beck & McKeown, 1994), learners are constantly exposed to historical sources that will, for most part, act as a stimulus for the learning process.

Furthermore, since I am currently an academic in the History Education discipline, this study will also assist in my professional development. I value History as a subject as it exposes learners to topics that correlate the events of the past to present and future circumstances that countries (and individuals) encounter. I, therefore intend to contribute towards the knowledge surrounding the sensitivities of western colonialism within textbooks to the subject of History and History pedagogy. By engaging with colonial discourses in school History textbooks, I will be collaborating with pertinent academic sensitivity.

Moreover, I want to explore how the sensitivities of western colonialism are portrayed to learners, especially by means of school History textbooks. The prevailing discourses related to western colonialism in textbooks is also an apposite aspect that requires more dialogue especially within the educational field. The nature of western colonialism is sensitive and its consequences are visible in the global contemporary society. For example, capitalism still dominates the economic arena; and previously oppressed peoples such as the San, Amazonians, Maori continue to be minoritised, and are, in some instances, even openly discriminated against such as the case of Indigenous peoples of North America and Canada (TallBear, 2019). For this reason, as educationalists we must be aware of how colonial discourses in textbooks not only align with the official curriculum, but also whether or not it equips learners with relevant historical consciousness to perform effectively in a contemporary globalised society.

Thirdly, from a conceptual standpoint, as stated by Van Eeden (2013), Africa experienced an increased conscious of colonial historiographies in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from African revisionists rather than from a Eurocentric perspective. This led to the introduction of multifarious perspectives regarding these colonial historiographies as they emerged from countries all over Africa. With post-colonialism, there came several political challenges that have filtered down into the educational

arena and affected school curricula and subsequently the development of textbooks (Bancel, Blanchard, Thomas and Pernsteiner, 2017). Accordingly, historiographies that hold western views are still predominant in textbooks to help contemporary society accept the consequences of western colonialism (Gottlob, 2011). Western colonialism not only conquered material treasures from Africa, but non-material assets were captured as well – including the mind-sets of peoples around the world (Nkomo, 2011). It is therefore imperative to analyse the information and education fields (Asante, 2006) and to see how colonisation has permeated through the masses to future generations.

At this point I must make my positionality clear since this study will be affected by my standpoints. I subscribe to decoloniality since I believe that African societies were victims and agents of the unfair political endeavour of western colonialism that favoured European colonisers and exploited the African continent. Ultimately, decoloniality adopts a critical theoretical view to the lives of African societies, and considers not only historical temporality, but also the socio-cultural and epistemic aspects of the individuals. The theory of decoloniality forms the theoretical basis for my study and will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

Considering the tenets of decoloniality, through this study I hope to draw attention to the content in school History textbooks related to western colonialism and promote decolonial thought within these textbooks. The aim of conducting a transnational study lies in my unwavering commitment to promote decolonial thinking. South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are three countries that were colonised in the SADC region and all of which had similar experiences of western colonialism, thus by conducting the study based on these three countries I hope to ascertain whether or not the respective education systems consider the influence of colonial historiographies in textbooks on learners and teachers. Additionally, by looking at transnational education systems, I will be able to postulate the place of decoloniality in school History textbooks. While I draw upon the works of European and American scholars, I have attempted to predominantly include the works of authors of oppressed nations, but more importantly black scholars in order to foreground the African perspective.

#### **1.4 Focus and purpose of the study**

Arguably, there have been studies that focused on the motives, processes, causes, consequences and characteristics of western colonialism in History (Asante, 2006; Barringer and Flynn, 2008; Bayeh, 2015; Bulhan, 2015; Chuku, 2014; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2014; Feinstein, 2005; Hargreaves, 1985; Igboin, 2014; Ngcongco, 1980; Pella. Jr, 2015; Reid, 2012; Young, 2016). This study differs in that it focuses on the prevailing discourses of western colonialism within History education at school level in the context of three SADC countries, namely, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe – all of which were subject to similar, yet unique colonial processes. As stated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2010), textbooks generally convey the societal norms and expectations that learners should meet in everyday life. This correlates with Yasina, Hamida, Othmanb, Bakara, Hashima, and Moht (2012), who maintain that it is through textbooks that learners create meanings and place themselves in particular roles in society. Consequently, learners psychologically and socially shape themselves according to that knowledge and this determines how they view themselves as well as those around them (Morris, 2004). This would then influence learners when studying western colonialism since they would develop particular knowledge of the past when taught through accounts, stories, memories and other secondary sources found in History textbooks.

Taking into account the multifaceted and complex angles through which colonial historiographies are viewed, the purpose of this study is to explore the prevailing colonial discourses in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks through a decolonial critique. My original contribution for this study is twofold: firstly, I aim to challenge colonial knowledge production by drawing attention to the content in school History textbooks related to western colonialism. Secondly, I want to promote decolonial thought and repudiate Euro-North American western episteme within these textbooks. By deconstructing existing historiographies and challenging western episteme in History textbooks, I hope to identify and develop a way forward to enhance African learners' historical consciousness of their past, present and future situations in relation to the globalised world.

## 1.5 Key research questions

The purpose of a study is generally expressed through the research questions (McGaghie, Bordage, Shea, 2021). Furthermore, the research questions assist the researcher in determining the research methodology that would be best suited to fulfil the purpose of the research, and thus is essentially a guide to the research process of this study (Bryson, 2007; Mouton, 2011). The development of my research questions was primarily aligned with the Theoretical Framework I adopted for this study, i.e.: Decolonial Theory, which in itself is critical in nature and aims to challenge existing hegemonic discrepancies. Considering this, I attempted to align my questions in a way that reflected the critical nature of my study. Thus, the overarching research question for this study was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?* Accordingly, to answer the overarching question, I formulated three sub-questions which were:

1. What are the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks?
2. How do the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?
3. Why are these discourses and historiographies manifested in the way that they are?

Accordingly, the research objectives of this study are:

1. To deconstruct the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks.
2. To identify how the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies.

3. To explore why these discourses and historiographies are manifested in the way that they are.

### **1.6 Research design and methodology**

I used the critical paradigm for this study, as it is located in research that deals with issues of social justice such as power struggles, oppression, agency and social integration (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Callaghan, 2016). Additionally, the critical paradigm relates to textual analysis in that it uses language to assess issues of social justice, hegemony, power relations and agency. Since my study focused on these issues in the context of western colonialism in Africa, the critical paradigm proved to be best suited for this study. Essentially the critical paradigm determined how my study methodologically unfolded and how data was interpreted.

The critical paradigm consequently influenced my ontological, epistemological and methodological choices for this study. My ontological consideration is embedded in historical realism which holds the view that reality is shaped by historical, socio-cultural, economic, political, gender and ethnic values, and thus aligns with the critical paradigm (Scotland, 2012). The epistemological positioning for this study was dialogic. This implies that what is known is through written or spoken communication (Gómez, Racionero & Sordé, 2010). In relation to this study, the view is that western colonialism disrupted the lives of Africans, and brought physical and epistemic enslavement to them. Moreover, textbooks were one of the chief media through which colonial historiographies were communicated to the masses. Thus the pre-colonial hegemonic epistemic turmoil in the African educational settings is a perpetual challenge (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015; Seroto, 2018).

Further in keeping with the critical paradigm which aims to elucidate societal and hegemonic issues, this study is situated in the qualitative research has the potential to address social issues, and this can be achieved by influencing practices of practitioners (Bloor, 2016). Essentially, According to Creswell (2012), the qualitative approach is a process that enables the researcher to make meaning, identify themes or patterns and establish possible answers to the research questions of the study. Phenomenology was used as the research design as this study explored the phenomenon and metanarratives of western colonialism.

The methodology that was used in this study was Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I used Fairclough's (1995) version of CDA to analyse data in this study. Fairclough's CDA considers linguistic elements, such as lexicalisation, grammar, speech functions, intertextuality and grammatical mood (Fairclough, 2003). Furthermore, three types of assumptions form the basis of the micro-level analysis. These are existential assumptions that examines what exists, propositional assumptions that considers what can be, and value assumptions that explores semantic relations and issues of desirability of semantics and discourse (Ververi, 2010). The aforementioned assumptions, according to Fairclough's CDA, is accompanied by explanatory logic by looking at concrete and abstract representations of social events (Ververi, 2010). Fairclough's version of CDA essentially considers issues of critical social hegemony, socio-historical and linguistics (Maposa, 2016, Perakyla, 2005, Ververi, 2011).

Moreover, language is socially constructed, and can be used to identify social, historic and cultural markers related to issues such as power, subordination, oppression and elitism (Kazerooni & Tabatabaei, 2017). The decision to use Fairclough's CDA was based on the direct relationship between the western hegemonic issues of western colonialism related to my study and the analysis of textual elements in the selected sample textbooks.

The sample for this study consisted of eight school History textbooks - three from South Africa and Zimbabwe, and two from Namibia. The context of these countries are situated at school level and all three SADC countries were subjected to historically and geographically similar colonial processes. I used purposive sampling, since it primarily logically assumes the best representation of elements required for the study (Lavrakas, 2011). Bearing this in mind, my choice of textbooks contained information on issues of western colonialism and was therefore not limited to a specific grade. Moreover, different publishers were considered in order to provide a range of discourses and historiographies that appeared in the textbooks. Furthermore, History textbooks used for this study were guided by the current curriculum of each of the three countries.

Two sets of analysis were conducted in this study. Firstly, the descriptive analysis was conducted (Lambert & Lambert, 2012, p.256) which provides a thick, in-depth

presentation of findings derived directly from the data, which in this study encompasses verbal and visual texts of school History textbooks from the sample countries; and secondly, a process analysis was conducted. This refers to the process of interpreting the findings from the descriptive analysis. To analyse the verbal texts, I used Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework which fundamentally provided a trinocular perspective when analysing language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This effectually means that language consists of three metafunctions: the ideational/ experiential metafunction, interpersonal metafunction and the textual metafunction. When analysing visual texts, I used Kress & van Leeuwen's Grammar of Visual Design model (2009), based on Halliday's SFL metafunctional model of ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions.

According to Coulthard (2007), readers of texts are subject to their own interpretations therefore, inferences of textual data will differ based on each researcher and their understanding of the world, experiences and background knowledge. This study is situated in the History Education discipline and engages with aspects of historical understanding. Therefore it is assumed that even though my interpretation may vary from other researchers, we will have a congruent understanding of western colonialism in textbooks through my conceptual and theoretical background.

### **1.7 Outline of thesis**

This study features eight chapters. As can be viewed above, this chapter contextualises the study and presents the purpose and focus of the study.

Subsequently, the following two chapters provides my critical engagement with existing literature in relation to my study. Chapter two focuses on the discourses of western colonialism. I considered discourses of polity, economy, society, and spatiality. Chapter three centres around the content in school History textbooks related to western colonialism, the role of language and visual texts in these textbooks as well as the academic implications of History textbooks.

Chapter four expounds the theoretical framework used in this study. I have used the theory of decoloniality as it seeks to inform the present-day negative consequences of western colonialism, Euro-North American modernity, and other struggles faced by the

global oppressed community in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In this chapter I explore the main tenets of the theory of decoloniality, its application to Africa, and the relevance of decoloniality to this study. Thereafter, Chapter five details my methodological considerations, which has already been discussed in section 1.6 of Chapter one.

Following this is Chapter six which presents the findings from my descriptive analysis of the South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks. Essentially, five key themes emerged from Fairclough's thematic analysis. These themes include discourses of forces of western colonialism, discourses of conflict-fomentation, discourses of economic exploitation, discourses of environmental degradation, and discourses of anti-colonialism. Subsequently, a discussion of my findings through process analysis is presented in Chapter seven.

The final chapter serves to present my theorisation of the findings, in which I engage in Fairclough's (1995) social analysis process of the CDA. I also posit why discourses and historiographies were manifested in school History textbooks in the way that they were. This chapter is also a consolidation of my study.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

Ultimately, this chapter has provided the contextualisation for this study which focuses on discourses related to western colonialism that resonate within South African, Namibia and Zimbabwe school History textbooks. I have invariably discussed key aspects that form the basis for understanding the background of this study. A comprehensive discussion of western colonialism, with particular reference to the three sample countries have been presented. Also discussed in this chapter was a composite outline of the historiographies that I believe are directly related to the presentation of Western colonialism in school History textbooks. These included Afrocentrism, Postcoloniality, Marxism, Neo-liberalism and Eurocentrism. Subsequently, a presentation of colonial topics in the South African, Namibia and Zimbabwe school History curricula.

Further to this, I described in detail my personal, professional and conceptual rationale for this study, the purpose and focus of the study as well as the key research questions and objectives of this study. I concluded the chapter by briefly explaining my research

design and methodological considerations, together an outline of this thesis. Following this chapter is a presentation of my critical engagement with existing research regarding the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in school History textbooks.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON DISCOURSES OF WESTERN COLONIALISM**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Contrary to its term, a literature review is not merely a review of literature. Rather, it is critical engagement with the available studies that relate to the research problem that will be applicable to my study (Mouton, 2008). Considering the interdisciplinary and transformative nature of education and of academic research, the literature review is essentially the foundation for which a researcher obtains a composite understanding of the academics trends in the educational field, and thus it allows them to analyse the strengths and weakness of available scholarship (Snyder, 2019; Boote and Beile, 2005). A literature review can also enhance rigorous engagement and encourage the researcher to be critical about their own research (Hart, 2018).

Accordingly, Creswell (2002), advocates that when undertaking a literature review, the researcher should complete a five-step process. The steps include the identification of terms relevant to the study to use when searching for literature; situating literature within the context of the study; evaluating the relevance that the literature has in relation to the study; selecting the structure of how the literature review will be organised; and lastly, engaging with the relevant literature to complete the literature review section. Moreover, a good literature review also indicates the level of critique and evaluation that the research has put into the review of literature (Bolderston, 2008).

There are various ways in which a literature review can be structured, for instance chronologically, methodologically, theoretically or empirically, to name a few (Carnwell and Daly, 2001). However, the literature review for this study is structured thematically. This means that specific themes related to the study will be analysed and organised according (Cronin, Ryan and Coughlan, 2007).

Considering the above explanations of a literature review, this chapter serves to contextualise this study by offering an intellectual critique of prior accumulated

research related to the focus of the study, which in this case is western colonialism in in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks. Consequently, the review of literature for this study is divided into two chapters: the first of the two literature reviews focuses on the discourses of western colonialism in Africa. Thereafter, the second literature review is presented in Chapter Three and focuses on the role of school History textbooks in the educational setting.

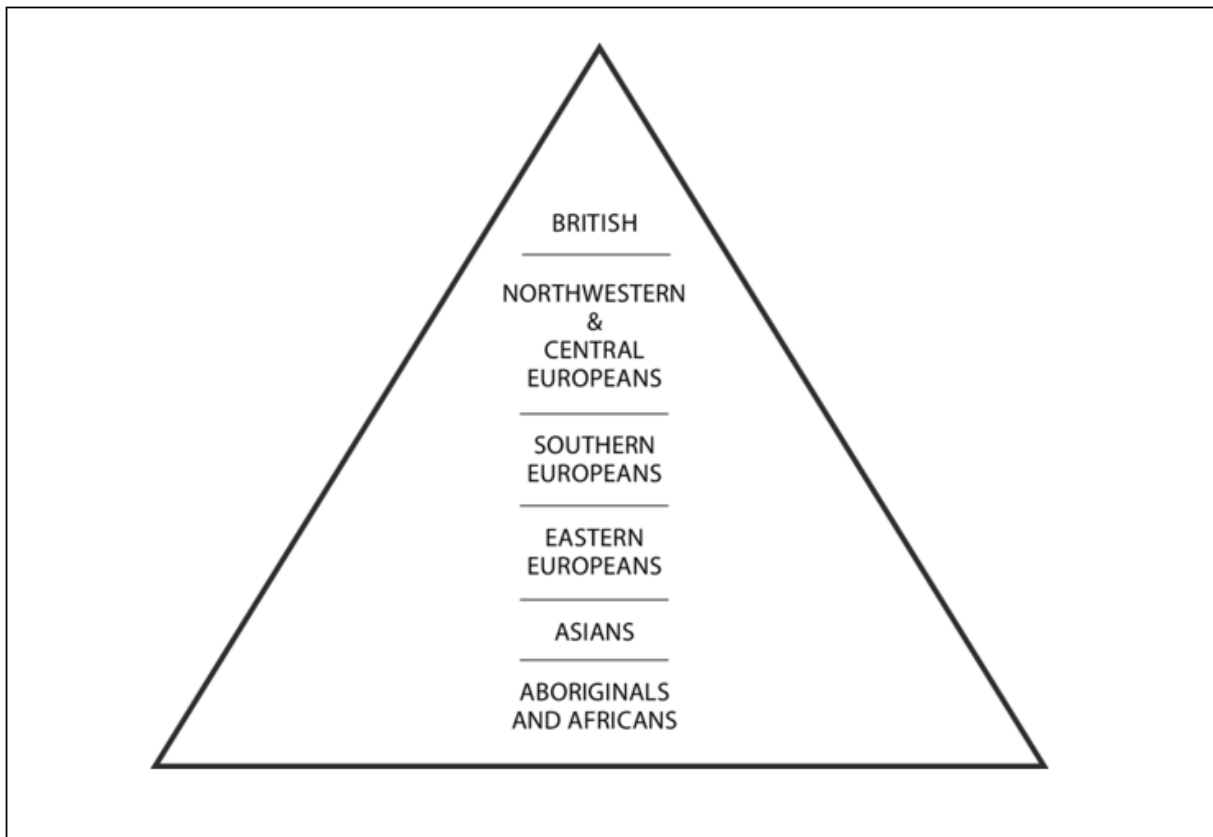
The current chapter is informed by the idea that an integrated approach to viewing the causes of western colonialism is essential since there was not only one aspect of life that was affected (Pella. Jr., 2015). I support the aforementioned view since I am of the opinion that life itself is an intertwined complex relationship between society, culture, politics and economics. Considering the aforementioned idea, this first literature review chapter will explore the discourses of polity, economy and society in relation to western colonialism in Africa.

## **2.2 Discourses of polity**

At a fundamental level, pre-colonial African leaders displayed great leadership abilities and governed their communities in fair and just ways (Gueye, 2018). Most African societies were led by chiefs such as the Owambo of Namibia, as well as the Kingdoms of Aksum, Timbuktu and Mapungubwe. Furthermore, African societies had ambassadors who engaged in diplomatic relations, as in the case of the Sudan Empire (Smith, 1989).

Nonetheless, no matter how efficacious the pre-colonial leaders were, the European colonisers demonstrated political chicanery to achieve their goals of ultimate control over the African continent. One of the chief justifications for the colonialism of African societies was racial differences. With reference to Figure 2.1 depicting the pyramid of racial hierarchy, the societies mentioned in the pyramid were allocated a cultural ranking. To expound, the British and western Europeans at the top-most part of the pyramid being the most “civilised”, and the Aborigines and African societies at the bottom of the pyramid being “savage” (Orlowski, 2018, p.169). The colonial endeavour was therefore considered imperative to be “carried out supposedly in the interest of Africans who required many years of tutelage to become normal human being” (Okon, 2014, p.197).

**Figure 2.1 Image depicting racial hierarchy during western colonialism. Source: Orlowski (2018, p.168)**



Similarly, Social Darwinism, was often used by governments, intellectuals, scientists and anthropologists, to justify western colonialism in Africa (Shohat and Stam 1994). Social Darwinism was a theory developed by Herbert Spencer that built on Darwin's theory of the 'survival of the fittest' by applying it to human beings to explain class and racial differences (Schubert, 2011). Essentially, Social Darwinism was informed by "explicit racism, and shadeism or pigmentocracy – hierarchies within racialized groups which value lighter skin tones" (Hibbs, 2014, p.612). To elucidate, in the case of the German colonisers, the constructed image of the "Black other" was a political imperative to justify colonialism of Africa as well as develop a nationalist identity of the superior Germans as opposed to the inferior African societies (Schubert, 2011, p.399).

With western colonialism, within politics, power was manifested both, overtly and covertly and permeates through all aspects of life (Foucault, 1980). Power also resonates through different levels of community structures. In the case of Africa during

western colonialism, power could be expressed via the European colonisers, as well as African leadership such as traditional chiefs, and healers (Horáková, Nugent, & Skalník, 2011). To accentuate the role of African chiefs in western colonialism, Gueye (2018), states that:

If the coloniser succeeded in imposing his willpower despite African rulers' determination to guarantee peace and security, it is because some of them acted as European proxies in the long process of colonisation.

In the above quotation, Gueye (2018), indicates that African leaders were compelled to act on behalf of European colonisers to prompt the indigenous people to co-operate with the intentions, and achieve the goals of the colonisers. Such coercion was driven by furtiveness of the European colonisers who were acquisitive and iniquitous in their want for power and political domination in Africa (Horáková, Nugent, & Skalník, 2011). The co-operation of African chiefs and European colonisers was mostly prevalent in British colonies, such as Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, where the colonial administration was primarily based on indirect rule (Müller-Crepon, 2020).

Subsequent to the initial encounter of African territory, western colonisers tried to discern the people, landscape and natural resources of these territories. The key purpose of this activity was to determine the type of colony the area would be (Royle, 2009). For instance, if there were resources but the land was arid and barren, the area would likely be an exploitative colony, for instance, Namibia. In contrast, if the country had fertile soil conducive for arable and pastoral farming it would be a settler colony, such as South Africa and Zimbabwe. Both, exploitative and settler colonies disrupted the interdependent relationship between the indigenous African societies and the natural environment (Domínguez and Luoma, 2020).

Moreover, in 1938, when Colonial Development Secretary, Malcolm MacDonald was asked what the purpose of the British Empire was, his answer was that the Empire was:

The gradual spread of freedom amongst all His Majesty's subjects, in whatever part of the earth they live...The spread of freedom in British countries overseas is a slow – sometimes a painful – evolutionary process...The same spirit guides our administration of the colonial empire.

Even amongst the most backward races of Africa, our main effort is to teach those peoples to stand always a little more securely on their own feet (Collins, 2017, 20).

In keeping with colonial administration, a framework was developed by Salmi (2006, p.13), illustrating the different types of violence that were manifested from colonial administration. Essentially the framework considers four main categories of violence: direct, indirect, repressive and alienating. Firstly, direct violence refers to the intentional harm to human life. Examples of these include slavery, massacre, genocide and forced removals from settlements among others. Secondly, indirect violence refers to the implicit transgression of or the failure to protect the human right to life. Examples of this include starvation, poverty, disease and natural disasters such as floods and droughts. Thirdly, repressive violence is the deliberate subjugation of fundamental human rights. Examples include the suppression of the freedom of thought, speech, movement and association among others. Lastly, alienating violence refers to intentional oppression of the higher rights of human beings. Examples include racism, cultural and social ostracism and xenophobia. Salmi's framework of violence considers the types of violence and the role players who should take accountability for the relevant violence, thus highlighting decolonial historiographies.

Whilst there was extensive resistance against invading foreign colonial forces by African societies (Ahmida, 2011; El-Malik & Kamola, 2017; Getachew & Mantena, 2021; Kempf, 2009; Mathemba, 2021; Putnam, 2012; Sivanandan, 2004), Gueye (2018), states that one of the most contributing factors to the success of colonialism in Africa was due to the colonisers' militaria. Despite their continuing efforts to resist the colonial powers, the main shortcoming of the African societies was their lack of armaments in comparison to their oppositions (Gueye, 2018). Firearms were, undoubtedly, an imperative part of the western colonial invasion process in Africa (Pilossof, 2010). With special reference to machine guns and the maxim gun which was the primary defensive military tool used against the African societies (Boahen, 2020) and which gave the European colonisers a speedy advantage over the traditional weapons used by African societies such as spears, shields, and bows and arrows (Uzoigwe, 1977).

### **2.3 Discourses of economy**

Principally, pre-colonial Africans developed a synergistic relationship with their natural environment, and worked in harmony to create and maintain sustainability (Gueye, 2018). This was a great achievement considering Africans were so skilled with sustainable interaction with the land, and used this to their advantage to succeed economically resulting in the pre-colonial African economy primarily being based on ingenious agrarian techniques and methods. For instance, African empires such as Ghana, Mali, Egypt, Timbuktu and Shonghai engaged with Trans-Saharan trading (Gueye, 2018; Poncian & Mgaya, 2015).

Subsequently, bartering was conducted intra-continently, among each other and with other villages, as in the case of the Lozi community of the Zambezi floodplains, who bartered cassava, millet, iron and wood (Fenske, 2011). Bartering also occurred inter-continently especially the Indian Ocean gold trade, which involved the trade of gold from African countries, such as Zimbabwe and Zambia, to Asia (Hannaford, 2018). This meant that reliance on agriculture was not only for self-sufficiency, but also an aide for economic and social growth (Gueye, 2018; Rönnbäck, 2020).

This harmonious inter-relationship between land and economic development in pre-colonial Africa did not last. In other words, one of the chief objectives of western colonialism in Africa was political expansion, and this was achievable through economic advancement. Individual merchants as well as chartered companies were actively involved in the pillaging of resources in Africa to secure their colonial endeavours (Walter, 2008). Moreover, charter companies had dual roles of being colonial administrators and of funding colonial endeavours (Gardner, 2012).

Essentially, the capitalist economic system was introduced to the African societies by the western colonisers. Paulo Freire, a critic of the capitalist system, believed that the system was a dominating economic, pedagogical and cultural structure that resulted in the oppression of societies, ultimately resulting in the loss of agency (Freire, 2021), and promoting Eurocentrism in Africa.

According to Gueye (2018), cash crops were introduced as a means of trading in which raw materials such as cotton, rubber, palm oil among others were taken from Africa

and manufactured in Europe. The finished products were then sold back to Africans. Infrastructure was also developed in Africa but for the primary reason of making economic trading easier. For instance, roads and railways were break-of-bulk points to commute the manufactured products from ships to the interior of Africa (Jedwab and Moradi, 2012).

#### **2.4 Discourses of society**

Pre-colonial African societies were inherently united and demonstrated communalism, social cohesion, and a “spirit of we-feeling” (Igboin, 2011, p.101), which was evidence of a strongly value-grounded society. Naturally with political expansion during pre-colonial Africa there were conflicts, especially ethnic conflicts and battles between African societies over land and natural resources (Clayton, 2002), nonetheless, there was always sense of interpersonal probity and social cohesion (Ali and Fjeldstad, 2023).

Prior to the arrival of colonialism, many Africans practiced a religion commonly known as AFREL (African Religion) (Odey, 2010). AFREL was based on folktales and myths that were passed on from generation to generation. The founder of this religion was unknown and not worshipped. AFREL emphasises symbolism of moral good through worship of ancestors, divinities and spirits (Igboin, 2011). Furthermore, there is a direct correlation between African religion and spirituality, in contrast to the Eurocentric view that African religion and a belief in a God and ancestor were not an accepted worldview (Mokgobi, 2014).

Accordingly, within the African societies, there is a distinction between ancestors and God. The former are the deceased relatives of living individuals who are benevolent beings that are worshipped (Van Dyk, 2001). Alternatively, God precedes the ancestors and

The traditional African religion subscribers worship is the same God that Christians and other religious groupings believe in. Because African religion reveres and holds God in the highest regard, worshipers do not speak directly to Him. Their prayers and wishes are communicated to Him through the medium of the ancestors (Mokgobi, 2014).

Initially, when Europeans arrived, they believed that Africa was in need of religious revival and they lacked knowledge of God. According to Bassil (2011), African people were initially perceived by colonisers to be illiterate, barbarous and idle in nature resulting in humanitarianism being one of the chief motives for the colonialism process. Vansina (1986), claimed that missionaries were key players in developing the vision of society of modern-day Africa. This exemplifies distinctive Eurocentric historiographies. Africans were undermined, particularly in their ability to form states and advance civilisations of their own (Lonsdale, 1981).

Despite the richness of the pre-colonial African traditions, western colonialism heralded the fragmentation of the identity of African societies. It destroyed the self-and group image of Africans through oppression, inferiority and persecution. It poached the African heritage and psychologically traumatized African societies (Fitzpatrick, 2012). This identity reduction process was achieved through two chief societal aspects: religion and education.

Moreover, when the European missionaries arrived in Africa, they viewed the African religion as “evil and everything possible to ensure that it was ousted” (Nkomazana and Setume, 2016, p.30). Thus, one of the key rationales for western colonisers was postulated on the ideals of European Enlightenment (Prakash, 1999).

Missionaries were employed by colonisers to accomplish two key objectives. Firstly, they were to bring enlightenment to Africans through religion (Collins, 2017). Secondly, according to Gueye (2018), they acted as intelligencers who surveyed the land, and determined the response of Africans to foreign societies (the European colonisers). According to Salmi (2006), there is a direct relationship between the intensity of colonialism and the increase in epistemic violence as well as the development of modern economies. Bishop Desmond Tutu stated that:

When the missionaries first came to Africa they had the Bible and we had the land. They said, “Let us pray.” We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible and they had the land. (van der Leeuw, 2014, p.115)

Besides religious indoctrination, education was a means of communicating the place of Africans to the masses (Collins, 2017). During the colonial period, African people not only were physically, but also intellectually and psychologically restrained. Colonisers endeavoured to provide African people with the type of education that would assiduously meet specific objectives that the colonisers developed which was to either subjugate via labour production or assimilate African people. According to Windel (2009), there were initiatives in the form of specially designed projects that was meant to instil native education for Africans. To expound, in British colonies, four main parties were involved in such projects. These were corporate American philanthropists, colonial officials in London, colonial administrators and missionaries. Each of these parties worked mutually to ensure education instilled in African countries were limited to basic foundational literacy and mathematical literacy (Windel, 2009).

While the abovementioned examples are reflective of Eurocentric historiography, it is true that a decolonial lens may be applied to the advancement of education in pre-colonial Africa. To explicate, pre-colonial African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Mauritania, and so forth were active learning centres and had written records of scholarly work related to history, politics, science, mathematics, religion and so forth (Krätli, 2018; Haidara, 2008). One example in particular is Mali, where a 2008 study found approximately 101 820 manuscripts were found scattered in the various cities of Mali, including Timbuktu, Kaye, Gao and Kidal (Haidara, 2008).

Nonetheless, with western colonialism came the pilfering of scholarly manuscripts from African societies. James (2012), in his contemplation of why people of African descent seemingly always experience social plight, offers a valid explanation. He asserts that reputation of African societies for being scholarly-minded, philosophers and great thinkers, would have no doubt been ubiquitous, where it not for the plunder of the Egyptian libraries and museums that began with Alexander the Great in 332 BCE (Isiani & Obi-Ani, 2020). This correlates with Dr. George G.M. James, who in 1954 rigorously criticised the Greeks for repudiating the rightful place of Africans in philosophical antiquity. James accused the Greeks for plagiarising the work stolen from Egyptian libraries by Alexander the Great upon his arrival in 332 BCE (Cobbs, Jr., 1997). This is accordance with Aristotle for instance, who stated that mathematics and astronomical advances were developed in Egypt (Verharen, 1997).

This idea of the colonialism of the African episteme is further highlighted by Fabian (2014, p.165) refers to the direct relationship between the negative consequences of religion on African language as “linguistic colonialism”. According to Fabian, there are two ways in which modifications in the African language would have come about. Firstly, European colonisers intentional changes in languages such as those implemented at institutional level, for instance in places of worship, in schools, and so forth. The second factor resulting in modification in African languages would be through forced removals that resulted in the migration of African societies, and the subsequent assimilation into different linguistic groups. At the centre of the institutional language enforcement would have typically been missionaries who would have persuaded African societies to learn the language of the coloniser under the guise of religious reverence. In South Africa and Zimbabwe the language enforced would have been English, while in Namibia, the German language would have been operational.

The result of missionary education and colonial influence resulted in a transferability of the European characteristics to the colonised (Murrey, 2020), who in this case were the African societies. Hence, western colonialism was the chief causes of fragmented identities among African societies (Utsey, Abrams, Opare-Henaku, Bolden & Williams III, 2014).

## **2.5 Discourses of spatiality**

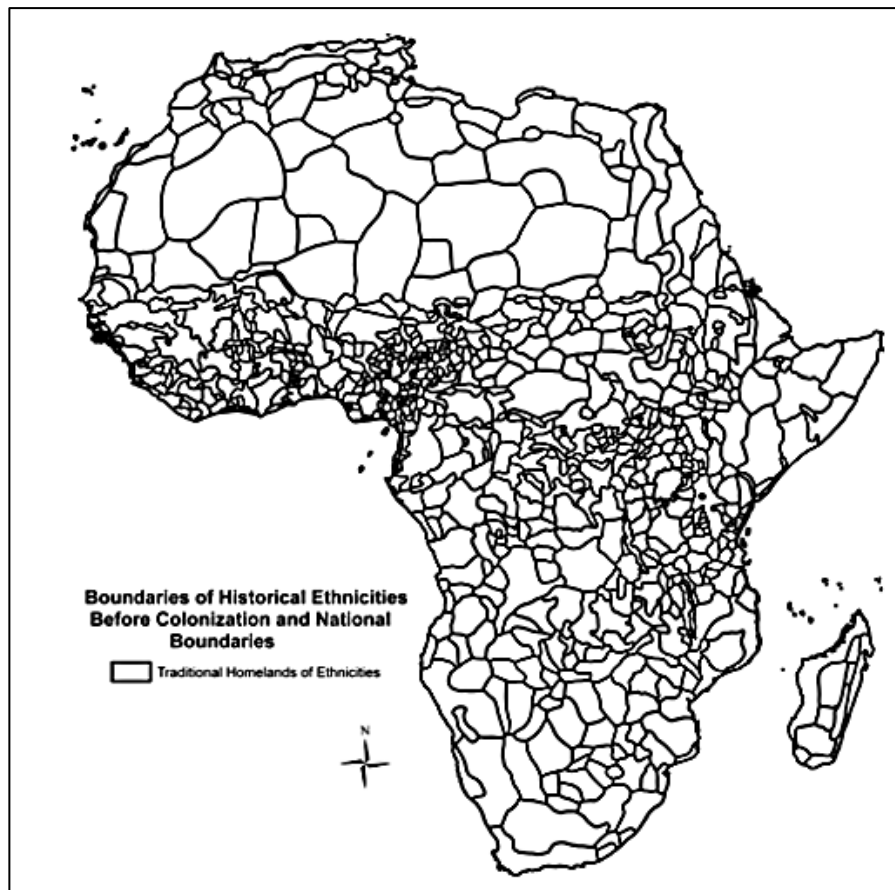
Colonialism was fundamentally a territorial-focused practice (Gueye, 2018; Moyo, 2003). Therefore, this serves as a justification to include discourses of spatiality in this chapter.

Essentially, Africa was wealthy in terms of resources and heritage (Gueye, 2018). In pre-colonial Africa the herbalists and traditional healers from African societies primarily used plants to heal due to its medicinal properties (Mokgabi, 2014). Indigenous Africans had a plethora of knowledge on healing, sustainable living and oral history. Gueye (2018) asserts that this was not inherited from colonisers, but was rather innately existent in the indigenous African societies.

Prior to European colonialism, the continent of Africa encompassed regional separations based on ethnolinguistic traits of the different African societies

(Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011). Figure 2.2 below provides a visual idea of how Africa was grouped during pre-colonial Africa.

**Figure 2.2 showing the borders of pre-colonial Africa, based on ethnolinguistic differences (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2011, p.2)**



However, with the increased interest of European colonisers in colonising African countries, colonial borders were created as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as in the example of Ceuta in northern Africa, and the Cape Colony in South Africa, which were systematically demarcated by the Portuguese and Dutch respectively, to separate their newly claimed territories from the indigenous African societies (MacDonald, 2012; Thomson, 2010).

Consequently, during the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, the African continent was partitioned according to the various European colonisers mentioned in Chapter One (Okumu, 2010). These borders were natural features such as mountain ranges or

rivers. For example, the Inyanga Mountains between Zimbabwe and Mozambique; the Limpopo, Nossob, Molopo, and Marico Rivers separating South Africa and Botswana, and the Okavango River separating Namibia and Angola. Furthermore, colonial borders were also divided along human-constructed borders, such as railways, canals, roads, etc., which demarcated the territories of the different colonisers. As British Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury affirmed in 1890, the European colonisers in Africa were:

Engaged in drawing lines upon maps were no white man's foot ever trod: we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediments that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were (Pratt, 2012, p.158)

This Eurocentric sentiment references racial anthropology, and it was such ideas that resulted in colonial borders not only symbolising physical separation, but also initiating ethnic divisions and engendering divisions among the African societies (Müller, 2020).

Moreover, the environment, contrary to conventional belief, does not only include wildlife, animals and land and marine ecosystems and is not devoid of human interaction (Smith, 1984). Rather, the built environment refers to the developed areas of land that have been manipulated by humans. Examples are cities, urban and rural areas. Considering the aforementioned definition of the built environment, contrary to the Eurocentric view that Africa was devoid of civilisation, a decolonial view affirms that cities with complex architectural structures existed in across pre-colonial Africa. For instance, Figure 2.2 identifies the major cities, including Kaditshwene and uMgungundlovhu in South Africa, and Rimuka and Danamombe in Zimbabwe.

**Figure 2.3 Major cities in pre-colonial Africa (Chirikure, 2020, p.50)**



Alternatively, the environment constitutes the built environment which is also termed as the ‘concrete jungle’, especially when referring to globalisation (Jagger, Sperling & Inwood, 2014). Furthermore, Heynen, Kaika & Swyngedouw (2006), assert that the environment is an intricate web of interaction between socio-spatial processes, which is constantly altering due to change in lifestyles, and in the case of African societies, such changes are ongoing from western colonialism, globalisation, neo-colonialism and so forth.

Furthermore, migration is a theme that navigated from pre-colonial Africa into colonial and post-colonial Africa. To elucidate, the colonisers enhanced “frontier fluidity” (Polat, 2011, p.1256) in that they freely moved within the African continent with no respect for

the existing settled African societies. Also during western colonialism, development of towns close to mining areas resulted in rural-urban migration and urbanisation (Reid, 2010). Presently, in contemporary African society there is the increased migration of foreign nationals into countries, resulting in xenophobic sentiments (Mafukidze, 2006).

## **2.6 Discourses of western colonialism in post-colonial Africa**

The remnants of western colonialism have filtered down through the generations and continue to influence all aspects of life in contemporary African societies. Thus I have included a section that speaks to the discourses of western colonialism as a phenomenon that continues to impact the African continent.

In an attempt to distinguish the colonial identity from that of their post-colonial situation, nation states created different markers and insignia representing their 'new' identity. These included the development of new flags, constitutions, anthems (Polat, 2011). After independence, the decision to change the names of countries from its colonial predecessors was the result of a conviction to rupture the epistemic bonds of western colonialism, and was representative of independence African-led political systems (Savage, 2020). Such examples included Zimbabwe, Namibia, Ghana, Djibouti, Burkina Faso, which were previously colonised respectively as Rhodesia, South West Africa, Gold Coast, French Somaliland and Upper Volta.

Essentially, colonialism, according to Khor (2000), resulted in globalisation and continues to expand the geographical reach of countries and companies across the globe, thus enduring the economic hold that western economic systems have on the African continent. The culture of dependency between the developing African continent and the developed Global North continues to prevail.

Furthermore, Tung-Yi (2009) is of the opinion that while western colonialism had led to the modern development of humankind, globalisation and greater interactions between different geolocations, the concept of development is still a psychological entanglement as a consequence of western colonialism.

Through colonialism, Chawane (2016), asserts that Africans were forced to renounce their origins, cultures, traditions – ultimately themselves – in exchange for western

ideologies. Therefore the question of identity is a complex one, and it is unreasonable to expect Africans to stop embracing western way of life for it has been instilled in them for centuries. Cobb, Jr. (1997), reinforces this view in that he states that African people have been viewing themselves as the colonisers have painted them to be. This, he mentions, includes the appropriation of African languages, cultures, attire, religious beliefs, and even names. Indeed, colonisers allocated names to the African individuals often based on biblical characters (Resane, 2018). To this day, many African societies continue the practice of naming their children with a traditional name as well with an English name, which is based on socio-cultural and historical interpretations of their communities' histories (Guma, 2001).

In respect of the religion of African societies, western colonialism has resulted in a heterogeneity of beliefs. For instance, some individuals continue to honour the AFREL, while others believe in the religion of their colonisers – that being Christianity or Islam in African countries. Still, other individuals embrace both, the AFREL and religion introduced by missionaries (Hart, 2015; Mokgobi, 2014).

Further to this, Colonialism can be seen in the presence of Eurocentric and western philosophies, education, ideologies, clothing, and way of life among others. An example is Christianity. Jesus Christ, the patron being, worshipped in the Christian religion, is presented as being classified as a white man, with light-coloured eyes and hair. However, considering that Christ was born and lived in the Middle East, he arguably would have had a darker complexion and resembled features of a man from the Middle East (Whitaker, 2018). The choice of features was, from a Eurocentric point of view, to illustrate that white is pure and good (Foste, 2020).

However, since colonialism African people were subject to acculturation (Huynh, Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2011) and religion was one aspect which was reoriented. For instance, in the case of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe the British and German colonisers subscribed to the Christian faith and therefore exposed the African people to Christian-based beliefs through missionaries (Bassil, 2011). The result is that presently, many South African people continue to practice AFREL, as well as subscribe to the Christian faith (Comoroff, 2008). This phenomenon can be related to the concept of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII), which according to Huynh, et.al

(2011), occurs among people who have been exposed to two cultures and have now internalised and integrated both cultures into their lifestyle. Cheng, Lee & Benet-Martínez (2006), stress that BII people incorporate components of both cultures and create a sense of oneness between the two cultures.

Primarily drawing on Edward Said's work, Gregory (1995), emphasises that the recognition of present-day spatial imagery has largely depended on how western colonisers have designed it. Moreover, Gueye (2018), asserts that the greatest negative impact of colonialism was the loss of ancestral indigenous land. Through forced alienation from their ancestral sites, African people lost that which was sacred to them and it irreparably affected their interaction with the natural environment and their belief systems. In present-day Africa, the environmental issues of undernourished soil, loss of biodiversity and ultimate land degradation can all be considered as the result of western colonialism and its exploitative practices on the African continent (Domínguez and Luoma, 2020).

## **2.7 Conclusion**

It is evident from the above prevailing scholarship discussed in this literature review that it is an undeniable fact that western colonialism continues to resonate through every sphere of African life. There was evidence of colonial intervention in the socio-economic, political, environmental and ideological areas of Africa, as well as disastrous impacts on natural and human resources. However, with the disruption of land, African societies lost their traditions and identities.

Furthermore, seeing as History textbooks are a key means of knowledge production in classrooms, they do provide a sense of African historiography with regard to western colonialism. The theoretical framework that will be used in this study will now follow.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the literature review for this study is separated into two chapters: the first of the two reviews (Chapter Two) focused on the discourses of western colonialism in Africa. Discourses of politics, economics, society, spatiality and warfare relating to western colonialism were explored. Subsequently, this chapter (the second of the two literature review chapters) will critically evaluate the relevant literature on school History textbooks.

Essentially, when teaching History, a major factor taken into consideration is that of different resources (Haydn, Arther and Hunt, 2001). To this end, the use of various teaching methods, more specifically the use of textbooks, in schools is still broadly practiced, and teachers assert that the textbook is, in fact, the most significant teaching and learning resource that they utilise (Kasmaienezhadford, Pourrajab, and Rabbani, 2015; Lam and Lim, 2001). Moreover, UNESCO (2017), emphasises that learning processes are generally shaped by textbooks, and since there are various ways in which textbooks are used, they produce different results.

In the light of the foregoing, this review of literature will focus on school History textbooks which refer to issues discussed in the previous chapter to make sense of those in the school History textbooks. Thus, this chapter is thematically structured, and will consider the production of school History textbooks, an examination of the content of school History textbooks, and will conclude this chapter with an evaluation of school history textbooks as a pedagogical tool.

#### **3.2 The production of school History textbooks**

To begin with, during the global expansion of western colonialism, various social agents determined the content of colonial textbooks (Gupta, 2007). These factors, he states, included colonial agency as well as the influence of colonial missionaries. This resulted in missionaries shaping the realities of indigenous African people. As such, Western hegemonic and Eurocentric narratives have continued to influence the post-

colonial nation states through the reproduction of content in instructional materials, textbooks being the primary of all (Kumaravalivedu, 2016). To this end, Gramsci (1971), asserts that the dominated can overcome subordination through “critical consciousness” and the will to act in a collective manner (Kumaravalivedu, 2016, p.76). In order to develop this critical consciousness, the dominated must become intellectual thinkers and therefore importance is placed on the role of education in cultivating independent thinkers (Gramsci, 1971 in Kumaravalivedu, 2016). When applied to the context of Africa, Gramsci’s critical consciousness theory assumes a decolonial sentiment to acknowledge the intellect of African societies.

In accordance with critical thinking, Paulo Freire in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, highlights the importance of critical dialoguing as a means of developing epistemic curiousness, resulting in an enquiring mind (Freire, 1970). Although written 53 years ago, Freire’s notion of dialoguing is still relevant, especially when applied to the engagement with History textbooks. To elucidate, Terra (2013), asserts that the source work and varying perspectives of issues in History textbooks enhance critical enquiry and active engagement with controversial narratives. Furthermore, critical engagement with History textbooks allow for the development of logical, coherent thinking thus improving learners’ cognitive and affective capabilities. By drawing upon Freire’s encouragement of critical pedagogy, decolonial sentiment could be applied in History and in doing so, combat colonial discourses in education.

The chief determinant that producers of school History textbooks work closely with is the official school curriculum (Greasney, 2006). This official school curriculum is developed by each countries’ governments, and school textbooks are approved accordingly through government power structures and socio-political objectives (Purwanta, 2017; Lässig, 2009). This implies that if the government want to drive forth particular knowledge with underlying agendas, they can achieve this through the official curriculum. As mentioned in Chapter One, the sample countries used in this study have their own curriculum. In terms of South Africa, the official school curriculum is the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), and is administered by the Department of Basic Education (DoBE). On the other hand, the National Curriculum for Basic Education (NBCE) is the official school curriculum in Namibia and is maintained by the Namibian Ministry of Education. In the case of Zimbabwe, the

Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education is overseen by the Zimbabwean Ministry of Education.

In the same token, school textbooks often reflect and legitimise the socio-cultural, political and educational reforms of a country (Angulo and Ascenzi, 2017; Bentreovato, & Chakawa, 2023; Lässig, 2009; Staeheli, & Hammett, 2013). The History textbooks, often to present culturally sensitive topics with the ultimate goal of developing a collective national identity, and a sense of belonging, and of the 'other' (Lässig, 2009). Angulo and Ascenzi (2017), go on to state that in countries such as Italy and Spain, the production of textbooks are generally compiled by groups who aim to be active participants in the political reform process; and the low procurement rate of these textbooks may be due to a "lack of conviction in the the knowledge imparted during the transitions" (Angulo and Ascenzi, 2017, p.12). This is an interesting comparison to African countries such as South Africa, whereby immediately after transitioning from an apartheid state, moved toward educational transformation while placing a great emphasis on the content in school History textbooks (Bentreovato & Wassermann, 2018; Engelbrecht, 2006; Fuchs & Bock, 2018; Ndille, 2018; Polakow-Suransky, 2002). Similar to the case studies mentioned above, South African textbook producers also aim to be active participants in the political transformation process. The difference lies in the fact that in South Africa, these politically transformed textbooks are widely procured and a conscious decision to do so is undertaken by schools around the country.

To add to the previous point of transformed post-colonial, History textbooks in several schools are out-dated and yet they are still being utilised (Grever & Van der Vlies, 2017; Ramoroka & Engelbrecht, 2015). Such out-dated textbooks, would undoubtedly influence the colonial socio-political knowledge disseminated to learners. For the most part, with the implementation of the History curriculum, prescribed content, skills, objectives and assessment have been altered from prior colonial curricula in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. This requires History textbooks to be directly aligned with the present-day curricula. However, schools that have been using dated History textbooks would have failed to recognise, establish and achieve the recommended expectations of postcolonial transformation.

Another issue that influences the production of school History textbooks is that a cosmopolitan climate in the world has now been established through the diverse dispersal of people all over the globe (Choo, 2018; Maxwell, et.al, 2020; Popke, 2007; Spector, 2015). This rapid and widespread movement of people initiates interchanging of ideas socio-economically, politically, environmentally and, most importantly, culturally. Globalisation and internationalisation are but two major processes, which are products of western colonialism in line with neoliberal and Marxist historiographies. Hence, the producers of school History textbooks could well be influenced by this current cosmopolitan climate in Africa.

In addition, Lässig (2009, p.3) maintains that History textbooks have a “tendency towards canonization”, which means that emphasis is placed on metanarratives, which have for a great part in African education, largely been influenced by Euro-North American hegemony. Thus, together with increased globalisation, there is a need for considering global accounts and narratives of colonialism and including these accounts and narratives (Buckner and Russel, 2013), as well as indigenous oral history in school History textbooks.

Further to this, school History textbooks have sort to blend the information in textbooks with digital interactive media (LaSpina, 1998). This is made possible via links to useful websites, activities, educational videos and so forth (Wassermann, 2017). Nevertheless, given the increase in digital platforms such as the internet, social media platforms and interactive software, learners can easily access content related to the topics that they are taught at school. This creates a dilemma for textbook publishers who must keep up with the changing interactive information that learners are exposed to (Borgman, 2007; Edwards, et.al. 2013).

Moreover, knowledge producers are competing for their knowledge to be most recognised, resulting in intellectual power struggles, and a lack of mutual respect for knowledge as a by-product of transformative thinking (Twalo, 2019; Weinberger, 2012). To elucidate, one of the most significant academic dilemmas challenging the History curriculum is that of the ‘History wars’, in which competing historiographies and narratives are influencing what and how learners understand international, and more importantly, their national history (Peterson, 2015).

Another side effect of the escalating use of digital platforms in relation to school History textbooks, is that the role of knowledge consumer and knowledge producers are not as distinct as in the past. This is because there are marginal restrictions, and encouragement of interaction on digital platforms to create a collective database (Weinberger, 2012). Considering this, learners who do additional research using digital platforms may be the catalysts for two possible scenarios in the History classroom. Firstly, learners may find something in the textbook that they would refute based on what they have read or watched via digital platforms. Alternatively, they may add to the existing information included in the textbooks. Both scenarios must be considered as reinforcing the learners' educational experience, as it would promote critical thinking, and develop historical skills. However, it is important for History teachers to help their learners verify the information since the quality and actual information may be questionable (Edwards, et.al. 2013), and help acquire an understanding of what reliable sources are and how to critically engage with them and electronic textbooks, or e-textbooks, can do just that. However, if the textbook publishers decide to embrace the digital realm, they can generate revenue from e-textbooks, thus aligning with neo-liberal views of market-related financial gains.

Nonetheless, as much as they may aid learning, History textbooks can be a source of propaganda and knowledge formation (Wodjon, 2017), especially if textbooks are the only resources used to teach History. In some instances, learners are taught solely with History textbooks and are therefore exposed to the singular perspective of what the textbook content offers. This in itself is highly debateable since by engaging with contrasting issues in school History textbooks learners would be exposed to multifarious views so as to achieve multiperspectivity – a key concept in History.

Additionally, textbooks can be considered as a market commodity that goes beyond the classroom setting (Chisholm, 2013; Stray 1994 in Lubben, 2003). This means that, one of the focal objectives of textbook producers is financial gain. Thus, they would have to consider that they might incur financial loss especially if they obtain royalties for every copy of the textbook sold. If financial gain is one of the key factors of textbooks publishers, they may end up producing textbooks with the content that the general public subscribes to. For instance, in Zimbabwean textbooks Zambia is not featured as a case study, even though it was a frontline state in the 1960s (Moma,

2009). The reason behind this is possibly the producers do not want to be in discord with the political agenda that lies in the fact that even though Zambia assisted ZANU, the former was not impressed when the latter began fights in Zambia. By producing school History books that are accepted by the educational practitioners, Departments of Education and other stakeholders, producers not only increase their profit margins, but they also add to the corruption of textbook selection (Chisholm, 2013), as is the case in the example above.

Consequently, in an attempt to guide a fair production of textbooks, Kasmaienezhadford, et.al (2015), advise that there are eight important characteristics that determine the quality of a textbook. The first four characteristics relate primarily to the formatting of the textbooks and includes the fact that the textbook must conform to guidelines of the curriculum policy; the textbook must be valid and reliable; the vocabulary, formatting and figures must be accurate and precise; and the topics must be arranged in a coherent and logical manner. The second four characteristics advocated by Kasmaienezhadford, et.al (2015), relate to educational value of school History textbooks and state that all elements in the textbook must encourage critical thinking; there must be opportunities in the textbook for learners to evaluate their understanding; the textbook must be accompanied with a teacher's guide or other guiding material and lastly, the textbook must be free of prejudice. Moreover, textbooks should ideally be relevant to the age, as well as encompass the voices of the socio-cultural backgrounds of learners for the country that the textbooks are produced (Richards, 2001).

Considering the above aspects of textbook production, it is also important for producers of school History textbooks to bear in mind that the History subject has a philosophical and theoretical commitment to uphold the multifaceted interpretations of the past that have emerged through various social practices (Zezeza, 1990). Admittedly this view may not agree with everyone, however, it is advised that textbook producers critique what information in particular related to western colonialism should be included. The other factor, which needs to be considered, is what the consequences are for all stakeholders (learners, teachers, parents, policy-makers and other educationalists) by engaging with the content included in textbooks regarding western colonialism in Africa.

### **3.3 Content in school History textbooks**

School History textbooks primarily consist of written text, which essentially refers to written documents (Meyer, et.al., 2018), and visual text which according to Meyer, (2018), relies on pictorial sources such as cartographical images, photographs, tables, among others. Therefore, I will discuss written and visual texts separately. However the reader must bear in mind that in most instances, textbooks use written and visual text as complementary to each other, often with the intention of enhancing the understanding of the other (LaSpina, 1998; Väisänen, 2008).

#### **3.3.1 Written texts in school History textbooks**

One of the main components of written texts is that of language. Fundamentally, during colonialism, language was legitimised by associating the dominant language with the ability to develop the process of reasoning (Williams, 2014). Furthermore, Halliday (2017, p.1), describes “native speakerism” as an ideology that represents the western hegemonic forces that are taught by teachers of English who incontrovertibly disseminated European worldviews. Holliday draws on Phillipson’s (1992), premise that “the concept of the ‘native speaker’ as a superior model and teacher was explicitly constructed by American and British aid agencies in the 1960s to support their agenda of spreading English as a global product” Halliday (2017, p.1).

Consequently, Kumaravadivelu (2016), challenges the present-day education systems that have been passed down from colonial forces. He states that the teaching methods used essentially determine the curriculum, materials, and assessment employed based on “the native speaker’s [indigenous African societies’] presumed language competence, learning styles, communication patterns, conversational maxims, cultural beliefs, and even accent as the norm to be learned and taught” Kumaravadivelu (2016, p.73).

Uncontrovertibly, language is a powerful means of conveying meaning. As such, language used in different discourses allude to various historiographies. For example, concepts such as globalisation, governance, economic divide, the information society, among others, relate predominantly to neoliberal and Marxist historiographies (Fairclough, 2010). Essentially, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe have been dominated by the English language through the process of British colonisation. In

2020, du Plessis, Bekker & Hickey (2020), affirmed that English is the rapidly growing lingua franca in South Africa. This has consequential implications not only for citizens, but also for the educational setting. Although English is a fast becoming a most spoken language, for most South African citizens it is not a first language (Alexander, 2021). Keeping this in mind, learners who speak English as a second language may struggle with understanding the laborious vocabulary and language conventions, which could prove challenging, especially to second language speaking learners (Peacock and Cleghorn, 2012). If all school History textbooks are written in the English language then this would be an impediment to the facilitation and development of learners' historical skills and understanding.

Substantively, language also plays a crucial role in how school History textbook content is interpreted and meaning is made (Wager, 2014). For example, in several post-colonial African countries, language policies have provided learners with the opportunity to be educated in their mother-tongue language. One such multilingual practice is code-switching which a method of teaching using the mother-tongue language in conjunction with the main medium of instruction, that may facilitate a greater degree of understanding (Benschop, 2020; Maluleke, 2019; Mawela & Mahlambi, 2021; Setati, et.al., 2002; Probyn, 2009; Young & Barrett, 2018).

In relation to this study, code-switching is used in all the sample countries. For instance, in some schools within the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, isiXhosa is code-switched with English (Benschop, 2020); schools in the Buhera South District in Zimbabwe code-switch between Shona and English (Chitiga, 2021); and in the Oshana Education Region in Namibia, teachers code-switch between Oshiwambo and English (Kamati, et.al, 2022).

Despite the clear educational advantages of code-switching, there exist two main challenges. To begin with, not all ethno-linguistic African societies are catered for in these language policies. For example, in Ghana majority languages such as Akan is used in conjunction with English, whilst minority languages such as Dagaare are omitted (Agbozo & ResCue, 2021; Bakuuro, 2020). Moreover, in Zimbabwe, minority language groups are face the risk of becoming endangered because the main languages taught at schools are Shona and Ndebele (Chitiga, 2021)

Following the marginalisation of minority languages, another challenge is conceptual incongruity. To explicate, some concepts do not have the same meaning when translated from the medium of instruction to the mother-tongue language and vice versa. For example, the isiZulu word *impi* translates to 'war' and 'battle' in English. Conceptually though, these are two different concepts which refer to different phenomena. Furthermore, while *Ukucelwa ukuzalwa* refers to the practice of requesting blood relations in Xhosa, the English translation refers to 'bride price' (Cakata & Ramose, 2021). Herein lies the problem with variation of interpretation through language in school History textbooks. Thus, arguably, colonial languages continue to impede the epistemic progression of African learners leading to the perpetuation of Eurocentric historiographies.

### **3.3.2 Visual texts in school History textbooks**

Meanings can be constructed not only through language, but also through visuals (Kress, 2003). With reference pictorial or visual text in History textbooks Coohill (2006), states that visual elements serve two main purposes in History lessons. Firstly it decreases monotony and boredom by creating a different, exciting change in pace; and secondly, visual texts help in the retention of content. According to Coohill, learners do this by using the visual text to visualise themselves within the past rather than in the present. In doing so, this helps them understand concepts especially of cause and causality and empathy better. While visual texts hold considerable educational value for learners, the understanding and interpretation of the visual greatly depends on individual inferences and interpretation (Mikkonen, 2005).

Moreover, visual texts, in particular, assist learners in creating their realities and may sometimes shape their identities and experiences (Kasmaienezhadfad, et.al, 2015; Yasina, et.al, 2012). This may present a polarity of views. To expound, a photograph illustrating African children as victims of colonialism, may inculcate submissive behaviour and a mentality that Europe continues to have definitive socio-economic power in Africa. This may result in learners becoming psychological slaves to the process of colonialism without even being directly influenced. Conversely, the same photograph may result in a deeper understanding of, for instance, why countries in Africa have varying societal norms and different cultural practices. Learners will understand that the cultural production of African countries have been influenced by

their respective colonisers. Similarly, in Malawian textbooks, the visual representation of women are underlined by the marginalised roles as wives and slaves (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015).

Furthermore, considering the importance of critical consciousness, textbooks, according to Kasmaienezhadford, et.al (2015), can initiate more active and constructive learning as compared to teachers. This is because textbooks present information in a manner which is exciting for learners. This motivates them and, in some instances, even prompts them to conduct further research into the topic under study. If the publishers choose, they may ensure that visual texts highlight concepts which they consider important. The impediment here is that in this way publishers are able to drive their own educational or political agendas, and since learners are able to swiftly absorb ideas, they may be influenced by the perspectives depicted by the visual texts.

Despite this, learners frequently view visual texts in school History textbooks prior to reading the related texts (Kasmaienezhadford, et.al, 2015). This may develop their ability to reason and enhance historical skills such as multiperspectivity, empathy and historical consciousness. Visual texts can also scaffold learners' understanding of concepts or events since it provides a visual stimuli which may prove helpful in creating (or recreating) the relevant textual explanation (Salbego, Heberle & da Silva Balen, 2015).

### **3.4 School History textbooks as a pedagogical tool in History education**

Essentially, Reeves (2005), builds upon the work of Bernstein and derived two pedagogical types, namely visible pedagogical styles and invisible pedagogical styles. The visible pedagogical style holds the teacher at the centre of the teaching and learning process. The teacher has authoritative and structural power over how content is organised, how long it should take to engage with each topic, what are expected of learners and the criteria with which to assess learners. On the other hand, the invisible pedagogical style views the teacher as a facilitator and makes use of an integrative approach whereby learners are allowed to actively engage with content and there are no standardised expectations of them. Emphasis is placed on equipping the learner

for life outside of school. Taking Reeves' (2005) pedagogical styles into account, I think that textbooks can assist in both.

History textbooks often have content knowledge and skills that educational practitioners want learners to acquire (UNESCO, 2010). This is especially true in the case of school curricula, where topics and assessments are included with driving specific socio-political and economic agendas (Saleem and Thomas, 2011). In the case of the South African History curricula, these agendas include societal transformation, equality, respect and a society that is based on the framework of Ubuntu which promotes unity and inclusion (Ide, Kirchheimera & Bentravato, 2018; Maposa, 2017; Samoff, 1999). Essentially, Lee (2013), asserts that curricula are generally centered on issues of social development which subsequently results in specific identity formation, ultimately resulting in a specific socialisation (Curdt-Christiansen, 2017).

On the other hand, Coquery-Vidrovitch (2014), argues that even in contemporary society, African children are generally required to learn the country's former colonial language together with their own mother tongue language. For instance, Zimbabwean children would learn Shona or Ndebele, as well as become familiar with the English language which was the language spoken by the British colonisers in the country. Considering this, it would seem that language and the linguistic ability of African learners play a pivotal role in how they comprehend History textbook content. This is especially in keeping with Jank (2005), who mentions that language can be viewed as a social practice. And if this is the case, we must consider why African children whose mother-tongue languages are not English, are exposed to History textbooks not written in African languages.

Further, according to UNESCO (2012), history textbooks should ideally assist in helping learners understand characteristics of societies, including religious and cultural pluralities. This idea is supported by Asante (Turner & Asante, 2002, p. 276), who asserts that it is imperative that Africans be involved in and develop their own scholarship so that they can "control" what is included and what is omitted depending on the message of liberation that they want to portray. In light of the aforementioned,

textbooks can primarily act as a supporting medium to the school curriculum (Lubben, Campbell, Kasanda, Kapenda, Gaoseb & Kandjeo-Marenga, 2003).

Primary sources are an essential component for constructing historical knowledge, therefore it adds value to school History textbooks in that learners can actively engage with the sources (Seixas and Morton, 2013). Ultimately, History textbooks do provide additional content information that may assist teachers such as stimulating assessments and visual texts including historical accounts, cartoons, imagery and so forth (Kazerooni and Tabatabaei, 2017). A sense of interest in the content will deepen and this may result in more learner involvement. More than the written content of History textbooks, the visual texts which are intended to supplement the text proves to have an influence over how learners understand (or misunderstand) the accompanying written text. The above have implications for what and how colonial discourses are manifested in school History textbooks.

Furthermore, historical events may often be represented differently in textbooks of different countries (Wager, 2014). For instance, the Namibian-South African war may represent Afrikaners as agents whereas, in Namibia, the Namibian societies may be seen as heroic and not as victims. Further, Andindilile (2016), affirms that colonisers and western conceptions of Africa and her people have distorted literary discourses of African philosophy and literature. This is especially the case with neoliberal texts influenced by the knowledge society often encourages a struggle of discourse between the self and social practices. In that there is a certain autonomy but that depends on construction of one's role and contribution in society (Fairclough & Graham, 2010).

The aforementioned is accentuated by the fact that textbooks have the strength to perpetuate negative stereotyping since it often reinforces the pre-existing perceptions of learners (Greaney, 2006). For instance, Kumaravadivelu (2016) is of the opinion that textbooks are the primary source through which the marginalisation of non-native speakers are achieved and maintained. Another key theme in textbooks is nationalism. According to Greaney (2006), this may pose as developing or deepening ethnocentrism in learners. This is because learners may hold their nationalities on higher esteem and disregard other nationalities with unequal treatment. This bias may

become instilled at a young age and will continue to influence their interactions with others as they grow older (Curd-Christiansen, 2017; Farr, 1986 in Greaney, 2006).

On the other hand, there has been an emergence of what Fairclough (2010, p.282) refer to as the new “planetary vulgate”, in which concepts that fall under this umbrella include globalisation, nationalism, liberalism, and so forth are words that people refer to on a daily basis albeit often without considering the respective underlying philosophies of those words which could often alter contexts and create different perspectives. Such misconception filters into school textbooks and could possibly result in learners inaccurately understanding of historical concepts.

In addition, according to Weinbrenner (1992, in Lubben, 2003), textbooks are a way to socialise learners and teachers. According to Cornbleth (2002), people tend to outwardly project their beliefs, and since children are impressionable at early stages of their development (Behnke, 2018; Greaney, 2006; Epstein 1997; Seixas, 1993), it is important to consider the way in which people in History are portrayed. For instance, depicting the colonised African people as victims may perpetuate them as presently being subservient (Fru, Wassermann and Maposa, 2013). Thus, the content that is presented to them in textbooks should be unbiased and historically accurate.

In essence, textbooks are useful particularly in developing countries where there may be a lack of effective teacher-training (Ahmadi and Derakhshan, 2018; Greaney, 2006) and teachers lack expertise in their subject matter. However, while textbooks may act as catalysts for critical thinking, without teachers’ explanations and clarification of the correct historical information, learners may accept the negative images perpetuated in textbooks. These may exacerbate disparaging opinions of the marginalised (Roberts-Schweitzer, 2006) and concurrently encourage the negative perceptions and accompanying discrimination that comes with seeing oneself in a superior light (Smith, 2006).

Furthermore, textbooks, do have the power to influence learners. However, in some cases textbooks do not work in isolation. For example, teachers are the inevitably responsible for guiding the content that learners are exposed to at school (Lepik, Grevholm & Viholainen, 2015). This means that if teachers are inadequately qualified

(Ahmadi and Derakhshan, 2018; Greansey, 2006) or if they have pre-existing opinions of politics and they wish to drive a particular agenda, they have the power to do so (Shrestha, et.al, 2019). A particular case would be Ghana, in which “the dominant political traditions in Ghana: the Nkrumahist and the Danquah-Busia traditions have featured prominently in the production and study of historical narratives” in Ghanaian textbooks (Adu-Gyamfi.and Anderson, 2021, p. 29).

### **3.5 Conclusion**

In summation, textbooks are agents of socialisation that have the power to either foster a sense of social cohesion and tolerance for people of other backgrounds, or create biased dispositions and ethnocentric disparities. Nonetheless, textbooks, when accompanied by other resources can wield the same aforementioned results. These resources include teachers who must have the necessary level of historical understanding to help learners navigate the content of the textbooks; and secondly, the curriculum, which act as an influencer of what content, is included in school textbooks.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 4.1 Introduction

The review of colonial discourses and historiographies in the foregoing chapters, forms an idea of the existing scholarship related to the study. The overarching research question for this study was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?* The present chapter thus discusses the theoretical framework that provided the lens through which the abovementioned research question was viewed and upon which the methodological considerations were based.

Essentially, there exist several varied views and expectations of the purpose served by a theoretical framework in qualitative research (Anfara and Mertz, 2015). Essentially, the purpose of a theoretical framework in a qualitative study is three-fold. Firstly, the chosen theory assists the researcher in understanding the complex ideas surrounding the phenomenon under investigation, and generally follows a descriptive narrative (Collins and Stockton, 2018; Goodman, 2010). Secondly, it acts as a lens through which to view the context of the study; and lastly, it asserts the researcher's epistemological inclinations (Collins and Stockton, 2018).

Furthermore, the theoretical framework serves to guide the study in terms of the research questions and design that would be best suited to guide the research process (Green, 2014). Moreover, the theoretical framework, according to Howell (2012), also acts as a source to which the researcher can validate their data. Ultimately, the objective of the theoretical framework is to offer guidance for the conceptual and methodological considerations of this study.

Considering the above presentation of views regarding the purpose of a theoretical framework, the theoretical framework for this study consists of two theories: the theory of decoloniality and postcoloniality. Incontrovertibly, colonialism, as a historical construct, foregrounds this study. However, in relation to my key research question: *to what extent are the prevailing discourses of western colonialism reflective of*

*contemporary decolonial historiographies?*, I specifically seek to conduct a decolonial critique on the discourses of colonialism in the school History textbooks from South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Hence, considering the abovementioned nature of my study, by positioning the theoretical framework within the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality, my study will be more informed in terms of answering my overarching question as stated above.

My rationale for drawing upon the theory of decoloniality is that its tenets directly speak to issues of coloniality and decoloniality, which are both key to understanding the concept and contextualisation of the theory of decoloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Naturally, concepts no matter how relevant they may be, may not always be applied to multitudinous contexts (Colpani, Muscat & Smiet, 2022). This is certainly the case of my study: while the theory of decoloniality frames my research questions, it may not directly extrapolate to the context of Africa, which is the geolocational focus of this research. Thus, I have cogitated the theory of postcoloniality and I believe that its application to the context of my study would be significant.

Furthermore, Mignolo (2011) postulated that decoloniality and postcoloniality could be considered as congruous perspectives that share the goal of societal change. Despite this, I do acknowledge that there are divergences in the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality. Whilst postcoloniality may not be effectively applied to material realities of Africa and may be too discursive, it adds value to my study by exemplifying the construct and subsequent implications of post-colonial African identities (Ogunyankin, 2019). Considering the above, this chapter will focus on the main tenets the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality, and the application of these two theories to Africa and to this study.

#### **4.2 The main tenets the theory of decoloniality**

Essentially, the theory of decoloniality came to light at the end of the 20th century and is derived largely from the Latin America critical theory (Passada, 2019) which encourages self-reflection as a means of attaining emancipation and readdressing past injustices (Devetak, 2013; Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2010). The theory of decoloniality has been used extensively by Latin American theorists; including Arturo Escobar, Ramon Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Walter Mignolo and Anibal

Quijano; who critically engaged in debates about decoloniality in a Latin American modernity/ colonialism research programme (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019). Decoloniality essentially focuses on perspectives of indigenous societies, in this study African societies, rather than of the colonisers (Mignolo, 2013).

Consequently, from these debates, three key tenets of coloniality have been derived, namely the coloniality of power, the coloniality of being, and the coloniality of knowledge (Keskinen and Andreassen, 2017). The matrix establishes the key areas of life that must be dismantled to engage in decoloniality. While Quijano (2007, p.169) asserts that the colonial matrix of power “acts in the interior that imagination of the dominated”, Valenzuela (2019), contests that the matrix may also apply to the dominant group. Consequently, by addressing these tenets, African societies may be in a better position to engage in active decolonial practice and ideology. Thus, this section will be structured according to these three key tenets of coloniality, to provide a logical discussion of the development and application of the theory of decoloniality.

#### **4.2.1 Coloniality of power**

To begin with, even though Quijano (2007), wrote in the context of South America, coloniality of power is a concept that holds racial discrepancies at the centre of the socio-economic ills faced by the global south as a whole, including Africa (Arenas, 2011). De Oliveira Andreotti (2012), further emphasises that Eurocentric modernity has resulted in power discrepancies within and among African countries.

Correspondingly, Prakash (1999), posits that colonial rationality provided the most logical functioning of colonial structures, as opposed to indigenous fundamental thinking. Correspondingly, Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013, 110), support this idea, and state that coloniality was a means of destroying alternate African traditional knowledge while “appropriating what it considered useful to global imperial designs”. These ideas can be reinforced by the sustainable way in which sub-Saharan African lived. Collecting underground water in ostrich eggs were an intelligent way of promoting sustainable living (Rudner, 1953). According to western thought, however, such practices were a reflection of the “barbaric other” (Mgbeoji, 2006, p.855). In 2006,

Fundamentally, hegemony is a concept that decoloniality attempts to overcome. The ideology of hegemony was first established in Ancient Greece, but was later revived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Antonio Gramsci – a Marxist politician (Houssay-Holzschuch, 2020). Essentially hegemony occurs when two opposing communities interact in which one holds dominance and power over the other, and when ideological and cultural indoctrination occurred (Houssay-Holzschuch, 2020; Kurtz, 2001) at the expense of loss of identity of the oppressed group. Hegemony may occur in non-intentional ways, however, Engelstad (2001), explains that even “when no discriminatory behaviour takes place, forms of pseudodiscrimination may occur”. An example may be the use of the colonial language, which ultimately does express a form of discrimination to the indigenous languages.

Moreover, it was through hegemonic practices, that the colonising forces were able to maintain their economic and political statuses in the colonised societies (Green, 2002, in Kumaravalivedu, 2016). Hegemonic distinctions are often visible in organisational texts and discourses (Fairclough, 2010). One of the most evident features of colonialism in Africa was cultural hegemony. Furthermore, naturalised ideologies may manifest into discourses, and this could validate and sustain hegemonic practices (Fairclough, 2010).

On that account, Collins (2017, 23) attempts to provide a holistic definition of decolonisation. He states that decolonisation is the unfolding collapse of the co-operative arrangements of previous colonial forces. This cessation of imperial gain, inevitably led to the impediment of colonial control. Moreover, Fanon (1963, 33), asserts that “the proof of success [of decolonisation] lies in a whole social structure being changed from the bottom up”, and it includes a reconstruction of vital values, institutions, and history to end the cultural amnesia and revitalise the collective African identity.

Accordingly, decoloniality, according to Kumaravalivedu (2016), indicates the need for anti-hegemonic interventions through socio-intellectual actions. However, before taking such action, it is imperative that the colonised fully comprehend that their own intellect was sabotaged by western narratives and by reproducing such narratives, the colonised are recreating an environment whereby it is expected and natural for them

to draw upon colonial-linked Eurocentric narratives rather than highlight their own (Kuamaravalivedu, 2016).

This corresponds with Jeane-Paul Satre, an Afro-French progressivist, philosopher and psychiatrist, who in the preface to Frantz Fanon's book, *The wretched of the earth* in 1963, described the colonial process as a power-filled European colonial process. He stated:

The European elite undertook to manufacture a native elite. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of Western culture; they stuffed their mouths full with high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to the teeth. After a short stay in the mother country they were sent home, whitewashed. These walking lies had nothing left to say to their brothers; they only echoed. From Paris, from London, from Amsterdam we would utter the words "Parthenon! Brotherhood!" and somewhere in Africa or Asia lips would open "...thenon! ...therhood!" It was the golden age (Satre, 1963, 6).

In the light of Satre's view of western colonialism, young Africans inevitably returned to Africa from the African diaspora as proxies of the European powers. Identities of these young Africans were appropriated, and their epistemes manipulated into realising the colonial goals, as Fanon and several other scholars have concurred.

Moreover, according to Gwaravandal and Ndofirepi (2020), Africans first need to engage in a self-understanding of African philosophies in order to fully overcome Eurocentric thought, as the aim is to reconstruct the indigenous African with their core African philosophies and values. Prakash (1999), is in agreement and affirms that discursive and administrative practices that were encompassed by colonial practices and policies must be completely removed in order to achieve decoloniality from the coloniality of power.

#### **4.2.2 Coloniality of being**

In relation to understanding the practice of coloniality of being, Collins (2017, p.17), situates the decolonial construct in the realities of life. He states:

While decolonisation had particular, specific causes and effects in different African settings, it was also shaped by wider, structural dimensions of empire that may be seen as systemic: the political and economic relationship between imperial 'core' and colonial 'periphery'; the colonial state in terms of its bureaucratic structure; ideologies of governance, 'development' and race; and emancipatory narratives of anti-colonial freedom and nationhood. Many of these aspects of empire and decolonisation cut across particular imperial or national contexts and point us towards complex chronologies of change.

The factors that Collins mentions above, not only influenced African societies during colonialism, but it continues to govern the present-day lifestyle of these people. This is due to the fact that western colonialism fragmented the innate identities of African societies and replaced their traditional cultural heritage (Fabian, 2014; Houssay-Holzschuch, 2020; Kurtz, 2001; Utsey, Abrams, Opare-Henaku, Bolden & Williams III, 2014).

Furthermore, coloniality of being essentially meant entrenched racial segregation and engendered group inequalities and class divisions that most often than not resulted in an inferiority complex and despair (Césaire, 2001; Elkins, 2005; Okon, 2014). Hence, decoloniality encourages Africans to be comfortable in their own skin – to acknowledge that they were physically beautiful in contrast to the consistent degradation of their races which racism was based (Murrey, 2020).

To address the above coloniality of being, the concept of intersectionality may be used to understand the coloniality of being. Although predominantly used in gender studies (Al'Uqdah, et.al, 2019; Batist, 2019; Meer & Müller, 2017; Waller, et.al, 2022), I apply intersectionality to coloniality of being since it refers to the multidimensionality of individuals' identities. In Africa, these identities are often of the oppressed, such as race, gender, ethnicity and class, among others (Gouw, 2017; Moolman, 2012). As a result of this plurality of identities, the intersection at which they meet determines the individual's worldviews (Meer & Müller, 2017). Arguably, post-colonial African societies continue to exist in a state of multiple identities which are engendered in a condition of perpetual oppression, such as racial hierarchy, class inequality, ethnic discrimination, gender discrimination (Alexiou, et.al, 2020; Dube, 2020; Koot, 2020; Mwetulundila, 2022; Nenjerama, 2021; Okenwa-Emegwa, 2023; Sechele, 2022; Tshishonga, 2019).

Further to intersectionality, decoloniality is a mechanism to decolonise the previously colonised episteme to prevent further repercussion of western narratives in the historically colonised countries (Escobar, 2010). Mignolo (in Karkov and Robbins, 2014), posits that through the lived experiences of the colonised, oppressed people can develop strategies to break free of the western hegemonic episteme and this can be referred to as the “grammar of decoloniality”. Kuamaravalivedu (2016), explains that through the grammar, or understanding, of decoloniality, local people should be cognisant of local conditions and knowledge production of their own people.

According to Asante (Turner & Asante, 2002), Africans must develop a sense of integrity to their beliefs and ancestors. He referred to this sense of integrity as cultural fidelity. Considering the fact that I will be using a decolonial perspective to conduct this study, I welcome the White Paper’s (2017) support to re-establish African Knowledge Systems (AKS) in society. This initiative aims to integrate AKS into the formal arts, culture and heritage policy. In doing so, the objective is to decrease western hegemony, promote African cultural systems and ultimately develop African agency.

Cultural policies play an imperative role in society as these policies present cultural values of communities. In doing so it fosters a relationship of respect, tolerance and understanding between diverse peoples and politics (Mulcahy, 2016). My study relates to international cultural policies in that I will explore ideas of cultural sustainability and epistemic agency. I will engage in discourses within school History textbooks that affect (and could affect) global societies, especially concerning issues of oppression, poverty, social cohesion, effective socio-cultural transformation, national and global pride, and policies that encourage positive interaction and agency to the physically and epistemically enslaved.

#### **4.2.3 Coloniality of knowledge**

Western colonialism physically and psychologically besieged people and environments of the world, notwithstanding the African continent (Steinmetz, 2008). Thus, African societies were not only physically affected, they were also epistemically restrained. Asante (2006), is in agreement and states that colonisation of the mind was the ultimate subjugation of western colonialism in Africa. Moreover, Bulhan (2015) asserts that the colonial legacy in Africa has resulted in the continent’s people

presently accepting unanalysed historiographies, imagery and tales of how and what they should be perceived as. To accentuate this point, Cobb, Jr. (1997, 122), maintains that Black people worldwide have suffered from “cultural amnesia”, referring to the gradual loss of one’s initial heritage.

Secondly, in terms of knowledge production, Mignolo (2003 in Bulhan, 2015), believes that coloniality hinges on ontological and epistemological biases that validate European superiority and hegemonic practices, while at the same time marginalising and aberrating the human rights, knowledge and experiences of the colonised. At the same time, there exists a direct correlation between Eurocentric production of knowledge and modernity (Keskinen and Andreassen, 2017), which may accentuate ongoing white supremacist indoctrination. For instance, engendered class differences which continue to plague African societies (Ncube & Shimeles, 2012).

Consequently, in the 2002 book, *Africanizing knowledge: African studies across the curriculum*, edited by Falolo and Jennings, a call is made for African scholars to make a conscious attempt to move away from Eurocentric and western ideologies and academic practices. They assert that it is very likely that the varied narratives of African experiences may inform African researchers and scholars’ praxes. Aspects such as African scholars’ roles within the academic and social communities, their choice of methods of research and of sources, as well as literary style all play a crucial role in aligning to the social context of local Africans for whom they are researching. Each of the abovementioned components mentioned by Falolo and Jennings (2002), is undeniably connected to their respective traditions, assumptions and preferences which requires a further understanding of the African population and that would encourage advancement in decolonial discourse.

Further to this, a decolonial pedagogy and methodology for the purpose of critically engaging learners with non-hegemonic epistemologies needs to include “radical Indigenism” (Garrouette, 2003, p.10). Although used in the context of the hegemony of American-Indians, radical Indigenism concisely encapsulates the place of traditional knowledge systems in contemporary societies. Essentially, radical Indigenism emphasises the reconstruction of school information based on traditional knowledge, and affirms that indigenous societies do, in fact, have the necessary means to produce

knowledge, including critical enquiry, evaluation and synthesis. According to the proponent of Radical Indigenism, Garrouette (2003), there are three sources of indigenous knowledge. These include, the narratives of the community elders; oral histories; and ancestral worldviews.

Radical Indigenism directly correlates with indigenous science, a worldview that advocates the interrelationship between the perception of the physical world, and the metaphysical realm should be included in knowledge production (Gorelick, 2014; Hart, 2010; Hatcher, et.al., 2009). Similarly, Santo & Tassi (2013) are of the opinion that indigenous knowledge systems encompass predominant paradigms related to processes of social formation, relationality between the material world and the spiritual realm, and fluidity in terms of the interaction with the natural environment.

Moreover, to allow for decolonial perspectives, there needs to be an increased “biocultural reformulation” (Darder, 2015, p.66), meaning that the metanarratives of History that continue to signal to Eurocentric historiographies, must be challenged. The normative widely-held and accepted western philosophies must be critically analysed and in some cases disrupted.

Contrary to mainstream belief, decoloniality does not mean the complete eradication and abolishment of western ideologies (Held, 2019). Rather it relates to the acceptance and promotion of indigenous epistemologies to create universality (Acosta, 2018). Nevertheless, there are implications of a merger between western knowledge and traditional knowledge. To elucidate, similar to the physical process of western colonialism, traditional epistemologies may be suppressed while western knowledge would be more actively engaged with (Thambinathan & Kinsella, 2021). Further, traditional knowledge may lose its cultural legitimacy, again creating a diluted version of traditional knowledge. Therefore, the process of decolonising educational systems could ideally occur through “epistemological Equity” (Dei, 2008), which encourages the active engagement of discourses of power struggles and oppression as a means to consequently produce counter-hegemonic, non-western knowledge.

### **4.3 The main tenets the postcoloniality**

In this section, I will present a critical discussion on the second theory informing my theoretical framework, namely, the theory of postcoloniality. My rationale for including postcoloniality in my theoretical framework is that despite its undeniable relevance to my study, decoloniality does not comprehensively situate itself in the African context. Decoloniality should not be confused with postcoloniality. While the former is positioned in a non-Euro-North western critical paradigm influenced by concepts of coloniality of power, trans-modernity, border thinking and delinking, postcoloniality is situated in poststructuralist thought (Acosta, 2018). Therefore by applying postcoloniality to my study, I seek a relevant holistic anti-colonial theory to support the decolonial tenet of informing the present-day negative consequences of colonialism, Euro-North American modernity, and other struggles faced by the global oppressed community in the 21<sup>st</sup> century . A brief discussion of postcoloniality was presented in Chapter One, however in this section I expand on the postcoloniality theory.

To begin with, postcoloniality does not necessarily indicate the end of western colonialism (Hall, 1999). Rather it is a period of acknowledgement of the oppressed and silenced Global South (Mishra and Hodges, 2005; Spurr, 1993). Furthermore, western accounts of Africa have for a long time gone largely uncontested, however in post-colonial Africa, Africans from all spheres of life are bringing the 'real Africa' to light (Andindilile, 2016). According to Larsen (2000), when referring to the 'real' or the 'imagined' Africa, postcoloniality celebrates the liberation of the previously captured territories of the colonised nations. This implies that postcoloniality is an emancipatory ideology. Accordingly, postcoloniality places emphasis on discursive practices rather than materialities of Africa (Nkomo, 2011).

Primarily due to the fact that most indigenous African societies had no written account of their past, colonisers claimed that the African colonies were people who had no past and were without a history (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2014; Ngcongco, 1980; Trevor-Roper, 1965). The result was that during the post-colonial period non-Africans especially from countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, attempted to create African historiographies from oral traditions (Ngcongco, 1980). This was done as an attempt to revise colonial historiographies of Africa.

Müller (2013: 51), mentions “politics of remembrance” which he explains occurs when those in politics try to redress the negative implications of colonialism. However, not always do “politics of remembrance” seek to bring justice to all stakeholders. For instance, in 2005, the French government adopted into law, a greater recognition of the country’s role in Africa in the school curriculum. This is included in Article 4 of the *Assemblée Nationale de France* and states that “the school programmes recognise in particular the positive role of France’s presence overseas, notably North Africa” (Horelt, 2015, p.204). This implies that the French government perhaps realises that when engaging in a globalised arena, they should have no embellishments on their records regarding their negative actions during colonialism in Africa, more particularly in Algeria (Horelt, 2015).

Furthermore, using postcoloniality as her point of departure, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1992), enunciates epistemic violence as the undermining of authentic discourses of, in her context of Indian women, by colonial manoeuvres. This concept of epistemic violence can be applied to indigenous people of colonised nations, including African societies. Likewise, postcoloniality considers the narratives of indigenous minorities whom were affected by the colonisers (Bhabha, 1992).

Correspondingly, the explanation of postcoloniality by Ambesange (2016), aligns with the abovementioned views in that he affirms that postcoloniality analyses the processes of colonialism, as well as the corollaries that followed. Moreover, Nielson (2020), states that postcoloniality acknowledges the intellectual impedimenta that were widely shaped by western thinking and continues to influence the present-day colonised societies. More than that, postcoloniality attempts to redress the negative consequences of colonialism, and aims to reconstruct the lost identities of the indigenous peoples who were affected by colonialism (Ambesange, 2016).

Additionally, subalternity is often associated with postcoloniality and can be applied to the theory of postcoloniality in that subalterns, such as the colonised African societies, were limited in their acquisition of knowledge even after independence (Spivak, 1988). This is because during their post-colonial attempts to develop their own intellectual ideologies, they still had to draw upon western theories and thus the cycle of “epistemic violence” was perpetuated by the colonisers Spivak (1988, p.283). Furthermore,

Neklessa (2021), confirms that postcoloniality views subalterns as developing either one of two identities: assimilation by subjugation or submission.

Similarly, also situated in a different theory, namely Orientalism, Edward Said contributed to the theory of postcoloniality by highlighting the necessity to re-evaluate Eurocentric canons of knowledge. In his book, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said emphasised his inner tensions of identity during post-colonial society as he was born in Palestine, but thereafter lived a life as an exiled refugee in the United States (Yacoubi, 2005).

Postcoloniality considers that despite the cessation of formal western colonialism in Africa, there still exists “colonial durabilities” which refer to the lingering colonial structures and influence of colonial sentiment (Murrey, 2020). Moreover, postcoloniality proposes globalisation to be an extension of the colonial sentiment as the process of interconnecting countries, still create a dependency of developing countries to the economically developed countries (Lalu, 2007; Tikly, 2001). Thus, Grosfugel (2007), asserts that decoloniality aims to eradicate the lingering colonial administration and western hegemony which continues to present itself in the post-colonial world.

Olukoshi (2004), explained that at the time, that African research had not been consulted when international policies were established. By not creating inclusive opportunities for African researchers, the international community has restricted Africa as a continent especially in terms of economic, and understanding of the activities, lifestyle and philosophies of African societies.

Minority groups, in the postcoloniality, refers to the social dynamics of peoples rather than the number of people. To expound, if referring to race groups in South Africa, the majority would be Black South Africans. However, Black South Africans would be a minority group in the socially dynamic sense since they were principally oppressed by western colonialism. Thus, minority groups in Africa are the colonised peoples of African nation-states who were subjected to the negative physical, epistemic and emotional impacts of western colonialism (Schaefer, 2015).

Postcoloniality, according to Bhabha (1990), is a concept that should also include the 'hybrid' which includes transnational and translational groups of people. In other words, Bhabha considers postcoloniality as the direct collaboration between colonised societies and those in the diaspora, and advocates an anti-colonial narrative by expressing the need for voices to be given to the marginalised populations (Mishra and Hodges, 2005). Hybridity also considers that the colonial experiences manifested in heterogeneous ways and would not have resulted in clear, unequivocal identities (Ravishankar, et.al., 2013).

In keeping with the concept of 'hybridity', in the context of contemporary Africa the concept refers to the awareness that African societies are currently situated in a complex fragmented identity which attempts to establish a synchronism between the African traditional identities and the influence of hegemonic western cultures (Balaji & Thenmozhi, 2023; Dadugblor, 2020; Gopal, 2023; Kuortti & Nyman, 2007; Nafafé, 2020). In other words, African societies have been assimilated into western economies, and have adopted the lifestyles and cultures from the Global North. For example, in the case of the sample countries, the South Africans, Namibians and Zimbabweans speak English, and dress in western attire. Naturally, there are some groups who still uphold the lifestyle of their pre-colonial ancestors. Nonetheless, through the generations, majority of Africans have been immersed, and somewhat acculturated, into the cultural practices of western colonialism (Adams & Vijver, 2017).

#### **4.4. The application of the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality to my study**

To this end, decoloniality and postcoloniality are most suited to framing my study considering that my objectives were to firstly, deconstruct the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks; secondly, to identify how the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies; and lastly to explore why these discourses and historiographies are manifested in the way that they are. As a theoretical framework, decoloniality and postcoloniality provide a framework from which I apply to the findings of my study to help achieve a decolonial perspective in the post-colonial African context.

Considering that educational institutions at all levels are spaces for the exploration and analysis of knowledge, they become by default, “important zones of [ontological and epistemic] struggle” for students (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p.3). This occurs because students enter a space away from their communities’ and are exposed to new knowledge. Not all the knowledge they attain will correctly reflect a change from colonial processes, and they therefore collaborate to demand for decolonisation.

Accordingly, during 2015 and 2016, student protests in South African Higher Education Institutions were held nationwide (Council on Higher Education, 2017). These protests functioned as catalysts to the transformation of curriculum to promote decolonisation. Understandably, these protests were initiated by the first generation of children born in the democratic South Africa, known as ‘born-frees’, who wished to see the transposition of hegemonic structures from historically advantaged representatives to previously disadvantaged figures (Council on Higher Education, 2017). As a consequence, the nature of curricula became one of societal and educational importance.

Paramount to creating a decolonised curriculum, was to understand what this curriculum would look like. Hence, decolonisation of education was seen through multiple heterogeneous lenses. For some, it was the removal of Eurocentrism and the direct inclusion of Afrocentrism (Council on Higher Education, 2017). On the other hand, it signified the focus on indigenous knowledge, and micro-level activities (Council on Higher Education, 2017). Conversely, it indicated that educational material would be more locally-produced than internationally-obtained (Council on Higher Education, 2017).

This impetus for creating a decolonial curricula has also encouraged more African intellectuals to become actively involved in the production of local knowledge (Nkoane, 2006). This concern over the role of education in promoting a decolonial perspective in the education context was not only confined to Higher Education Institutions. The Council on Higher Education (2017), states that a decolonial curriculum is one that shifts powerful global structures of knowledge while incorporating values, identity, nature and contextual realities. Although speaking in the context of Higher Education

Institutions, I support that the above concept of a decolonised curriculum is decidedly applicable to basic educational institutions.

Furthermore, According to Mbembe (2016), to decolonise curricula is to essentially Africanise education. According to Nkoane (2006, 54), this means relating education to “the African experience and the societal needs which have emanated and continue to emanate from such experiences”. One such example of an African scholar who wanted to advance the African perspective of decoloniality was Kenyan writer, Ngugi wa Thiong’o, who after publishing his last English piece of literature, *Petals of Blood*, began writing only in his native language, Gikuyu (Sharpe, 2000).

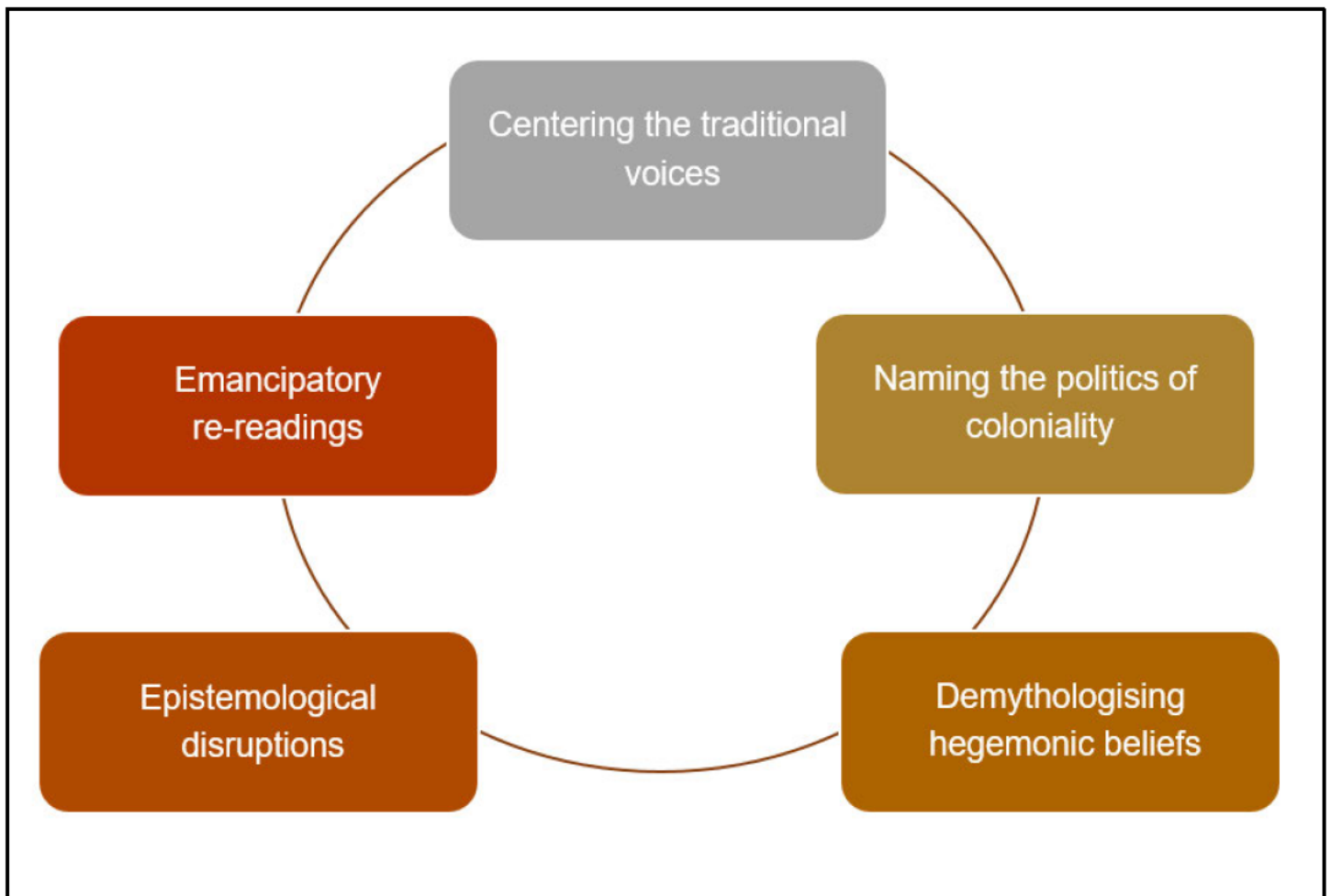
Satre (1963) and Cobbs, Jr (1997), both mentioned cultural amnesia in section 4.2 of this chapter, which refers to the loss of one’s initial heritage. In contemporary societies, it may be true that some societies are experiencing the loss of culture, however, given the historiographies such as Afrocentrism and African Revisionism, that were discussed in Chapter One of this study, there is evidence of an increased awareness and a sense of ‘Africanness’ in contemporary Africa.

Since this study is based in the context of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), more especially in the context of colonised countries, the most appropriate knowledge in these textbooks should be primarily governed by African epistemology. The theory of decoloniality and postcoloniality therefore guides the study in assuming a position that promotes African epistemologies rather than foregrounding Euro-North American knowledge in school History textbooks.

In keeping with the above critique of the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality, I have drawn upon the proposed principles of a decolonising interpretive framework (Darder, 2019), and the principles of postcoloniality (Ravishankar, et.al., 2013) as a way of theoretically situating this study within the two theories.

To begin with, the decolonising interpretive framework is situated in the post-colonial domain while applying decolonial mechanisms, and thus it applied directly to my study. Figure 4.1 depicts a visual representation of the principles of the decolonising interpretive framework, thereafter an explanation of each principle will follow.

**Figure 4.1 A visual representation of the principles of a decolonising interpretive framework (Adapted from Darder, 2019)**



The first principle, *centering the traditional voices*, acknowledges that traditional wisdom, knowledge and ultimately the power of indigenous societies such as the African societies, were restrained and often silenced due to western colonialism (Hernandez, 2019). By allowing the previously silenced to speak, an increased agency is being developed.

The second principle, *naming the politics of coloniality*, evinces that contemporary indigenous societies are burdened with the colonial structures that have been sustained. Such structures include perceptions of society as the other, in terms of race, gender, religion, worldviews and indigenous ideologies (Bautista, 2019). In Africa, there is evidence of continuing colonial structures of division.

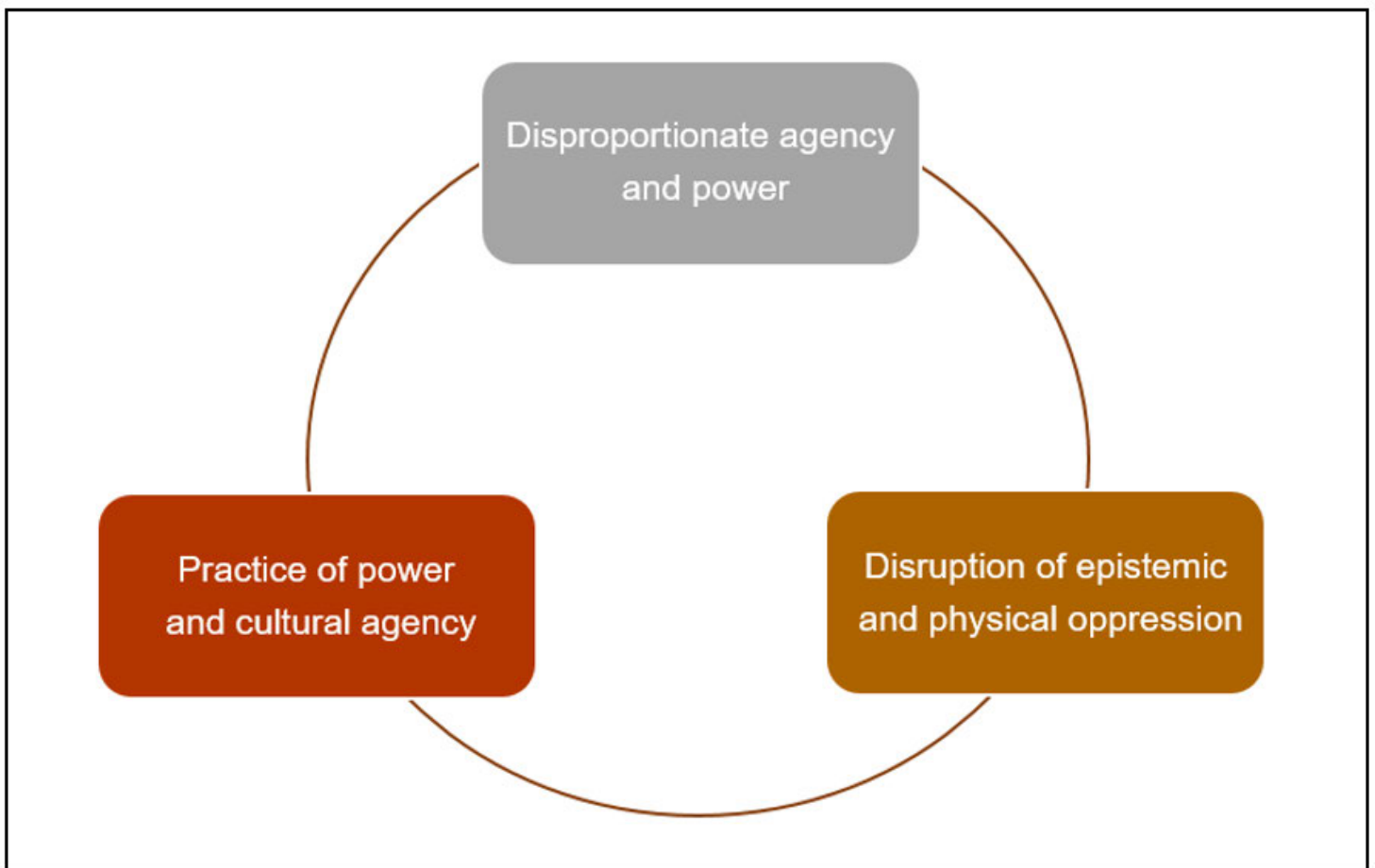
Thirdly, Bergeron (2019), asserts that for indigenous societies to regain agency and engage in the process of empowering themselves, they must begin by implementing the third principle, *demythologising hegemonic beliefs*. In other words, inherent structures and symbols of western colonialism must be challenged with the purpose of dismantling hierarchies of power.

The fourth principle, *epistemological disruptions* entail initiating a necessary epistemological shift in the contemporary society that engenders the notion of the Global north as having prominent, acclaimed knowledge, and the Global South that is representative of unjustified knowledge systems (Pirayesh, 2019). This is evident in contemporary African societies where there is a constant struggle between African traditional knowledge and the western cultural influence.

Lastly, there needs to be decolonisation of society through the fifth principle, *emancipatory re-readings* (Sales, 2019). Here, African societies should be encouraged to actively initiate their own means of knowledge production that deconstructs the hegemonic emphasis on western cultures.

Subsequently, Figure 4.2 below reflects three major principles of the theory of postcoloniality. Each of these principles will be discussed below.

**Figure 4.2 A visual representation of the principles of postcoloniality (Adapted from Ravishanker, et.al., 2013)**



Firstly, postcoloniality attempts to understand the *disproportionate agency and power* of racially, financially and politically marginalised societies (Tsibolane & Brown, 2016). This principle considers the role of Said's Orientalism, as discussed earlier in this chapter, in contesting Eurocentrism (Ravishanker, et.al., 2013).

The second principle, acknowledges that European elites have created a gross misrepresentation of the racially, financially and politically marginalised groups, resulting in subalterns, as discussed earlier in this chapter (Tsibolane & Brown, 2016). Hence, this principle encourages African renaissance through the active involvement of African intelligentsia and the acquisition of voice within these societies to ensure emancipation, and a *disruption of epistemic and physical oppression* (Maposa, 2014; Ravishanker, et.al., 2013).

Lastly, postcoloniality creates an awareness of hybridity among marginalised societies living in post-colonial situations. As discussed earlier in this chapter, by considering the fact that not all societies had a homogenous experience of western colonialism, multifarious identities emerged creating loss of agency (Tsibolane & Brown, 2016). Thus, this principle emphasises the importance of reinforcing resistance, resilience and adaptability with a greater *practice of power and cultural agency* of marginalised societies (Ravishanker, et.al., 2013).

The choice of drawing upon the frameworks of decoloniality and postcoloniality is that the fusion of the two frameworks provide a theoretical underpinning that, in keeping with the critical paradigm, exist in a world of polarities: the powerful versus the powerless, the agents versus the victims, and the emancipated versus the oppressed (Scotland, 2012). Therefore, to address these polarities, I believe that the frameworks of decoloniality and postcoloniality could conscientised me to issues of whose voice appears most in the school History textbooks, as well as hegemony, epistemic disruptions, hybridity, emancipation and agency. While I acknowledge that some aspects overlap between the frameworks of decoloniality and postcoloniality, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, postcoloniality attempts to provide a greater perspective of contemporary African educational politics. There are also aspects that assist were the other framework lacks, for instance, postcoloniality stresses more on agency, and this may help achieve the decolonial principles of centering the indigenous voice and achieve emancipatory re-readings. Considering the above rationale, the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality will contribute equally to the findings, interpretation and explanation (Chapters 6-8) of this study.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

Ultimately, decolonial and postcolonial praxes can be enhanced in through the use of textbooks, and since textbooks are the most frequently used resource in the History classroom, they should ideally be Africanist in nature. Decoloniality in the context of my study challenges existing discourses and its Euro-North American hegemonic underpinnings. Similarly, postcoloniality critiques epistemic hegemony in the colonial context. After decades of post-colonial leadership, epistemologies and values in African textbooks should have transformed in order to embrace a more African-centred curriculum. Such a curriculum would be best suited to accommodate the

epistemological advancement of African learners within the context of post-colonial Africa.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE METHODOLOGICAL MAP**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

The preceding chapters detailed a review of the available and relevant literature regarding the discourses related to western colonialism and school History textbooks; as well as expounded the decolonial theory that served as the theoretical framework for this study. The overarching research question for this study was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?*

Given the essential contextual and theoretical backdrop of this study, this chapter maps the methodological considerations for this study that were used to answer the above research questions. An explanation and description of the research methods used to answer the research questions will be presented. I will first detail the paradigmatic considerations of the study, in which I explain my ontological and epistemological positioning in the context of this study. Subsequently, the methodological considerations will be discussed, in which I explain the research design, sampling, data collection, data analysis, issues of trustworthiness and ethical concerns.

#### **5.2 Paradigmatic considerations**

In essence, a paradigm, according to Kivunja & Kuyini (2017), is a set of abstract beliefs that provide the basis of the researcher's philosophical orientation. The paradigm ultimately determines how the study should methodologically unfold and how data should be interpreted. In light of this, I used the critical paradigm for this study, as it is located in research that deals with issues of social justice such as power struggles, oppression, agency and social integration (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Callaghan, 2016). Additionally, the critical paradigm challenges the mainstream status-quo and strives for transformation and egalitarianism (Asghar, 2013). As stated by Creswell (2007), by researching issues of oppression, hegemony and suppression, the researcher gives voice to the victims of the oppressed.

Moreover, the critical paradigm relates to textual analysis in that it uses language to assess issues of social justice, hegemony, power relations and agency. Since my study focuses on these issues albeit in the context of western colonialism, the critical paradigm best suited this study. The critical paradigm also guided my entire research in that it fostered a link throughout my study. To be specific, the colonial concepts and events in Chapter One, the historiographies and colonial discourses in Chapters Two and Three, as well as the way I analysed the sample textbooks presented in Chapters Six and Seven, have all considered issues of emancipation of the oppressed as well as power struggles and issues of hegemony and social justice.

Further, my ontological stance is that reality is a result of historical realism. Scotland (2012), asserts that historical realism holds the view that reality is shaped by socio-cultural, economic, political, gender and ethnic values, and thus aligns with the critical paradigm. Moreover, reality is a social construction, and entails the interaction of independent social aspects and language (Scotland, 2012). Catteeuw (2014), states that historical realism considers the practices of governance and the dimensions of politics that results in causality of history. This sentiment is further discussed by Hall (1999), who posits that historical realism considers how international players affect the domestic context. In relation to my study, the critical paradigm further evolves in that the international players are colonisers (in particular the British), and their influence on the political, socio-economic and episteme lives of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe have been explored.

Essentially, critical epistemology is based on real world phenomena and highlights the causes of socio-political injustices and possible options for positive social transformation (Scotland, 2012; Farias, Rudman and Magalhães, 2016). Consequently, critical epistemology is incontrovertibly subjective especially since it is related to societal ideologies. Thus, in keeping with the critical paradigm, the epistemological positioning for this study is dialogic. This implies that what is known is through written or spoken communication (Gómez, Racionero & Sordé, 2010). This dialogic epistemology relates to the pre-colonialism era as well as the subsequent political periods. For instance, Africans passed on folktales, stories and traditional beliefs primarily through oral traditions (Igboin, 2011). Today as the world borders on the fourth and fifth industrial revolutions of digital innovation, knowledge is passed on

through more technologically advanced Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) such as iPads, smartphones, social media and social networking sites (Krzywdzinski, Jürgens, & Pfeiffer, 2016).

In the school context, however, textbooks remain an important resource through which learners acquire their knowledge (Kasmaienezhadfad, 2015). In relation to this study, the belief is that colonialism disrupted the lives of Africans and brought physical and epistemic enslavement to them. Textbooks were one of the chief media through which colonial historiographies were communicated to the masses as colonial practices were reflected in school textbooks (Purwanta, 2017). Moreover, it is through social change, that the barriers, which Africans presently experience, can be removed and that positive transformation of the education sectors in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe can be achieved.

### **5.3 Research design**

The initial step of the research design was to locate my study within the qualitative approach since it has been determined in such a way to elicit rich, meaningful data in terms of the sensitivities of western colonialism within school History textbooks. My objective was to gain depth and breadth of the phenomenon under focus, which is prevailing discourses of western colonialism in Africa, and thus naturally situated the study in the qualitative approach. In keeping with the critical paradigm, which aims to elucidate societal and hegemonic issues, qualitative research has the potential to address social issues, and this can be achieved by influencing practices of practitioners (Bloor, 2016).

Naturally, the practitioners that may invariably be influenced by this study would be school History teachers, university lecturers, teacher-graduate programme facilitators and possibly textbook publishers and authors. Thus, according to Creswell (2012), the qualitative approach is a process that enables the researcher to make meaning, identify themes or patterns and establish possible answers to the research questions of the study. The overarching research question for this study is: *To what extent are these discourses reflective of contemporary decolonial historiographies?* To answer the above key question, I will answer three sub-questions, which are:

1. What are the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks?
2. How do the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?
3. Why are these discourses and historiographies manifested in the way that they are?

In keeping with the qualitative approach, I had to choose from a myriad of approaches of research design which would suit the field of education and Social Sciences, which my study falls with (Fouché, 2010, Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, Miles & Huberman, 1994; Jacob, 1987; Lancy, 1993). However, since my topic investigated western colonialism in Africa, it was apposite to fall within the phenomenological research design. Phenomenology essentially aims to understand lived experiences in order to be conscience of how meaning is developed as a perception (Starks and Trinidad, 2007). Phenomenology as a methodological design considers socio-cultural experiences and seeks to unearth the possible essence of the experiences (Lin, 2013). Phenomenology is said to be a product of European philosophy (Käufer and Chemero, 2021; Shosha, 2012; Starks and Trinidad, 2007). However, Mutema (2003) argues that it is through phenomenology that African thought and beliefs are explored. This study aims to deconstruct the prevailing discourses around western colonial historiographies in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. Hence, the phenomenon in this context is colonialism, including its causes, consequences and actors.

Phenomenology additionally guides that characteristics for the sample of the study (Alase, 2017). Consequently, in this study, the pre-defined characteristics of the textbooks are that they feature western colonial discourses. This study was also guided by phenomenological research design when it comes to analysing the sample. According to Lin (2013), the researcher should engage with three conceptual tasks when conducting a phenomenological analysis. These conceptual tasks include firstly, the epoche, in which the researcher must temporarily halt their pre-existing perceptions of the phenomenon. Secondly, the Eidetic Reduction includes the researcher having to delve far beneath the conventional ideas of the phenomenon in order to reveal its core and essence. Lastly, the Imaginative Variation requires the

researcher to approach the phenomenon from multifarious views by using varying frames of reference, and by considering polarities in order to explore possible meanings of the phenomenon and its relevant essence. The analysis of the sample school History textbooks additionally generated thematic sub-categories, which reflected each aspect of the analysis (Moser and Korstjens, 2018).

#### **5.4 Sample for this study**

The sample for this study consisted of eight school History textbooks - three from South Africa and Zimbabwe and two Namibia. As mentioned in Chapter One, the context of these countries are centered at school level and all three SADC countries were subjected to historically and geographically similar colonial processes. In terms of the latter, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are located in the southern part of Africa and are neighboring countries. Namibia and Zimbabwe share colonial borders with South Africa, with Namibia located in the North West and Zimbabwe situated to the North of South Africa (Refer to Appendix A).

Historically, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe experienced chiefly similar effects during the colonial and post-colonial periods. While Namibia was predominantly an exploitative colony, it did to some extent experience the arrival and relocation of the British who became settlers in Namibia. This is in keeping with South Africa and Zimbabwe who both served as key settler colonies to the British. The resources of both the above countries also attracted potential prospectors who wanted claim over the natural resources in the countries. Furthermore, South Africa and Namibia both experienced similar post-colonial structures, more specifically apartheid, which alluded to the colonial sentiment of division of races and suppression of the African societies. Namibia and Zimbabwe are also neighbouring countries to South Africa, who shared, and to an extent, still share humanitarian and political issues.

In terms of the size of the sample, Boddy (2016), asserts that a generally accepted sample size for a qualitative study is 12 samples since data saturation thereafter becomes evident. The decision to having a relatively small sample was in keeping with the qualitative approach, which seeks an in-depth and non-generalised approach (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). This enabled me to explore issues of western

colonialism within the context of South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks without having generalisable results.

Ideally, the choice of sample History textbooks would have been systematically chosen. However due to financial and mobility constraints, especially during the COVID-19 restrictions in 2020, I had to use the textbooks that I could afford, which did not necessarily result in them being chosen according to a criteria. Additionally, I used purposive sampling, which is a type of non-probability sample and primarily logically assumes the best representation of elements required for the study (Lavrakas, 2011). Bearing this in mind, my choice of textbooks contained information on issues of western colonialism and was therefore not limited to a specific grade. Moreover, different publishers<sup>1</sup> were considered in order to provide a range of discourses and historiographies that appeared in the textbooks. Furthermore, History textbooks used for this study were guided by the current curriculum of each of the three countries (as explained in Chapter One). Below are details of the textbooks that were used in this study.

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<sup>1</sup> The publishers for the Namibian textbooks are the same because I had difficulty in locating and purchasing these books.

**Figure 5.1 The textbook sample used for this study**

<b>Textbook</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Referred to in study as</b>
Viva History - Grade 10	Vivlia Publishers	South Africa	South African Textbook 1
In Search of History - Grade 11	Oxford Publishers	South Africa	South African Textbook 2
New Generation History - Grade 12	New Generation Publishers	South Africa	South African Textbook 3
Solid Foundations History - Grade 8	McMillian Namibian Publishing House	Namibia	Namibian Textbook 1
Solid Foundations History - Grade 9	McMillian Namibian Publishing House	Namibia	Namibian Textbook 2
Focus on History - Book 2	The College Press	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwean Textbook 1
People making History - Book 3	Zimbabwe Publishing House	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwean Textbook 2
People making History - Book 4	Zimbabwe Publishing House	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwean Textbook 3

## **5.5 Data collection**

Considering that this study is an analysis of textbooks, data cannot be generated as it already exists in the textbook material. However, I am gathering data based on specific textbooks, namely school History textbooks from the SADC region that portray issues of western colonialism. Maposa (2014), states that this can be considered a form of generating data. To this end, my data included the following: text in the form of narratives, descriptions, accounts, sequencing of events, names, places and headings. Additionally, visuals which include drawings, cartoons, maps, computer-generated images, photographs, tables, charts and diagrams was also considered (Pingel, 2010; Nicholls, 2005). As such I used Critical Discourse Analysis to analyse the above mentioned contents of my sample textbooks.

I chose not to use comparative-historical analysis for this study as it is a field of research characterised by the use of systematic comparison and the analysis of processes over time to explain large-scale outcomes such as revolutions, political regimes, and welfare states (Mahoney, 2004). Although the three countries used for this study: South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, experienced colonialism in similar ways, they each had specific experiences. For this reason a clear comparison cannot be made. Additionally, there would have been an inadequate degree of comparable textbooks. Since there was a sample of cross-national textbooks, there appeared to be differences in culture, signs and symbols and even language. An example of this is that the Namibian textbooks that discuss colonialism are set for the primary phase of schooling. This means that the aspects of language such as lexicon, semantics, among others, differed from the high school books (Mouton, 2008).

## **5.6 Data analysis methods**

As mentioned above, taking into account that this study is an analysis of textbooks, the data cannot be generated, as data already exists in the material. Therefore, I included my data analysis method section and not data collection section. In keeping with the critical dialogic methodology that prescribes that methods of analysis should be dialogic in nature, I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse the data in this study (Gómez, 2010). CDA advocates such as van Dijk (2006), Fairclough (1999), Locke (2001), Meyer (2001), Lemke (2003) and Wodak (2005) among others, hold the view that language is socially constructed, and can be used to identify social, historic

and cultural markers related to issues such as power, subordination, oppression and elitism (Kazerooni & Tabatabaei, 2017). Moreover, Locke (2001), states that CDA seeks to discover how social practices emerge from hegemonic ideologies. McGregor (2010), concurs that through CDA, researchers view language no longer as abstract inventions, but rather as having meaning within different contexts. Chouliaraki & Fairclough (2019), state that:

CDA views language as discourse, understood as an element of the social process which is dialectically related to others. Relations between language and other elements are dialectical in the sense of being different but not 'discrete', i.e. not fully separate. We might say that each element 'internalizes' the others without being reducible to them (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2019, p.1214)

The above notion of CDA resonates with Morgan (2010), who asserts that through CDA, alternate social constructs can be unearthed, and may empower oppressed subjects. Similarly, Mullet (2018), asserts that analysis through using CDA may illustrate how discourses reflect and even legitimise social disparities. Additionally, CDA provides an understanding of language and challenges the mode of delivery, which in this study refers to the school History textbooks. Furthermore, Rapley (2007, p.111) explains that "[e]xploring ... text[s] often depends as much on *focusing on what is said* – and how a specific argument, idea or concept is developed – as well as *focusing on what is not said* – the silences, gaps or omissions". Thus, using CDA as a data collection instrument for this study, will determine how knowledge of western colonialism is produced (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & Joseph, 2005) through school History textbooks.

According to Fairclough & Graham (2010, p.304), CDA is

a 'critical' analysis of discourse in that it sets out precisely to explore these often opaque dialectical interconnections within the tradition of critical social science. That is, it shares the concern of critical social science to show how socio-economic systems are built upon the domination, exploitation and dehumanisation of people by people, and to show how contradictions within these systems constitute a potential for transforming them in progressive and emancipatory directions. In our understanding, CDA differs from other critical (e.g., Foucaultian, 'postmodern', 'post-structural', 'social constructivist' etc.) approaches to discourse in its view of spoken, written and multimediated texts. CDA views texts as a moment in the *material*

production and reproduction of social life, and analyses the social 'work' done in texts as a significant focus of materialist social critique.

In relation to written text, Coulthard (2002), explains that language is interactive and mercurial in nature: adapting to the needs of society. Hence, language is also social semiotic in that it essentially develops through socialisation (Nordquist, 2016). To understand the meaning of written texts, Coulthard (2002, p.xi), suggests:

It is imperative, when analysing texts, to be aware of both the purpose and process of creation [of the texts]; and that any given text is just one of a series of possible textualisations which gains for that reason part of its meaning from what has not been said.

Similar to Rapley (2007), Coulthard believes that analysis of texts can discover messages in what is in the text and what is omitted.

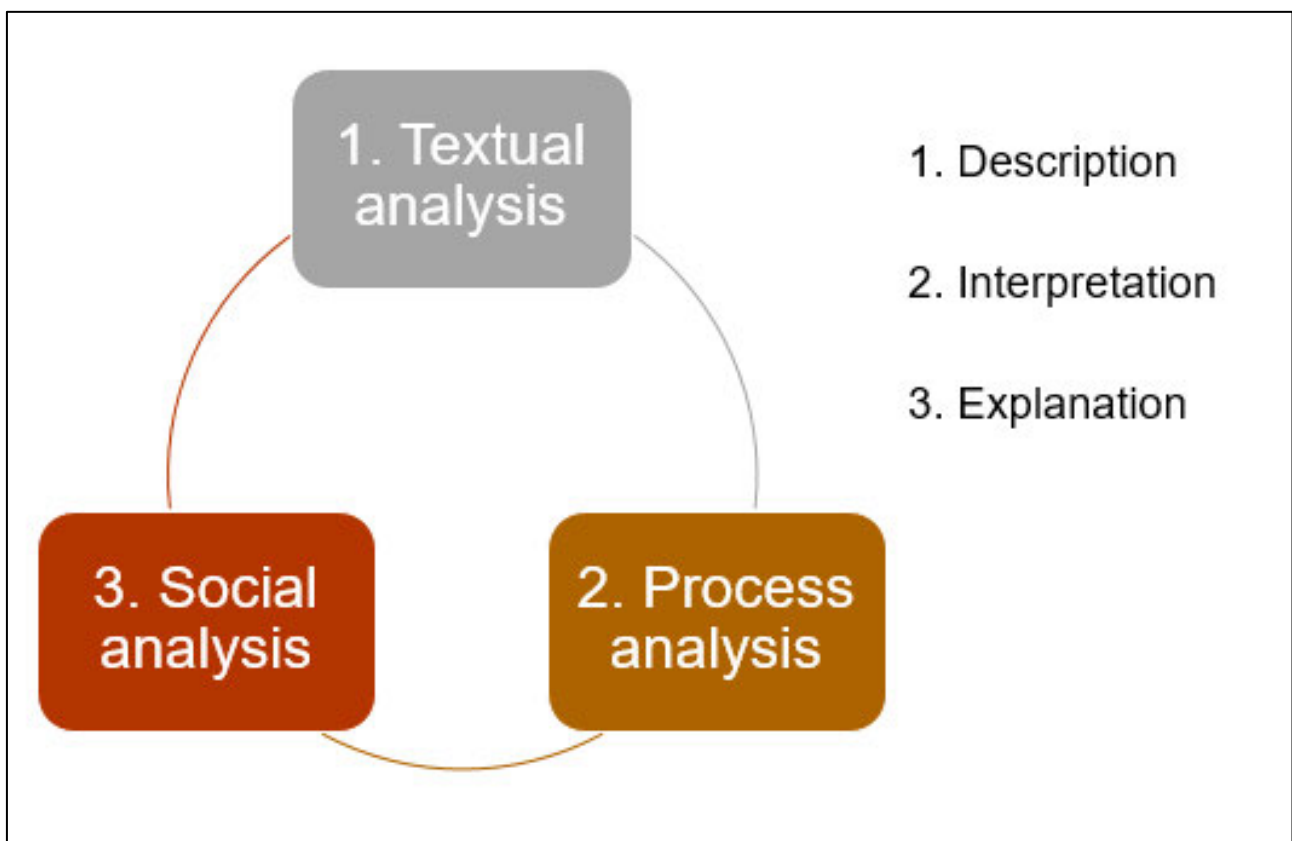
Conversely, there are challenges that could be faced with CDA. For instance, since text and images are open to interpretation (Morgan, 2010), my findings may not correlate with other people's interpretations. In addition, Breeze (2011), states that it may be difficult for researchers to justify their interpretation without having scholarly principles. Moreover, results from the CDA could prove controversial especially those related to race, identity, gender and autonomy. I agree with Morgan (2010) and Breeze (2011), and believe that different people have different epistemic positions; therefore, I use the critical paradigm and take a qualitative approach in this study, which do not generalise my findings. Further, Mogashoa (2014) claims that CDA is ultimately based on the researcher's interpretation. However, in order to provide a clear understanding of the nature of the findings of the study, a theoretical framework should be used to guide the analysis. Thus, in this study, I used the theory of decoloniality as the theoretical framework.

Despite the fact that CDA is transdisciplinary in nature and has no particular roots in the History discipline (Fairclough, 2005), it has proved useful in proposing a guideline on how to analyse the content of school history textbooks. There are undeniably several versions of CDA (van Dijk, 2006; Fairclough, 1999; Locke, 2001; Meyer, 2001; Lemke, 2003; and Wodak, 2005). However, I used Fairclough's (1995) version of CDA. This choice was based on the multifaceted levels at which Fairclough's model

analyses textbooks. While Fairclough offered an extensive theoretical underpinning for CDA, I found that Ververi (2010), presented methodological clarity on how to apply Fairclough's CDA to textbook studies.

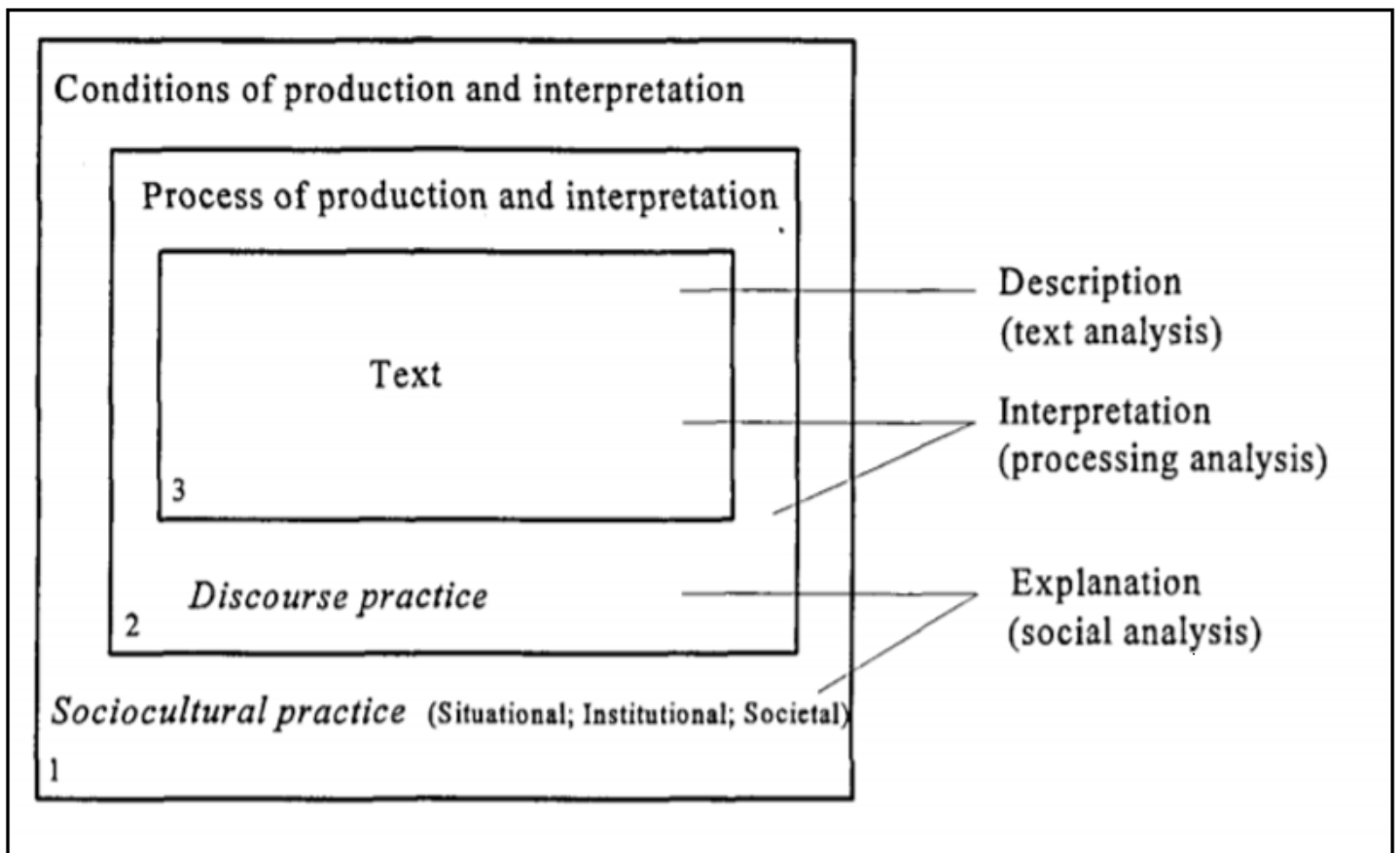
Fairclough's (1995), version of CDA considers issues of critical social hegemony, socio-historical and linguistics (Maposa, 2016, Perakyla, 2005, Ververi, 2011). My choice was based on the direct relationship between social hegemonic issues as an implication of my study and analysis of textual elements in the selected sample textbooks. Additionally given the fact that I analysed textual and visual narratives it is relevant that I used Fairclough's (1995) model as the three-dimensional model considers an analysis of visual and textual data (Maposa, 2016).

**Figure 5.2 Adaptation of Fairclough (1995) three-dimensional model of CDA.**



As can be seen in Figure 5.2 above, Fairclough's (1995), three-dimensional model considers three aspects of CDA: descriptive, interpretative and explanatory. While conducting this study, I have discovered that there is no well-ordered step-by-step method of conducting the CDA. All three dimensions were interwoven and they overlapped. For instance, I found that I had engaged in the interpretative analysis before I began the descriptive analysis and then proceeded to the explanatory analysis. I have therefore indicated the three aspects as equal sized circles rather than the traditional model developed by Janks (1997) as seen below in Figure 5.3.

**Figure 5.3 Fairclough's (1995) original three-dimensional model of CDA.**



Operating on a macro-level, Fairclough's (1995) CDA criteria focuses social events, assumptions, and exchanges on the nature of discourse in the textbooks. I therefore looked at discourses related to western colonialism, post-colonialism and independence of Africa from colonial rule. In addition, the macro-level analysis is informed by the study's underpinning literature and theoretical framework. This

resulted in the macro-level analysis being intradisciplinary in nature (Ververi, 2010). To this end, I analysed the selected sample textbooks using the decolonial theoretical framework to frame my arguments and answer the research questions for this study.

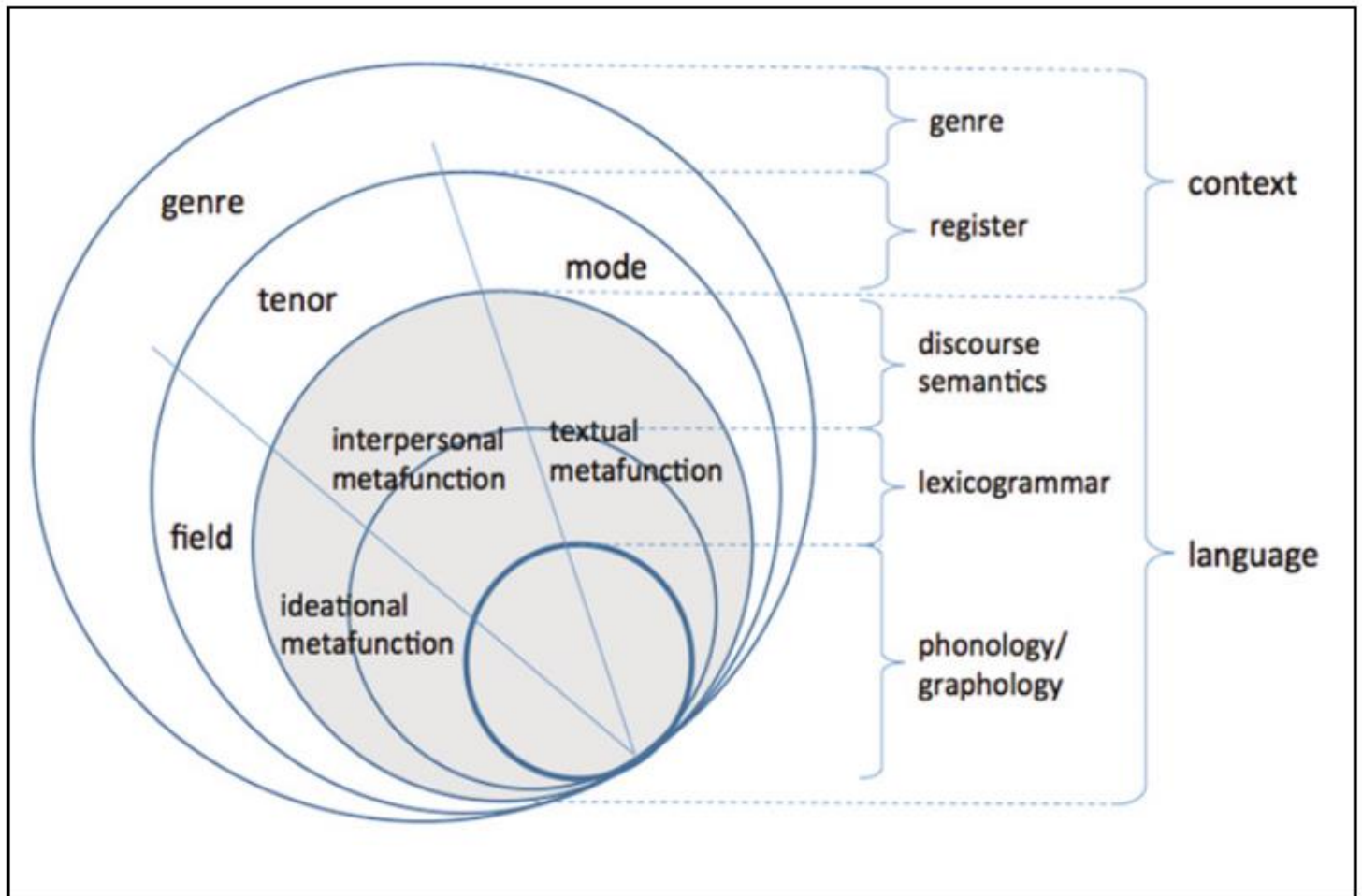
Diversely, on a micro-level, Fairclough (1995) considers linguistic elements, such as lexicalisation, grammar, speech functions, intertextuality and grammatical mood (Fairclough, 2003). Furthermore, three types of assumptions form the basis of the micro-level analysis. These are existential assumptions that examines what exists, propositional assumptions that considers what can be, and value assumptions that explores semantic relations and issues of desirability of semantics and discourse (Ververi, 2010). The aforementioned assumptions, according to Fairclough's CDA, is accompanied by explanatory logic by looking at concrete and abstract representations of social events (Ververi, 2010). Although in a different context, Ververi's (2010), article provided me with a methodological example of how to apply Fairclough's (1995) CDA to textbook study.

Accordingly, I endeavoured to explore language as a medium of social construct in depth. Language is a semiotic system that is socially constructed (Ahmadi, Yazdani, Babasalari and Rabi, 2020). Additionally, language, according to Webster (2009), consists of metafunctional diversity, stratal organisation and is a semantic system established on grammar. The metafunctional nature of language allows it to be analysed by examining the interaction between semiotic resources and multimodal discourses (o'Halloran, 2008). Such interaction is particularly evident in school textbooks, which encompass a range of multimodal elements that assist the learner in constructing historical knowledge and skills. Moreover, according to Janks (1997), CDA requires that textual production is affected by social conditions. Language essentially consists of verbal texts and visual texts. Verbal text essentially refers to written documents (Meyer, Jancsary, Höllerer and Boxenbaum, 2018). Visual text relies on sight (Meyer, 2018), and includes sources such as cartographical maps, political cartoons, photographs, drawings, computer-generated images, tables, charts and diagrams (Pingel, 2010; Nicholls, 2005). When combined, verbal texts and visual texts provide a constructs for meaning-making and subjective interpretations (Ahmadi, et.al, 2020).

### ***Analysis of verbal text***

Essentially I used Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework. SFL fundamentally provides a trinocular perspective when analysing language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This effectually means that language consists of three metafunctions: the ideational/ experiential metafunction, interpersonal metafunction and the textual metafunction. To begin with, the ideational metafunction refers to ways that semiotic systems refer to objects and the relations between these objects, in other words the content (Forceville, 2019, Halliday & Webster, 2009). It considers the arrangement of participant/s, circumstance and process within the texts (Coulthard, 2007). Secondly, the interpersonal metafunction considers the function of social relationships between the interlocutors of the sign, for example the subject, adjuncts, complements, predicator and so forth (Coulthard, 2007; Forceville, 2019, Hao, 2018). Lastly, the textual metafunction examines complex signs within texts that essentially form information structures and themes (Coulthard, 2007; Forceville, 2019). Microelements of language, such as graphology, phonology, lexicogrammar, as well as discourses were identified through ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions.

Figure 5.4 Aspects of the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework



According to Coulthard (2007), readers of texts are subject to their own interpretations and as such their inferences of meanings of texts depend on two key extra-textual elements. These are Firstly, *Reading purpose* which relates to the intention for what the reader is reading and will accordingly affect how they process the text or what messages they are looking for. In the case of this study, my intention or aim is to deconstruct decolonial historiographies in discourses featured in school History textbooks. The second extra-textual element is *reader variability* which depends largely on the scope of knowledge of the world as well as experience to guide the reader in making sense of the text. With reference to this study, the scope of knowledge that will guide me is based on western colonialism and varied historiographies all related to the continent of Africa.

In light of the above, inferences to textual data will, therefore, differ based on each reader of this study and their understanding of the world, experiences and background knowledge. This study is situated in the History Education discipline and engages with aspects of historical emphasis. Accordingly, it is assumed that even though my interpretation may vary from other researchers, we have a congruent conceptual and theoretical background as is outlined in the previous chapters of this study.

### ***Analysis of visual text***

Essentially, I used Kress & van Leeuwen's Grammar of Visual Design model, based on Halliday's metafunctional model of ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. The main reason for the decision to use the Grammar of Visual Design model is the detailed way in which Kress & van Leeuwen use the model to establish syntactic relationships between and among the different objects, people, places, and other elements of an image (Roberts and Philip, 2006). Visual texts relate to differing social interactions and are often culturally specific (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

Visual text often elicits a greater understanding of critical issues. Visual text, according to Kress & van Leeuwen's Grammar of Visual Design model, are analysed as semiotic aspects. In other words, it considers how meaning is made and comprehended (Roberts & Philips, 2006). Kress & van Leeuwen's Grammar of Visual Design model consists of three levels, i.e.: representational, interactive and compositional. To begin with, the representational element indicates how visual texts are represented. This takes into account semiotic and physical representations. Secondly, the interactive element explores the nature of the relationship that images often create between what is viewed and the viewer. Thirdly, the compositional element entails the distribution of valued information which emphasises the components of the image (Roberts & Philips, 2006).

In my opinion, the above criteria considers all aspects of textbooks – from the micro to macro elements of the production of the textbook. Using these criteria to analyse the six school History textbooks - two from each country: South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, certainly proved effective.

## **5.7 Issues of trustworthiness**

There are four factors that contribute to the trustworthiness of this study: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Connelly, 2016). To achieve credibility, I clearly identified and described the nature and content of the textbooks used for this study. My sample included school History textbooks from South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe with reference to the portrayal of issues of western colonialism.

To ensure dependability of this study, I maintained a regular reflective writing routine in which I explicated my findings in a writing journal. Additionally, I engaged with the sample textbooks for as much time as possible to ensure that my analysis is sound (Connelly, 2016).

In terms of confirmability, since my study used the qualitative approach, biases may be present. This is because the qualitative approach assumes a higher amount of subjectivity as compared to the quantitative approach. Individuals interpret the world and knowledge differently (Eakman, Adler, Rumble, Gee, Romriell & Hardy, 2018). This inevitably impacts on the results of the study. Considering the above, I was a part of a PhD cohort programme run by the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. As part of our sessions, I was able to discuss my findings with others and this proved useful in minimising biases on my part and assured confirmability.

To provide transferability of this study, I provided a detailed description of the theories and methods that I drew upon during my research (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen, and Kyngäs, 2014). For purposes of trustworthiness, I have clearly outlined my ontology and epistemological stances. I believe that African society was initially modified through the material and psychological influences of European colonisers. Additionally, as per my theoretical framework I looked at this study through a decolonial and postcolonial lens.

## **5.8 Ethical considerations**

Despite the fact the sample textbooks for this study are already available in the public domain, I followed the necessary ethical procedures required by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Further, when considering the nature of this study as a CDA, I had to

take into account attributes of morals and social justice as ethical considerations. Graham (2018), affirms that when using language as an action and when it is used as a means of analysing or a transforming tool, its ultimate result is social justice. Moreover, Fairclough and Fairclough (2018), state that when conducting CDA, the ethical critique should be used which is underpinned by the view that social structures, practices and institutions influence actions, including language. Additionally, Graham (2018), claims that even though individuals have different moral compasses and perspectives especially when engaging with CDA, researchers must make explicit their moral standings. To this end, I employed the ethical critique and explicated my moral positioning in the analysis chapter of my thesis.

## **5.9 Conclusion**

Ultimately, this study focuses on discourses related to western colonialism that resonate within South African, Namibia and Zimbabwe school History textbooks. It also seeks to expose the social discrepancies that were as a result from hierarchical, hegemonic power relations between the African colonised and the European colonisers. Accordingly, I began this chapter with an explanation of my paradigmatic and methodological, which included specific details and accompanying justifications of my research design, sampling, data collection, data analysis, and issues of trustworthiness and ethical concerns. Considering the aforementioned, the ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations were aligned to the critical paradigmatic nature of the study.

## CHAPTER SIX

### FINDINGS ON THE DISCOURSES OF WESTERN COLONIALISM IN THE SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

#### 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented a discussion of my methodological mapping that was used to obtain the data required to answer the key research questions of my study. The findings of this study have been elicited according to first stage of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model which involves firstly, textual analysis; secondly, descriptive analysis; and thirdly, explanatory analysis. This chapter will, thus, present the findings from my eight sample school History textbooks: three South African, two Namibian and three Zimbabwean.

The overarching objective of this study was to identify the decolonial presence in the sample school History textbooks. I analysed verbal and visual narratives simultaneously and attempted to provide coherency between the themes rather than the order in which the content was portrayed in the school History textbooks. The overarching research question for this study was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?*

Considering that my findings were indeed extensive and to ensure coherence in the study, I decided to present them in two separate chapters. This chapter, Chapter Six will attempt to answer the first research question on what the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks are. The subsequent chapter, Chapter Seven, will address the second research question based on decolonial historiographies, and the third research question will be answered in the Chapter Eight.

I must emphasise at the onset of this chapter that the findings uncovered through the CDA includes themes of post-colonial practices in Africa such as apartheid and Eurocentric-initiated political structures in addition to western colonialism. The choice of including the aforementioned in my findings was because my theoretical

underpinning guided my decision to view post-colonial practices as the successors to colonialism and hence was a continuation of colonialism in Africa.

At the fore, I also want to clarify that although the CDA methodology primarily considers social analysis through linguistic features, I furthered my analysis by considering how the history content itself was presented in the school History textbooks. This means that whilst I provided examples of the various discourses, I also analysed what historical content was included in the sample textbooks by providing direct quotations from the school History textbooks, in relation to the linguistic and textual analysis, and the content of the History of western colonialism in Africa. Furthermore, it must be noted that in several instances, the themes, narratives and examples that emerged from the CDA overlap within the five abovementioned discourses.

## **6.2 Findings from the CDA**

Through the CDA of the South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks, the prevailing discourses of western colonialism manifested themselves through five central themes. These were discourses of forces western of colonialism, discourses of conflict-fomentation, discourses of economic control, discourses of environmental degradation and discourses of anti-colonialism. These themes will be discussed below.

### **6.2.1 Discourses of forces western of colonialism**

The sample South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks portray the discourse of western colonialism in multitudinous ways that range from physical colonial practices to emotive and psychological imperilment opposed onto African societies by the European colonisers. Therefore, I have chosen to structure the discourse of western colonialism in sub-sections according to the various forces that were revealed from the CDA of the sample school History textbooks. From the CDA, I inferred that the sample History textbooks presented the forces of western colonialism in Africa through various historiographies reflected the following sub-themes: political power and western colonialism in Africa, vices reflected in colonial practices, and religion in relation to western colonialism in Africa.

### **6.2.1.1 Political power and western colonialism in Africa**

The CDA revealed four categories of political power. These are firstly, the acquisition and enforcement of colonial political power; secondly, individual colonial initiatives; thirdly, collective colonial initiatives; and lastly colonial laws. The sample school History textbooks depicted these narratives of political power primarily through Eurocentric historiographies.

#### **a. Acquisition and enforcement of colonial political power**

On one hand the sample school History textbooks alluded to the European colonisers as being in a constant state of political power, and on the other hand portrayed African societies as being powerless. To elucidate, in the sample textbooks, the words conquered and controlled were often used interchangeably and both were allegorical of European colonisers having more power than the African societies. For instance, “The King of Belgium was trying to control trade in the area around the Congo River (Zaire)” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.40); “Rhodes went on to conquer the countries of present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.144); Germany wanted to take control of East Africa, West Africa, South West Africa and the interior (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.42); and “In 1881 France conquered Tunisia, in North Africa, and then began to make plans to conquer much of West and West-Central Africa. France had also become quite powerful in Egypt (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.40). Additionally with reference to the latter sentence, the word “quite” serves to enhance and emphasise the intensity of power that France had in Egypt. The abovementioned examples reflect a clear Eurocentric historiography in the sample textbooks.

The sample school History textbooks also displayed the direct relationship between societal suppression and spatial suppression in a largely Eurocentric fashion. For instance, the textbooks mentioned that in order to achieve colonialism, the “European powers had marched into Africa to rule African countries. They took political control in these countries either by conquering them or by making agreements – treaties - with African rulers” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.45); “The indigenous population must be conquered and absorbed by or converted to the culture of the colonists” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.60); “The colonies of direct rule were usually those that had been

conquered and where all the land and political power was taken from the people” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.45); and when “the colonialists...saw that these treaties did not give them enough land, they started a war to conquer the people” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.45). In relation to the behavioural process of the above examples, transitive verbs such as “marched”, “took”, “conquering”, “making”, “must be”, “conquered”, “absorbed”, “converted” and “taken” explicate the power displayed by the European colonisers. The abovementioned examples from the school History textbooks implied that there is no other alternative but for the colonisers (the powerful) to first dominate the powerless (the indigenous African societies) in order to achieve the goals of colonialism, alluding to the Marxist and Eurocentric historiographies.

In the same token, the sample textbooks portrayed the Eurocentric view that spatial movement was as synonymous with power in. For instance, *South African Textbook 1*, p. 52 elucidates that the “‘spread’ of power had shifted to Europe [from pre-colonial kingdoms], with European countries colonising large parts of the world”. Additionally, “European countries ... established permanent settlements in the colonies so that they could benefit from the colony for a longer period” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.130). The word “spread” specifies that the vast movement of the Europeans, who accumulated supremacy with their eventual migration from Europe to other parts of the world. Furthermore, the above example is indicative of the power of the Europeans to choose to settle in places that they believed would “benefit” them as a reflection of Eurocentric historiography.

In keeping with migration to Africa, Dutch occupation of the Cape in southern Africa, *South African Textbook 1*, p.91 mentions that the Dutch “saw the southernmost point of the continent, the Cape, as a necessary halfstop between Europe and the valuable colonies they had in the East. They were therefore at first interested in creating a safe harbour and a place where ships could take supplies...than actually colonising the area”. This represents a thematic anomaly amidst the reasons for colonialism by the Dutch in that they were not colonising for land but rather it was an initial accidental colonialism but still displayed the theme of power. Nonetheless, the aforementioned examples allude to neo-liberal historiographies in the sample textbooks.

Essentially, the “scramble for Africa’ was a process during which European countries rushed against each other to grab best parts of Africa that would benefit their own countries ... Colonies were seen as a status symbol [and] were also a source of military power” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p. 120). “For almost 80 years the colonial powers exerted their influence over Africa” (*South African Textbook 3*, p. 64). Through the lexicalisation of the aforementioned examples, we see the manifestation of sinful behaviour, i.e.: desire for power and greed for material wealth. These sample textbooks make reference to neo-liberalism, Marxism and Eurocentrism.

Notwithstanding, *South African Textbook 1*, p.93, mentions “the early settlers called the Khoikhoi, ‘Hottentots’. This is a corruption of a Dutch word for stuttering, a reference to the clicks in the Khoisan language”. Here the textbook highlights an example of phonology as an aspect that manifested the direct relationship between the derogatory word that is often associated with the indigenous African societies and western colonialism, illustrating Eurocentric historiography.

In another example from the sample textbooks that displays the power of the European colonisers, “Aimè Cèsaire ... wrote that colonialism had disrupted the history of Africa, destroyed the African economy and brainwashed Africans all over the world into believing they were inferior” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.228). The verbs “disrupted”, “destroyed” and “brainwashed” allude to the oppressive nature of the colonisers, as well as to the psychological enslavement that encumbered the African societies. This is an example of decoloniality in the sample textbook.

Principally, the sample History textbooks illuminate the point that there was a contrariety in position regarding the administration of colonialism, for example, “France believed that Africans should be civilised, so the local people in French colonies were expected to learn French, wear French clothes and adopt the French culture. This was not the case for territories under German control, since the German colonists believed they were superior to Africans” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.130). Thus, the sample textbooks portray the various views and subsequent treatment of the African societies manifested into different ways of life for the African people, reflecting Eurocentrism, while also hinting to Marxism in terms of class and racial hierarchies.

Similarly, “German forces tried to crush revolts in one part of the country when an uprising would start in another part of Namibia. Von Francis asked for more troops to be sent so that he could control the Herero by forcing them to hand over land to the Germans. ... Witbooi attacked Germany’s settlements and raided supply stations. The German authorities used force against the Nama clans and even took away their horses. The Germans built army camps across the south and attacked Witbooi in 1894, forcing him to sign a treaty” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.44). Verbs such as “crush”, “control”, “forcing”, “took away” on the part of the colonisers all indicate their passionate, ardent need to overthrow the indigenous African societies. On the other hand, the verbs “attacked” and “raided” with reference to the reaction of the African societies, alludes to a sense of agency. In the above examples, this was a juxtaposition that illustrates the resolve of Witbooi to contest the controlling behaviours of the Europeans who were in all probability expecting him to “hand over”, referring to the fact the colonisers anticipated a proffer from the Herero. By acknowledging the resistance of the African societies, this textbook foregrounds decoloniality.

#### **b. Individual colonial initiatives**

The theme of political power was expressed in the sample school History textbooks through the individual and collective actions of European colonisers. To elucidate, *South African Textbook 1*, p.59, purports that early western colonisation was borne of an explorer’s “own personal enrichment and to win favours from the ruling monarch”. Furthermore, individuals who exerted their power over the African societies would include, “Swedish explorer, Charles Andersson, gives Namibia its European name, South West Africa” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.35); “German businessman, Adolf Lüderitz, claims rights to land around Angra Pequena” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.35); the German commander in Namibia during the late 1800s Theodore Leutwein “wanted to divide the Namibian people” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.50); Rhodes “named the newly conquered lands Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, after himself” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.144). The words “gives”, “claims”, “wanted” and “named” are transitive verbs that indicate a degree of power that the individuals in the examples exerted over the African indigenous societies in Namibia. The sample textbooks allude to power as associated with Neo-liberal and Eurocentric historiographies,

In the same light, the sample textbooks mention that in 1884, Otto von Bismarck, chancellor of Germany “called European leaders to a conference in Berlin ... He did not invite any African leaders” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.37). The verb “invite” implies an acceptance of someone into one’s space, in this instance, the indigenous African leaders were exempt from the colonisers’ political space, since the latter engaged in an unscrupulous discussion about the land of the African societies and not the Europeans. Furthermore, the transitive verbs “called” and “did not” show a polarity in that van Bismarck demonstrated behavioural preference for the Europeans and not for the Africans. The textbooks here allude to the Marxist, neo-liberal and Eurocentric historiographies which divide societies according to class and race – similar to Bismarck’s actions, arguably based on the grounds class and race.

Furthermore, the sample History textbooks reveal that the disparities between economic and political practices of the African societies the manifested after the arrival of the western colonisers that can be equated with those of Europe. On such example that was evident in *Namibian Textbook 1* was the case of Jonker Afrikaner who “had too much [political] power. His control of trade in [Namibia] meant that many of the profits of trade were not being shared among the other leaders” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.25). The lexicalisation of the abovementioned example, indicates an extent of power that the leaders of the African societies had developed. Nevertheless with that being said, the power of the African leaders often created a dissension within the once united African societies. This is an example of neo-liberalism, Marxism and Afrocentrism.

The excerpt from an image in *Zimbabwean Textbook 1* illustrates an example of the antithesis of the power of western colonialism over African societies. The excerpt states that the West African Frontier Force “were commanded by white British officers. Whites in West Africa had to rely on chiefs and on troops such as these to keep power, for there were never as many whites in West Africa as in Southern Africa and Kenya (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.40).The converse theme is that on one hand while the whites “commanded” and enforced their power, on the other hand they “had to rely on” African societies to “keep [them in] power”. Due to this contrariety, the sample textbooks allude to Afrocentric and Eurocentric historiographies.

Correspondingly, *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.51, purports that the German Major, “Leutwein wanted to prevent the Herero from moving southwards and taking back their land and cattle. So he drew up a ‘southern boundary’ of Hereroland. Any cattle that wandered south of the Leutwein ‘southern border’ were taken by the Germans and given to the white settlers”. In terms of transitive verbs, agency is shown on the part of the colonisers who “wanted to”, “prevent”, “drew up” and “taken”. Furthermore, with reference to the aspect of foreign settlement in Africa, *South African Textbook 1*, p.316 provides an example of Paul Kruger, leader of the Boer government who said in 1899 “It is not a franchise, but my country they want”. The singular pronoun “my” is reflective of the arrogant nature of the colonisers in that they claimed whatever they took without acknowledgement of the initial African inhabitants. These examples from the sample textbooks suggest an undeniable Eurocentric historiography.

### **c. Collective colonial initiatives**

Over and above individual colonial initiatives, collective actions also resulted in colonialism in Africa and was supported primarily by companies. For example, the sample History textbooks illuminate the point that different colonial governments exhibited power over the African societies by governing their colonies using different approaches. To explicate, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), or the Dutch East India Company, had ultimate control of the Dutch colonial process. To elucidate, *South African Textbook 1*, p.91 states, “the VOC had a slightly different approach to southern Africa from the Portuguese”. In this example, Africa is objectified and made to appear as a delinquent child requiring to be kept in check; or as a partner, which requires advances to be made in order to be enticed. Naturally, this example reflects Eurocentrism in the sample textbook.

Moreover, *South African Textbook 1*, p.91, proceeds that the VOC recognised the strategic importance of the Cape “as a necessary halfway stop between Europe and the valuable colonies ... in the East”. At this point, the Dutch had not yet fully understood how “valuable” the Cape could also be to them. However once they did, their power-driven greed for dominance endured as they “set-up a permanent settlement in the Cape and [this] would have a long-lasting impact on the region” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.91). The words “necessary” and “set-up” in the aforementioned context are indicative of behavioural transitivity that resonate the

ability and control that the European had to achieve their goal of establishment in Africa. The aforementioned alludes to Eurocentric and neo-liberal historiographies in light of the “long lasting impact” especially with reference to the negative socio-economic consequences that western colonialism had on Africa.

Consequently, the treatment of Europeans to other Europeans in comparison to the indigenous African societies differed and expressed a certain power of one group over another. For example, the ideological clashes between the Boers and the British over issues of superiority often resulted in their behaviours directly affecting African societies. The boers “were unhappy with British rule, especially the abolition of slavery without adequate compensation. They were also angry about complaints made to the British court by missionaries about the way that farmers treated their servants”. The initial treatment of African societies by the British and Boers are reflected in the aforementioned. To explicate, the words in relation to the behaviour of the Boers, such as “unhappy”, “compensation”, and “angry” are somewhat divergent to the behaviour of the British referring to “abolition” and “complaints”. The above examples suggest competition for power in Africa and reflect neo-liberal historiographies in the sample textbook.

Moreover, “when the Dutch first arrived [to the Cape] they traded with the Khoikhoi” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.93). The lexicalisation in the aforementioned, alludes to a view that there may have been an initial mutual relationship with co-operative interactions between both, the Khoi and the Europeans. Nonetheless, *South African Textbook 1* (p.58) mentions that colonisers considered the indigenous people to be “just another resource that they could use to their advantage”. The use of the word ‘just’ could imply that the indigenous people were parallel with objects and not viewed or treated as human beings. Furthermore, the word ‘just’ has moral implications. According to the MerriamWebster definition of ‘just’, refers to “lawfully; exactly, precisely; having a basis in or conforming to fact or reason; conforming to a standard of correctness; acting or being in conformity with what is morally upright or good”. Although not in use as an adjective, the use of the word just may imply that the colonisers should have been acting out of a responsible predisposition in the good of the African societies while considering the rights of indigenous African societies as

human beings. The aforementioned example alludes to the Eurocentric and neo-liberal historiographies.

#### **d. Colonial laws**

In the same token, the sample school History textbooks reflected laws and legislature as limiting forces of power to the advancement of African societies. For example, “The South African government believed that white people were better than black people and should be treated differently. Laws in South Africa favoured white people and made it easy for them to own land and property” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.95). The German government “had policies to disadvantage Namibians: the local population was not allowed to own land or livestock in the Police Zone” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.88). The above example illustrates the polarity of ownership, in that the white people could “own”, but the African societies were “not allowed to own” land or livestock. Undoubtedly, the above example reflects neo-liberal and Marxist historiographies in the sample textbooks.

Moreover, “the Germans moved people to reserves. This broke the strong ancestral ties people had with their land” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.88). This in itself was a sin as it deified the religious principles of the African societies. This is evidence of the Eurocentric sentimentality of racial hierarchy.

Consequently, laws “were designed to keep the black and white people separate, and to make sure that white people controlled the government and the economy” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.94). The lexicalisation is evidence of two main aspects: physical separation and white domination, which were both required to secure authority and enforce modern progress over the African societies. By including the abovementioned, the sample textbook expresses the Eurocentric and Marxist historiographies.

Other laws passed by the South African government in Namibia is included in the following diagram found in *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.95. These laws were meant to hinder the movement of African societies, and this physical restriction often resulted in psychological limitations. By carrying passes, African societies were made to feel

like prisoners who required a document to move in their own ancestral lands, alluding to Eurocentric historiography.

Similarly, the Natives Land Act of 1905 “made it illegal for blacks to purchase or lease land except in specified areas or reserves, which amounted to less than 8 percent of South Africa’s land” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.339). This lexicalisation indicates the injustice in terms of land proportion to population size. In other words, most of the country’s lands were allocated to the whites who made up the minority of the population. Subsequent to the Land Act of 1913, the African people were inevitably becoming outsiders in the sense that they “had to live in locations outside [of the white-allocated urban areas]” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.340). They were also outsiders in the sense that they were perceived as different from the archetypical pseudo-superior white person. Up until this point, the sample textbooks portray that the division of the races had been psychological and evidenced in the working structures at the mines. Now however, the ideological partitions were manifested into the actual physical segregation of the races. African people became “vulnerable and could only find menial work” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.340). Thus, reflecting Marxist, neo-liberal and Eurocentric historiographies in the sample textbooks.

Furthermore, when referring to the Khoikhoi after the arrival of the British to South Africa, *South African Textbook 1*, p.238, mentions that “in 1828 after much pressure was put on the Cape government by [British] missionaries, Ordinance 50 was passed. This new law said that Khoikhoi and other free people of colour were equal in the eyes of the law to the colonists”. The syntax of the aforementioned example indicates that the law may have been officially passed into legislature, however it was not put into practice and the Khoikhoi and other indigenous African societies continued to be subjected to colonial injustices. The above example indicates Afrocentric historiography in that it gives voice to the indigenous African societies.

Through the aforementioned examples, the sample school History textbooks, reinforce the motif of laws and legislature as being one of the various ways in which the idea of the distinction between the power of the African societies and the Europeans were manifested during western colonialism, and reflected Marxist, neo-liberal, Eurocentric, and a transitory example of Afrocentric, historiographies.

### **6.2.1.2 Vices in relation to western colonialism in Africa**

With regard to how the sample school History textbooks depicted the roles of Europeans in African society, according to the Christian doctrine, which governed the principles upon which the European colonisers based their governance of their respective colonies in Africa, there were sinful acts and acts of goodness. The textbooks indicate that although the European colonisers preached Christianity to “civilise” African societies, they themselves had sinned. Examples of vices that emerged through the CDA were desire, greed, ruthlessness and subterfuge, of which examples are presented below.

The sample textbooks equate power and vices with religious connotations in relation to the European colonisers. For example, “colonisation...was motivated by a combination of greed, the desire to discover new worlds and a need to increase the power and prestige of the mother country. It was clearly based on the belief of the colonists was superior to all other people and that they had the God-given right to take the land and wealth of others” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.58). When considering the transitivity of the abovementioned, it is evident that by using phrases such as “greed”, “desire”, “need”, “increase the power and prestige”, “was superior”, “had the God-given right” and “take”, *South African Textbook 1* reinforces the material and behavioural processes that are associated with western colonialism in accordance with Eurocentric historiographies.

When discussing the reasons for western colonialism, textbooks describe the colonisers in a Eurocentric view as patriarchal, influential and forceful. For instance, in *South African Textbook 1* on p.58, colonists’ comportment was reflective of “greed”, “desire”, and “need to increase the power and prestige of the [colonial] mother country”; additionally, it was recommended at the Berlin Conference that “the occupying European country should bring civilisation in the form of Christianity to the regions that were occupied” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.122).

#### **a. Desire as a vice of western colonisers**

The nominalisation of desire was apparent in the sample school History textbooks in the form of ‘need’. For instance, France “needed power and glory after [being defected

by Germany in 1971], so it looked to Africa” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.40), and “European nations needed to control as many resources of the world as they could to support their fast growing manufacturing industries (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.88). The word “needed” as a transitive verb displays a reaction to a want for material power that the colonisers lacked. For instance, in the above context, France intended to retrieve its political and military standing among the other countries aligning with the Afrocentric historiographies that perceive western colonialism as an acquisitive process.

Consequently, Europeans desired to “find new supplies of crops and minerals and to take their culture and religion to Africa. This would give them greater political power” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.40), and “because of a greater desire for markets and raw materials, colonial empires continued to grow” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.61). Desire is a state of mind, which is sinful and is greatly condemned in Christian teaching, and by including such a portrayal of the colonisers, the sample textbooks allude to a decolonial sentiment.

#### **b. Greed as a vice of western colonisers**

Another central affective driving vice of western colonialism revealed in the sample textbooks was greed. The school History textbooks portrayed the covetous, materialistic nature of the colonial forces especially in the written text expressing a Eurocentric historiography. One such example is Source D from *South African Textbook 1* which explains Duarte Barbosa’s account of Africa before western colonialism. In Barbosa’s account, the textbook illustrates that the Europeans held the African societies in high esteem, and acknowledged their “excellent carpentry”, “fine garments of silk”, “great deal of trade” and “great ships”. The use of superlatives such as excellent, fine and great indicate a sense of admiration for the material progress of the African societies. Nonetheless, this sentiment was drastically altered after colonialism was introduced. *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.36, mentions that European countries “hoped to find a market for products that their countries made. If they could sell their products in a new market, they would make more money”. The effect of greed and want for power is clearly illustrated through the lexicalisation above in the textbook, in that the above narrative lends itself to the shift from the initial European

exploration, to a western capitalist economic system. It was interesting that the aforementioned source was used in a Afrocentric and postcolonial manner as the activity elicited the potential inaccuracy of the source and what historiography it could be classified under.

Furthermore, a Eurocentric view of the European colonisers are presented through the following examples in the sample textbooks, “In South Africa, Kenya and Southern Rhodesia...European farmers had taken nearly all of the best land. In the Belgian Congo, almost all the trade and production was controlled by large companies (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.56). Moreover, “by the 1880s the Boers, Portuguese, Germans and the British were all competing for agreements or concessions with African rulers... Increasingly these European concession hunters demanded more and more (*Zimbabwean Textbook 3*, p.63). Words such as “taken”, “best land”, “almost all the trade”, “controlled” and “demanded” are indicative of the greedy nature of the colonisers.

### **c. Ruthlessness as a vice of western colonisers**

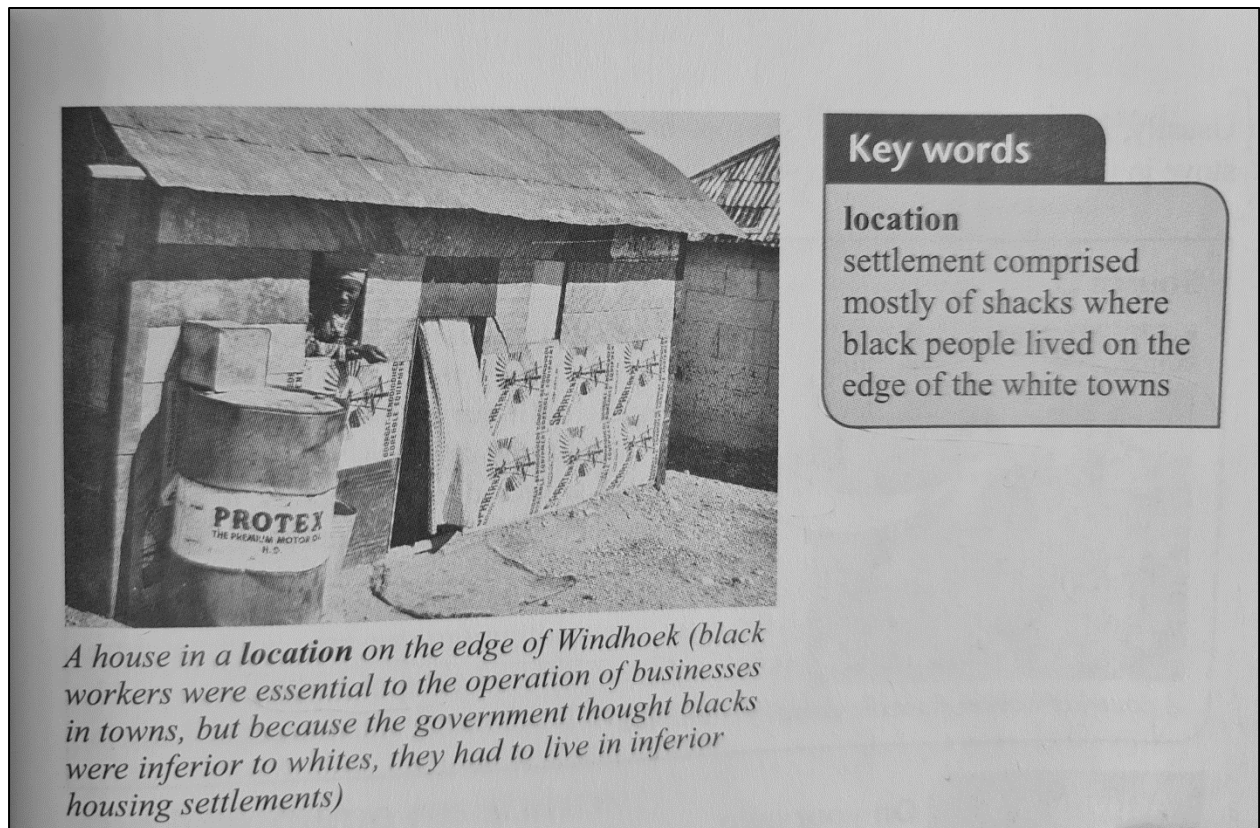
Moreover, the sample school History illuminate ruthlessness as a vice through the ruthless actions of the colonisers. To elucidate, “people of African were encouraged to forget their own heritage and to become European people” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.129), the association policy resulted in “African customs and laws [being] eliminated” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.129); and the settler colonialism policy meant that Europeans were able to “establish a European way of life in an African territory” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.129). The portrayal of the abovementioned examples on the textbooks, reveals that the Europeans refused to recognise the importance of African societies and their cultures, ways of life, traditions and structures resulting in Afrocentric and postcolonial historiographies.

Likewise, the sample textbooks illustrate a postcolonial view through the following examples, “beatings and other forms of corporal punishment were part of the daily lives of these workers ... [The British investigated] and discovered horrific stories” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.145). Moreover, *South African Textbook 3* has included an information box which includes facts about Leopold’s rule. It mentions that, workers

“who did not meet quotas were severely punished. Some workers had a hand cut off as punishment and sometimes entire communities were massacred (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.73). This lexicalisation above reveals an explicit example of the ruthless, cunning and deceptive nature of Leopold. Nonetheless, despite how horrific the crimes were, Leopold was not disciplined or removed from the role, rather he was merely “put under supervision” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.145), which illustrates a similar mercilessness from the British colonisers as the Belgians against the African workers.

Another way in which the ruthlessness of the colonisers were depicted in the sample school History textbooks, was through the theme of migrant labour in Africa. For example, below is an image found in *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.99, with the following caption: “A house in a location on the edge of Windhoek (black workers were essential to the operation of businesses in towns, but because the government thought blacks were inferior to whites, they had to live in inferior housing settlements)”. Beside the image is the definition of location as a “settlement comprised mostly of shacks where black people lived on the edge of the white towns” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.99). The nominalisation of the racially distinct areas reflects the postcolonial idea of the African people being ‘outsiders’ or ‘others’, manifested into their physical separation of having to live on the outside of the towns.

**Figure 6.1 Visual image of African societies being ‘othered’ (*Namibian Textbook 1, p.99*)**



Further to the above theme, African workers were made to live in compounds which “were easy to surround and control if trouble brewed” (*South African Textbook 1, p.299*). In these compounds “usually, 20 or more men would sleep on hard beds in one room” (*Namibian Textbook 1, p.100*), and the “men were often accommodated in ethnic dormitories, leading to destructive ‘faction fighting’” (*South African Textbook 1, p.300*). The sample textbooks reflect that such implementations were strategically planned by the white management to purposively divide the black workers. It was an archetypal political strategy of divide and conquer, whereby the African societies would be divided and the colonisers would conquer. African women also faced “hardships [as] they were responsible for the care of the children and the elderly relatives” (*South African Textbook 3, p.148*). The lexicalisation of the abovementioned examples from the school History textbooks ostensibly reflect the postcolonial and Afrocentric historiographies indicating the ruthlessness of the colonisers through the theme of the

migrant labour system and its corresponding conditions which undeniably reinforce how African societies were affected as a whole.

Moreover, a postcolonial sentiment is provided in a sample textbook that focuses on a source whereby Barbosa describes the King of Mombasa as a disobedient “king ... refused to obey the commands of the King our Lord (of Portugal) and ... the city was left ruined and plundered and burnt” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.89). Barbosa claims that Mombasa was lost to the colonisers as a result of its King’s unwillingness to surrender his freedom to the coloniser. Still, more than that, Barbosa’s account inadvertently describes the behaviours of the colonisers. For a country to “kill”, “hold captive”, and “steal” another country’s people and treasure is indicative of a ruthless comportment, thus this example from the textbook shows that the behaviour of the colonisers were highly sanctimonious. Further, in 1838, the Boers were “boasting about having crushed Sikonyela and the Ndebele and firing their guns in the air to intimidate the Zulu people” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.198). By including the words “boasting”, “crushing” and “intimidate”, the sample textbook alludes to an Afrocentric historiography that reflects the arrogant and ruthless nature of the Europeans.

In keeping with the narrative of colonial vices, *South African Textbook 1*, p.252 mentions that George Grey, governor of the Cape in 1854, aimed to “have the Xhosa people live in European-style villages with square houses, wearing European clothes, worshipping a Christian God and, most importantly, providing a labour force for European settlers”. The lexicalisation of the aforementioned essentially enunciates the Eurocentric sentiments and colonial objectives of most, if not all, the European colonisers in Africa, that being to incorporate African societies into the western economy, and to culturally appropriate them into the western lifestyle for the colonisers’ benefit.

Further, the sample History textbooks demonstrate the ruthlessness of the European colonisers through the vice of stealing. For example, in Southern Africa, “when so many cattle died from rinderpest, the colonisers stole cattle from Africans or started shooting them” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.50). Furthermore “livestock had been part of the Nama and Herero social and economic life” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.89) and “Land and cattle were the most important possessions for most Namibian people”

(*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.60). By including the above examples, the sample textbooks express a postcolonial historiography, which reveals how the Europeans showed a deep lack of sensitivity and display no respect for African societies. This act is also sinful as stealing is explicitly condemned in religious doctrines.

#### **d. Subterfuge as a vice of western colonisers**

Consequently, the theme of European colonial subterfuge, also a vice, was expressed in different ways in the sample school History textbooks. To explicate, an Eurocentric view was made of how the Europeans used the rivalry among the African societies to their advantage such as in the example of “Major Leutwein supported Samuel Maharero as he thought he could control him more easily than some of the other Herero chiefs” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.50).

Furthermore, the sample textbooks revealed how colonisers were deceptive in that “teams of Europeans came to Southern Africa looking for African chiefs whom they persuaded, bribed, cheated or forced to recognise them by putting a sign on some document which showed that the individuals or their government had been to the chief first. The document would be rushed to the mother country and formal claim registered with the other European nations” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.88). Zimbabwean Textbook 2 makes the example of one such African chief who was deceived by the colonisers, King Lobengula of the maShona. A postcolonial and Afrocentric sentiment is evident in the explanation of the European “concession seekers stayed for months in Lobengula’s country and learned Ndebele. They lied and cheated, if and when given the opportunity to meet Lobengula, to get their own concession. The Moffat Treaty of 1888 and the Rudd Concession of 1888... took advantage of Lobengula’s inability to read and write to tell him verbally what was not on the papers they asked him to sign” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, pp.96-97). The tone of the aforementioned examples from the school History textbooks allude to postcolonial and Afrocentric historiographies as they highlight the duplicitous behaviour and guileful interactions of the European colonisers with the African chiefs.

Moreover, In the 1920s, Britain and France, “let the chiefs rule the people and collect their taxes, but...the chiefs would in turn be controlled by a few colonial officials

(*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.56). The word “let” portrays a polarised view of the ostensible coerced dependency of the African societies who had to seek permission from the self-proclaimed authority of the Europeans, revealing a Eurocentric presentation in the sample school History textbooks.

### **6.2.1.3 Religion in relation to western colonialism in Africa**

The aspect of religion that the sample school History textbooks equated with western colonialism were their multifarious descriptions of the role of missionaries. For instance, some textbooks revealed the Afrocentric and postcolonial sentiments that the missionaries proved to aid and further the European colonial designs in Africa. For example, *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.39, states that missionaries “interfered with traditional societal and political structures of [indigenous African] communities”; *South African Textbook 1*, p.203 mentions that missionaries “did not take into account that the people they encountered had religious beliefs of their own” and that “Christian teaching threatened the power of the African chiefs and the Griqua and Kora captains”. The missionaries preached against raids and tried to encourage people to become settled farming communities” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.203). Syntax such as “interfered”, “did not take into account”, “threatened the power” and “preached against” all reflect the nescience of the missionaries and the Europeans, who chose to disregard the existing heritage and whose actions undermined the paragons in the African societies such as the African chiefs.

Likewise, the word ‘protect’ in relation to missionaries in Africa, was presented in a Eurocentric view. To explicate, “Missionaries and traders who came to Africa often asked their governments to send soldiers to protect them” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.124). Furthermore, Fort Jesus, a military fort built by the Portuguese in Mombasa has the connotation of their reverence to Christ but was meant to “protect their interests in the region” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.90). The word “protect” signifies a fallacious expectation that they would be attacked by the indigenous African societies. Having said that, the sample textbooks also acknowledged that the European colonisers were invading lands that belonged to the African societies and therefore anticipated a resistance against them.

In summation, the sample school History textbooks portrayal of the discourses of forces of western colonialism, primarily denotes Eurocentric historiographies, including neoliberalism and Marxism. However, the sample textbooks do, to an extent, promote Afrocentric and postcolonial historiographies by illuminating the European colonisers as having displayed iniquitous qualities despite advocating religious sentiment. Furthermore, the sample textbooks reinforce Afrocentric and postcolonial historiographies by expressing that religion was often used as a catalyst to impose harsh, and oftentimes inhumane, practices on the colonies; and missionaries may have entered Africa with the intention of spreading the work of God, however they consequently successfully aided in furthering colonial sentiment.

### **6.2.2 Discourses of conflict-fomentation**

Besides the discourse of forces of western colonialism, another prevailing discourse that emerged from the CDA of the eight sample school History textbooks was the discourse of conflict-fomentation. Conflict in this section differs from the section above on power in that the former is a concept used to encapsulate characteristics of physical and verbal contentions, as well as military aspects of western colonialism in Africa for the purpose of this study.

The narrative of weaponry was reflected as a pivotal factor within the discourses of conflict in the sample school history textbooks in relation to western colonialism. The textbooks revealed that modern armaments, especially firearms and guns, were the key military tool that gave the Europeans an exponential advantage over the Africans. The nominalisation of guns in the textbooks were twofold. Firstly, guns served as a military advantage. To elucidate, “The Europeans had machine guns, and with these guns they could threaten the Africans” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.50), and “What gave the whites political power was their control of technology – guns, railways, roads, machinery and production methods that they brought from Europe and America” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.40). Secondly, Europeans created a demand for guns and consequently earned money, for example “The people of Dahomey bought German guns and fought bloody battles against French colonisers” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.50). The lexicalisation in the above examples allude to neoliberal, Marxist and Eurocentric sentiments as a cycle of conflict, whereby through constant conflict the Europeans could maintain political and economic power over the African

societies who required western weaponry to defend themselves against the Europeans.

The discourse of conflict was related to forces of western colonialism in that the former was incited by the vices discussed in the section on discourses of western forces. To elucidate, “Germans were not willing to let go of the control and power that they gained [through the protection treaties signed by the African indigenous societies of Namibia]” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.41). Additionally, “On 6 March 1894 Leutwein ordered a surprise attack on Noasanabis, Lambert was arrested and executed. This was the first execution of a Namibian traditional leader by the German colonial authorities” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.52). The use of “arrested” and “executed” symbolises a sense of power that the colonisers had over the African societies. The decision to execute Lambert could have been a way to make implicit the German authority, and to deflect thoughts of rebellion which if considered would lead to death. The above examples, alludes to Eurocentric views of the idea that the survival of African societies lay in the hands of the Europeans.

In keeping with the Eurocentric representation of colonisers in the sample textbooks, conflict was incited by the vices of ruthlessness, in 1904, Lothar von Trotha was sent to “crush the [Herero] uprising. ... With their superior weapons, including canons and machine guns, the Germans defeated the Herero. Von Trotha ordered all captured Herero to be shot” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.65). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned example reflects an Eurocentric historiography indicating the victory of colonists possibly only because of their industrialised weapons, and the unmistakable ruthlessness of Europeans in that they had no regard for peoples’ lives so long as they acquired the land and reduced the African population in their own country.

Similarly, another example of Eurocentricity in the sample textbooks expressing the ruthless practices of colonisers is the vivid description of the tensions between African nationalists and the police. To explicate, *Zimbabwe Textbook 3*, p.138, associates the police with “crowd control”, “dogs”, “tear-gas”, “guns” and “intimidators”. In contrast, the sample textbook illustrates the Afrocentric sentiment of African agency by stating that African workers and school children engaged with “protest meetings”, “riots” and

“mass rallies”. The above example illustrates a polarity of natures between the African societies who are associated with being mercilessly maltreated, in contrast to the colonisers who used brutal practices on the African societies who tried to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the colonisers, reflecting both, Afrocentric and Eurocentric historiographies respectively.

**Figure 6.2 Visual image of African resistance in the midst of police brutality**  
**(Zimbabwean Textbook 3, p.138)**



Further, with reference to Dutch colonialism at the Cape, *South African Textbook 1* (p.91) states that “van Riebeeck built a fort to protect the [VOC’s] employees and fought two wars with the indigenous KhoiKhoi people”. The use of the proposition “with” rather than ‘against’ suggests that both parties had an equal chance of winning and indicates that the textbook inevitably views the Khoi to have been similarly as militarily competent as the Dutch.

In contrast to the above decolonial sentiment, one such example of Eurocentric sentiment evident in the sample textbooks was when “The Germans responded to the new peace between the Herero and Nama by bringing more soldiers to Namibia. Von Francis tried for several years to convince Witbooi to accept the offer of protection, but Witbooi was not willing to give up his freedom ... Von Francis eventually unexpectedly attacked Hornkrant on 12 April 1893 ... Mainly women and children were killed and homes were destroyed” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.49). In the above example, there is a polarity between the African societies as acknowledging that they would be surrendering to the Europeans, alluding to powerlessness and promoting a Eurocentric historiography.

Further, the behavioural transitivity processes associated with the Namibians include “not willing”, “give up” “his freedom”; whereas the transitivity process associated with the European were largely materialistic, i.e.: “bringing”, “convince”, “attacked”, “killed” and “destroyed” therefore giving the latter a sense of agency. The syntax in *Namibian Textbook 1* represents the colonisers in a postcolonial light in that it clearly expresses the brutality that was inflicted on the African societies. By mentioning “women and children” as being particularly targeted by the colonisers, the textbook elicits an emotive response and illustrates that the extent of such ambushes of this magnitude were possibility conducted with the objective of psychologically and emotionally destroying the African societies, and in doing so the African people would be too devastated to retaliate or commence further attacks on the Europeans. The sample textbooks reinforces a distinct postcolonial and Afrocentric historiography and further shows the extent to which the Europeans would go to achieve their goal of their ultimate domination of Africa.

Another example of a textbook alluding to an emotive sentiment in the of the reader, is in a source in *Namibian Textbook 1*, which presents a first-hand account of the experience at a Namibian concentration camp is presented. The fact that “mostly women and children and a few old men” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p. 72), were held captive entices the reader to consider that perhaps similar colonial strategies were to break the emotional aspect of the African freedom fighters in the hope that they would desist their revolt against the Europeans. Furthermore “a woman carrying a child of under a year old slung at her back, and with a heavy sack of grain on her head ... [fell

and the] corporal sjamboked her for certainly more than four minutes and sjamboked the baby as well" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p. 72). The lexicalisation in the abovementioned example provides a postcolonial and Afrocentric historiography that illuminates the idea that as much as the Europeans preached civilisation through religion, they did not practice righteousness and were sinfully barbaric.

Conversely, prior to attacking the German colonists in 1904, "[Samuel] Maharero issued a declaration forbidding his troops from killing Englishmen, Boers, women and children" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.64). This is evidence that the sample History textbook attempts to portray the African leaders in a postcolonial and Afrocentric light and demonstrate that they were knowledgeable about the different types of white people and that they were able to distinguish between those who directly inflicted harm on the African societies. It also displays their inherent moral duty to protect women and children.

The sample school History textbooks indicate that during battles over the control of land in southern Africa, many societies adopted different military strategies used by the African societies and the colonisers. The lexicalisation of the military strategies used by African societies were presented in an Afrocentric fashion and included the example that Shaka "extended the system of amabutho and made the Zulu army feared and powerful". Additionally, Shaka's soldiers "carried big cow-hide shields of distinctive colours. These shields could be placed together to form a protective wall against spears. Shaka armed each Zulu warrior with a short stabbing spear. This was effective because once a Zulu warrior had warded off an enemy's spears with his shield, he could close in and kill the enemy easily in hand-to-hand fighting with the short stabbing 'assegai'" (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.41). Moreover, *South African Textbook 1*, p.200 elucidates that Shaka also introduced a military formation that resembled "the shape of a bull's horns" and surrounded the enemy. The narrative of military strategies employed by Shaka is presented in the sample textbooks in an Afrocentric light as it reflects his eagerness to embrace the natural litness and agility of African men and he used that to the advantage of the African societies who were protected from the colonisers.

Similarly, the depiction of Jonker Afrikaner in the sample textbooks was in an Afrocentric sentiment. For instance, he “first showed the people his strength as a fighter and then he looked for powerful leaders with whom he would make peace agreements” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.24). Moreover, “under the leadership of Jonker Afrikaner, the Oorlams used their superior weapons to take control of the best grazing land” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.34). The nominalisation of the “superior weapons” in this instance referred to the guns and rifles that they brought from the Cape Colony to Namibia, and these had a greater impact than the traditional weapons of the bows and arrows, thus perpetuating a sense of power through European-made weapons. By including the above examples, the textbooks promote an Afrocentric historiography.

Correspondingly, Hendrik Witbooi, leader of the Nama people and used guerrilla warfare as a military strategy, was also portrayed in an Afrocentric manner. For instance, Witbooi preferred “Instead of big battles, a guerrilla war involves ambushes and ‘hit-and-run’ attacks on smaller groups of the enemy ... often attacking their targets at night and then disappearing quickly before the enemy had time to fight back” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p. 69). The verbs included in the above example “ambushes”, “attacking” and “disappearing” reflect the stealth and calculative military thinking of the African societies alluding to the Afrocentric historiography.

In contrast, Eurocentric military strategies were also presented in the sample textbooks. For example, the Scorched Earth policy which was “a military strategy which involves destroying anything that might be useful to the enemy” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.246). To elucidate, “Von Trotha ordered the German soldiers to guard every water source on the Herero’s way out of Namibia. If a refugee approached a waterhole, he or she would be shot on sight” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.66). Comparable with the Scorched Earth Policy, the ‘total war’ strategy was based on a “strict military code of conduct which made them willing to fight and die for the glory of king and country...This brutal method of warfare meant that [when attacking the Khoi and Xhosa forces, the British] set fire to and destroyed crops, seized cattle and killed women and children” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.245). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned examples of the Scorched Earth Policy and Total war strategy, illustrates how the environment was manipulated for the military and political advantage of the Europeans, hence alluding to a Eurocentric historiography.

In the same manner, a Eurocentric sentiment is evident in the sample textbooks regarding South African Prime Minister PW Botha, who developed the policy of Total Strategy as a way to impede the internal unrest (*South African Textbook 3*, p.445). This policy ensured “the continuation of white rule by appeasing western governments and increasing military campaigns to destabilise neighbouring African countries” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.209). The transitive verbs “rule”, “appeasing”, “increasing” and “destabilise” all suggest European agency and promote the Eurocentric historiography.

Another military strategy that the sample textbooks portrayed in an Eurocentric light was that of Leutwein’s ruthless ‘divide and rule’ strategy in which he would “turn indigenous chiefs against one another ... he used Namibian soldiers ... to crush rebellions of other groups. This created a feeling of distrust and hate among indigenous people. [He additionally] “took land ... from the chiefs to such an extent that they were forced to have their people work for farmers” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.54). The nominalisation of trust among African societies in the above example was affectively ruptured and their relationships fragmented, resulting in the sample textbook expressing a postcolonial sentiment.

Summarily, the sample school History textbooks revealed that the discourse of conflict-fomentation played a significant contribution to the advancement of western colonialism in Africa. A Eurocentric historiography was, in most instances, promoted when the sample textbooks illustrated that the Europeans’ technologically advanced weaponry oftentimes proved to be effective in thwarting the victory of African societies in colonial battles. Nonetheless, there was evidence of an attempt to reinforce Afrocentric and postcolonial historiographies when the sample textbooks illuminated the military agency of the African societies.

### **6.2.3 Discourse of economic control**

Together with the discourse of conflict-fomentation, the sample school History textbooks manifested western colonialism in Africa through discourses of economic control. The sample History textbooks often directly correlated aspects of the economy with Africa's natural and human resources. For example, “From 1873 and 1896 Europe

experienced an economic depression. Africa, with its huge populations would create a market for the sale of surplus products that people in Europe could not buy. Africa's cheap, plentiful natural resources would be a boost to the European economies" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p. 102). It is interesting that the syntax in the aforementioned example, suggests that the primary solution to Europe's economic depression was Africa's "huge populations" and not resources. The above example, drives a postcolonial assumption that the focus of western colonialism was on the necessity of human resources as a source of cheap labour as a tool to obtain the natural resources. It could then be postulated that Africa had solved Europe's economic depression. The sample school History textbooks portray the colonisers in a Eurocentric light to be covetous and highly economically acquisitive. For example, European countries in Africa "began to compete with each other for economic and political power. Each one wanted to become richer than the others and to have more political importance in foreign lands. They looked to Africa to give them this power" (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.42). "Often, they did not have much idea of what riches there really were in Africa. They set up colonies, hoping, not knowing, that these would bring them wealth" (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.42). The abovementioned examples indicate that the colonisers were avaricious and were willing to outlay finance on a notion which they did not yet have guarantee that they would receive any rewards, resulting in neoliberal and Eurocentric views.

Further to this, the sample textbooks enhance a Eurocentric historiography for instance, "The time between the 1920s and the 1950s was a 'golden age' of profits for the colonialists" (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.55). The hyperbole "golden" refers to the physical prosperity that the colonisers were endowed with after colonising Africa. Moreover, "golden' also refers to the acquisition of wealth by the mineral gold that was largely found in southern Africa.

Another example of the Eurocentric historiography is, "Some European countries took as much as possible from their colonies without being willing to invest anything. Belgium's rule in Congo is an example of this. Britain is regarded as the country that put the most effort and money into developing the infrastructure of its colonies" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.130). The motif of investment in the aforementioned example, reveals that the possible rationale for such expenditure was that the

Europeans would reap the benefits of their investment in the colonies, in terms of acquiring natural resources, and it required a place for their surplus population to settle. By including this notion, the sample school textbook reveals the Europeans in a neoliberal and Eurocentric frame.

In keeping with the Eurocentricity, *South African Textbook 1*, p.291 states that the mining companies that invested in South African mines “were enormously good for the economic development of the country”. The above hyperbolic sentence could be arguable and may allow learners to think through a postcolonial view, since the indigenous African peoples were already in a climate of economic development with trading systems in place, thus mining would have suited the capitalist economy driven by the European colonisers and not the entire country of South Africa.

Furthermore, in Namibia, Germans “were able to buy land very cheaply from local leaders who did not really understand the idea of owning and keeping land” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.55). By including the transitive text “was able to” when referring to the Germans, compared to the phrase “did not” in relation to the local the textbook implies a Eurocentric sense of discounting the ability of African societies to manage land and cultivate farms.

The sample textbooks further the Eurocentric historiography by illustrating that as had been done in the early years of European invasion, the European mine owners “negotiated with the [African] chiefs to recruit strong, young men to work on the mines for a limited time, usually a year’s contract. They [the African men] broke the contract they could be jailed” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.302). The semantics of the aforementioned example lends to the idea that the African societies were consequently left without the protection of strong men, and could have been raided if the men refused to comply with the mine rules and regulations. The young men went to the mines while the old men and women were left ... they became more and more dependent on money to survive” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.305); and ultimately the establishment of mines and colonial processes that accompanied it posed as a “serious hindrance to black advancement” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.338). The aforementioned examples from the sample textbooks, reinforce postcolonial and Afrocentric sentiments by alluding to the idea that such circumstances were in stark

comparison to the African men's former freedom as they were now being forced to intertwine their lifestyles with capitalist economic systems.

Moreover, the sample textbooks correalate land and the economy and present them through different historiographies. For instance, "More and more land was occupied by German farmers and business people (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.38). "Both Afrikaner and African tenant framers were evicted from the land as commercial farming expanded" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.145). Consequently, the "Namibians were pushed from their land. They had to find work on the German-owned farms or in German businesses to make money to be able to support themselves" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.38). In the aforementioned examples, the polarity of experiences between the colonisers who "occupied" land while the African societies were "evicted" and "pushed" from their own rightful land only to end up entangled in the western economic systems, resulting in a Eurocentric and postcolonial historiographies respectively.

Correspondingly, the sample school History textbooks portray the western colonisers as a coercive force that led to entire African societies entering the capitalist western economy. The following examples provide succinct elucidation. "Development cannot take place without people working in different industries...Most indigenous people lost their land and cattle to the Germans [and] had to make a living... as well as pay the taxes the colonial government expected of them (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.86), and "making money from the colonies was one of the aims of colonialism" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.82). The former sentence was situated in a bubble, outside of the main text, for emphasis. Essentially, the lexicalisation of the abovementioned examples reveal the importance of capitalist sentiment that the colonisers placed, reinforcing neoliberal and Eurocentric historiographies.

Another example in which the sample school History textbooks allude to the Eurocentric intention of Europeans to bring African into the capitalist economy through western colonialism is included in *South African Textbook 1*, p.252. The textbook mentions that George Grey, governor of the Cape in 1854, aimed "to bring the Xhosa people more fully under British control and draw them into a wage economy". "By 1900 almost the whole of Africa was under the power of European capitalist countries"

(*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.42). The enunciation of the aforementioned examples portray the extent to which Europeans went to enhance their economic standing, with no regard that their intent and actions were negatively affecting the pre-colonial African societies, and destroying their already established traditional economic system, thus presenting a distinct Eurocentric historiography.

Furthermore, a neoliberal historiography is presented in the sample textbooks through the relationship between economic theories and western colonialism. For example, *South African Textbook 1*, p.60 that speaks to mercantilism as being the basis of the interconnection between colonies and their respective European colonisers during the pre-Industrial era. Capitalism is also mentioned as emerging from the Industrial Revolution in the 1800s. Nevertheless, *South African Textbook 1*, p.15 mentions that economic systems did, in fact, exist on Africa prior to western colonialism as in the example of the porcelain pieces of the Ming who traded with Zimbabwe are in the Iziko Museum in Cape Town. This implies an Afrocentric historiography and a sense of brotherhood between Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Congruently, the Afrocentric and neoliberal historiographies are expressed in the sample textbooks through evidence of inter-continental trading between Africa and Asia, which is presented in *South African Textbook 1*, p.176 in an image of an archaeological finding in Thulamela at Kruger National Park. "Thulamela gives us evidence of sophisticated societies living in southern Africa in 1450 and before that. Glass beads from India and Ming porcelain have been found there. They were skilled goldsmiths. They traded with gold objects and ivory". The mention of "sophisticated" implies an advanced way of life that embraced trade, among other facets, as an important function of African society. By including that idea that a trading system was already in operation hundreds of years prior to the arrival of Europeans, the sample textbooks represent Africans as just as successful as the Europeans in issues of economy and social structures, reinforcing Afrocentric sentiments.

Further, taxes was another theme reflected in the sample History textbooks that forced the African societies into the western capitalist economy, which was presented in an Eurocentric sentiment. To explicate, the African people in Namibia were obliged to pay taxes "to pay for the costs to run a government and to develop the country ... [as well

as] to force Namibians into the labour market. Tax had to be paid in money (mostly European currency). For indigenous people to get this money they had to work or sell some of their possessions. They had lost their cattle and land, so they did not have a choice but to volunteer to work. The words related to African societies such as “pay”, “run”, “develop”, “had to be”, “work”, “sell”, “lost” and “did not have”, are behavioural transitive verbs that express a lack of agency in terms of having access to what was rightfully theirs as well as an unequal relationship with the European colonisers in which the latter were in control.

Consequently, in another example, “Two of the taxes that were introduced were a hut tax to be paid on each hut they owned in the village, and a dog tax that had to be paid on each dog they owned” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.87). The lexicalisation of the above example highlights that European foreigners were paid by the African societies for simply living in a country that was justifiably not their own. The sample textbooks elucidate the theme of taxes as a limiting factor to the security of the African societies, since they would not be protected against, or warned of the arrival of Europeans if the latter were to ambush them, thus expressing a postcolonial historiography.

Moreover, the sample textbooks provide a Eurocentric perspective of the theme of taxes, for instance, although R1.00 a year would have to be paid by African societies for tax purposes such as the Glen Grey Act in 1890, R1.00 would have been worth R109.60 in 2023<sup>1</sup>. Although this appears a relatively reasonable sum of money, we must bear in mind that “by 1897, when the pass laws were working reasonably well, the Chamber of Mines cut the wages of black workers to 12c [R13.15] a shift for surface work and 25c [R27.40] a shift for underground work. Skilled white workers, by contrast, were earning about ten times as much” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.304). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned example alludes to the economic disparities between the African workers and the European workers, as well the type of work done by each. The textbooks reflect that even though the African workers conducted more rigorous dangerous work in the mines, they were paid substantially less than the European workers, thus reflecting Marxist and Eurocentric historiographies.

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<sup>1</sup> These amounts are based on the assumption that the inflation rate would be 3.6% per year (Crause, 2023)

Correspondingly, Eurocentrism in the sample textbooks was presented with reference to Leopold's II rule over Congo, when "if people who could not pay the tax were imprisoned or forced to work on the plantations. The employers ensured that the salaries of the workers were so low that they would never be able to pay all their taxes and other debts. This ensured that the workers would never be able to stop working on the plantations" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.145). The polarity of the transitive verbs "could not", "imprisoned", "work", and "never be able to" indicate the economic constraints imposed by colonisers on the African societies.

In keeping with the discourse of economic control, the theme of the emergence of classes and racial segregation in southern Africa is discussed in *South African Textbook 1*, p.295, not only between the African societies and the European colonisers, but also among the Europeans as well. One textbook mentions "The British, Germans and the Portuguese designed the [colonial] economy along racist lines" (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.91). *South African Textbook 1*, p.295 postulates, "after the mineral discoveries, a new rich class of people emerged. These were the people who made money from diamonds and gold. Some of them entered into politics and could influence laws that were made about land, labour and taxes to benefit the mine owners' interests". This is an example of Eurocentric sentiment in the sample textbooks which illuminates how the colonisers gained wealth, recognition and influence by exploiting and dispossessing land from the indigenous African societies, and then used their newly iniquitously acquired power to further deprive the African societies through mandatory taxes.

The sample History textbooks explicate the Eurocentric view that the colonisers financially empowered the European settlers rather than compensating the African indigenous societies from whom they had advanced. For example, "settlers received money to develop their farms. These loans could also be paid back when their products were sold. Cheap loans were provided to buy cattle and vaccines for them...Transportation costs of all goods were limited to the absolute minimum [and] the authorities helped to supply cheap labour to farmers" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.88). The transitive verbs such as "received", "develop", "provided", "buy" "helped" and "supply" are all examples of behavioural processes which implies a sense of agency and power in preference to the Europeans.

Subsequently, the sample textbooks illustrated that the changes from a traditional economic system to the western economic systems resulted in urbanisation and the modification of the family living structure of African societies. To elucidate, “while the African men were forced to move from their homes to the city, the African women stayed in the rural areas [and] faced lives of unrelenting poverty and hard work [especially since they] were unable to move to the cities because of apartheid influx regulations. ... Life in the rural areas was very difficult due to extreme poverty, a lack of job opportunities and scarcity of farming land. Incidents of infant mortality, malnutrition and disease were far higher in rural areas than in urban ones” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.148). By including the aforementioned examples, the sample History textbooks reinforce a postcolonial sentiment towards western colonialism in Africa.

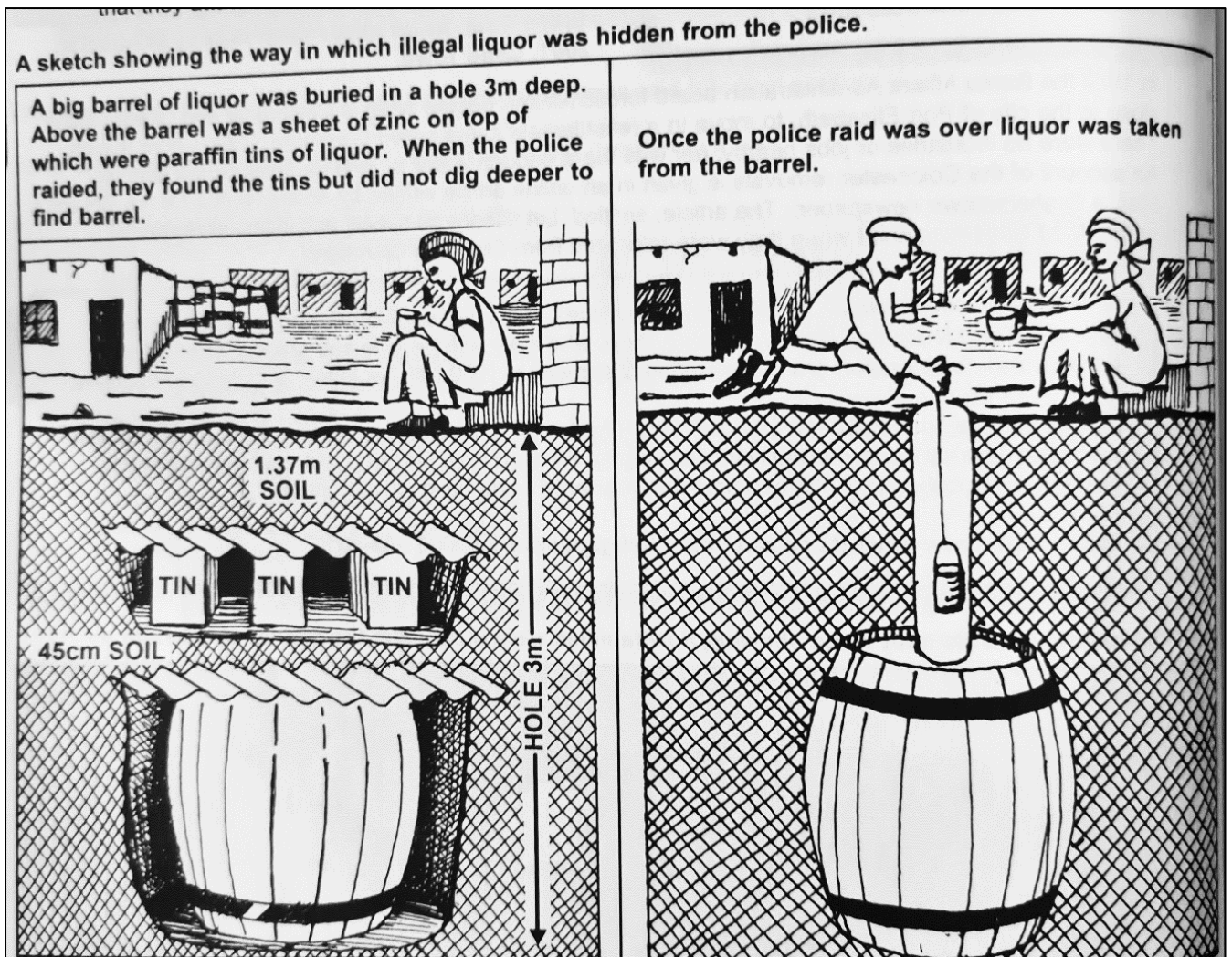
The sample History textbooks make a distinct point that the environment acted as a determinant to move African societies into the western economy. To elucidate, “women were forced to leave the rural areas as these areas were impoverished by drought, cattle disease and locust plagues (*South African Textbook 3*, p.145). Additionally, “over 80% of the Herero cattle died due to the cattle plague. The Herero used cattle as a kind of money, therefore losing so many cattle made the Herero much poorer. Many Herero farmers who lost their cattle were forced to work on white farms or work as labourers in the mines” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.55). In the two former examples, both the textbooks mention “force” as an operative word, i.e.: “forced to leave” and “forced to work”, and the lexicalisation of the above examples indicate how their environment often determined the narratives of African societies. Yet, more than that, the examples reveal the postcolonial and Afrocentric ideas that African societies depended on cattle as their source of wealth prior to the introduction of the western economy, and mostly importantly, it is an example of how African societies were coerced into the western economic systems.

Furthermore, the sample textbooks expressed that since African societies derived their wealth from their land, their original places of residence were negatively affected by colonial development and urbanisation. For example, “African men were forced to move from their homes to the city” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.148), and the rural areas “became poorer and backward” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.305). Having

included such examples, the sample History textbooks portray postcolonial and Afrocentric historiographies.

The sample textbooks also emphasise that despite being exposed to the hardships of western colonialism, African societies adapted to the life in the city, thus illuminating an Afrocentric sentiment. For instance, “Since jobs were scarce, many made a living by working in the informal sector by ... setting up small stores or hawking goods, sewing by hand at home [or] brewing traditional beer” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.150). Verbs such as “working”, “setting up”, “sewing” and “brewing” illustrate that although African societies were unjustly forced into the western economy, they used their already acquired skills to make a living. Further evidence of the ingenuity of African societies is depicted in the image below in *South African Textbook 3*, p.150. Brewing beer was a traditional skill and the African women on that. As the image depicts, African women economised on the traditional skill of brewing beer, and used creative ways to prevent being caught by the apartheid police.

Figure 6.3 Image showing how African societies were forced to adapt to the life in the city (*South African Textbook 3, p.150*)



Furthermore, “Burdened by the poverty of the homelands or forced to live in resettlement camps, thousands of African women sought better life in the cities” (*South African Textbook 3, p.150*). The superlative “better” indicates that the African societies were already leading a good life, however with western colonialism came challenges that ruined their contented experiences.

The sample History textbooks expound the theme of remuneration in that oftentimes wages were not paid for the actual intensity of work completed by African labourers. To elucidate, “In 1903 the average wage on mines in Southern Rhodesia had been 80 shillings a month, but by 1925 it was only 18 shillings a month (*Zimbabwean Textbook*

1, pp.59-60). Similarly, “Women working in industry were paid very low wages” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.145). The words “only” and “low” is indicative of the menial pay that the African societies received for their hard work. Additionally, the lexicalisation of the abovementioned example reveals the dependency of the African societies on colonisers who were the determinants of their pay scale, alluding to a Eurocentric historiography.

In keeping with the theme of unequal remuneration, the sample textbooks express a Eurocentric sentiment for instance, “The Anglo-Belgium India Rubber Company harvested natural rubber in the Congo ... sold one kilogram of rubber for 10 francs, although it only cost them 1.35 francs to collect and transport the rubber, Part of that 1.35 francs was also for labour” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.145). The above example indicates the propensity of the colonisers to limit the economic advancement of the African societies into the western economy. As a result of the above limitations placed on African societies, “exploitation of labour has also been linked to blood diamonds” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.98). The latter example lends itself to a postcolonial sentiment.

As revealed from the sample school History textbooks, African migrant labour was another theme associated with western colonialism. “The industrial development of Southern Africa came to depend on cheap labour” (*Zimbabwe Textbook 1*, p.59). Furthermore, to decrease the cost of labour, “the system of contract and migrant labour meant that white businesses and farms could employ cheap labour for periods of time. In this way, the government did not have to supply housing, roads, schools or any social services for the workers’ communities. “Whites could just use their labour and then send them back to the poor, undeveloped reserves” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.99). The tone of the above example in the textbook is accusatory, in that the colonisers took no accountability for the welfare of the African societies that they employed, and thus highlights a postcolonial and Afrocentric view.

The sample History textbooks portray mining in South Africa in a Eurocentric perspective, for instance, “unskilled manual labour, was done by black men and this was where costs could be cut, if the government supported the mine owners’ efforts to recruit and control migrant workers” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.292). The

lexicalisation of the above example alludes that the mining revolution in Africa further entrenched African subservience and reliance, while simultaneously enhancing colonial privilege.

Moreover, another example of the Eurocentric presentation of mining in the sample textbooks indicate that “the majority of potential mineworkers were black farmers. They had to be persuaded or forced into becoming workers for wages on farms”. These farmers had no choice but to abandon their initial agricultural skillsets in exchange for performing manual labour in the mines in order to support themselves and their families who had to pay taxes such as that stipulated in the Glen Grey Act. This act “forced blacks in the Cape to pay R1 every year. But they did not have to pay this tax if they could prove they had worked on the mines for three months” (*South African Textbook 3*). The aforementioned examples prompt a Eurocentric historiography, especially with the nominalisation of the concept of ‘force’.

Another example of the Eurocentric view in the sample History textbooks is that “Workers also had to face another type of colonialist oppression – the ‘colour bar’...It meant that black workers, however skilled they were, could not be paid as much as white workers. Even if some of those white workers were less skilled than black workers. The white workers liked the idea of the colour bar because, with the growth of industry, they had begun to fear that their jobs would be taken by black workers. So all black workers stayed below the colour bar and all white workers stayed above the colour bar” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, pp.59-60). This sentiment is also evident in *South African Textbook 1*, p.298, which states, that the middle class “became quite a privileged white group, protected from competition with black people by job reservation laws”. The lexicalisation and nominalisation in the above paragraph illustrates the extent to which the colonisers went to suppress the African societies physically, psychologically and economically, proposing postcolonial and Afrocentric historiographies.

The school History textbooks allude to Marxist economics and the theme of slavery. A few instances includes *South African Textbook 1*, p.94, mentions “although many of the Khoikhoi were forced to become servants of the Dutch ... this was still not enough to meet the demand. The answer was to import slaves”. “Slavery made merchants and

plantation owners in Europe very wealthy” (*South African Textbook 1*, p,102). Furthermore, “Under German rule, Namibians were often used as slave labourers and their lands were often confiscated and given to colonists. This land was stocked with the cattle of the Herero and Nama people (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.42), of which undeniably was the wealth of the African societies. The abovementioned examples alludes to Marxist language of supply and demand, and African slaves as a source of European wealth.

Moreover, “When the workers got to their new jobs they found that the wages and working conditions were so bad that they were almost slaves. In South Africa the workers called this new type of slavery ‘isibalo’. In Southern Rhodesia it was called ‘chibaro’” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, pp.59-60). Similarly, “The slave trade distorted the economies and cultures of West Africa by promoting constant warfare. This created a climate of fear and people could not settle and prosper for fear of being raided ... A state of disruption and vulnerability followed which laid Africa open to colonial takeovers” (*South African Textbook 1*, p,102). The lexicalisation of the above illustrates the distinct relationship between the physical and psychological chains that were exerted on Africans, and the increase of colonial pressures on Africa.

In keeping with Marxism, the Dutch “slave owners were not keen to free their slaves who were seen as valuable commodities. A single slave could be worth as much as a small farm or a wagon and oxen”. (*South African Textbook 1*, p.239). The syntax and lexicalisation of the above, depict the Dutch as authoritative owners in possession of “their slaves”, and it is clear that they were dismissive of the factor of humanity and the right to freedom that the African societies had.

The sample school History textbooks, also illustrate the importance of the chiefs in advancing the western economic system. For example, “The chiefs encouraged people to sign contracts and work in white businesses for periods of time, usually 10 to 11 months. The reserves were too small for so many people to make a living. So large numbers of workers needed to migrate to white farms or businesses to earn money in order to provide for their families” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.99). The colonisers knew that the African people were forced to become dependent on them because of the familial duties and unity of the African societies.

Another example of how the African societies were forced into the western capitalist economy through chiefs was when the German “government introduced forced labour conscription. Under this policy, the authorities would negotiate with the chiefs for a number of labourers. The Chiefs received compensation for each worker that they provided” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.86). Considering the aforementioned lexicalisation the implication is that the colonisers were controlling all aspects of African societies, including the chiefs.

In a discussion on mining in Namibia during the mid-1800s, *Namibia Textbook 1*, p.25 states, “European miners began mining the valuable copper deposits that were found in parts of Namibia ... Miners from South Africa agreed to pay fees to local chiefs for permission to mine the copper. Other leaders wanted the right to sell mining rights to foreign miners, instead of having to always work through Jonker Afrikaner.” The elucidation of the role of chiefs in the colonial economy gives the allusion that the European colonisers used different approaches that used in different African countries. For example, in Namibia, they exhibited respect and asked for permission to mine. In contrast, Europeans in South Africa invaded the African land with no compunction.

Additionally, the sample school History textbooks mention the collective western colonial influence on the economy of Africa. “To elucidate, “Some European countries took as much as possible from their colonies without being willing to invest anything. Belgium’s rule in Congo is an example of this. Britain is regarded as the country that put the most effort and money into developing the infrastructure of its colonies” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.130). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned example alludes to the possible rationale for such expenditure was that the Europeans would reap the benefits of their investment in the colonies, in terms of acquiring natural resources, and it required a place for their surplus population to settle.

The sample History textbooks reveal that the governments of the colonist countries had clear directives of what they wanted to achieve with the economic process of colonialism. For example, “the Spanish and Portuguese exercised strict governmental control over their colonies ... the colonies provided closed markets for the ‘mother country’s’ exports” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.60). The aforementioned example alludes to a Eurocentric sentiment.

Further, the sample textbooks depict the colonisers in a neoliberal and Eurocentric light as economically prudent and financially conscious and did not want to needlessly spend money, which led them to become creative in their endeavours to acquire raw materials. To explicate, *South African Textbook 1*, p.62 states that “because of the high taxes being charged to use the overland trade routes through the Ottoman Empire to the east ... Queen Isabella [of Spain] agreed to cover half of the cost of Columbus’ voyage of discovery”. Furthermore, in relation to the relationship between places and travel, the Portuguese “were only interested in Africa as a continent that needed to be rounded to get to the east where they desired to control the valuable spice trade. But ... they recognised the potential economic benefits of setting up trading stations along the coastline and setting up trading links with kingdoms in the African interior” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.86). By monopolising the raw materials and people along the coast, such as “gold, ivory, slaves and various other goods ... [the Portuguese] quickly established themselves as the dominant power in the area” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.87).

The sample textbooks express the Eurocentric view that throughout the colonial period, the power of the charter companies was unparalleled in determining the course of the lives, and subsequently the economies, of Africans and Europeans alike. For example, in relation to European settlement at the Cape “the VOC released a small number of Dutch settlers from their contracts and permitted them to establish farms. ... This small group of free burgers steadily increased and began to expand their farms further north and east into the territory of the indigenous people of the region, the KhoiKhoi” (*South African Textbook 1*, p.93).

Essentially, European trading companies created trade monopolies in which they “would take control of the production and sale of goods ... and control the price of certain products as well as how much of the product was traded on the world market” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.142). The transitive verb “control” is used in the economic sense and gives agency to the colonisers whose actions mentioned above left the African societies with virtually no access to the necessary crops that they had previously depended on for their survival.

In addition to the collective influence on the African economy, the sample textbooks indicate that individual influence was just as important. Many of these individual initiatives were often driven by capitalism, for example, when discussing official western colonialism of Namibia, *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.38 states that in 1884 “[Adolf] Luderitz place the [previously known Angra Pequena] under the protection of Germany”. He added that “he ‘bought’ the land ... and paid in guns, alcohol and a very small amount of money” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.38). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned is an example of how indigenous African societies were immersed into the western economic systems through individual efforts. To African societies wealth was initially manifested in the form of cattle and land.

In another example of Eurocentric economic agency, “Leutwein makes it illegal for Namibians to borrow money from traders” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.47). Not only does this imply the authority that Europeans felt they had over how the African societies lived their lives; but it also expresses the lengths that Europeans would go through to prevent the attempts of the African societies to uplift themselves, especially now that they were forced into the western economy.

Additionally the sample textbooks drew on Cecil John Rhodes who “paid others to work the mines for him. He became very wealthy after just a few years. In 1890, Rhodes became prime minister of the cape Colony. His parliament made laws that benefitted his business interests and took away land from the local people” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.143). Britain saw Rhodes’ ability to wield power and authority over others, and knew that he would make Britain powerful. The transitive verbs “paid”, ‘made”, “took away”, “ability” in relation to Rhodes indicates his material and behavioural superiority over the African societies.

Similarly, the sample textbooks express the Eurocentric view that during Leopold’s II rule over Congo, “people who could not pay the tax were imprisoned or forced to work on the plantations. The employers ensured that the salaries of the workers were so low that they would never be able to pay all their taxes and other debts. This ensured that the workers would never be able to stop working on the plantations. Beatings and other forms of corporal punishment were part of the daily lives of these workers (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.145). *South African Textbook 3* has included an information

box which includes facts about Leolod's rule. It mentions that, workers "who did not meet quotas were severely punished. Some workers had a hand cut off as punishment and sometimes entire communities were massacred. This cruel and harsh exploitation resulted in the death of about 10 million Congolese (half of the entire population)" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.75). The above nominalisation and lexicalisation depicts an explicit example of the cunning and deceptive nature of Leopold. Nonetheless, despite how horrific the crimes were, Leopold was not disciplined or removed from the role, rather he just "put under supervision" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.145), which illustrates the ruthless British unconcern for the African workers. While the above examples may be Eurocentric, they do have underlying postcolonial and Afrocentric sentiments which illustrate how the African societies tried to resist colonial administrations.

Another example of individual colonial influence on the African economy, in the sample textbooks was "Leutwein makes it illegal for Namibians to borrow money from traders" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.47). Not only does the above lexicalisation imply the authority that Europeans felt they had control over how the African societies lived their lives; but it also expresses the lengths that Europeans would go through to prevent the attempts of the African societies to uplift themselves, especially now that they were coerced into the western economy. The above example reveals a Eurocentric sentiment.

Contrastingly, during the decolonial process, traditional concepts were often linked to economic development. For example, *Harambee* refers to 'Let's all work together' and was introduced in Kenya by Jomo Kenyatta who "invited white farmers to stay in Kenya on condition that they teach black Kenyans their skills and knowledge" (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.135). The aforementioned example alludes to Afrocentric and postcolonial sentiments in which all societies work together.

Furthermore, Tanzania was ruled under an African Socialist economic system. Within this system, "Ujamaa, the Swahili word for family-hood, was the economic and social policy introduced by Julius Nyerere" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.105); and "neighbourhood or brotherhood (Brothers are equal)" (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.136). "Nyerere wanted to improve the lives of people in rural areas...The government combined small farms into big collective farmlands. Although the government provided

tools and tractors to these farmlands, production still decreased” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.136). “The idea behind African Socialism was that the people should equally benefit from all resources as they have done for centuries” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.138). The lexicalisation of the above example is indicative of corrective economic action to assist African societies engage with similar practices of pre-colonialism in which all African societies benefitted from all resources thus reinforcing Afrocentric and postcolonial historiographies.

Ultimately, the sample school History textbooks revealed, using various historiographies, that there was a direct correlation between labour in Africa and development within Africa and the European colonial mother countries. The sample textbooks illuminated that European colonisers imposed an economic system in which the African societies were forced to depend on for their livelihood. The examples provided in the sample textbooks inevitably affirmed that European countries flourished, while the African countries diminished.

#### **6.2.4 Discourses of environmental degradation**

For the purpose of contextualising this section, the concept of the environment in this study is considered as a generic term that refers to the natural and human resources found in Africa. In the sample school history textbooks, the environment was depicted primarily as a socio-cultural and economic power-obtaining genre, and land was depicted as a pivotal aspect in the advancement of western colonialism in Africa. For example, phrases such as “several European countries competed with one another for land in Africa” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.36); and “European countries ... established permanent settlements in the colonies so that they could benefit from the colony for a longer period” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.130), exemplifies the key positioning of the African continent. The textbooks reveal that land was also a symbol of socio-political and economic status among the European countries, as *Namibian Textbook 1* (p.123) mentioned “the more land a country occupied, the more important the country was considered to be”, and “the more ivory and animal products a person could get, the richer he became” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.32).

The modality used by the sample textbooks of raw materials are illustrative of certainty and undeniability that European colonisers wanted to exploit the natural resources in Africa for the economic development of their European countries. To exemplify, textbooks make reference to the views of the colonisers regarding the natural resources. Examples of such references include the following phrases indicating that the European colonisers found it “necessary to draw borders around their territories to protect these raw materials from other European countries”, “the competition in trade with Asia increased during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and it became crucial to control territories” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.124). Words such as “protect”, “competition” and “control” in the above context reveal that the colonisers were selfish, avaricious and despotic in nature.

Furthermore, phrases in the sample History textbooks such as “Large scale urbanisation took place. This put pressure on the availability of goods such as firewood and water in certain areas” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.147); and infrastructure built to “transport raw materials and goods to harbours for export” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.146) suggests that the nominalisation of development and establishment of such development disrupted the African natural environment and largely altered the existing landscapes, and consequently sacred ancestral land was destroyed, as well necessities for the survival of African societies were depleted. This portrays a Eurocentric sentiment but also gives voice to the African societies and may therefore also be considered as Afrocentric and postcolonial in nature.

Additionally, *Zimbabwean Textbook 2* (p.91) uses the following phrases to illustrate the negative impact of the overexploitation of animal resources “hunters shot elephants for ivory, leopards, cheetahs, giraffes and zebras for their skins and other animals for game meat ... Tonnes of animal products were sent to the coast regularly ... large forests were cleared to make plantations. Trees were also cut down to provide energy in the homes, factories and to drive the steam engines”. Another instance of how the natural environment was negatively affected by colonial process is stated in *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.32. The textbook states, “wild animals were hunted on foot with a bow and arrow”. Regarding transitivity, these textbooks use material processes such as “shot”, “sent”, “cleared”, “cut down”, and “hunted”. These material processes denote a sense of colonial authority and dominance on and over African land.

Besides describing Africa as an abundant source of natural resources, the sample textbooks also reveal that the continent was ideally located, particularly for economic and political purposes. For instance, normalisations of Africa as a political vantage point are expressed through phrases such as Africa had “three strategic seaways [and] was a target for foreign interference. African governments, in turn, attempted to turn such interference to their advantage (*South African Textbook 3*, p.117). As a form of economic leverage, the textbooks nominalise Africa as having “important routes like the Suez Canal, the horn of Africa and the most southern point of Africa” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.124), and as a producer of “minerals for the world market” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.117).

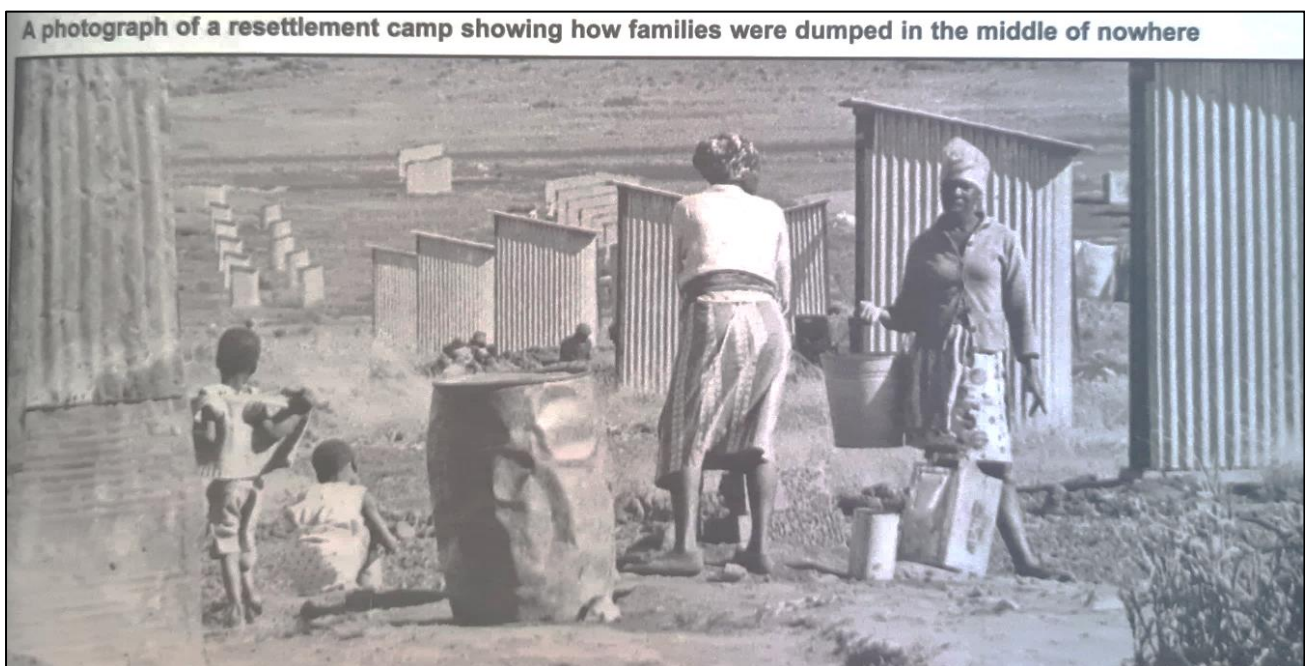
Further, the textbooks portray the consequences of the interest and arrival of European colonisers in Africa in a way that illustrates the direct correlation between western colonial development and the disruption of African land. For instance, *Namibian Textbook 1* indicates the conceptual progression of the consequences of colonial occupation in Africa by including phrases such as “more settlers came to settle [in Namibia]” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.84); “transport raw materials and goods to harbours for export” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.146); “large scale urbanisation took place” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.147).

Moreover, some textbooks provide a visual representation of the negative effect that European societies had on African land. For example, on p.86 of *South African Textbook 1* is a map of an area on the coast of Africa. The map illustrates several buildings and human-made structures in addition to the natural terrain. This drawing also depicts the *São Jorge da Mina* also referred to as the Elmina Castle. The choice of including this visual in the textbook, is perhaps because the castle is essentially a representation of colonial semantics since it is the oldest surviving European-built establishment in the South of the Sahara used as a trading port by the Portuguese. Consequently, the sample textbooks expound colonial administration and policies as a means of drastically altering the use of African land on an official legislative level. *South African Textbook 1*, p.92, produces an image of the map of Cape Town in 1767 which emphasises the physical separation between African societies and European societies. On the map, African societies were situated close to the outskirts of the developed city, near the cemeteries and far away from the drinking supply. This

implies that they were intentionally kept far away from the basic essentials such as water. This further correlates with colonial laws such as those passed by the “Rhodes’ parliament that benefitted Cecil Rhodes’ business interests and took away land from the local people” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.143).

Additionally, the word “dumped” in connection to the forced displacement of black South Africans during apartheid was used twice in *South African Textbook 3*. For example, the Homeland Policy was established by Hendrik Verwoerd and “Africans were forcibly removed from the urban areas, farms and even land to which they had title deeds and dumped into the homelands” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.148). Additionally the caption of Figure 6.1 below states that African families were “dumped in the middle of nowhere”, and the photograph illustrates that the environment is indeed bare. The land is barren, with vast uncultivated soil. The what would be ‘houses’ are constructed with nothing more than corrugated iron plates – not enough to keep them warm or protect them from the rain.

**Figure 6.4: Depiction of the negative effects of western colonial processes on the African environment (*South African Textbook 3*, p.149)**

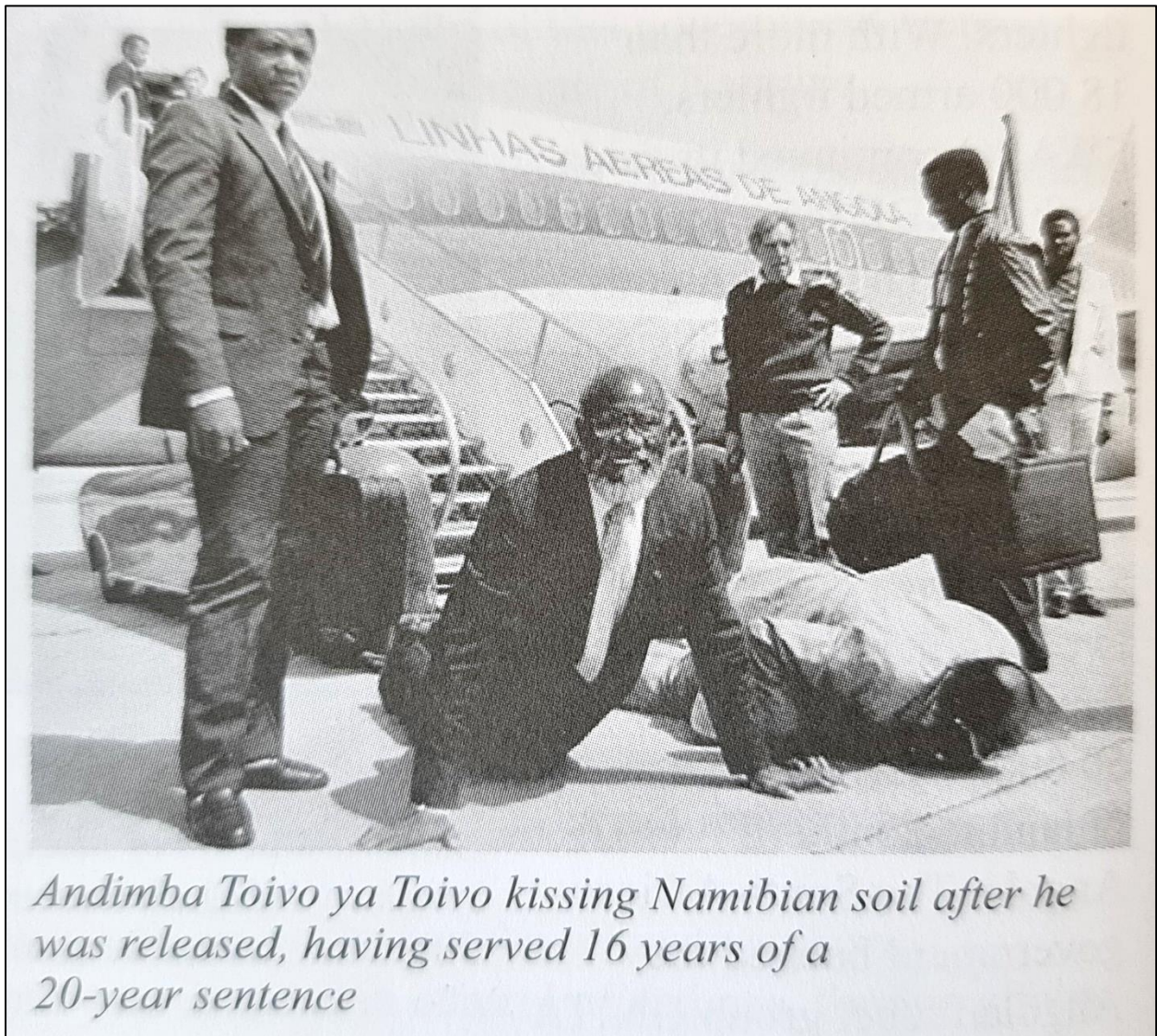


Furthermore, with reference to the 'dompass', the lexicalisation used in the textbooks portray a sense of paramount white authority over black South Africans. Such examples include phrases such as "punishable", "determined where an African might live and work", "convicted", "criminal record" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.148) and "pass laws threatened African women's basic freedoms and rights" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.148). This description is in stark contrast to the availability of land for the European colonisers and their descendants. To elucidate, *Namibian Textbook 1* (p.96) illuminates phrases such as that "most of the land was occupied by white farmers", "shops and industries belonged to white people" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.96).

Another example of European entitlement is expressed in the phrase "Leutwein was able to take this land for German settlement. He argued that as these cattle farmers had fewer cattle, they needed less land" (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.55). The transitive text "was able to" when referring to Leutwein, compared to the phrases "had fewer" and "needed less" in relation to the Namibian societies, indicates in the textbook the sort of European thinking that shows polarity within the hierarchal status between the coloniser and the colonised.

Further to the polarity of the way the coloniser and the African societies viewed land, was expressed through the image, (*Namibia Textbook 2*, p.54), which exhibits that even in post-colonial Africa, African societies revered the land.

**Figure 6.5 African reverence of land (*Namibia Textbook 2, p.54*)**



There is evidence of interdisciplinary genres of History and Geography regarding the discourse of the environment and western colonialism in *South African Textbook 1*. For instance, the textbook describes how weather affected the African population and subsequently the historical narrative of these people. The textbook includes phrases such as “higher rainfall across much of central and eastern southern Africa led to increased agricultural production and livestock, which in turn led to higher population figures and increased competition for resources among the chiefdoms” (*South African Textbook 1, p.177*). Furthermore, when discussing the Ndwandwe Kingdom, *South African Textbook 1, p.182*, states the “environmental factors played a part in their [the Ndwandwe’s] rise.

As can be seen above, the linguistic pragmatics of western colonialism in relation to the discourse of the environment is portrayed in various ways from strategic location for trade and settlement as well as supply of natural resources, and alludes to the different historiographies in the sample school History textbooks

### **6.2.5 Discourses of anti-colonialism**

The CDA of the eight sample school History textbooks also revealed discourses of anti-colonialism. For the purpose of clarification, anti-colonialism in this chapter refers to the physical, philosophical and psychological endeavours of African societies to challenge and eradicate western colonialism in Africa. In the textbooks, anti-colonialism was reflected through visual and written texts. To provide a structure to the discourses of anti-colonialism, this section will be delineated into three key aspects, i.e., African agency, African heritage and symbols of African unity.

#### **6.2.5.1 African agency**

African agency is manifested in a variety of narratives in the sample school History textbooks. This sub-section will be further divided into the various narratives to present a clear illustration of how African agency was depicted in the textbooks. These narratives include individual agency and collective agency, and were all expressed in Afrocentric and postcolonial views.

##### **a. Individual agency**

An example of individual agency is Steve Biko who understood the power of words and their impact on African people. For example, he rejected the term 'non-white' and stated that "we are merely refusing to be regarded as non-persons and claim the right to positivity" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.228). "Blackness was considered a positive concept of identity which included both Coloured and Indians" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.229). Biko stated "When you say, 'Black is beautiful', ... you are saying, man, you are OK as you are, begin to look upon yourself as a human being" (*South African Textbook 3*, p.227). The use of the transitive verbs "refusing" and "claim" allude to a polarity between colonial discrimination and self-appreciation. The nominalisation of "Black" is depicted as synonymous with "positivity", "beautiful" and "human being", which imply Biko's ideology that inverts the disparate racial hierarchy established by the colonial structures.

Correspondingly, Anton Lembede “talked about Africans not just overthrowing colonialism but also taking pride in themselves and their culture. Like other nationalists, Lembede wanted Africans to study their own history to discover their national heroes” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.100). The transitive verbs that indicate agency as a behavioural process include “overthrowing”, “taking”, “study” and “discover”. These verbs align with the nouns “themselves”, “culture”, “own” and “heroes”.

In an example of African agency, the tone of the letter written by Witbooi to Leutwein explaining his decision to break the treaty with the Germans, appears almost apologetic as it considers the notion that the African societies were at fault or had done something wrong to deserve punishment from the Germans. Witbooi also augments the idea of a once united people when he states that they had killed “thousands of ours” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.69). He is once again claiming kinship with the other African societies. By reiterating, “all we wanted to do was to live in peace on our land” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.69), Witbooi reinforces that the African societies were the initial self-sufficient owners of their ancestral land which was trespassed upon by the Europeans.

Moreover, “in 1972, Steve [Biko] helped start the Black People’s Convention, which aimed to unite all black organisations in the country working towards the same aims...During his last arrest, he was beaten severely and suffered head injuries. He died in detention in 14 September 1977” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.155). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned alludes to the idea that Biko possessed such impressionable and amicable leadership traits in his fight for African freedom, that he posed a threat to the white political system. Thus, imprisoning and beating him was the only way the white government could stop him from his ardent endeavour to free the minds of African people. However, no matter how much they tried, the government could not contain his influence and his fervent fight for African freedom persisted.

Additionally, “Witbooi managed to persuade most of the Nama people to join him [in the fight against the whites]” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.69). Furthermore, Jakob Marengo “was a guerrilla soldier who attacked German settlers and supply wagons in southern Namibia. He inspired others to join his army even if they were from different communities” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.69). The transitive verbs “persuade” and

“inspired” depict a promptitude to actively engage the African societies in a sentiment of unity. These lexicalisation of the above are also explicit examples of unity during adversity.

The sample school History textbooks also illuminate influential people from the international arena who aimed to bring to light the plight and oppressive state of Africans. These individuals included the W.E.B du Bois, an American intellectual, who “called for better conditions for the people in the African colonies” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.158). He did this through his several books on “black history and culture, [as well as by organising] a series of pan-African conferences where Africans in the diaspora could meet and exchange ideas” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.158).

Correspondingly, George Padmore, from Trinidad “thought it was important to liberate the working class. He set up a network of African and Caribbean nationalists, trade unionists, editors and intellectuals. He had a strong influence on many future African leaders” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.159). Furthermore, in 1900, Henry Sylvester Williams, a lawyer from Trinidad, organised a conference which “focused on the unfair treatment of black people in the countries where they were born, specifically American and European countries” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.113), and it was at this conference that the term Pan-Africanism was assumed. The depiction of the above individuals in the sample textbooks alludes to the attempts from the African diaspora to inspire and motivate the African societies to fight for their freedom from the ruthless colonisers.

Similarly, *South African Textbook 1*, p.103 displays a poem by Maya Angelou which is indicative of decolonial thinking. In the poem below, Angelou acknowledges her individual power as well as the power that her ancestors bestowed on her. Similarly, Marley provides a sense of motivation in stating that Africans are capable and have the power to free themselves from the oppressive epistemic and physical colonial structures.

**Figure 6.6 Anti-colonial sentiment depicted through poetry (South African Textbook 1, p.103)**

## Source A

Maya Angelou is an African American poet. This is a verse from her poem called *And Still I Rise* written in 1978.

Out of the huts of history's shame  
I rise  
Up from a past that's rooted in pain  
I rise  
I'm a black ocean, leaping and wide,  
Welling and swelling I bear in the tide.  
Leaving behind nights of terror and fear  
I rise  
Into a daybreak that's wondrously clear  
I rise  
Bringing the gifts that my ancestors gave,  
I am the dream and the hope of the slave.  
I rise  
I rise  
I rise.

### **b. Collective agency**

One of the most important forms of anti-colonial actions of African agency represented in the sample school textbooks was that of protests. To elucidate, in 1902, the African Political Organisation “protested against the segregation laws and plans to exclude black South Africans from the right to vote. ... They wanted to achieve these goals through negotiation and without violence” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.126). Similarly, Bishop Auala supported the 1972 workers’ strike “because it was a peaceful protest against the working conditions of the contract workers” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.70). The aforementioned examples allude to the action taken by the African societies to prevent inequality in their own country; and the implication that the protests were

intended to be non-confrontational is stressed with the verbs “negotiation”, “without violence” and “peaceful”.

Another example of a passive resistance campaign came in the form of the ‘National Day of protest and mourning’ organised by the ANC. This was in response to the first “one-day stayaway [which protested] against low wages, the banning of communist leaders and ... the Communist Party, [and where] 18 protesters were killed” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.198). Additionally, in 1960, the Mueda massacre began when “cotton-growing peasants at Mueda in the north of Mozambique organised a peaceful protest, but they were shot down by the colonial police” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.93). The lexicalisation in the aforementioned example distinctly highlights the iniquitous behaviour of the colonisers’ successors.

Furthermore, the school History textbooks depict groups of people of having displayed agency. For instance, The Black Sash “protested against apartheid injustices [and was] committed to giving humanitarian and practical help to victims of apartheid laws” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.262); and Namibians greatly opposed the Group Areas Act, and when the Windhoek municipality planned to relocate all local residents from the Old Location that sheltered generations of Namibians, the local Namibians fought back. In 1959, “the inhabitants of the Old Location marched to the beer hall ... and to the municipality to demand the release of the people arrested” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.16). In the aforementioned examples, the transitive verbs related to the African societies such as “protested”, “giving”, “help”, “opposed”, “fought”, “marched” and “demanded” all denote a sense of inherent agency.

Corresponding to the textbooks portrayed the significance of protests, “Africans tried to weaken [colonialism] by forming peasant movements, worker movements and political movements. These movements helped much of Africa to throw off colonialism in peaceful ways to become independent. (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.111). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned example reflects agency, especially the transitive verbs such as “tried”, “weaken”, “forming”, “movements”, “helped”, “throw off” and “independent”.

In the similar manner in which the school textbooks elucidate the influence of missionaries (discussed under Discourses of forces of western colonialism), the textbooks also emphasise the role of churches and their respective clergy as structures that advanced African agency. To elucidate, Bishop Auala used a referendum as an “opportunity to show the world and South Africa how Namibians really felt about South Africa rule” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.64); in 1971, Bishop Auala and Paster Gowaseb “spoke out against the violence used by police and soldiers of the South African government. This open and fearless statement of the church gave new courage to the people of Namibia to continue fighting for their freedom” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.67). In the aforementioned examples, the transitive verbs “show”, “spoke out”, “fighting”; the nouns “opportunity”, “courage” and “freedom”; as well as the adjective “fearless” all allude to a sense of African autonomy and the ability of the church structures to positively influence the African societies to challenge the colonial policies.

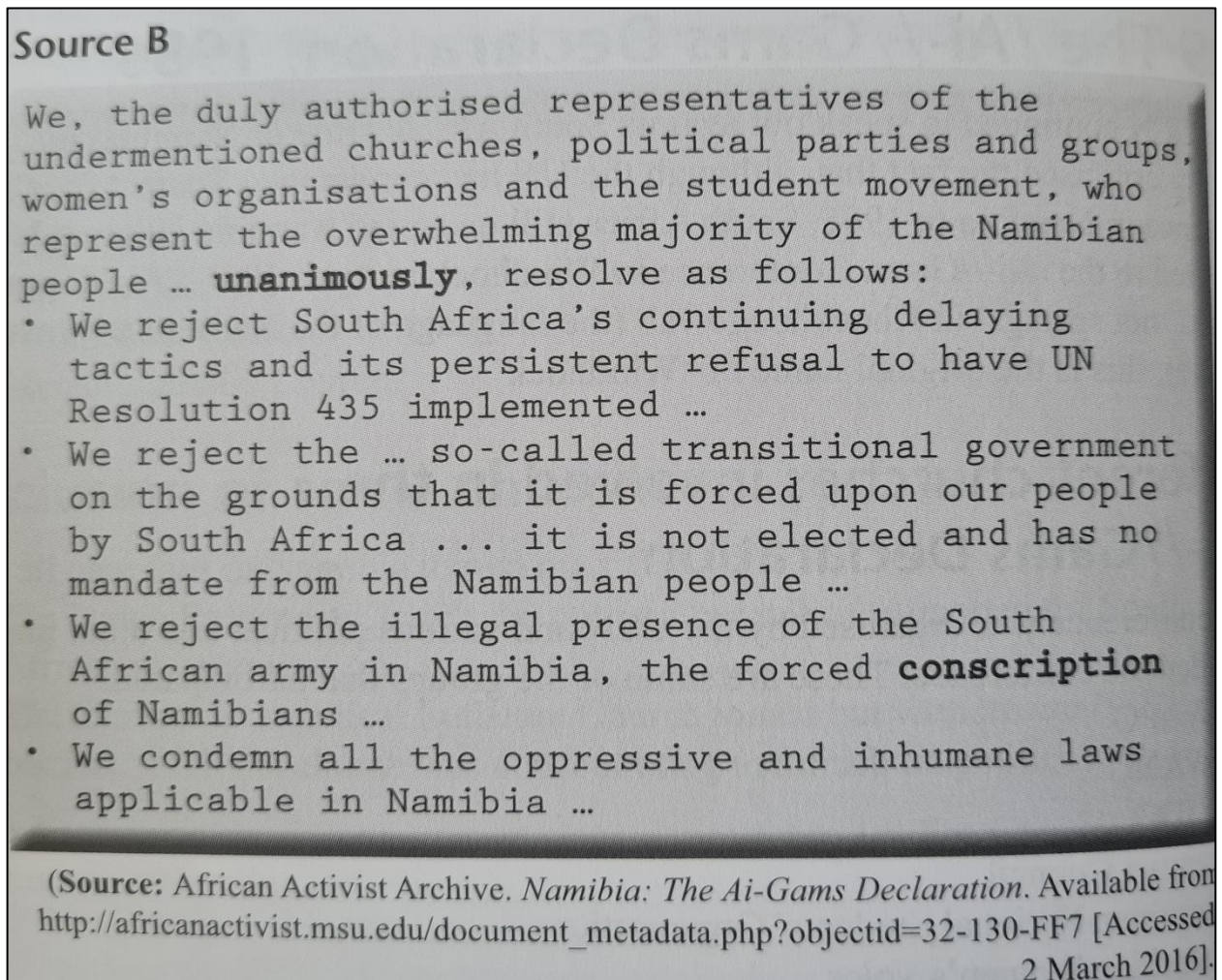
Furthermore, the role of churches in colonial Namibia was imperative as it gave voice to the Namibians. For example, “younger members of the church spoke out against the unfair treatment of black people and demanded that the church oppose this more actively. The older generations believed that pressure on the government should rather be through negotiations” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.62). The lexicalisation of the abovementioned polarity of ideologies is an example of the difference in generational thinking. The young members saw that passive resistance was not working in favour of obtaining their freedom. Thus, they had to be more actively involved in bringing about change within their country.

Another example of the influence of churches include the idea that “independent churches realised that they should stand together if they wanted to be effective against South Africa rule. They also wanted to speak out against the injustice of the death penalty for ‘terrorists’ as people fighting for Namibian independence were called” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.74); and “Churches felt the unity of independent churches would strengthen the opposition of apartheid” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.73). The transitive verbs in the above examples “stand together”, “speak out”, “unity” and “strengthen”; as well as the repetition of the preposition “against” serves to augment the conviction of the African societies to challenge colonialism.

Similarly, African societies were influenced by the structures of the Church. Some African societies formed “their own churches which accepted some African traditions such as ‘polygamy’, ‘kurova guva’ (passing the dead person’s spirit to ancestors) and others” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.170). Additionally, African people were sometimes “encouraged by church groups to revolt against the colonialists. In South Africa, for example, Zionist church people had led peasants in the Bulhoek revolt in 1922, and in Nyasaland peasants had been encouraged by ‘Watch Tower’ church people to refuse to pay taxes or give their labour to colonialists” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.88). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned examples denote the inspiration that the church structures gave to the oppressed African societies.

Moreover, the /Ai-//Gams Declaration held in 1986, included the objections to South African rule and policies. As is seen in the image below, “churches, political parties and groups, women’s organisations and the student movement” were voicing their concerns as Namibians. Each statement in the declaration begins with a conviction, for example they “reject” and they “condemn”. The Namibian people are displaying a high level of certitude in what they believed was unjust (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.76).

**Figure 6.7 Literary illustration of anti-colonial sentiment (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.76)**



Besides the church, political and ideological organisations were depicted as progenitors of African agency. To elucidate, in 1945, a Pan-African congress held in England “demanded freedom for Africa and called on Africans to work for independence and African socialism. This encouraged African nationalists to form political parties” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.91). Furthermore, the ANC, “opposed the [apartheid laws] by linking up with other groups of all races who were struggling against the laws in South Africa. This combined group was therefore *multiracial*, although it consisted mainly of Africans” (*Zimbabwean Text 1*, p.102). The transitive verbs such as “demanded”, “called on”, “encouraged”, “form”, “opposed”, and “linking” are behavioural process that indicate a high level of agency among the African societies

who were determined to work together as a collective entity against the colonial structures.

In another example of collective agency, albeit not physical action was evident in *South African Textbook 2* which presents a political cartoon that succinctly illustrates the views of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO). The cartoon illustrates the traditional European literature, whereby the black sheep usually is the outcast, the one who does not belong in the flock. However, this cartoon makes a bold statement to amend that Eurocentric notion. To explicate, since the African societies were borne from the African continent, the white people do not belong and they are in fact the outcasts.

Figure 6.8 Illustration of European 'othering' sentiment (*South African Textbook 2, p.76*)



Correspondingly, *South African Textbook 3 (p.231)*, conveys a similar message that white societies are the outcasts is the cartoon below. In keeping with the motif of European as outcasts, the cartoon depicts the rider of the springbok as the outcast.

Figure 6.9 Political cartoon depicting Europeans as the “real outcasts” (*South African Textbook 3* (p.231))



Moreover, the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) was established by “educated Herero leaders [whose aim was] to oppose South African rule” (Namibia Textbook 2, p.11). SWANU’s initial goals included uniting all Namibians, fighting for self-determination, advancing the Namibian people, promoting African unity and

illuminating “imperialism, tribalism and racism” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.11) by working with allied movements. The lexicalisation of the above example shows the polarity between wanting to “oppose” colonial structures and promoting African unity through active agency.

Consequently, “In the late 1970s, African leaders started to focus on African becoming more self-reliant. They wanted to avoid debt that went with foreign loans. To reach that goal, they started to work more closely together” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.145). Decolonial projects to achieve this goal included the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) that was “committed to promote economic cooperation in all fields of activity of its member countries” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.146). The Lagos Plan of Action was passed in 1980 in Lagos, Nigeria, and its primary objective was to ensure that “all African states should have modern, self-reliant economies by the year 2000” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.147). The motif of the aforementioned decolonial projects repeat the word “self-reliant” which could be posited as synonymous with decolonialism.

Essentially, during World War II, the Nazi’s brutal attempts to create a ‘master race’ was exposed to the world. Subsequently “world opinion became increasingly critical of colonialism which too was based on a belief in the radical superiority of European. This meant that the demands of African nationalists had a greater chance of getting support” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.162). “In the 20<sup>th</sup> century a different form of nationalism developed in the colonial empires when people united against colonial rule. Differences between people were overlooked in favour of promoting a unified opposition. After independence this national unity was actively promoted” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.122)

Similarly, African countries agreed that they should “cooperate, both politically and economically [and they] felt that they should somehow unite against threats from the outside world” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.119). Thus the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was borne. The key purpose of the OAU was to “promote African unity, solidarity and mutual assistance” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.118), support and settle disputes among its member countries, “get rid of colonialism in Africa [and] encourage economic and political cooperation” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.118).

In keeping with collective agency, the sample school History textbooks mention different ideologies that informed African agency on the African continent as well as in the African diaspora. These ideologies include Africanism and philosophies such as Negritude and Black Consciousness, through which African societies realised the power of being united as a nation. To elucidate, urbanisation enticed people to move into the cities where they “could share their experiences and dreams for an independent country” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.3). External factors that spurred on nationalism in Namibia included the fact that African ex-soldiers were “motivated to fight for these principles [in their own African countries]” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.4). The tone of the abovementioned examples is optimistic, and the transitive verbs “share”, “fight”; and the nominalisation of the aspirations of the African societies such as “experiences”, “dreams”, “independent” and “principles” enabled the African societies to take a physical standpoint against colonial structures.

Similarly, African societies such as the Namibians “were able to read and study by themselves, and could interpret the Bible that made sense to them” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.61). As they did this, the African societies “started to challenge the discriminatory conditions that they were living under” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.60). The lexicalisation of the above example indicates a sense of African agency in that as the African societies became educated about the language of the colonisers, the European structures, policies, and so forth, they further perceived the discrepancies in the religious beliefs and actions of the Europeans.

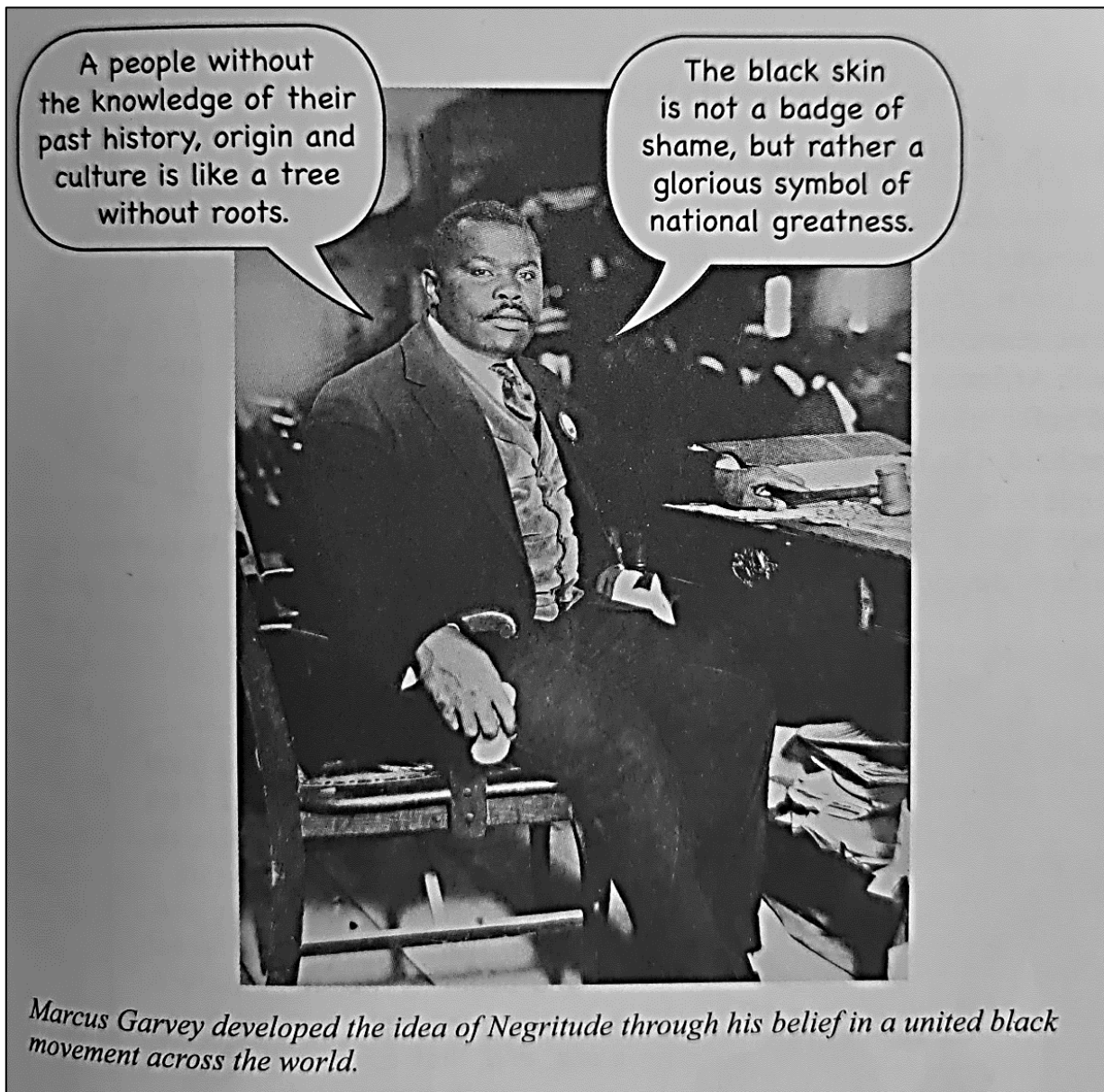
The sample textbooks also mention the concept of negritude as a philosophy in promoting anti-colonial sentiment in Africa and the African diaspora. For instance, In the 1930s, a “group of French-speaking, black graduate students...lived and studied in Paris, they were often treated as inferior. They were away from their countries of birth where their heritage and culture was very different to that of Europeans” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.150). Thus, the vision of the Negritude movement was to “reclaim African self-determination [and to] encourage self-respect for people of African descent” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.151). From the lexicalisation of the above example, the students were assimilated into the French way of life, according to the French colonial policy of assimilation. However, they had experienced prejudice and this motivated them to use their intellectual power to better the lives of their kin who

were unable to progress through continued colonial structures. There is also a reference to land as a marker for heritage and culture, and to be on foreign land was to be without their true identity.

Moreover, in English, the term Negritude translates to “blackness” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.151). This indicates that the French students aimed to embrace their physical appearance instead of shunning away from the negative experiences of African societies. On the other hand, *Namibian Textbook 1* states, “We can define Negritude as a pride in the cultural and physical aspects of the African heritage” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.152). To this end, “Negritude was started by black intellectuals who shared their ideas about being black through poems, songs and other publications” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.152). The lexicalisation of the abovementioned example illustrates the idea that the students were using the same traditional media as the original African societies i.e.: oral traditions. This alludes to the importance of preserving lessons to be passed down through generations of African people.

Comparable to the goals of the Parisian black students, Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro’s Improvement Association sort to “unite all people of African ancestry of the world to one great body to establish a country and absolute government of their own. He also focused on encouraging black people to be proud of themselves and said ‘Negros, teach your children that they are descendants of the greatest race who ever peopled the earth’” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.153). By including that, as well as image below that include the phrases “the black skin is...a glorious symbol of national greatness” and “united black movement”, the authors are encouraging learners to acknowledge their heritage and to be proud and comfortable in their own skins.

Figure 6.10 Emphasising the philosophy of Negritude (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.153)



Analogous to negritude, “Black Consciousness stressed the need for blacks to free themselves from their own psychological oppression; it also promoted pride in a black identity through culture, history and language. It also encouraged black people to be self-reliant and pro-active” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.133). Additionally, from the, we gather that Steve Biko noted that it was the school system that was primarily indoctrinating learners, and the learners believed the colonial narratives, as they grew older, and these oppressive narratives were eventually passed down through

generations and further engrained inferior sentiments in African children. The Black Consciousness Movement “removed the feeling of hopelessness and apathy experienced by many South Africans during the 1960s. The black youth, energised by the philosophy of Black Consciousness, began to resist apartheid with renewed vigour” (Textbook 3, p.208).

Consequently, the correlation between Negritude and Black Consciousness is presented in the sample school textbooks in that the Black Consciousness Movement and Negritude both “focused on encouraging black people to believe in themselves and to stand together in order to create a positive future for themselves and their children” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.155). The abovementioned lexicalisation emphasises the purpose of these movements which were meant to bring about generational freedom – not just freedom to those who were directly affected by white domination, but also to the future generations.

Further philosophies were being introduced and some reintroduced to African societies such as *Ubuntu*, “a Swahili word that means freedom” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.64), and is “an African concept which refers to the spirit of goodwill and compassion for other human beings”. Additionally, Humanism “developed from the social values of the traditional society of Zambia [and] is concerned with the interests and welfare of people... [which] stresses consideration of others above selfishness, it promotes equality and equal opportunity, it places value on hard work and working together, it emphasises the importance of the extended family and respect for older people, it expects loyalty and patriotism. The community is seen as more important than the individual” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.139). In both the aforementioned examples, the essence of African communities are nominalised through “freedom”, “goodwill”, “compassion”, “interests”, “welfare”, “consideration”, “equality”, “opportunity”, “family”, “older people”, “loyalty”, “patriotism” and “community”.

Moreover, African nationalism was “the desire of Africans to end all forms of foreign rule on the continent and to take control of their own political and economic issues” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.114). African nationalism increased after World War II “which led to the process of decolonisation...Decolonisation led to the following changes: the colonial power could no longer control the political structure of the colony. New leaders

took over. The colonial power was no longer responsible for the cost of running the colony. New economic and social institutions were created with the aim of improving the economic and social well-being of the population” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.64). Through the lexicalisation of the above examples, the textbooks reinforce the idea that African nationalism was successful in obtaining decolonisation in Africa.

Another example of intellectual agency was the reassertion of Pan-Africanism. The sample school textbooks had different descriptions of Pan-Africanism. For instance, *South African Textbook 3*, (p.64) stated that Pan-Africanism “urged all black people, throughout the world to unite in an attempt to create greater political consciousness and unity in the struggle for equality with whites”. *South African Textbook 2* (p.158) mentions, “Pan-Africanism was partly a cultural movement – to link Africans and people of African descent everywhere and to focus on African history, heritage and identity. But it was also a political movement – to free Africans from foreign rule and to unite Africa”. While, *Namibian Textbook 2* (p.116) describes Pan-Africanism as “the belief that all people of African origin, no matter where they live, share the same origin and beliefs. They belong to one big family – the African family.

Further, Pan-Africanism therefore wanted black people all over the world to strengthen their bonds with one another and with their mother continent” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.115). The aims of Pan-Africanism was to “create a spirit of unity among Africans...encourage black people to fight for their rights [and] help black people all over the world gain self-determination”. Likewise, *Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.127 states that Pan-Africanism “looked forward to a time when the countries of Africa would be united and would co-operate with each other to help Africa as a whole to develop” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.127). Moreover, Pan-African conferences “helped to make people aware of the hardships faced by black people, especially black people living in the colonies of Africa” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.116). From the above examples, the motifs that emerged related to Pan-Africanism were African unity, African agency and African communities as having a shared kinship.

The sample textbooks also use slavery to reflect the polarity between the same and the perspectives that followed. To explicate, “After slavery had been banned, black Americans had begun to take pride in their race. They called themselves ‘Africans’ or

'Afro-Americans' or 'Ethiopians' (in the Holy Bible, Africa is usually called Ethiopia)" (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.87); and "Black people from Africa were scattered around the world because of slavery...The idea of 'back to Africa' started to develop" (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.115). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned indicate a conscious campaign to embrace an African identity.

### **Generational agency**

Within the narrative of agency, I found that a genre, which I refer to as generational agency, was a manifestation in the sample school History textbooks. Within generational agency, the textbooks expound that political matters regarding African agency were not reserved for adults only. Children, such as in the images below, were involving themselves in politics to bring about change in their then oppressive situations. The images allude to the idea that the notion of freedom became almost innate and future generations yielded young people who understood the necessity to actively repudiate against structures that caused harm to their present and past communities.

Figure 6.11 Active participation of youth in South African politics (*South Africa Textbook 2, p.200*)



**Figure 6.12 Active participation of youth in Angolan politics (*South Africa Textbook 3, p.132*)**



Another example that alludes to generational agency is *Zimbabwean Textbook 2* that states, “the ‘chimbwidos’ and ‘mujibas’ (young girls and boys respectively) were the chief means through which the guerrillas communicated with the people. They were also the chief spies of the guerrillas. They travelled long distances to gather information and to study the movements of Rhodesian forces. The girls formed the main part of the choirs that sang war songs...broadcast on Voice of Zimbabwe, the radio station which broadcast progress on the war to Zimbabweans from Radio Mozambique and Tanzania” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2, p.184*). Moreover, “on the whole, the war would not have been won without the support of mothers and fathers who encouraged their sons and daughters to do the right, fight for their freedom”

(*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.184). The nominalisation of the young people are reflected through “means” and “spies”. Additionally, the adjective, “chief”, has been repeated twice in the above example to describe the significance of the young. Furthermore, the transitive verbs “communicated”, “travelled”, “gathered” and “formed” reinforce the crucial contribution that the young people made toward the acquisition of African agency.

#### **6.2.5.2 African heritage**

Another narrative of anti-colonialism that featured in the school History textbooks was African heritage. To explicate, at the end of the chapter on the Union of South Africa from 1910, learners are expected to complete an assignment on heritage. This is an applauding attempt to assist learners discover their traditional backgrounds and to situate themselves in the present-day South Africa which is celebrated for its diversity of people from different heritages.

In contrast, *Namibian Textbook 1*, begins with a section on heritage in which the concept and practice of heritage is explained as being derived “from ‘inherit’, which refers to personal possessions or money you may receive from your parents or other relatives after they have passed away. In history, heritage includes things of great value to the country such as traditional culture, historic buildings, a tourism site or even documents that have been passed down the generations” (*Namibian Textbook 1*, p.13). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned example emphasises the idea that the western perception of heritage that usually refers to worldly possessions such as money, as well as a more indigenous understanding of tangible and intangible cultural references. This section on heritage in *Namibian Textbook 1*, is included in the first topic of understanding History. This means that learners have the opportunity to acknowledge and locate themselves within their heritage before moving onto the history of Namibia.

Additionally, by including a map of the different African chiefdoms in Southern Africa c1750-c1800, *South African Textbook 1* (p.174), attempts to promote a sense of agency to indigenous African groups. Moreover, the textbook as well as *Namibian Textbook 1* (pp.20-21), present hierarchal diagrams depicting the lineage of the

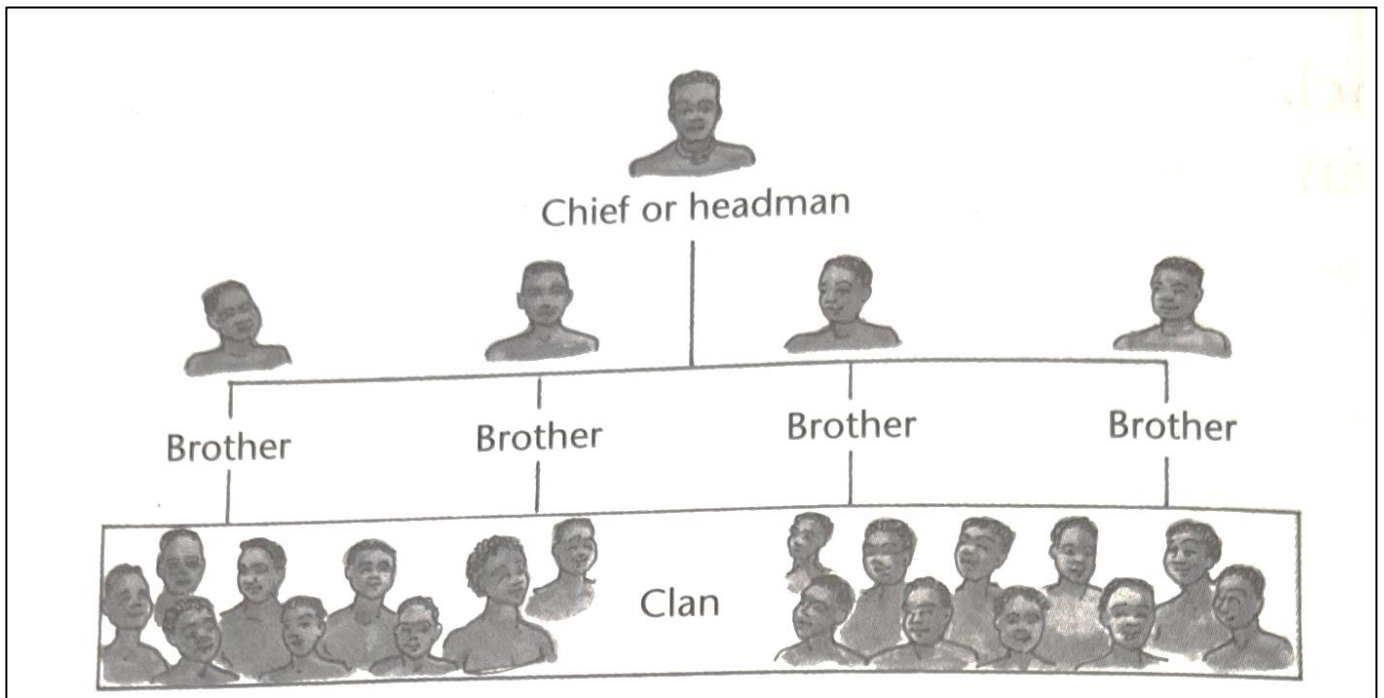
different major indigenous groups which provides learners with the ability to acknowledge the complexity of heritage of the African people.

Correspondingly, when discussing the consequences of European expansion throughout the world, *South African Textbook 1*, p,102 describes “the social and cultural contribution of slaves to their new countries. In America a new culture was forged ... African slaves brought with them their heritage of language, music, dance, food and art which has greatly enriched the Americas and the world”. The lexicalisation of the above example gives agency to African people and acknowledges and plaudits their rich history. It also commends African in their active participation in having “forged” and ultimately shaped the socio-cultural aspects of “their” heritage as well as the global village.

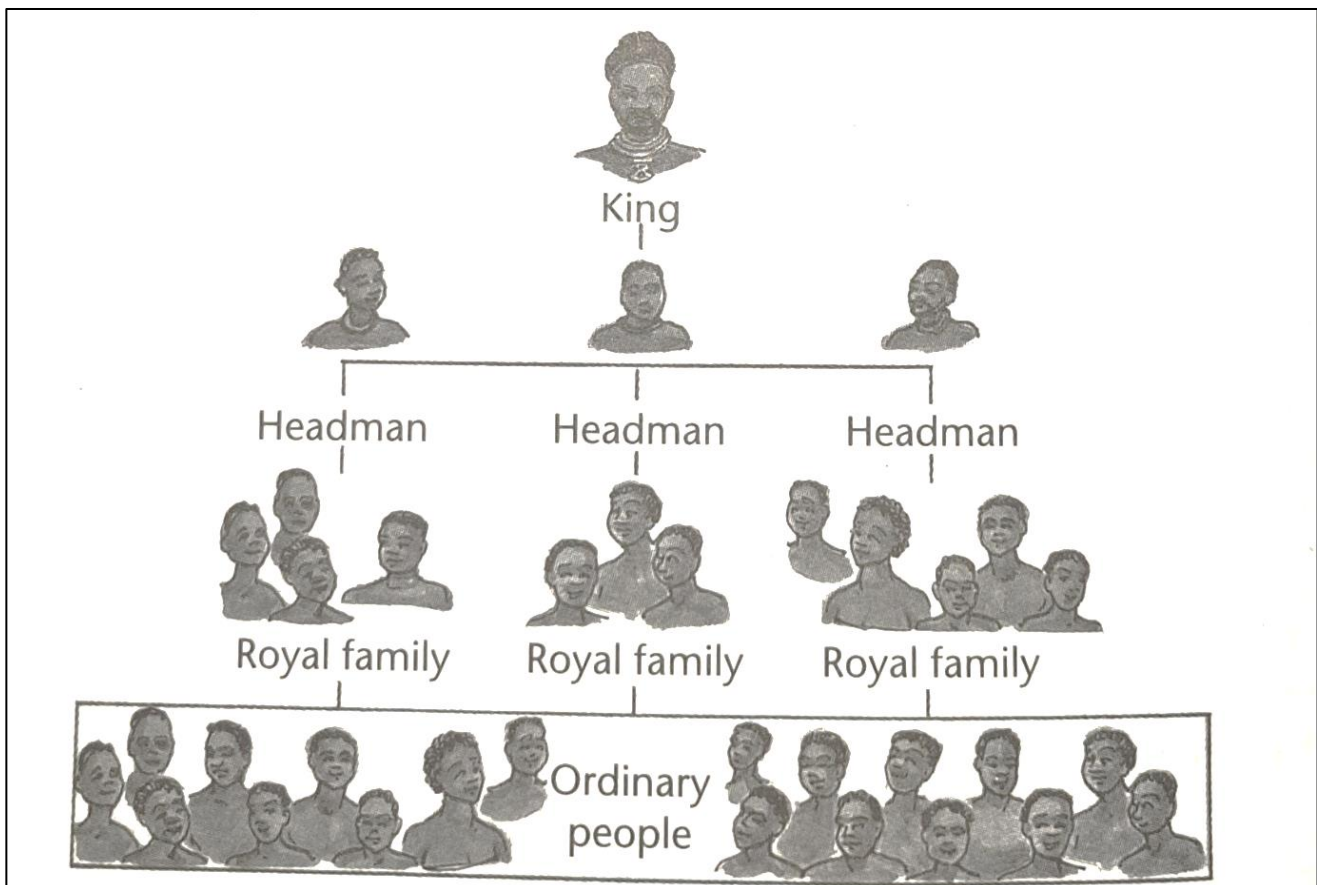
In another example of heritage as an anti-colonial feature in the sample textbooks, source B in *South African Textbook 1*, p,94 offers learners an African perspective of the events that occurred in the Cape during the 17<sup>th</sup> century regarding the “first anti-colonial Khoikhoi-Dutch War” (*South African Textbook 1*, p,94). The lexicalisation of the source alludes to an act of agency by the Khoi and the power that the indigenous African societies had to reject the pseudo-superior behaviour of the Dutch.

Furthermore, the Namibian textbooks went as far as illustrating the structures of the African societies under the various Namibian chiefs (refer to Figures 7.2-7.5), even indicating the familial terms such as “brother”, used in the Herero clan. In the same vein, it must be noted that whilst there is a decolonial presentation of the structures, the Owambo, Nama and the Oorlam societies demonstrate a more distinct social hierarchy than the Herero, in that the former were delineated according to autocratic and military factors. The relationship between chiefs and the economy will be discussed further in Chapter seven, section 7.2.3.

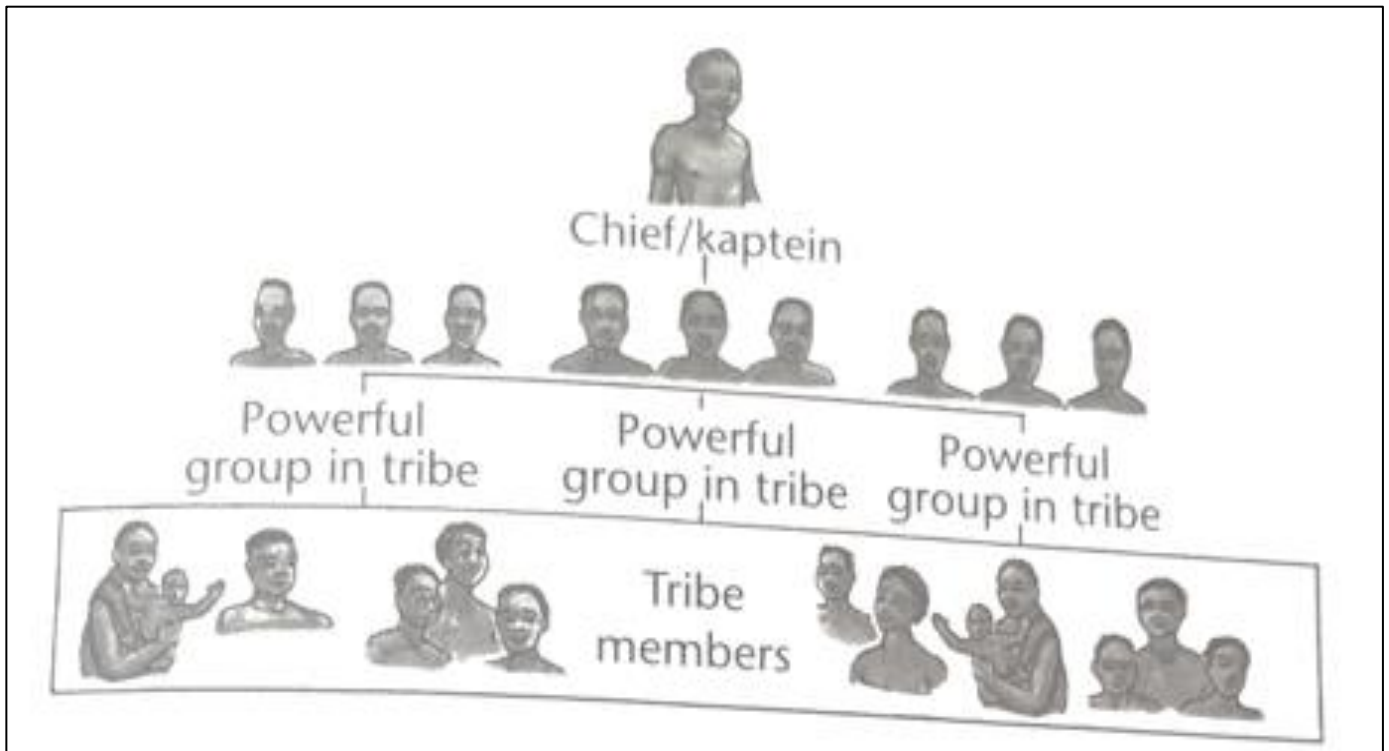
6.13 Herero political structure (*Namibian Textbook 1, p.20*)



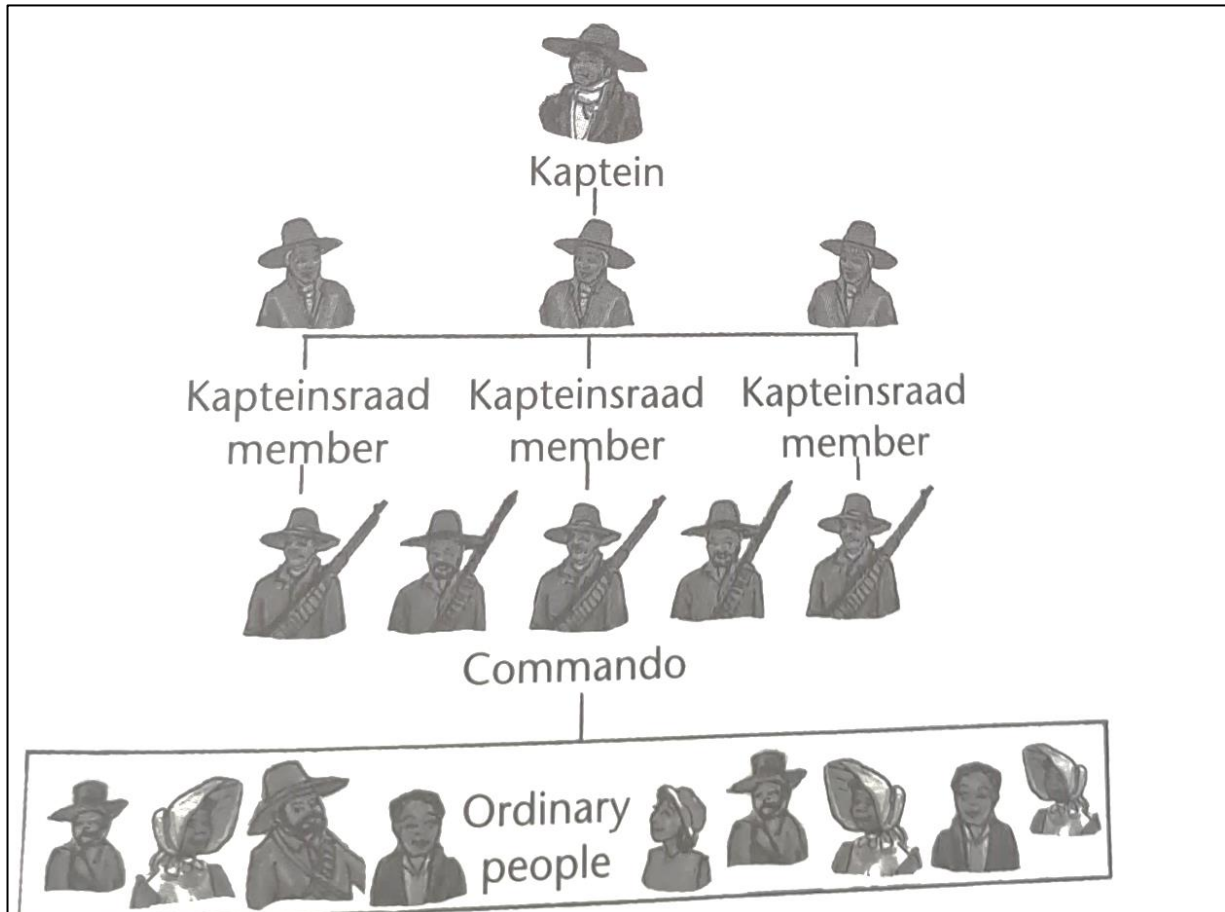
6.14 Owambo political structure (*Namibian Textbook 1, p.20*)



6.15 Nama political structure (*Namibian Textbook 1, p.21*)



6.16 Oorlam political structure (*Namibian Textbook 1, p.21*)



### 6.2.5.3 Symbols of African unity

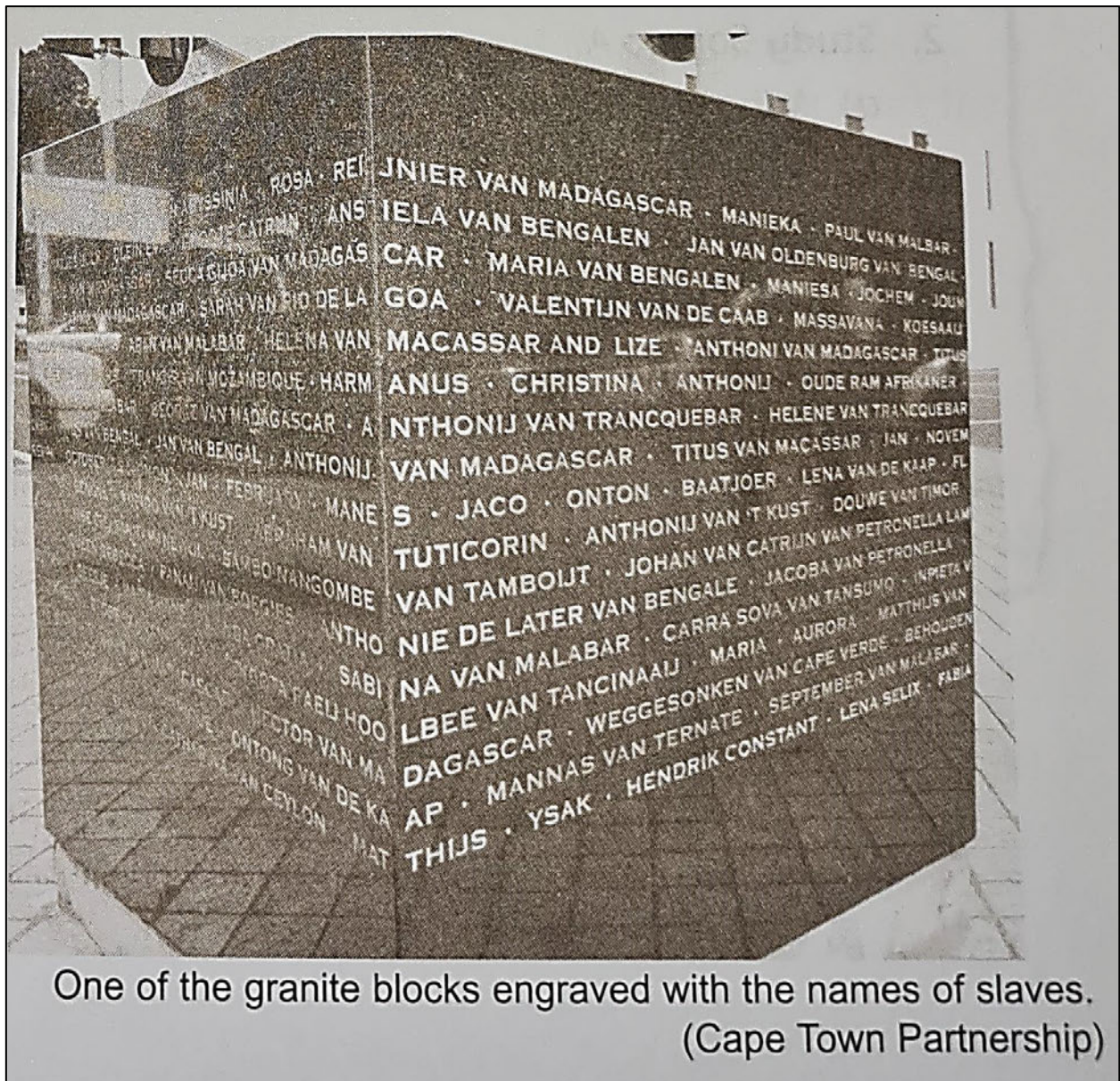
The sample school History textbooks depicted the celebration of anti-colonial efforts through the nominalisation of battles, milestones of agency and selfless individuals. These anti-colonial efforts were celebrated through monuments, changes in national flags, anthems, and constitutional documents.

To elucidate in terms of monuments and memorials, the heroism of the Zulu warriors who participated in the Battle of Ncome River in December 1838, is celebrated in present-day South Africa. "A memorial was built to honour the 3 000 Zulu soldiers who died in the battle" (*South African Textbook 1*, p.200). The word "honour" implies the reverence that the warriors were held in. An extract of an article announcing the unveiling of a memorial stone to honour Nama leader, Jakob Marenga is presented as a source in *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.70. The inscription acknowledges Marenga's unwavering commitment as a fighter for the freedom of Namibian people.

Further, "Prestwich Place, a street in Cape Town, uncovered the unmarked remains of thousands of people, including many children, who were clearly not Christians, believed to have died in the smallpox epidemic. To date, no monument to remember these people has been built" (*South African Textbook 1*, p.94). The tone of the above indicates a sense of frustration in that "to date" the post-colonial government has failed to acknowledge the above history of the peoples of that area.

In another example of monuments, *South African Textbook 1*, p. 241 indicates that "in 2008 a competition was held to design a slave memorial for Cape Town. It was won by Wilma Cruise and Gavin Younge, who created a grid of eleven granite blocks laid across Church Square. On the cubes are the names of the people who were slaves until full emancipation in 1838". The above lexicalisation raises the question as to why a competition was held to determine how African slaves would be honoured. One cannot help but wonder whether or not submissions made were out of artistic competitiveness, international recognition for their artistic abilities, or was it pure determination to unselfishly promote the acknowledgement of the cultural history of the Cape. Nonetheless, as can be seen in the image below, the blocks inscribed with the names of the known slaves include people from Africa as well as outside of the continent such as Bengal and Malabar, which acknowledges the victims of slavery.

Figure 6.17 Memorial of slaves (*South African Textbook 1, p.241*)



Moreover, “before 1994, the South Africa government [established] national and principal monuments that to a large extent only commemorated white heroes and heroines. After 1994, the democratic government began to develop many national monuments and memorials that commemorated the role of all South Africans that shaped the History of the country” (*South African Textbook 3, p.346*). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned example shows the distinct polarity of populations that were acknowledged, that being the “white” community pre-democracy, and thereafter “all South Africans”.

The importance of flags as symbols of groups were also depicted in the school History textbooks. To explicate, in Zimbabwe “the British flag was lowered, signalling Zimbabwe’s independence” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.187). Furthermore, “In South Africa a single unified national identity was promoted after the democratic elections of 1994. The government introduced a new flag and a new national anthem to promote national unity, which was much needed in a country which had been deeply divided for so long” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.122). The lexicalisation of the aforementioned example denotes the importance of acquiring a sense of “unity” as opposed to being “deeply divided”.

Along with monuments and flags, national anthems were represented in the sample school history textbooks as symbols of anti-colonialism. For instance, similar to the “ANC, [the SRANC and the NRANC] believed in Pan-Africanism and they used the ANC national anthem ‘Nkosi Sikeleli’ as their anthem. Other nationalists in Africa, as far north as Kenya and Uganda, also used this anthem to show their belief in Pan-Africanism” (*Zimbabwean Textbook 1*, p.88). From the abovementioned, the ANC national anthem ‘Nkosi Sikeleli’ served as being synonymous with the idea of belief and hope in a continent governed by the principles of Pan-Africanism. Namibia’s post-colonial national anthem, as seen in the image below, acknowledges the past, and reflects on the future and emphasises unity.

**Figure 6.18 The National anthem of post-colonial Namibia (*Namibian Textbook 2, p.95*)**

<b>Source A</b>	
<b>Namibia, Land of the Brave</b>	
Namibia, land of the brave	1
Freedom fight we have won	
Glory to their bravery	
Whose blood waters our freedom	
We give our love and loyalty	5
Together in unity	
Contrasting beautiful Namibia	
Namibia our country	
Beloved land of savannahs	
Hold high the banner of liberty	10
<b>Chorus</b>	
Namibia our country	(Source: <i>National Anthem of Namibia</i> written by Axali Doëseb. © Government of the Republic of Namibia. Used by permission of the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology.)
Namibia motherland	
We love thee	

Another example of an anti-colonial processes were official documentations which were reflected in the school textbooks. For instance, the Bill of Rights which “supports the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom” (*Namibian Textbook 2, p.124*). The lexicalisation of the above indicates that the post-colonial constitutions considered all the rights that colonial structures had violated and therefore, included these in their constitution.

Moreover, “One of the aims of the new [democratic] government was to promote ‘national reconciliation’ and ‘nation-building’ by trying to build a common South African identity...The Bill of Rights in the new Constitution echoed the ideas of non-racialism that had been expressed in the Freedom Charter” (*South African Textbook 2, p.133*). Additionally, in the Freedom Charter that was drawn-up in 1955, the ANC “rejected race as a means of defining African nationalism. [The ANC] “defined the South African

nation as belonging to ‘all those who live in it, black and white’” (*South African Textbook 2*, p.131). The motif of the aforementioned examples is that of racial equality. The former example emphasises the “nation building” and “national reconciliation” in the context of a racially “common South Africa”. Correspondingly, the latter example, views people not in terms of race, but as a country that embraces “African nationalism”.

Further to the above, from the sample school textbooks the discourse of anti-colonialism are reflected through oral history. To elucidate, in response to the coerced removal of men from their families to the mines, many tribes created songs to describe what they felt. The extract below is a verse from a Sotho song. It begins with the guilt the men felt for leaving their families amidst the anguish they were facing as a result of European colonial processes. The song then almost implores God (a symbol of their spiritual belief in something greater than themselves) to provide assistance to their fathers. The song concludes with a determined conviction that they will certainly be happy again, the spears implying that this could only happen if the African societies together put up a united resistance against the Europeans.

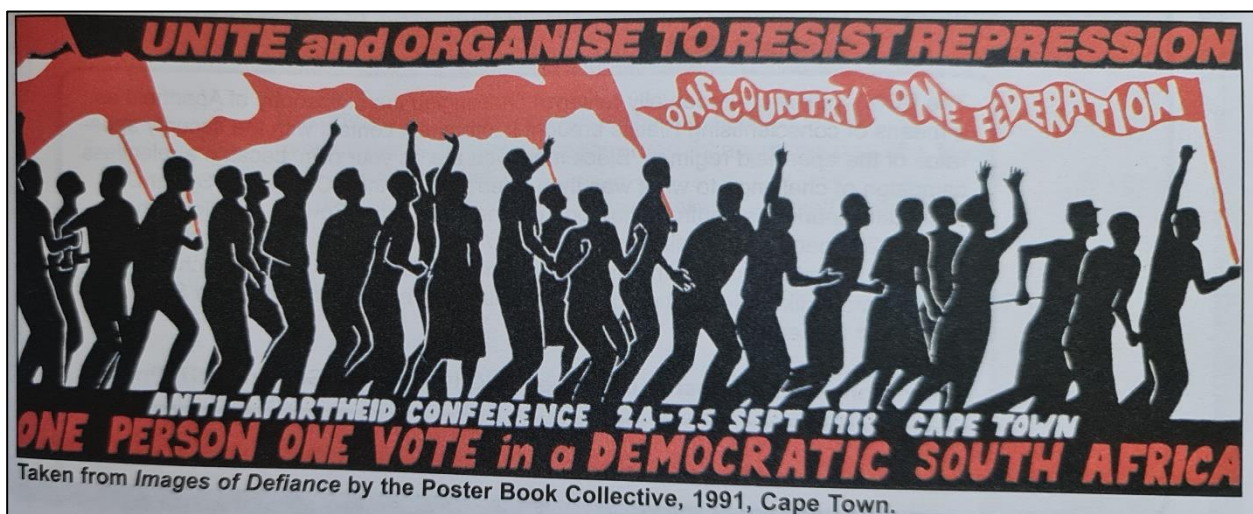
The sample school textbooks also portray allocated days as indicative of anti-colonial practice. For instance, “In 1983 the National Assembly wanted to change the public holidays in Namibia. These were the same public holidays as South Africa celebrated. It wanted to introduce new Namibian public holidays instead” (*Namibian Textbook 2*, p.50). The lexicalisation of the above indicates the importance that the public holidays had for Namibians – it was a sense of independence and Namibian pride.

In addition, “The democratic dispensation in South Africa has set 9 special days to commemorate and remember our past. This has to a large extent fostered a sense of unity and nation building, particularly for the survivors of the families who may have lost political activists during the fight for liberation against the apartheid regime. ... For the perpetrators of crimes, these commemorative days force them to acknowledge the past and provide them with an opportunity to reflect and also apologise for their wrong doings” (*South African Textbook 3*, p.346). The transitive verbs “commemorate”, “remember” and “fostered” allude to a conscious decision to honour the fallen. Moreover, the verbs in relation to “the perpetrators of crimes” during the apartheid regime such as “force”, “acknowledge”, “reflect” and “apologise” are indicative that the

post-colonial government believed the malefactors could be saved from their immoral actions and racist bearings. Further, the nominalisation of African societies are reflected through phrases such as “unity”, “nation building” and “liberation”.

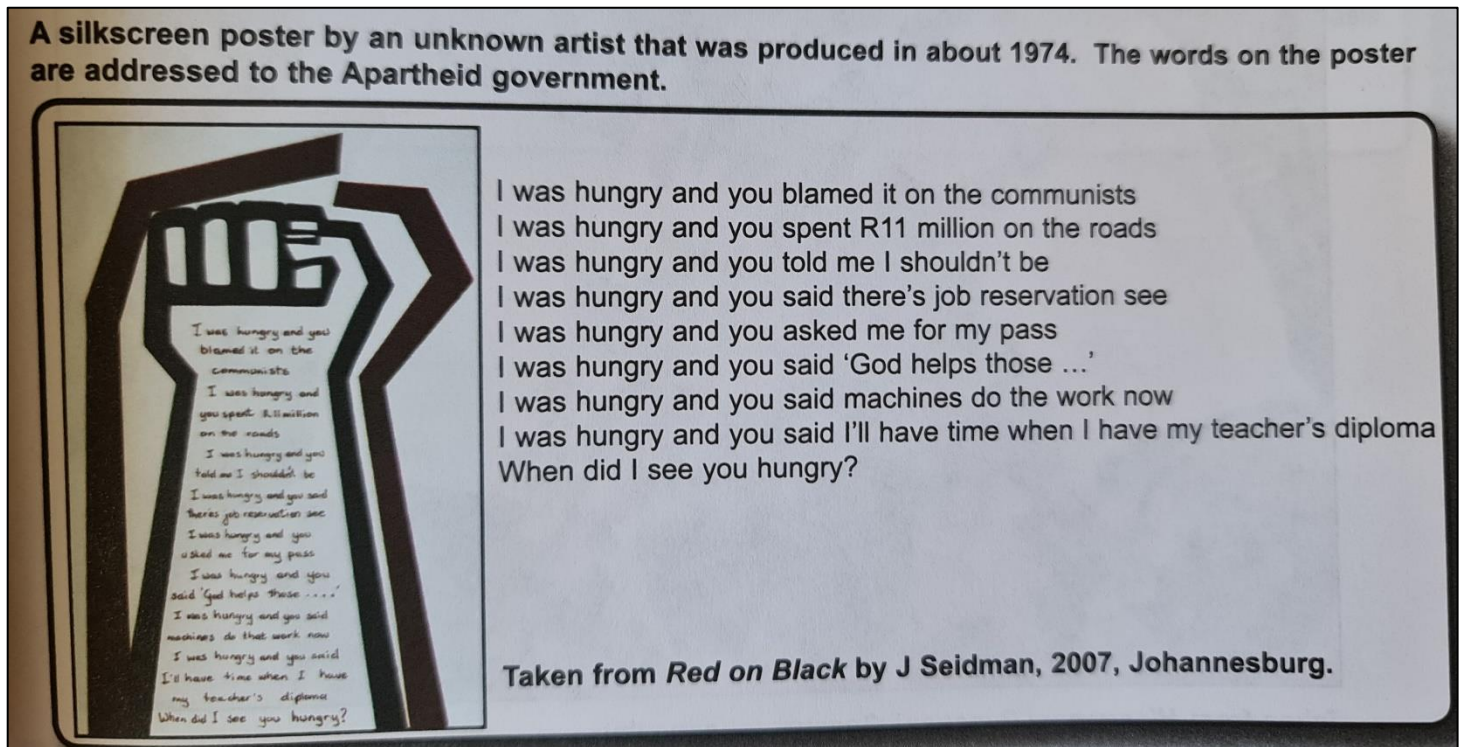
In the same token, the sample textbooks manifest the discourse of anti-colonialism through the power of body language, which was reflected as also important throughout the struggle for freedom. For example, different salutes as seen below indicated different aspects of anti-colonialism. With reference to the images below, the black power salute in the sample textbooks were used to in different ways to represent the various aspects including power, unity, and equality between men, women and children.

**Figure 6.19 A poster indicating the black power salute as a symbol of a united African society (South African Textbook 3, p.271).**



Additionally, *South African Textbook 3*, p.235 presents the salute as is used in a 1974 poster to outline a poem that speaks to the excuses and priorities of the apartheid government. The salute serves to reinforce the intellectual power of African societies in that the poem expounds the idea that the apartheid government focused on other aspects such as infrastructure and machinery – factors that helped the white population progress, rather than treating the African societies with the respect that they deserved.

**Figure 6.20 A poster criticising the apartheid government accompanied by the black power salute as a symbol of a united African society (*South African Textbook 3, p.235*).**



To this end, “the birth of a new nation was welcomed internationally as a ‘miracle’ and South Africa has become synonymously associated with the notion of peace, reconciliation and a shared destiny” (*South African Textbook 3, p.348*). The word “miracle” implies firstly that democracy was something that occurred against all odds. It also signals to a sense of metaphysical trust and hopefulness.

In summation, the sample school History textbooks depict the narratives of the discourses of anti-colonialism fundamentally through Afrocentric and postcolonial historiographies. Through a CDA of the school History textbooks, the narratives that emerged in relation to discourses of anti-colonialism included firstly, African agency, within which individual agency brought to the fore several examples of the efforts of individuals in realising African agency; collective agency emphasised that group resistance; and the philosophical contributions of people abroad was discussed in intellectual agency. The African diaspora was also discussed in the international

influences on helping African societies obtain a decolonised situation in Africa. Even though individuals were from different countries and had differing cultures, they advocated a kinship through their interconnected shared history: a narrative of oppression, mockery that aimed to make them feel physically and psychologically inferior to Europeans. Secondly, African heritage considered the commitment of the African societies to recollect and strengthen their unity through physical and figurative symbols. Lastly, symbols of African unity were explored with attempts to reinforce African heritage and identity.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter presented the findings from a CDA conducted on eight school History textbooks. The findings attempt to answer the first research question: *What are the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks?* Through the CDA of the textbooks, five key themes emerged. These themes were discourses of forces western of colonialism, discourses of conflict-fomentation, discourses of economic exploitation, discourses of environmental degradation and discourses of anti-colonialism.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The preceding chapter, Chapter Six, presented the findings constructed by the CDA of the verbal and visual texts from the sample South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks. The findings were identified by conducting the second stage, i.e.: the process analysis aspect, of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model of CDA.

The overarching research question for this study was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?* Nonetheless, owing to the extensive findings, I structured my chapters such that the foregoing chapter, Chapter Six, addressed the first research question, i.e.: *What are the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks?*

Consequently, the present chapter attempts to answer the second research question, i.e.: *How do the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?* by "closing the loop" (Cohen, et.al, 2007, p.468). This was conducted by engaging with the process analysis of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model of CDA. The process analysis includes interpreting and synthesising the findings from Chapter Six in correlation with the literature of western colonialism explored in Chapter Two, the literature relating to textbooks in Chapter Three, and the theoretical framework of the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality discussed in Chapter Four.

#### **7.2 Interpretation of findings**

Principally, this chapter seeks to pull the findings together by discussing five themes that emerged from the aforementioned chapter. To ensure coherence and a logical presentation of this chapter, the themes will follow the structure as presented in

Chapter Six. These were discourses of forces western of colonialism, discourses of conflict-fomentation, discourses of economic control, discourses of environmental degradation and discourses of anti-colonialism. Similar to Chapter Six, the interpretation of the findings in this chapter overlap, resulting in repetition in some instances, and extension of references between the discourses.

### **7.2.1 Discourses of forces of western colonialism**

The sample school History textbooks all represented discourses of forces of western colonialism through different historiographies. It was evident in the findings that the sample History textbooks depicted western colonialism as not only a physical practice, but also an affective epistemic hegemonic determinant. To elucidate, as a physical and emotive practice, western colonialism was portrayed through political power, a display of vices reflected in colonial practices, and religious praxis in Africa. These will be discussed below.

In terms of the political power of the western colonisers, four categories of political power were revealed in the sample school History textbooks. These are the acquisition and enforcement of colonial political power, individual colonial initiatives, collective colonial initiatives, and colonial laws. These will be explored below.

The sample school History textbooks depicted the words conquered and controlled as synonymous with each other. Linguistically, both these words equate to power in that they allude to a powerful source subduing another entity, which was powerless at the point of being dominated. To reinforce this idea, in most of the examples from the sample textbooks, the European colonisers were represented as either controlling or conquering African lands or African societies resulting in the portrayal of African societies as, at the time of colonialism, powerless. Such representation does not allude to a decolonial view in the school History textbooks. This idea is in accordance with Horáková, Nugent, & Skalník (2011) who believe that power is a denominator for domination, and words including control. Furthermore, Foucault (1980) maintains that power is the driving force of oppression and is an omnipresent abstract phenomenon that is pervasive in all aspects of life.

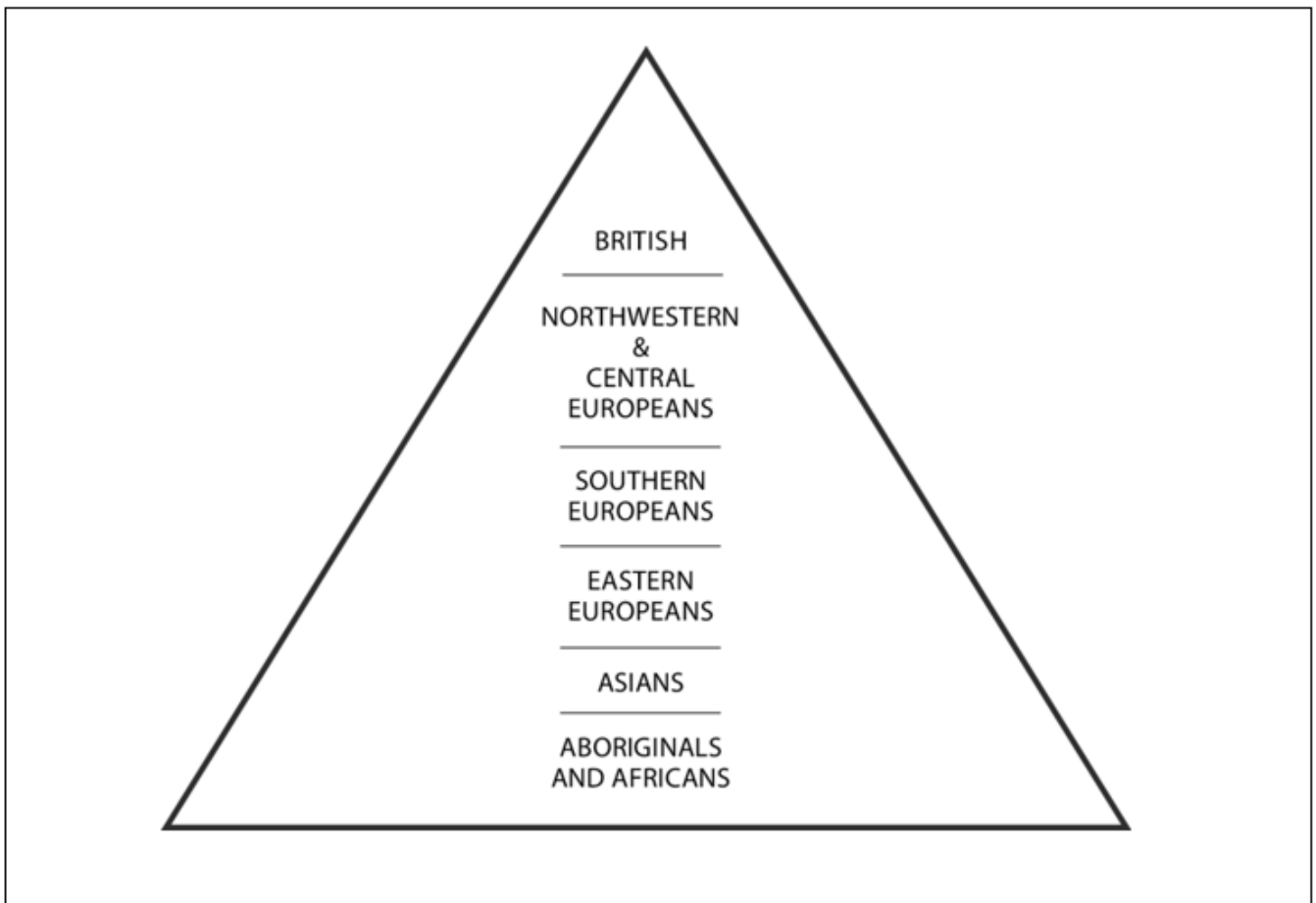
Together with this display of power, the western colonisers, according to the sample school History textbooks, also had to expand their dominance to other lands in Africa indicating a distinct Eurocentric view of political power. The aforementioned idea is concurrent with Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012), who state that political control and the exploitation of resources in Africa were the two most consequential objectives of western colonialism.

In keeping with the display of power, the sample school History textbooks provide an European perspective of how the western colonial control of African societies manifested through different colonial administrations. For example, the South African textbooks illustrate the incongruity in colonial administrative policies between the German and French colonisers. The sample textbooks explain how the African societies were enticed to assimilate to the French culture since they were assured by the French colonisers that once assimilated, the African societies would receive a social status commensurate with the French society. However the sample school History textbooks fail to present a decolonial analysis of the actual events of French colonial administration of assimilation. For instance, the textbooks could have clarified that in reality, the French analogously applied racial hierarchy and unequal status quo to the African societies (Lewis, 1962). Egudu (1978, p.31), explicates that there was a polarity in treatment between “metropolitan France” and “France Overseas”. The former referred to the original inhabitants of France – the archetypical French people, while the latter referred to the societies from the French colonies. By including the aforementioned, the sample textbooks would enhance decolonial historiographies.

In keeping with the idea of racial hierarchy as the cornerstone of colonial administration, Murrey (2020, p.315) is of the opinion that European colonialism was the all-encompassing domination of peoples along the lines of “racist logics” which could have been explored in the Namibian school History textbooks to provide a greater decolonial historiography. To explicate, the aforementioned idea is that western colonialism engendered racial hierarchies and consequently the races at the bottom of the hierarchy were socio-culturally, politically, and economically restrained. The sample textbooks could have illustrated a decolonial analysis of the western colonialism in Africa by including Figure 7.1 below which illustrates that if racial hierarchy were depicted in the form of a pyramid and if African societies were placed

at the bottom of the pyramid, then according to the principles of science whereby the bottom of a pyramid represents the largest section, the African societies, although at the bottom, where essentially the foundation for European success.

**7.1 Pyramid illustrating racial hierarchy. Source: Orlowski (2018), p.168**



The above explanation of racial anthropology which holds the idea that the colonial economy was designed with racial sentiment, and explores how this brought about the emergence of racial segregation and entrenched divisions. correlates with *Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, p.91, Similarly, all the sample History textbooks portray a decolonial sentiment of how colonisers gained wealth, recognition and influence in Africa, all indicative of ultimate power, by exploiting and dispossessing land from the indigenous African societies, and then used their newly iniquitously acquired power to further deprive the African societies through mandatory taxes and colonial rule. (This will be further explored in Section 4.2.3 below).

Consequently, within the narrative of individual colonial initiatives as a finding from the sample History textbooks, power was displayed by individuals, more especially “big men” (Naidoo, 2014, p.1). In other words, all the sample History textbooks presented a decolonial historiography that the key oppressive actors of colonialism were European men who displayed a covet for political power and essentially drove the colonial sentiment forward. Such colonial actors included Charles Andersson, Adolf Lüderitz, Theodore Leutwein, Cecil John Rhodes, Otto von Bismarck, Paul Kruger, King Leopold II, and Trotha von Francis, among others. In the school History textbooks the above colonial actors were discussed in relation to colonial power, a high status and having the means to oppress the African societies.

The sample school History textbooks all illustrated the role of African chiefs through a European historiography. For instance, the South African textbooks one of the principal ways in which the European colonisers acquired and maintained control over African societies was through the chiefs. The chiefs become more censurable to their citizens as the western colonial influence initiated a relationship of distrust among the chiefs and the African societies. The sample textbooks expressed that the chiefs were ultimately instrumental in advancing the western colonialism by entering into agreements with the colonisers (Fowler, 2021; Müller-Crepon, 2020). On the other hand, the Namibian school History textbooks presented chiefs in a decolonial view whereby African chiefs were accountable for their actions to their citizens.

Another way in which the narrative of political power of the colonisers were manifested in the school textbooks, was through colonial laws. Colonisers initiated the hierarchy of separateness in African that was based on race. The colonisers displayed political power by implementing laws that would result in the physical separation of the Europeans and the African societies as was reflected in all the sample textbooks (Botha, 2007; Oliver and Oliver, 2017). The sample History textbooks also reinforce that such laws not only entrenched societal suppression but reinforced spatial suppression and confined the proprietorship of resources within the designated areas resulting in Eurocentric historiographies.

For example, the sample South African textbooks make mention of laws such as the Natives Land Act of 1905 and the subsequent revised Land Act of 1913, where in both

cases the African societies were moved to areas a far proximity from the white towns (MacDonald, 2012; Thomson, 2010). In effect, by being moved to the outlying areas, the African societies essentially became outsiders both physically and metaphorically because through the manifestation of the ideology of separateness, African societies were psychologically reinforced to believe that they had become the 'other' (Bautista, 2019; Mgbeoji, 2006). By including this, the South African textbooks reinforce the term the 'other' which forms the foundational understanding of the decolonial and postcolonial theories, and which acknowledge that through racial hegemony colonised societies were left bereft of their identities.

The second narrative of the forces of western colonialism that was evident in the eight sample school History textbooks was that of the vices displayed by the Europeans during colonialism in Africa. The sample textbooks portray the colonisers in a Eurocentric and decolonial views as on one hand, preaching Christianity to the African societies, whilst on the other hand their overall outlook and behaviour towards the African societies were indicative of contradicting the principles of the Christian religion which was meant to bring about enlightenment and not suppression (Collins, 2017; Prakash, 1999). The vices that emerged from the sample textbooks include desire, greed, ruthlessness and subterfuge. Examples of each of the four aforementioned vices displayed through colonialism will be presented below.

The sample school History textbooks present a decolonial view of the western colonialism in Africa by portraying desire and greed as colonial vices that drove Europeans to colonise Africa. In essence, desire is a state of mind, which according to the Christian doctrine, is sinful and is greatly condemned. In the same token, greed is also condemned by the Christian faith and the sample school textbooks described the European colonisers as materialistic and covetous with a yearning to be prosperous. This symbolises their greed and thus contradicts their religious principles, especially since it resulted in the loss of African agency (Freire, 2021).

Arguably, scholars such as Coleman (2005) and Fabian, (2014) may describe the colonisers as ambitious. Nevertheless, I purposefully chose to describe them as greedy, as per the sample History textbooks and because there is an elemental difference between ambition and greed. Ambition, according to Hirschi & Spurk (2021),

is a personal disposition that drives an individual to achieve societal and material gain, but not always at the cost of others. In contrast, greed may be a selfish state of mind or a personal disposition in which the individual craves for more than what they already have and may have negative impacts on others (Lambie & Haugen, 2019). I mention that the Europeans were greedy because the sample school History textbooks reflect the western colonisers in this light, and emphasise that the latter did whatever it took to acquire material wealth even at the cost of peoples' lives thus lending to a decolonial and post-colonial sentiments.

Similarly, the sample school History textbooks portrayed European colonisers as ruthless in that they displayed no compassion toward the African societies. The intrinsic traits of the colonisers, as perceived from the sample school textbooks, were indicative of a sense of intrusiveness, as well as a disregard of the already established African lifestyle, traditions and societal and economic structures. A decolonial view was present in the textbooks which all illustrated that the manifestation of colonial ruthlessness included the harsh physical beatings and horrific crimes committed by the colonisers as punishment for factors, which were for the most part, not in the control of African societies. Most of the sample textbooks refer to Leopold II of Belgium and Cecil John Rhodes in this regard. The narrative of violence is deciphered as the colonial structures and practices "that violated the physical, social, and/or psychological integrity of the colonised while similarly impacting on the coloniser" (Simatei, 2005), resulting in a decolonial historiography, and relating to the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

In keeping with the theme of colonial vices, the deceitful nature of the colonisers were made evident in the sample History textbooks through examples of subterfuge. The primary way in which the colonisers exhibited subterfuge, according to the sample school History textbooks, was by lying and tricking the African chiefs. *Zimbabwean Textbook 2*, pp.96-97, for instance, expounds that the Europeans wanted to obtain concessions on Zimbabwean land, and they capitalised on the fact that King Lobengula of the maShona was illiterate in the English language. The aforementioned decolonial sentiment is congruent with Mpakati (1976) who contends that the colonisers bribed and abused the sovereign power of the African chiefs in that the former exploited the influence that the chiefs had on their citizens. The colonisers,

through the chiefs, could pressurise the African societies into paying the taxation demands. By including specific examples of western colonial subterfuge, African students would be better able to develop a decolonial historiography of western colonialism in Africa.

Another example of the colonisers' impertinent disposition toward the African societies provided in the sample school textbooks was the issue of the Berlin conference. However, this conference may also be known as the Congo conference or West Africa conference (Craven, 2015). To enhance decolonial sentiment, the sample History textbooks could have referred to the conference in the latter. In not doing so, a Eurocentric historiography is presented that illuminates the intended slight towards the African societies which demonstrates a clear disregard for African societies as a self-governing people. Despite this, the South African textbooks present van Bismark's refusal to collaborate with indigenous African leaders indicating that had no respect for them even though they were the original occupants and could be said to 'own' the land of their Ancestors. Their voices were suppressed, and they became victims of the pseudo-superiority complex of the Europeans.

Religion was another narrative that the sample textbooks associated with the success of western colonialism in Africa, al beit it was presented in decolonial and Eurocentric historiographies in the different textbooks. For instance, the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks expressed religion in a Eurocentric view in that the colonisers introduced religion in a way that was unquestionable and absolute. Fundamentally, missionaries were presented as symbolic of Christian praxis and served to drive the political agendas of the colonial government (Nkomazana and Setume, 2016; Tutu in van der Leeuw, 2014). Missionaries were depicted in the textbooks as one of the key the instruments through which colonial sentiment was reinforced in the African societies. Thus the sample textbooks presented a Eurocentric historiography by reinforcing that missionaries greatly assisted the European colonial governments in making the indigenous African societies become acquiescent to initial colonial practices, as well as discounted the original African heritage.

Alternatively, the sample Namibian school History textbooks expressed a decolonial view of religion, particularly Christianity. The Namibian textbooks considered how

churches, originally established by European missionaries, were used to interpret the bible from an African perspective. By including such examples, the Namibian textbooks acknowledge the agency of African people and helps African learners understand the hybrid nature of their identity reflecting the theory of postcoloniality (Balaji & Thenmozhi, 2023; Dadugblor, 2020; Gopal, 2023; Kuortti & Nyman, 2007; Nafafé, 2020).

Moreover, the sample school History textbooks identify the direct correlation between the influence of western religion and the corrosion of the indigenous African languages. This correlation is reinforced by Fabian (2014, p.165) who refers to this relationship as “linguistic colonialism”. In the process of linguistic colonialism, African societies not only experienced confusion in their linguistic identities, but also their social identities. All the sample textbooks provide a decolonial view of this narrative by reinforcing that the language of the colonisers were introduced as a means to effectively communicate orders to the African societies, and therefore emphasis was placed on the colonial languages. In other words, it was a vehicle through which coloniser could ensure that the African societies understood the requirements of the colonisers which resulted in more compliance by the latter.

With reference to the affective domain of western colonialism, there was an equipoise in the reasons for the emotions the Europeans experienced when colonising Africa, as expressed in the sample History textbooks. For example, the South African textbooks reflect Windel’s (2009), position that missionaries gathered a sense of fulfilment by caring for and educating the African societies. Similarly, this Eurocentric sentiment continues in the Zimbabwe and Namibia textbooks which correlate with Nkomazana and Setume (2016), who express that other European colonisers would have also felt a sense of achievement but for different reasons: they were accumulating wealth and power by dispossessing the African societies of their land.

From the above discussion, it was clear from my interpretation of the findings that the discourses of forces of western colonialism may be analysed in multifarious ways. The school History textbooks depicted western colonialism in varying patterns all relating to decolonial and Eurocentric historiographies. Western colonialism presented as a vituperative physical practice and an affective epistemic hegemonic thralldom. The

narratives used to depict western colonialism in the textbooks were political power, a display of vices reflected in colonial practices, and religious praxis in Africa.

### **7.2.2 Discourses of conflict-fomentation**

The second discourse manifested in the sample school History textbooks was the discourse of conflict-fomentation. Conflict, in this study, refers to the physical and verbal contentions, together with the military aspects of western colonialism in Africa. Within this discourse, the narratives of weaponry, conflict in relation to vices and military strategies were evident in the sample textbooks.

With reference to the presentation of the narrative of weaponry, the sample school History textbooks exhibited the importance of technologically-advanced western armaments, with particular emphasis on firearms, in a Eurocentric sentiment. To explicate, all the sample textbooks nominalised firearms as an instrument to threaten and consequently control African societies. Furthermore, firearms were expressed as a source of income because African societies began to purchase guns from the Europeans once they realised the effectiveness of the guns to protect themselves from the colonisers, and consequently use to revolt. The above uses of firearms are consistent with Boahen (2020). Thus, a cycle of conflict was realised wherein there was increased and frequent European conflict with the African societies and this impelled the latter to rely on western technology to defend themselves against the colonisers (Storey, 2004). The Namibian textbooks illuminate that as this demand for firearms increased so too did the economic and political power of the colonisers. The Zimbabwean textbooks also aligned with the fact that even after the cessation of formal western colonialism, state-formation in Africa was often governed by groups with weaponry (Kaba, 1981). Ultimately, all the sample textbooks viewed firearms in a Eurocentric historiography and illustrated how weaponry shaped the African continent within the socio-economic, political and cultural spheres.

Moreover, the sample school History textbooks revealed a direct correlation between conflict and the vices discussed above in 7.2.1. To elucidate, all the sample textbooks reflect that European greed and desire for natural and human resources in Africa led to the incitement of conflict afflicted on the African societies. Furthermore, the Namibian textbooks correlated with Novak (2014) who believed that the ruthlessness

of the colonisers in terms of conflict, resulted in executions, discriminatory arrests, unlawful raiding, and unethical punishments. The examples of conflict in the school History textbooks were to an extent decolonial in nature as the information identified the impudent behaviour of the colonisers. All the sample textbooks correlated Nunn (2003), who expands on the brutal treatment of the Congolese societies under the reign of Leopold II.

Further, the sample textbooks provided a Eurocentric view of colonial occupation, in particular, settler colonies which were sites of “founding violence” in which the European settlers not only imposed on the environments of the African societies, but they also incited violence against the indigenous inhabitants of Africa (Veracini, 2008, 364). Additionally, the European settlers in African countries often appealed to the western colonisers to provide them with military protection from the indigenous African societies. This sentiment, together with European cultural influence through the aide of missionaries and collaborative efforts with African chiefs, allowed for further European expansion into African territory (Walter, 2008), resulting in the representation of western colonialism in decolonial and Eurocentric views.

The sample textbooks do evoke a decolonial historiography through emotive responses by expressing how the colonisers’ acts of conflict negatively affected African societies including women, children and the elderly. For instance, “Whipping Regulations” were enforced in Tanganyika, which entailed African boys being whipped up to 12 strokes in the event of non-compliance, or desertion (Nunn, 2014, p.19). In another example, Malawian women whose husbands could not pay the mandatory colonial taxes, were taken hostage (Deflem, 1994). Similarly, the South African and Namibian school History textbooks provide events in which African societies, irrespective of age and race, were brutally treated by colonial and post-colonial forces. In doing so, the sample textbooks reiterate the ruthless nature of the colonisers. The underlying decolonial historiography reinforces that intention of the colonisers to purposively persecute the loved ones of the African soldiers was to cause psychological and emotional agitation, and persuade them to terminate their counter-attacks on the colonisers.

The decolonial sentiment continues when the sample school textbooks depicts that in contrast to the colonisers' indifference toward harming women and children, African societies as being cognisant not to cause injury to the innocent. For instance, *Namibian Textbook 1* aligns with Hillebrecht (2015) and portrays Samuel Maharero of the Namibian Herero as being able to identify the guileless from the colonisers who directly threatened the African societies, and in doing so ensuring that only the European perpetrators were attacked. The abovementioned sheds a decolonial light on African leaders and reflects the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

Another narrative within the discourse of conflict-fomentation was that of military strategies. The sample History textbooks represented the numerous military strategies employed by the African societies and by the colonisers: some disparate and some similar in nature. For instance, the one of the military strategies mentioned in the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks that promoted decolonial historiography was that of Shaka's system of *amabutho* which ensured a consistent discipline in the Zulu army, and modified the armament from the traditional long spear with the short assegai, to name a few. Furthermore, the symbolism of Shaka's bull horn or *impondo zenkomo* military formation (de Vries, 2014; Horn, 2017), alludes to his appraisal of the bovine as not only a source of economic wealth, but also as a paragon for defence.

Similarly, the sample textbooks included political agreements as another strategy used by the African societies, as in the case of Jonker Afrikaner leader of the Namibian Oorlams, whilst other African societies such as the Namibian Nama peoples under the leadership of Hendrik Witbooi, utilised the more radical military strategy of guerrilla warfare. The aforementioned military strategies reflected the military ingenuity and strategic prowess in the sample textbooks, illuminating a decolonial sentiment (Blackler, 2017; Sarkin & Fowler, 2008).

In contrast, as depicted in the sample school History textbooks, the military strategies exerted by the colonisers were more direct and malicious. For instance, the scorched earth policy entailed colonisers destroying all useful resources required for the contented survival of the African societies thus resulting in all access to sources of food and supply being razed which aligns with Page and Sonnenburg (2003). In the same token, the total war strategy had the same nefarious intentions as the scorched

earth policy, but was more brutal in nature. Similarly, the divide and rule strategy was also mentioned and in a comparable manner, it too was as withering as the aforementioned strategies used by the colonisers. By including the aforementioned military strategies employed by the colonisers, the sample textbooks all present, on one hand, a Eurocentric view of western power; and on the other hand, a decolonial sentiment by edifying the atrocious consequences of the military strategies on African societies.

Summarily, the sample school History textbooks illustrated the discourse of conflict-fomentation in decolonial and Eurocentric sentiments. The textbooks highlight the stark polarity between the efforts of the African societies – the rightful inhabitants of Africa, and the colonisers – the foreign invaders who employed subterfuge and ruthlessness to conquer foreign land.

### **7.2.3 Discourses of economic control**

Fundamentally, western colonialism in Africa was manifested in the sample school History textbooks through discourses of economic control. The sample textbooks sometimes presented the discourse of economic control through a purely Eurocentric historiography, for instance, the South African textbooks acknowledged the Europeans having recognised the potential economic value of the natural and human resources found in Africa. This is in accordance with Utsey, et.al. (2014), who posit that the main intention of western colonialism in African was economic acquisition that the Europeans achieved through political despotism. Alternatively, economic control was expressed with a decolonial sentiment. To explicate, the sample school History textbooks reflect that western colonialism employed conflict during their economic endeavours, and that the objective of colonising Africa was primarily for economic exploitation.

Furthermore, the sample textbooks were in agreement with Ricart-Huguet's, (2021) view that presented European colonisers as speculating in the potential riches of African colonies for short-term and long-term investments. The South African and Namibian textbooks mention that the key reason for the above financial motivation was due to the then increased industrialisation in Europe, particularly in Britain, where the manufacturing process required raw materials of which most were found in African

countries rather than in Europe, hence accelerating “large-scale capitalist enterprise” (Cohen and Shenton, 1991, p.143). Consequently, all the sample textbooks revealed that cash economies were established in the African colonies which entailed requisitioning the natural resources and exploiting the African societies by coercing them to work on the plantations and mines which aligns with Kwashirai (2006), resulting in a Eurocentric historiography.

Moreover, the sample textbooks go on to express, in an Eurocentric view, that the manufacturing process of finished goods largely depended on natural resources such as sugar, tobacco, cocoa, and cotton from African countries. The sample textbooks expressed that at a foundational level, in correlation with Brayshay (2020) that Europeans acquired these natural resources through human labour, especially slavery and coerced labour motivated by the payment of mandatory taxes by the African societies to the colonisers. Through the aforementioned process, western capitalism could be enunciated as the result of western colonialism in Africa. At the same time, all the sample textbooks reflect that western colonialism has guaranteed underdevelopment and economic dependency through neocolonialism in Africa. In keeping with the theory of postcoloniality, the sample textbooks reflect that despite the post-colonial endeavours of African countries, western countries such as Britain, continue to hold political and consequently economic power over the nation states (Reinhard, 2001). Furthermore the sample textbooks reinforce Murrey’s (2020) idea that western colonialism was undeniably shaped by the acquisition of land, labour and markets in Africa.

Consequently, the sample textbooks included in the colonial investment development projects, railways undoubtedly being the most significant. The reliance on railways as a form of speedy transport was presented in the textbooks as a means to ensure relatively faster passage of goods and people across the African plains as opposed to horse-driven carts. This Eurocentric sentiment correlates with Jedwab and Moradi (2012), who assert that there existed a direct correlation between natural resources and railway transportation, in that since the cost of transportation decreased, the more profitable the export markets became. Alternatively, the sample textbooks illustrate the decolonial sentiment that railway construction in Africa not only physically carved-up the land, but it also shaped the economies of Africa and the colonial governments. For

example, *Zimbabwean Textbook 2* mentions that in the 1970s the Tanzania-Zambia railway was built with the financial aid of Communist China. This development fundamentally signalled the economic advancement of the political elite and the decline in the health and welfare of the workers and African societies as a whole.

The sample school History textbooks reveal that the intention of the colonisers were to draw the African societies into the western, capitalist economy. The sample textbooks revealed the above intention in several ways. One of the main ways was through taxes. For instance, the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks reiterate Nunn's (2014) conviction that by imposing mandatory taxes on the African societies, the colonisers were able to secure labour in the mines and on European-owned plantations. The reason for this is that in order for the African societies to pay the taxes, they required western monetary currency. The sample textbooks reiterate a Eurocentric view that in order to obtain this currency, the African societies had no other choice but to work for the Europeans and were thus drawn into the capitalist economy (Deflem, 1994).

In keeping with the theme of taxes, the sample textbooks reveal that the colonisers, who were in essence foreigners, were paid by the African societies for simply living in a country that was justifiably their own. The sample textbooks, such as *South African Textbook 1*, further elucidate the taxes such as the hut tax and dog tax as a limiting factor to the security of the African societies, since they would not be protected against, or warned of the arrival of the Europeans if the latter were to ambush them. This sentiment aligns with Dande and Swart (2022, p.672), who affirm that the dog tax, especially, was a colonial strategy used to guarantee that the cattle farmers had access to grassland on which to practice commercial pastoral farming. By including the guileful nature of the European colonisers, the sample textbooks promote a decolonial historiography.

Moreover, the sample textbooks illuminate that structural violence in particular was a method used to ensure that the African societies worked harder to obtain natural resources, so that the economic advancement of the Europeans were accelerated alluding to Eurocentric tendencies reinforced by Walter (2022). The textbooks also reveal the decolonial historiography that another way in which the colonisers ensured

the incorporation of African societies into the western economy was by taking the African lands and converting them into farmland or industrial areas. This not only left African societies without land to survive on, it also ensured the collapse of the economic wealth of the African societies. For instance, the Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks express that since African societies had little land of inferior quality due to its nutrient-deficiency. Thus these textbooks express Fraser's (2007) notion that African societies could not engage in successful pastoral farming thus leading to a loss of cattle and effectually their wealth. Hence, the already established traditional economic system of the African societies were destroyed by the implementation of the European western economy. The aforementioned cataclysmic cycle of economic oppression as described in the sample textbooks, lends itself to an assured decolonial sentiment in line with the theory of postcoloniality.

Furthermore, the sample school textbooks reveal that the colonisers collaborated with the African chiefs to arrange for the African men from their societies to work for the colonisers in the mines. Although one could argue that the chiefs could have taken a firmer stance against the Europeans, the textbooks all align with Deflem (1994) & Reed (2016), in that it was almost impossible to do as the African chiefs were forced to agree for three key reasons primarily expressed in the South African and Namibian textbooks. Firstly, the sample textbooks reflect that the African societies required western currency to survive now that they were coerced into integrating into the western economic systems. Secondly, the textbooks elucidate that the chiefs had to comply with the Europeans to maintain the peace between the two societies, especially since the latter often enforced military strategies to coerce the chiefs to be acquiescent. These textbooks provide decolonial and Eurocentric views of the nature of chiefs in relation to the role they played in advancing the economic standing of colonisers in Africa.

Moreover, the sample textbooks reinforce the Eurocentric sentiment that European colonisers had technologically advanced weapons that had proved more effective than the traditional weapons, which gradually led to the disintegration of pre-colonial organised warfare (Nunn, 2014). Furthermore, the western colonial economy expanded due to the guns-for-slaves cycle whereby slaves from West Africa were exported in exchange for guns (Rönnbäck, 2020). Thus by referencing the narrative

of weaponry, the sample textbooks effectively reflect Eurocentric endeavours, while also highlighting the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

Together with individual colonial initiatives, the sample History textbooks illustrate that the collective actions of colonial actors also drove the advancement of the colonial economy. To expound, the South African textbooks mention, with a Eurocentric view, that the charter companies such as the DEIC, the British South Africa Company, the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the Royal Niger Company initiated the process of colonialism in South Africa. This is in keeping with Gardner (2012) who explains that this process involved funding colonial conquests, unjust appropriation of natural resources, imposition of taxes, and routinely provisioning military resources to the colonisers reflecting a Eurocentric historiography.

On the other hand, the sample textbooks reflect Wand's (2015) view that the colonial charter companies were the initiators of the unscrupulous cycle of plundering African resources, manufacturing goods from these resources and selling the finished goods back to the colonisers. In this sense the textbooks express the above processes in a decolonial sentiment and reinforce that these processes indubitably gave rise to western capitalism and sabotaged the traditional indigenous economy of the African societies.

Similarly, a decolonial historiography is reinforced in *South African Textbook 1* which is concurrent with Dederig (2012) in that states that the establishment of mines and the economic colonial processes that accompanied it posed as a strategic deterrence to the advancement of African societies as the process resulted in physical and psychological confinement. In another example of the South African textbooks, the colonial economy was revealed as criminalising African men, as they were often subjected to brutal treatment and ethnic violence, which consequently correlates with Knyoch (2008) in that it resulted in imprisonment and the formation of prison gangs. Commensurate with contemporary Africa, such decolonial historiographies allow learners to acknowledge that the mining operations reflect the historical situation whereby they operate in locale near rural communities (Hilson, et.al., 2019). This is owing to the need for mineworkers to reside in close proximity to the mines, resulting in a continuation of classism in the sample countries.

Further, the sample History textbooks reveal the polarity in the treatment and allocation of employment with the African workers engaging with dangerous manual labour such as working in the mines; whilst the European workers conducted administrative work. With this different employment, there were financial disparities between the groups. The dedication of African societies to assiduous work, in this case, worked against them as they were forced into cheap sources of labour while the Europeans reaped the benefits. The inequitable remuneration between the African and white mineworkers has continued into contemporary society. To expound, at the time of the mineworkers strike in Marikana, South Africa in 2012, the average income of white South Africans was R12 500.00, which was 300% more than the Marikana mineworkers (Magaziner and Jacobs, 2013). The sample textbooks' Eurocentric representation of African mining societies as a lower-paid community continues in the post-colonial Africa.

To add to the difference in lifestyle, Domínguez and Luoma's (2020), view that western colonialism disturbed the symbiotic relationship between the African societies and the natural environment is reflected in *South African Textbook 1*, p. 295 mentions that the randlords or mine owners lived in mansions and from a Eurocentric view, this may appear better than living in a hut. Additionally, the same sentiment is evident in *Namibian Textbook 1*, p.179, in which the plastered walled houses with their stone-walled storehouses and cattle kraals of the Hurutshe people were described as being just as comfortable as and possibly far more practical than the European mansions. While a slight Eurocentric sentiment is evident, a decolonial historiography is ultimately encouraged.

The sample school History textbooks indicate that colonial influences on the economic systems did not operate in solitude. Rather the textbooks express a decolonial view that the colonial economic systems resulted in negative socio-economic impacts on the African societies. To explicate, all the sample textbooks state that the family structures of African societies were altered as the men migrated to the mines and cities in search of employment, whilst the women, children and the elderly stayed in the rural areas tending the agriculture. The decolonial historiography and the theory of postcoloniality are reflected that western colonialism essentially effectuated a

disconnect in the natural, indigenous episteme and lifestyles of African societies (Hart, 2015).

Moreover, there was evidence of Marxist language in the school History textbooks, especially the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks. For example, *Textbook 1*, p.94, alludes to Marxism economics and is consistent with Marx's comment about the process of slavery that he views as the elemental tools upon which the direct dependence of the British Industrial Revolution was situated (Foster, Holleman, and Clark, 2020). Furthermore, African societies served as a source of slaves to the Europeans. Words such as supply, demand, commodity, peasant and bourgeoisie in relation to slavery and class differences were also indicative of Marxist language in the sample History textbooks.

In keeping with the narrative of slavery, the concept was presented in a Eurocentric sentiment as a system whereby African societies were possessions of the Europeans. Thus, through western colonial capture of African economies, the colonisers were able to exert physical and epistemic shackles on African societies, and subsequently expand the colonial pressures on Africa. To enhance a decolonial historiography, the sample textbooks could have stressed the impacts of slavery on African societies such as psychological and behavioural process that has resulted in Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and which numerous people are still trying to overcome through coping mechanisms such as Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) and "culturally-adapted psychological treatment" (Dale and Merren, 2018, p.21).

In addition to the portrayal of colonial economy, the sample school History textbooks convey the importance of the pre-colonial trading systems in Africa, providing a decolonial point of departure for Africa prior to western colonialism. For example, South African Textbook 1, mentions that there exists archaeological evidence of inter-trading between countries in Africa and Asia prior to the arrival of western colonialism. This indicates that African societies did in fact have a knowledge of mercantilism, bartering and trading before western influence. This economic agency allowed African societies to transform and become wealthy. This corresponds with Rönnbäck (2020), who estimates that the barter system in pre-colonial Africa would have included

interpersonal aspects of the exchange. In other words, the seller and buyer ideally should be interested in the goods that each are willing to trade.

The sample school History textbooks portray the western colonisers in a primarily decolonial view as covetous and highly economically acquisitive. Rather than economically developing the countries by working in tandem with the African indigenous people, the sample textbooks expressed that the Europeans brought what they thought were experienced farmers; and in the process, they exploited and disposed the indigenous societies of their land and wealth. This sentiment correlates with Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012), who are of the opinion that one of the ways to ensure minimal revolt by African societies, and force them to relinquish their production systems which was eventually achieved through mandatory laws and legislature. The sample textbooks reveal the decolonial view that the colonisers felt no compassion and did not believe that their economic development was attributed to the African workers, who were essential to the upliftment of white businesses, and without whom, the white businesses would not have succeeded.

Despite the economic challenges faced by the African societies during the western colonial era, the decolonial process brought with it traditional concepts that were often linked to economic development. For example, *Namibian Textbook 2* mentions *Harambee* as a decolonial sentiment in which Kenyan societies worked together to build the African economy. The concept of *Harambee* essentially advocates self-reliance, rather than depending on the foreign investment. In a period of 14 years after colonial independence, Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977), estimated that in Kenya, *Harambee* was already contributing an estimated 30% of investments and developments. This substantial increase may be a result of the concept being rooted in the African spirit of unity, and may have resulted in the Kenyans' eagerness to engage in and exhibit an appreciation for their African heritage (Corrado, 2022).

Similarly, *Zimbabwean Textbook 3*, illuminates in a decolonial light, that the concept *Ujamaa* and African socialism were presented as corrective economic actions, in response to colonial economic exploitation to assist African societies engage with pre-colonial economic practices in which all African societies benefitted together from the natural resources in Africa. Julius Nyerere (1987, p.4), proponent of the *Ujamaa*

philosophy in Tanzania, affirms that socialism “is an attitude of mind...and not the rigid adherence to a standard political pattern”. This mind set is rooted in the spirit of a non-hierarchical, united traditional African society (Stöger-Eising, 2011). In post-colonial Africa, there has been the establishment of “*Ujamaa* villiagisation” (Lai, 2015, p.131) which indicates that in some parts of Tanzania, there still exist the perception of centralised state intervention in preference to autonomous locales.

Summarily, the sample textbooks all expressed decolonial and Eurocentric views that the main intention of western colonialism in African was economic acquisition that the Europeans achieved through political despotism. The discourse of economic exploitation in the sample school History textbooks reveal that in order to advance their economic ideals mentioned above, the Europeans forced the African societies into a capitalist market system where they did not prosper. Instead, the latter were physically and psycho-culturally exploited, their lands were dispossessed and they were robbed of their means of economy (mainly cattle). Therefore, the sample textbooks illuminate the decolonial view that the Europeans may have brought economic development to Africa, but these developments proved more beneficial to the colonisers than to the African workers. Western colonisers coerced African societies into the western economic systems through mandatory taxes and laws, which inevitably disintegrated the traditional African economy.

#### **7.2.4 Discourses of environmental degradation**

There was a great amount of emphasis placed on natural resources as a commodity to the Europeans, in the sample history textbooks. The textbooks portray the Europeans primarily in a Eurocentric light, as avaricious and greedy as the colonisers claimed ownership of the natural resources without compensating the African societies who had the original rights over the land. This sentiment corresponds with scholars such as Gueye, 2018, and Moyo, 2003 who assert that western colonialism was a territorial-focused practice.

All the sample History textbooks illustrate the corresponding results of the European exploitation of African land, which aligns with Fraser (2007), in that entire African societies had been displaced from their homelands, ancestral burial sites were encroached upon, and the land was left too anhydrous and nutrient-deficient to sustain

successful harvests. Thus, the sample textbooks provide a decolonial historiography and stress that arable and pastoral farming, which was practiced by African societies for centuries prior to the arrival of the Europeans, was becoming difficult and the natural resources for the survival African societies were diminishing.

Consequently, the textbooks all revealed that with the arrival of the Europeans, there came increased urbanisation and related infrastructure. The sample school History textbooks highlight the decolonial sentiment that development in Africa, and subsequent exploitation of African land, as a necessity to drive colonial agendas rather than to assist African societies. For example, the Namibian and Zimbabwean sample school textbooks stress that development in Africa was funded and designed to essentially accommodate for the needs of the European colonisers. The sample textbooks also express how post-colonial Africa is now intertwined in a globalised economy, and the textbooks align with the theory of Postcoloniality which views globalisation as a continuation of the structures of coloniality and imperialism (Neklessa, 2021).

Further, in relation to the increased development in Africa, the sample textbooks explicate how western colonialism can be estimated to have conflated the separate roles of men and women in Africa. This is in accordance with the societal roles played during the Victorian Era (1837 - 1901), the period when western colonialism advanced. For instance, the South African textbooks provide a decolonial view of how women had to adopt the responsibility of the men when the latter went to work at the mines and the metropolitan areas. Women, during this period were domestic-minded, and were focused on their roles as good wives and mothers, which were representative of what Carlson (1992, p.61), refers to as “Black Victoria”. On the other hand, the sample textbooks reflect Gordon and Nair’s (2006) assertion that African men as moving away from their paternal roles and becoming immersed in the working sphere. Thus, there is a notable decolonial correlation between the representation of European and African societies and the direct influence of western colonialism on African culture, in the sample school textbooks.

Principally, Africa was nominalised in the sample school History textbooks not only as a provenance of natural resources, but also as a strategic sea, and later land, route

from the west to the east. The sample textbooks provide a decolonial historiography that reinforces the strategic positioning of the African continent to the colonial process. Textbooks such as *Namibian textbook 1* reveal that there was a direct correlation between the amount of land owned by the colonisers and their financial standing and prestige. Although not explicitly evident, the sample textbooks do illuminate the decolonial view that the strategic location of Africa essentially elevated the industrial revolution in the Global North. This sentiment is in concurrence with Domínguez and Luoma (2020), and identifies with the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

In keeping with the strategic location of Africa, the sample school History textbooks reveal that pre-colonial and colonial borders played a calculated role in ensuring European control of the land and societies. For instance, all the sample textbooks provide visual representations of how the colonial borders physically separated African societies. The pre-colonial and colonial borders established by the Europeans also demarcated the separateness of Europeans from African societies (MacDonald, 2012; Thomson, 2010), while ensuring “frontier fluidity” which allowed the Europeans to migrate throughout Africa and expand their own territories, while depredating the way of life of African societies (Polat, 2011, p.1256). The textbooks, particularly the South African and Namibian textbooks also stress the location of the African ethnic groups prior to the arrival of Europeans. The aforementioned highlight European and decolonial historiographies and emphasises the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

Moreover, the narrative of railway lines were emphasised in all the sample school History textbooks. The textbooks aligned with Jedwab and Moradi (2012), in that railway construction in Africa not only physically carved-up the land by creating internal boundaries, as in the case of the Umlazi railway that separated the Black racial grouping from the South African Indian racial grouping during apartheid in South Africa, but it also shaped the economies of Africa and the colonial governments. For example, *Zimbabwean Textbook 3* reflects that in the 1970s the Tanzania-Zambia railway was built with the financial aid of Communist China. However, the textbooks fail to describe the fact that such development fundamentally signalled the economic advancement of the political elite and the decline in the health and welfare of the

workers and villagers (Fouéré, 2011).

The decolonial sentiment continues in the sample school History textbooks in the narrative of mining in Africa. For instance, in keeping with Kwashirai (2006) the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks express that mining companies were given preference, as opposed to African farmers, over natural resources such as wood that was used in the mining process. The sample textbooks also state that the reason for the abovementioned preference was due to the fact that the colonisers received most of their revenue from mines. A decolonial historiography of mining in Africa is provided in the sample textbooks in that they further illuminate that with the excessive plundering of plantations and mines, there was inexhaustible soil degradation, erosion and deforestation that continues to afflict post-colonial Africa which is also highlighted by the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

Besides the exploitative intentions of the colonisers, the sample textbooks reflect Veracini (2015), in that they reveal that the Europeans, especially the British in terms of the sample countries in this study, wanted African land to further serve as a location for which to send their excess populations. All the sample textbooks express that the result of the settler colonies on the African land was the increase in population that exerted more stress on the land and resources. The escalation of European foreigners in Africa resulted in displacement of African societies, degradation of land, and a deteriorated quality of life for the African societies who previously lived in synchronicity with the land. Moreover, the South African and Namibian textbooks illuminate that land, for the African societies, was not simply for residing on. Rather land held a metaphysical and familial symbolism. In other words, African societies had buried their ancestors, and this held a spiritual meaning for them (Domínguez and Luoma, 2020; Fraser, 2007; Gueye, 2018). However, the due reverence could not be honoured due to the forced migrations and land exploitation as a result of western colonialism (Richmond and Wilson, 2020). By making reference to the negative consequence of western colonialism on African heritage, the sample textbooks reinforce a decolonial historiography.

The sample History textbooks express the irony that for centuries, African indigenous people lived in harmony with their natural environment, only for their movement to be

subsequently controlled by foreigners within a matter of decades. This control of movement would last long after democracy, often resulting in the series of ongoing xenophobic attacks (Mafukidze, 2006; Misango & Landau, 2022). In addition to the restricted movements, the South African and Namibian textbooks reveal that African societies were also allocated specific areas to reside. These areas were generally barren and did not allow for resources to grow. The examples of the socio-economic and cultural impacts of the restricted movements of African societies under European rule western colonialism in the sample textbooks are evident through apartheid in the South African and Namibian textbooks, and in the *Chimurenga* in the Zimbabwean Textbooks. The aforementioned examples in the sample textbooks promote a distinct decolonial historiography, while also aligning with the theory of postcoloniality (Kwashirai, 2006).

To summarise, the sample school History textbooks fundamentally elucidate a decolonial sentiment regarding the correlation of western colonialism and the environment in Africa in the following ways. Firstly, the textbooks highlight that the colonisers sought Africa as a prime location to transport materials from the European colonies in the central and eastern global localities to the west for European economic enhancement. Secondly, the textbooks reflect that by colonising countries in Africa, European colonisers acquired free access to the continent's abundant natural resources, free or cheap labour, and an income generator in the form of taxes. Thirdly, the textbooks express the negative consequences of western colonialism on African land included displacement, forced removals, illegal acquisition of the sacred land, unjust denigration and coerced labour processes of the original indigenous societies as well as their descendants. Ultimately, the sample History textbooks reinforce a decolonial historiography by portraying land as a chief factor that accelerated the process of western colonialism for the social, economic and political benefit of the European colonisers, and the detriment of the African society in its entirety.

### **7.2.5 Discourses of the anti-colonialism**

There were three narratives of the discourse of anti-colonialism evident in the sample History textbooks. These were the narratives of African agency, African heritage and symbols of African heritage, and all of which were presented through a decolonial sentiment. Each of these narratives are discussed below.

Earlier in this chapter in section 7.2.2, I discussed 'big men' as a term that initially referred to European men who held the status of power over the African societies (Naidoo, 2014). Nonetheless, the sample school History textbooks also portrayed a decolonial view of African leaders as 'big men', since they were depicted as having agency in the role of powerful leaders. Examples of 'big African men' included Shaka, Moeshoeshoe, Samuel Maharero, Chief Lobengula, Jonker Afrikaner, Hendrik Witbooi, Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela, Kwame Nkrumah, and Julius Nyerere among others.

Substantively, the sample History textbooks aligned with Utsey, Abrams, Opare-Henaku, Bolden & Williams III (2014) and identified colonialism as the chief justification for fragmented identities among African societies. Despite this, the African being was illustrated through a decolonial lens as African agency in the sample school History textbooks. The textbooks allude to the idea that African agency was achieved through individual and collective actions. The key feature of individual actions to attain African agency was the emphasis on African culture. For instance, the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks cited Steve Biko as promoting blackness as a race. Biko was an active participant in anti-colonialism and a proponent of self-appreciation and his idea of inverting the disparate colonial racial hierarchy would have been a way of freeing African societies from the nugatory roles attached by western colonialism (Fernandes and Merron, 2022; More, 2008). Thus, Biko was used in the sample textbooks to reinforce the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

In another example of individual agency in the sample school History textbooks that was pivoted by African culture was Anton Lembede who similarly advocated that African societies pride themselves and their cultures. The sample textbooks provide a decolonial sentiment to how the African societies interrupted the suppressive epistemic bonds bound by the colonisers. Once these colonial bonds were severed, African societies could then advance as their own communities without interference from their colonial mother countries, reinforcing African agency in learners (Falolo and Jennings, 2002).

Similarly, a decolonial sentiment towards African agency in the sample textbooks aligned with Ackah, 1999, and demonstrated that the black elite in the African diaspora

which primarily referred to the historic slave-trade regions of Africa, America and Europe. For instance, the Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks drew upon George Padmore and Henry Sylvester Williams from Trinidad. Both these examples are decolonial in nature as both pan-Africanists worked to not only foreground the negative effects of colonialism on African societies, but also to radically change and inspire the suppressed societies to rise up as a united community against the brutal persecution by the western colonisers (Killingray, 2018; Knight & Lyob, 2014).

Furthermore, the sample textbooks illuminated the decolonial view that colonial policies such as the Frenchification of African societies in French colonies were not only underscored with racial discrimination. The Namibian and Zimbabwean sample textbooks highlight individuals from the African diaspora who encouraged African agency chiefly through scholarship. A chief example in these textbooks of such individuals is W.E.B du Bois who brought to the fore the oppressive colonial structures of Africans (Itzigsohn & Brown, 2020). The sample textbooks illustrate how du Bois was instrumental in arranging pan-African conferences to discern the treatment of African societies under colonial structures and to determine possible solutions, therefore relating to the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

The sample textbooks all express that the African ascension in intellectual and labour movements such as Pan-Africanism, Black Consciousness and Garveyism, elevated the acknowledgement and acceptance of African identity among African societies. The sample textbooks, especially the Zimbabwean textbooks, emphasise that prior to these movements, colonisers instilled the negative connotation of the African race. The former created an episteme of violence whereby African societies were associated with inferiority, slavery and subordination (Moses, 2015).

Further, the sample textbooks explained that African agency was also effectuated through collective efforts. For instance, all the sample textbooks highlight protests as one of most effective collective actions that exhibited the agency of African societies. The sample textbooks illustrate how African societies organised protests against the unjust practices derived from western colonialism imposed on the former. Such segregationist practices included suppressive laws, denying African societies the right to live peacefully on the land that was rightfully theirs. The aforementioned aligns with

Asante and Helbrecht (2018), who document that protest action are often related to class struggles, urbanisation, increase in the cost of living, unemployment and corruption.

Moreover, according to the sample History textbooks, the initial protests were placid in nature. Nonetheless, it was primarily the protests that illustrated the sheer number of people who were willing to fight against the oppressive governing forces. This proved impactful in underscoring the necessity for change and presenting a decolonial historiography. Despite this, the Namibian textbooks reinforced Thomas' (2012) view and drew attention to the fact that such forms of passive resistance by organisations, churches and other groups of people were countered by further restrictive and repressive practices derived from western colonialism.

Likewise, the sample History textbooks express that whilst religion, during the initial stages of colonialism, was used as a tool to entrench a sense of oppression and inferiority among the African societies, churches in the period during and more especially post-colonialism, played a contraposition role in terms of advancing African agency in Africa. This decolonial sentiment is visible in contemporary Africa, in one of the sample countries, Zimbabwe whereby three quarters of the country's population are Christians and the role of the Christian church is still very much politically involved in effectuating change (Masengwe & Dube, 2023).

In consonance with collective agency, the sample school History textbooks mention different ideologies that informed African agency on the African continent as well as in the African diaspora. These ideologies include Africanism and philosophies such as Negritude and Black Consciousness, through which African societies realised the power of being united as a nation. Negritude, for example, elucidated the racial, religious and political prejudices that people in the African diaspora experienced. Negritude was thus an example of decolonial historiography since it aimed to give agency to the suppressed African societies (Asante, 2006).

Moreover, Negritude directly translates to 'blackness' and this sentiment of the racial classification of colour directly corresponded with Black Consciousness - a philosophy and movement developed by Steve Biko. Essentially Negritude, Black Consciousness

and other movements such as Marcus Garvey's Negro Improvement Association, all endeavoured to achieve a sense of pride and self-value by embracing the colour of their skin that was for generations associated with being shackled by the Europeans and western colonialism (Wilder, 2020). Thus by referencing the above examples, the sample school History textbooks promote a decolonial awareness of African agency.

Ostensibly, all the sample school History textbooks include sections on nationalism in the respective countries. Markedly, nationalist movements in Africa were an attempt by colonially oppressed African societies to attain more autonomy (Blauner, in Schaefer, 2015). Such movements that champion independence often shape the identity of an envisioned autonomous country (Olzak, 2015). Thus by emphasising nationalism, the sample textbooks highlight the adversities and deprivations that were inflicted onto the African societies and reflect on how they challenged colonial rule. As a result, today we see that "African culture has survived all the storms, by seeking refuge in villages, in forests, and in the spirit of generations of victims of colonialism" (Amilcar Cabral, in Fitzpatrick, 2012, p.47). The aforementioned distinctly express the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

Bissau-Guinean and Cape Verdean Pan-Africanist, Amilcar Cabral (1974, p.12), asseverates that:

History teaches us that, in certain circumstances it is quite easy for a stranger to impose his rule on a people. But history equally teaches us that, whatever the material aspects of that rule, it cannot be sustained except by the permanent and organised repression of the cultural life of the people in question. It can only firmly entrench itself if it physically destroys a significant part of the dominated people...For as long as a section of the populace is able to have a cultural life, foreign domination cannot be sure of its perpetuation.

The above quotation was as true and relevant today as it was almost 50 years ago, and the sample school History textbooks build on Cabral's idea of promoting African culture, by including examples of African agency in the textbooks and consequently instilling decolonial perspectives.

Further, the sample school History textbooks also reveal the role of young African people in being agents against western colonial practices and ideologies that filtered down through the generations. As the younger generations became aware of the iniquities of the Europeans, they began to rise above the acceptance of colonial suppression. I refer to this phenomenon as 'generational agency'. Generational agency, in the sample textbooks, is illuminated through the examples of how an increased number of youth were becoming enlightened on practices related to western colonialism. The sample textbooks all express Cooper, Swartz & Mahali's (2019) view that the youth became increasingly cognisant regarding the ways in which African societies were (and continue to be) negatively affected by western colonialism and they acted synchronously to impede the continuation of the colonial processes.

Moreover, the sample textbooks asserted that the youth believed that they could make better decisions than their forebears could since they had more tools as compared to the latter. For instance, the Namibian textbooks reveal that such tools included being able to interpret the English language which resulted in the African youth analysing the Bible and discovering that the holy doctrine did not advocate inferiority among races, slavery and dispossession of land – all of which were committed by the colonisers. This decolonial ideology in the sample textbooks align with Waller (2006), who mentions that while the defiance of youth during colonial and post-colonial periods distressed their elders and the colonisers, but they were united in their struggle against oppressive structures.

From the above discussion, it must be noted that although anti-colonialism and decoloniality are closely related, the latter entails "revealing and dismantling colonist powers in all its forms" (Nunn & Whetung, 2020, p.155), whilst the former is initiating the physical resistance of colonial structures. Anti-colonial sentiments have resulted in the paroxysm of western colonial control over African political and economic systems (Hodder-Williams, 2001), and is evident in the sample school History textbooks.

Subsequently, the second narrative indicative of anti-colonialism, in the sample textbooks, was African heritage. The topic of heritage is the first section in *Namibian Textbook 1*. This may be considered a well-calculated placement in the textbook as,

at the onset, learners are able to epistemically situate themselves within their heritage prior to learning about the history of Namibia. In keeping with the discourse of anti-colonialism, the textbooks acknowledge the rich African heritage, and praise African societies in the diaspora on actively working toward sharing their socio-cultural heritage and consequently shaping their lives within a culturally diverse global village. This sentiment correlates directly with the postcolonial phenomenon of hybridity (Bhabha, 1990; Balaji & Thenmozhi, 2023; Dadugblor, 2020; Gopal, 2023; Nafafé, 2020).

Moreover, African heritage, in the textbooks, were eulogised in several written works and performance and art pieces. These included individuals who used the written word to bring about an awareness of the plight of African societies such as Maya Angelou and Bob Marley. By including Angelou and Marley, the sample History textbooks make learners aware that African-descendants from around the world were fighting for the same cause as the people on the African continent; they fought for emancipation from the shackles of physical and psychological slavery, and colonialism (Wallis & DePass, 2016).

The artistic contributions of the aforementioned artists are concurrent with the sentiment within the post-colonial African diaspora who aim to foreground their African heritage (Williams, 2003). To explicate, African heritage is expressed through media such as documentaries, e.g. *Enslaved: The Lost History of The Transatlantic Slave Trade*<sup>1</sup>, popular songs, e.g. *My African dream*<sup>2</sup>, films, e.g. *Black Panther*<sup>3</sup>; and

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<sup>1</sup> This documentary explores the practices of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and is about “understanding privilege from a racial perspective.” (Hirsch, 2022).

<sup>2</sup> This song was performed by musician, Vicky Sampson in 1996; and was written by South African-born composer and novelist, Alan Ari Lazar. The lyrics speak to the pre-colonial African heritage and includes the influence of colonialism, notably the introduction of guns into the African societies.

<sup>3</sup> This film is part of the comic-book based Marvel Cinematic Universe, and was directed by African-American Ryan Coogler. Although fictional, the film “sought to overcome the dichotomy between modern scientific and African spiritual technologies by presenting religious heritage as decidedly adaptable and integrate-able with emerging scientific ideas” (Kaunda, 2019, p.54).

television series, e.g.: *Blackish*<sup>4</sup>. Contemporary art forms also promote African heritage, such as literature, e.g. *Transcendent Kingdom*<sup>5</sup>; dance, e.g. dance styles such as tap dance, line dance, samba and hip-hop<sup>6</sup>; art, e.g.: *Sankofa*<sup>7</sup> and so forth. The relevance of these media represent the attempt by contemporary individuals of African descent, most of whose forebears were taken to the diaspora as slaves. Harris (2005) reinforces the aforementioned notion and asserts that African slaves tried to re-create their memories and cultural practices through their memories.

Additionally, symbols of African unity was the third anti-colonial narrative evident in the sample school History textbooks. The acknowledgement of individual and joint anti-colonial enterprises were celebrated in various ways including the decolonisation of western colonial-influenced national anthems, flag, monuments and constitutional documents. Each of these aspects will be discussed below.

The sample textbooks feature monuments and memorials played a momentous role in that they sent powerful anti-colonial messages to the African societies. For example, the South African and Namibian sample textbooks reflect the bravery and dedication of people such as the Zulu warriors, Namibian chiefs, at individual and collective dimensions, to achieve freedom for African societies are recorded and make contemporary societies aware of these sacrifices. This is consistent with post-colonial attempts to instil a decolonial historiography such as the Mwalimu Nyerere Museum which celebrates the former president, Julius Nyerere's legacy. Furthermore, a memorial ground with Nyerere's statue at the Mnazi Mmoja field in Dar es Salaam is

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<sup>4</sup> This is a sitcom, which illustrates how African-Americans have assimilated over three generations to American societal and cultural norms (Grammage & Grammage, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> This novel was written by American-Ghanaian, Yaa Gyasi in 2020. The plot revolves around the cultural and emotional experiences of a Ghanaian family in America (Goodreads, 2022).

<sup>6</sup> These dance styles are rooted in the African Diaspora (Prather, 2014). Furthermore, the scholarship and performance of these and other related dances express "living histories...agency...transcultural healing practices, ancestral memories...'blackness', aesthetics, gender, and the role of our elders" (Vinesett, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> This is a painting by Carla Golder, an African artist. The title of the painting in Ghanaian translates to "go back and get it" and was created as a symbol "to retrieve wisdom from the past that has been lost or taken away, in order to reclaim and reshape it as we move ahead toward our full potential" (Golder, n.d).

often used as a location for political gatherings, thus signifying his commitment to political and social transformation (Fouéré, 2014).

Further, the sample textbooks illustrate the country flags, national anthems and constitutions as important anti-colonial symbols, especially in post-colonial Africa. The Namibian sample textbooks, in particular, reveal that such symbols were a public way in which to provide a sense of optimism in the form of social, political and psychological transformation to the African societies that were severely oppressed by the structures and influence of western colonialism. The South African sample textbooks also reiterate that the post-colonial flags and anthems were also an augmentation of the renewed emphasis on African unity and a united society as opposed to the previous divided one. To expound, the Namibian flag expresses the traditional Herero identity as well as celebrates Herero leadership. The flag attempts to create a homogenised society since it is “a representation of [the Herero] as a unified polity” (Hendrickson, 1996, p.214), as an attempt to revert to their original African identities aligning with the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality (Devetak, 2013; Grosfugel (2007).

Moreover, the words and phrases in the post-colonial national anthems held a decolonial meaning for the people of Africa. For example, the South African anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, incorporates five languages: Xhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho, Afrikaans and English (Magangane, 2016). The First three languages being indigenous to Africa, whilst the latter two are the language of the colonisers. By including Afrikaans and English into the anthem, (a symbol that represents the ideals of the countries people), the post-colonial government makes an overt statement that exhibits the values of African societies. In other words, there is a reflection of forgiveness for the atrocities that occurred in the colonial era, and an acceptance of the descendants of the Europeans into Africa. Correspondingly, Mwinlaaru & Nartey (2021), concur and state that post-colonial anthems in Africa represent motifs of reclamation of national identities and freedom from oppression. Thus, the sample textbooks promotes a clear decolonial historiography by explaining the importance of the post-colonial national anthems.

Consequently, the sample textbooks illuminate that further attempts to decolonise African countries of the influence of western colonialism came in the form of

commemorating events or people on special days, such as public holidays. However some days have contested meanings to different societies. For instance, as stated by Mandela & Langa (2016), December 16 may be representative of the victory of the Voortrekkers over the Zulu warriors in the Battle of Blood River in 1838, as well as the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961. Nonetheless, in the democratic society, the day represents the liberation struggles of the African societies and the brazen efforts of the European descendants to acquire land in Africa, but ultimately it is a day earmarked to celebrate the transformed decolonial practices and solidarity of African societies in its entirety, thus earning the name as the Day of Reconciliation.

Further, monuments and memorials were featured in the sample school textbooks, especially the South African and Namibian textbooks. The textbooks reflected a momentous role in that they sent powerful anti-colonial messages to the African societies. For example, the bravery and dedication of people such as the Zulu warriors, Namibian chiefs, at individual and collective dimensions, to achieve freedom for African societies are recorded and make contemporary societies aware of these sacrifices. Accordingly, the Mwalimu Nyerere Museum celebrates former presidents, Julius Nyerere's legacy. Furthermore, a memorial ground with Nyerere's statue at the Mnazi Mmoja field in Dar es Salaam is often used as a location for political gatherings, thus signifying his commitment to political and social transformation (Fouéré, 2014).

Besides national symbols, body language may also be considered as a symbol of anti-colonialism. For instance, the sample History textbooks depict the black power salute primarily as an allegory of African liberation struggles. The black power salute refers to a raised arm, clenched in a fist. The political symbolism behind the black power salute is also emphasised in contemporary society. For instance, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, a Nigerian musician and social commentator, believed that the black power salute could enhance political emancipation, cultural awareness, "Blackism, and Pan-Africanism" (Botcheway, 2014, p.18), reflecting the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality.

Similarly, the national symbols were also decolonised and underwent a "re-racialisation [through] toponymic cleansing" (Adebanwi cited in Savage, 2020). In other words, the exercise of remaining streets in post-colonial countries, for instance,

indicated a swift move away from colonial influence, promoted African nationalism and political reconfiguration (Mamvura, Pfukwa & Mutasa, 2020). The sample textbooks elucidate that the colonisers named streets and places after European actors and places in the mother country, such as Smuts Street, Rhodes Street, Bismarck Street, Voortrekker Road, Edenvale Road, and so forth. Contrarily, the post-colonial African countries promoted a decolonial historiography by drawing upon national heroes that contributed to the struggle against oppressive forces of western colonialism such as Joseph Mukwayu Ithana Street, Kenneth Kaunda Avenue, Lungile Mtshali Road, Kwame Nkrumah Street, Kaguvi Street, and so forth.

Summarily, the discourse of anti-colonialism in the school History textbooks encompassed African agency, African heritage and symbols of African heritage. The History textbooks depicted African societies as agents in their perpetual battle for liberation against oppressive forces of western colonialism, and its subsequent post-colonial influences, thus reflecting an undeniable decolonial historiography.

### **7.3 Conclusion**

The conspectus of this chapter presented a discussion based on the interpretation of the findings from Chapter Six. Through this secondary analysis to answer this study's second research question, *is how do the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?*, it was clear that the school History textbooks illustrated western colonialism through both, decolonial and Eurocentric, sentiments, while also drawing upon the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality. For instance, the sample History textbooks illuminated that the colonisers' reasons for dominating the African land and people is unwarranted, in that people in Africa already had existing social hierarchies, religious praxis, economic systems, and political structures – even if they were incongruous with the mould of European culture and society. The sample textbooks also express that the actions of the western colonisers may be interpreted as hypocritical seeing as the European societies had differing beliefs, lifestyle and way of life within their societies. The sample textbooks all provide evidence that Africa did indeed have thriving civilisations prior to the arrival of the colonisers, and consisted of independent societies who did in fact exhibit African agency against the oppressive nature of the colonial forces.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### EXPLANATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS TO THE STUDY

#### 8.1 Introduction

My study was a decolonial critique of discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school history textbooks. Hence, my focus was fundamentally on the prevailing discourses and historiographies of western colonialism in these textbooks. The overarching research question for this study was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?* Accordingly, the objective was to identify the presence of decoloniality in the sample school History textbooks. The verbal and visual narratives were analysed in accordance with various historiographies relating to western colonialism.

Consequently, this chapter serves as a conclusion to this study, while also attempting to answer the third research question, *Why are these discourses and historiographies manifested in the way that they are?*, by engaging with Fairclough's (1995) third aspect of social analysis through an explanation of the findings and interpretations. To ensure coherence in the structure and progress of the CDA methodology, this chapter begins by highlighting a summary of the findings from Chapters Six and Seven. Subsequently, a critical explanation of the findings for this study will be presented, followed by my proposed theoretical framework for decoloniality in school History textbooks. Lastly, I discuss the conclusions of the study by reviewing the preceding chapters and clarifying my reflections and recommendations.

#### 8.2 Summary of the findings

The two foregoing chapters, Chapters Six and Seven, provided the description and interpretation using Fairclough's (1995) textual and process analysis respectively. From these chapters, five key discourses were identified and examined as the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks through a decolonial critique. The understanding from this study is that school History textbooks are not completely

decolonial. Rather, the sample textbooks illustrate western colonialism in Africa from a place of hybridity, which the theory of postcoloniality defines as a fusion of African identity and cultural influence from western countries. Fundamentally, through the textual and process analyses of the discourse forces of colonialism, various historiographies were evident in all the sample school history textbooks. Although extensively discussed in Chapter 7, a summary of the findings will be presented below to contextualise the study for answering research question three.

### **8.2.1 Discourses of forces of western colonialism**

This study revealed that western colonialism is presented in multifarious ways resulting in instances of incongruity and homogeneity in the sample history textbooks. For instance, western colonialism appears to be a more significant topic in Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks than South African textbooks. The first justification for this is that Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks cover colonialism in Africa in general and in several African countries specifically, thus revealing a more decolonial historiography. In contrast, the South African history textbooks mainly discuss western colonialism with reference to South African history. This speaks to the issue of South African exceptionalism, where learners in South Africa focus largely on their own country's colonial history (Mamdani, 2008).

Further, western colonialism in South African history textbooks is not presented as a continuation of global European expansion and local transformations. This suggests a globalist, and therefore, neo-liberal historiography, which, while showing the excesses of colonialism, represents it as part of the unfolding of the modern era (Hart, 2006). This is different from the Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks which dedicate a focus to western colonialism in relation to how African history unfolded. This suggests a decolonial historiography which highlights domination of African societies by the Western world.

All the sample school History textbooks expressed the vices of Europeans colonisers were illustrated under the guise of humanitarianism. These vices included desire, greed, ruthlessness and subterfuge, which proved in contrariety to the Christian principles that the European colonisers imposed on majority of the African societies, particularly in the sample countries. This indicates that the European colonisers were

not as morally-principled as they appeared to be. It also implies that even though they preached Christianity, they themselves did not adhere to the religious doctrines, thus illustrating a decolonial sentiment, while at the same time indicating a humanitarian justification for colonialism which hints to a Eurocentric historiography.

In keeping with humanitarianism, the narrative of missionaries as presented in the sample History textbooks, allude to the Eurocentric historiography in that European missionaries facilitated the western colonial agenda in not only creating a polarised religious society, but also acquiring more political power to the European colonisers. Undeniably, missionaries were presented as catalysts to change the culture, mind-sets and lifestyles of the indigenous African societies, resulting in the portrayal of a decolonial historiography. Despite this, the sample textbooks shed light on the literacy rate of western education in African societies, as well as improved farming methods, illustrating a Eurocentric view that garnered praise. The latter function of the missionaries is arguable, as African societies were indeed technologically advanced, albeit not in the western sense of exploiting the natural environment.

Furthermore, the sample school History textbooks depicted white, Christian males as the archetype of colonial superiority, who were undoubtedly, the key representatives of colonialism and depicted as “big men” (Naidoo, 2014, p.1). While this is evident of a Eurocentric historiography, the textbooks did also incorporate “big African men” who were representatives of the struggles for freedom in African in their varying capacities as workers, soldiers, philosophers and leaders. The aforementioned was indicative of decolonial historiographies.

While all the sample textbooks documented examples of neoliberal historiographies, the South African and Zimbabwean school History textbook, do so in several instances. In particular, they stress the aspects of riches, wages, attire, and so forth, which align with neoliberal historiographies which highlights the material influences of western colonialism (Hall, Massey & Rustin, 2015).

In terms of the treatment of the African societies by the Europeans, decolonial historiographies were evident in different forms in all the sample school History textbooks. For example, all the sample textbooks elucidate that irrespective of the

several societies that existed, all African societies physically and psychologically suffered mercilessly at the hands of the European colonisers. Western colonialism served to oppress, dispossess and plunder African societies and their natural environments.

Likewise, the sample textbooks used iniquitous and unfavourable adjectives to describe the Europeans such as greed, intimidate, boast, desire – all of which reflect the vainglorious nature of the Europeans colonisers who believed themselves to be the law, and even above the law, self-righteous and superior to other societies especially the African societies. This was a literary technique to express a Eurocentric historiography.

### **8.2.2 Discourses of conflict-fomentation**

With reference to the discourse of conflict-fomentation, all the sample History textbooks acknowledge the role of colonialism. Nevertheless, the difference is that South African and Namibian textbooks identify conflict as inclusive. For example, the conceptualisation of the South African War suggests the involvement of all South Africans and is thus reflective of the Afrocentric historiography, which advocated the acknowledgement of African societies in history.

In contrast, the Zimbabwean textbooks still refer to this as the Anglo-Boer War, representing it as a colonial war. The Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks also emphasise European military strength based on their technological advancement, thus reflecting the Marxist conception of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism.

Moreover, the narratives of weaponry and military strategies were evident in all the sample school History textbooks, although it was discussed in detail in the South African and Zimbabwean textbooks.

### **8.2.3 Discourses of economic control**

In relation to the discourse of economic control, all the sample History textbooks show how the colonial economy was established to benefit the Europeans at the expense of Africans. Mishra and Hodge (2005, p.376), evince that Marxism is a “materialist

legacy” that is rooted in acquisitiveness, and that is predominantly how the colonisers were depicted in the sample History textbooks.

Nonetheless, the South African textbooks focus predominantly on western colonial control in South African countries, while the Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks extensively depict colonial economic control in various African countries, thus exhibiting a largely Marxist and Africanist historiographies. Furthermore, African philosophies such as Humanism, *Ujamaa*, and *Harambee* are mentioned in the Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks but not in the South African textbooks.

Furthermore, the South African and Namibian textbooks emphasise political and moral causes of colonialism and neo-liberal historiographies in South African history textbooks were evident. In contrast, the Zimbabwean history textbooks tends to place more emphasis on the economic and material factors of western colonialism. This is evidence of the influence of Marxist historiographies in the Zimbabwean textbooks

Moreover, Marxism heavily influences the language in the Zimbabwean textbooks, unlike the South African and Namibian History textbooks. For instance, the Zimbabwean school History textbooks represent the stratifications in society by referring to the different societies in terms of classes, and categorise each class according to peasants, bourgeoisie and the elite.

Fundamentally, all the sample school History textbooks revealed that there was a direct correlation between labour in Africa and development within Africa and the European colonial mother countries. Within the context of the discourse of the western colonialism and the African economy, human resources in the form of migrant labour and slavery was related solely to the African societies. The European colonisers imposed an economic system in which the African societies were forced to depend on for their livelihood. The colonial trade companies and individual representatives in Africa had a singular aim and that was to forcefully procure the natural materials from Africa while keeping African societies economically restrained through European colonial structures in the form of low wages, taxes, inferior living conditions and deprivation of freedom. This inexorably affirmed that the African countries diminished

while the European countries flourished. These narratives are indicative of decolonial historiographies.

#### **8.2.4 Discourses of environmental degradation**

The discourses of environmental degradation were depicted through a decolonial historiography, however, the extent to which differed. For instance, the South African and Namibian textbooks placed more emphasis on the detrimental socio-cultural impacts of western colonialism on the environment depicting a significant degree of Africanist historiography, while the Zimbabwean textbooks focused more on the economic implications, thus alluding more to a neo-liberal historiography.

The sample textbooks depicted the incontrovertible idea that European exploitation of natural resources in Africa occurred primarily for the manufacturing processes in the west. Additionally, African lands were exploited not only in terms of the minerals and plantations resources but also with reference to its wildlife. This would have resulted in a discord of the once united African societies and all this was as a result of western colonialism which aligns with the decolonial historiography.

#### **8.2.5 Discourses of the anti-colonialism**

Essentially, the discourse of anti-colonialism is featured in all the sample History textbooks, although not at the same level. For instance, while the South African textbooks focus mostly on South Africa, the Namibian and Zimbabwean history textbooks present several types of African anti-colonialism in a wide range of African countries. This indicates that Namibian and Zimbabwean textbooks have a greater influence of decolonial historiography than South African textbooks.

Additionally, the Namibian and Zimbabwe school History textbooks illuminate that the African diaspora eventually lost the key values of African traditions and heritage, although now a large number of African people earnestly attempted to pool their knowledge and reframe their understanding of their heritage. However, all the sample school textbooks highlight that when African slaves were taken to the diaspora they tried to amalgamate their fragmented memories of their cultural practice, and one of the ways they could document these was through media such as dance, art and song. This is in keeping with the decolonial historiography.

Further, the sample countries' textbooks evidenced the promotion of decolonial historiographies in terms of detailing the collective actions, philosophies and practices such as Black Consciousness, African nationalism and Pan-Africanism which reinforced the decolonial sentiment among African societies that the socio-economic and political aspects. The above philosophies was an attempt to break the epistemic violence that, more often than not, had filtered down through the descendants of those who were directly physically, psychologically and emotionally incapacitated by western colonialism.

In keeping with postcolonial thinking, the sample textbooks, especially the South African and Namibian textbooks reinforced that part of the decolonial process was toponymal renaming, whereby existing physical colonial structures such as monuments, road names and museums undergo a sense of Africanisation. This process is requisite as these colonial structures are reinforcements of Eurocentric knowledge production, and presentative of a western elite, and depicts a clear decolonial historiography. In 1990, Zeleza (1990, p.1) wrote that school History textbooks "have as yet to fully incorporate and reflect the methods, approaches and findings of modern African historiography", and thirty-three years later, we see that school History textbooks have achieved this.

To conclude, the above summary of the findings of this study reflects that there is no congruity in the way the sample South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks manifest the discourses of western colonialism in Africa. The prevailing discourses were expressed through decolonial and Eurocentric historiographies resulting in a hybrid approach to understanding western colonialism through the sample school History textbooks.

### **8.3 Explanation of the findings**

Now that my description and interpretation of the findings for this study have been discussed, I now present the explanation. The explanation is twofold, firstly, it is the third aspect of Fairclough's (1995) CDA which entails social analysis; and secondly, I use the social analysis to formulate an answer to my third sub-research question, i.e.: *Why are these discourses and historiographies manifested in the way that they are?* While I drew upon the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality throughout my CDA

of the sample school History textbooks, I realised that I had to rely even more so on these theories to answer the aforementioned research question in an attempt to understand the reasons for why the authors and publishers of the sample school History textbooks have chosen to include the specific discourses and historiographies in the textbooks.

As mentioned in the summary of findings, the sample school History textbooks did not illustrate far-reaching decolonial historiographies. Instead, the sample textbooks expressed a sense of hybridity (Balaji & Thenmozhi, 2023; Dadugblor, 2020; Gopal, 2023; Kuortti & Nyman, 2007; Nafafé, 2020), which reflected that contemporary African societies live in a state of liminality whereby western colonialism and its related historiographies initially deconstructed African identities, by denigrating African lifestyles and worldviews (Fongang, 2017). The result of this was, to an extent, a generational inferiority complex, which has inevitably created the foundation upon which knowledge production was formed.

Moreover, hybridity is evident in the sample History textbooks as there exists, to an extent, differing historical points of departure undoubtedly owing to the different postcolonial realities experienced by the sample countries. These heterogeneous realities could have resulted in the coloniality of being, which in keeping with hybridity, indicates the presence of a fragmented African identity which favours expectations of the western world (Fabian, 2014; Houssay-Holzschuch, 2020; Kurtz, 2001; Utsey, Abrams, Opare-Henaku, Bolden & Williams III, 2014). Considering the aforementioned, the call for decolonising the History curriculum in South Africa is not confounding, especially since the evidence of neo-liberal historiographies in the History textbooks may sometimes be linked with neo-colonialism.

Furthermore, knowledge dissemination was historically politicised meaning that social and cultural differences such as race, ethnicity and class was a key determinant in the type of information learners were privy to at schools. Thus, when considering intersectionality in the context of post-colonial Africa, it is clear that there exists a plurality of identities arising from varied worldviews. Hence, western colonialism has resulted in perpetuated oppression of societies which exhibit pluralistic identities manifesting in racial hierarchy, class inequality, ethnic discrimination and gender

discrimination (Alexiou, et.al, 2020; Dube, 2020; Koot, 2020; Mwetulundila, 2022; Nenjerama, 2021; Okenwa-Emegwa, 2023; Sechele, 2022; Tshishonga, 2019).

Moreover, post-colonial Africa does not have homogenous states, given that the policies regarding socio-cultural, political, economic and technological progress vary from country to country. Consequently, westernised perceived universal truths and traditional theories continue to influence knowledge in Africa (Etieyibo, 2018; Motala, et.al, 2023; Ndofirepi & Gwaravanda, 2019; Ndlovu, 2018). Hence, the school History textbooks may differ according to the respective colonial, political and historical influence of the post-colonial nation-states.

Accordingly, western modernity has inevitably shaped the perceptions and behaviours of African societies, and has historically left minimal opportunity for self-reliance (Domínguez and Luoma, 2020; Savage, 2020; Tung-Yi, 2009). This is owing to the inheritance of colonial structures, which continue to epistemically capture African perspectives and manoeuvre societal thinking toward western philosophies. This is evident in the sample History textbooks which continue to use the language of Eurocentrism, such as Marxism. Of course, certain Marxist ideologies may be applicable to the African context, however its use in the History textbooks do not clearly illustrate its merits to Africa.

Consequently, the juxtaposition that exists with regard to knowledge production is that African children are born into households where African traditions are celebrated, but when they enter the schooling system, learners are forced to re-orientate themselves according to the requirements of the educational sphere. Arguably, these educational spheres may adapt pedagogical theories and practices from other countries, including those from the Global North. Thus, the detrimental hegemonic structures of western colonialism linger, and may potentially be expressed through internalised colonialism (Oppong, 2019), resulting in learners not necessarily having control over absorbing Eurocentric historiographies. On the other hand, History educational practitioners do have an extent of control in the materials they choose for their learners. Textbooks are one of the major educational tools that History educational practitioners may use to promote decolonial historiographies.

Similarly, the contemporary society is one that is pluralistic in its perceptions about western colonialism. To expound, some view the process as the establishment of regression and suppression of African peoples (Chuku, 2014, Igboin, 2014). On the other hand, there are those that view colonialism of Africa as an important process in ushering in and cultivating advancement in political, educational, economic and technological ideologies and change (Collins, 2017; Crawhall, 2004; Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012; Pella. Jr, 2015; Weiner, 2013). The assumption then is that the above dichotomy of perceptions of western colonialism would result in contradictory historiographies in the sample school History textbooks.

Further, owing to the commodification of History textbooks, some publishers may be enmeshed in the western economic systems, especially of capitalism. This then means providing knowledge of the conformist western knowledge systems to meet the expectations of potential buyers, especially in the case of international textbooks, or local textbooks that want to appear characteristic of aligning with western historiographies.

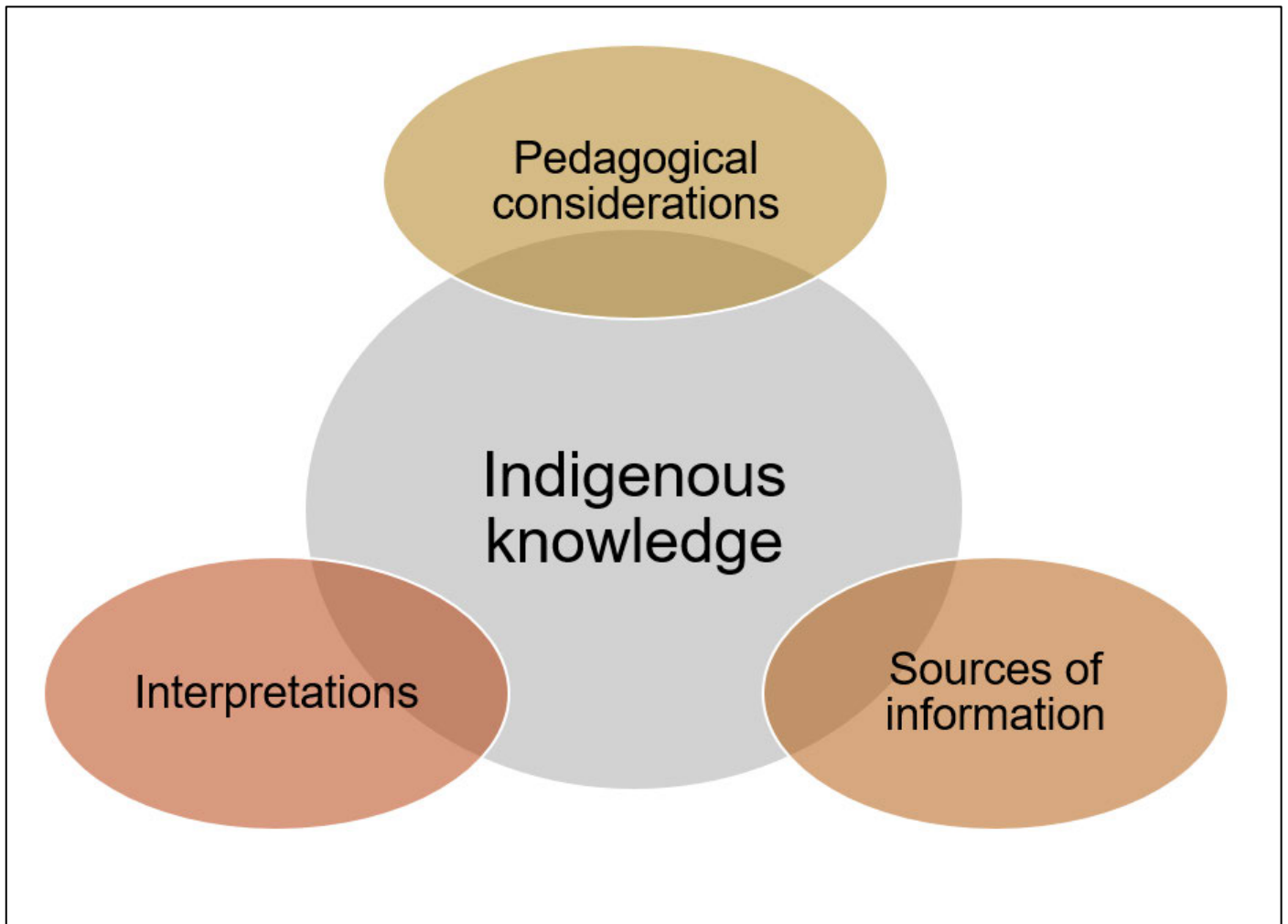
Taking into account the above discussion, it is clear that the present epistemic state of contemporary African societies, including the authors and producers of the sample school History textbooks, have been fashioned into the role of the 'hybrid African'. I use this term to depict African societies who maintain an African identity, but who also meet the expectations of western cultures. This identity is a result of daily interactions within a society that operates, simultaneously, in a local and global psychology. It is this hybrid African identity that determines what and how knowledge should be included in school History textbooks. Hence, there are several reasons why the prevailing discourses and historiographies were manifested in the way that they were in the sample History textbooks. Nonetheless, in keeping with my theoretical framework, I am inclined to posit that the preponderant justification would be the inherited influence of western colonialism on the African episteme.

#### **8.4 A proposed theoretical framework for decoloniality in school History textbooks**

In Chapter Four, the theoretical framework chapter, I illustrated the principles of decoloniality (Darder, 2019) and postcoloniality (Ravishankar, et.al., 2013), which both contributed equally to the interpretation and explanation of this study's CDA. Nonetheless, after critically engaging with the findings from the sample school History textbooks, I realised that those frameworks lacked clear points of reference and could not necessarily be situated in the context of analysing school History textbooks in post-colonial Africa. Thus, in this section, I provide an explanation of a decolonial model that I developed as my contribution to the theorisation of this study. I refer to this model as a 'Decolonial model of African epistemology' that may be used when engaging with school History textbooks.

Considering the incongruity of historiographies in the sample school History textbooks, I have developed a decolonial framework and correlated it with Garrouette's (2003) radical Indigenism, and the colonial matrix of power, being and knowledge which were discussed in Chapter Four. In doing so, the 'Decolonial model of African epistemology' considers all the aspects of African societies that experienced the atrocious effects of western colonialism. Fundamentally, the 'Decolonial model of African epistemology' (refer to Figure 8.1), consists of four assumptions. These will be discussed below.

**Figure 8.1 The ‘Decolonial model of African epistemology’**



The first assumption that informs the ‘Decolonial model of African epistemology’ is that all knowledge should be underpinned by *indigenous knowledge systems*. Unlike many western philosophies, this ‘Decolonial model of African epistemology’ would not entail esoteric knowledge, which are limited to only those who engage in the language of academia, and is divisive in worldviews (Gorelick, 2014). Instead, the ‘Decolonial model of African epistemology’ would begin with the intrinsic principles of African identity such as heritage and tradition. Subsequently, African philosophies such as Ubuntu, humanism and Africanism among others would be explored. Consequently, a sense of an African being and an African consciousness would be encouraged. Moreover, by including indigenous African languages, school History textbooks would be an educational tool that promotes “linguistic citizenship” (Stroud, 2001, p. 346),

which expose learners from all socio-cultural backgrounds to indigenous African languages. This interaction with the indigenous African languages in the school History textbooks will help learners feel acknowledged and may promote an increased sense of African identity and develop an African consciousness.

Secondly, *pedagogical considerations* must encompass active educational interactions between educational practitioners and learners and must include critical engagement in a decolonial manner. Decolonial pedagogy would dismiss knowledge and practices that have remnants of oppressive colonial influence, such as racism, patriarchy, and power struggles. History educational practitioners in Africa should ensure that indigenous knowledge is at the core of knowledge production and there must be a conscious move away from hegemonic and oppressive epistemologies. The aforementioned is possible through the 'Decolonial model of African epistemology', which acknowledges that the value of traditional knowledge must be reinstated, and must be re-legitimised among African societies.

Thirdly, the importance of *sources of information* is in keeping with Garroutte's (2003) radical Indigenism in that the narratives and oral histories of the elders and the African communities, or the politics of memory, should be the fundamental sources of knowledge production. Furthermore, History educational practitioners should ensure they obtain information primarily from African scholars or scholars that contribute to counter-hegemonic canons of knowledge.

Lastly, *interpretations* must all speak to traditional African knowledge, and thus draw upon decolonial historiographies. Principally, traditional knowledge may be considered as markers of sustainability due to the harmonious interrelationship between African societies and the natural environment. Thus, when speaking about the effects of land, ancestral sites may be made reference to. Furthermore, Reinhard (2001), is of the opinion that colonisation primarily correlates with migration since it essentially entailed the movement of people from one country to another part of the world. In this sense, western migration may be analogous with the present-day migration of African foreigners to other parts of Africa, which has resulted in xenophobic sentiment and discriminatory attacks on African foreigners. Thus, by drawing from African heritage as the foundation of History textbooks, an improved understanding and historical

consciousness could be established of the reasons for ethnic migrations and African philosophies such as Ubuntu may be effectuated.

Summarily, I identified and developed a way forward to enhance African learners' historical consciousness of their past, present and future situations in relation to the globalised world through the 'Decolonial model of African epistemology' model. The model was theoretically informed by the principles of decoloniality and postcoloniality since they both informed my study. Nonetheless, when theorising the 'Decolonial model of African epistemology', I drew more upon the principles of decoloniality, but addressed issues identified by postcoloniality. For example, to address postcoloniality's principle of disproportionate agency and power, I drew upon the decolonial constructs of radical Indigenism and the colonial matrix of power.

Consequently, I opine that the 'Decolonial model of African epistemology' could help learners, educational practitioners and textbook producers to analyse school History textbooks through a decolonial perspective while being informed by the principles of postcoloniality, resulting in actively acknowledging that the voice of African societies are predominant in the school History textbooks, as well as addressing issues of hegemony, hybridity, emancipation and agency. The 'Decolonial model of African epistemology' model could ideally be used as an educational tool to promote African indigenous knowledge, especially in school History textbooks by deconstructing existing historiographies, challenging western episteme and promoting African historical consciousness.

## **8.5 Conclusions from the study**

Now that I have provided an explanation of my study and presented my theorisation, I will conclude by firstly, reviewing the chapters of this study and secondly, providing recommendations and reflections.

### **8.5.1 A review of the study**

This section will briefly highlight the key aspects in each of the preceding chapter, to show progression of the explanation and theorisation in this chapter.

### **8.5.1.1 Chapter one: Introduction to the study**

This chapter was the foremost chapter of this study and served to contextualise my study. I began with an exploration of the concept of colonialism in general and then discussed western colonialism in Africa. Thereafter, I looked at colonialism in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, which are the sample countries I used in this study. I then provided a description of the key historiographies of western colonialism that were directly related to my study. These comprised of colonial historiographies, i.e.: Eurocentrism, Marxist, and neo-liberal historiographies; as well as decolonial historiographies, i.e.: Afrocentric, African revisionist and postcolonial historiographies. Subsequently, I presented my rationale, the purpose and focus of the study as well as the key research questions and objectives of this study. The overarching research question was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?* Accordingly, to answer the overarching question, I formulated three sub-questions, which were:

1. What are the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks?
2. How do the prevailing discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?
3. Why are these discourses and historiographies manifested in the way that they are?

Further to this, I briefly explained my research design and methodological considerations. I ended the chapter with an outline of this thesis.

### **8.5.1.2 Chapter Two: Literature review on discourses of western colonialism**

In this chapter, I presented my critical engagement with existing research regarding the historiographies relating to discourses of western colonialism. The literature reviewed was informed by the idea that an integrated approach to viewing causes of western colonialism was required since there was not only one aspect of life that was

affected by colonial structures. Taking that into account, I explored themes of the discourses relating to politics, economics, society, spatiality and warfare of western colonialism. There was evidence of colonial intervention in the socio-economic, political, environmental and ideological areas of Africa, as well as disastrous impacts on natural and human resources.

#### **8.5.1.3 Chapter Three: Literature review on school History textbooks**

Textbooks may be used as pedagogical tools which learners have the opportunity of engaging with or as a source of reference for teachers who use the textbook as additional material to teach. Some teachers solely rely on textbooks and base all their lessons on the content of the textbooks, while others merely draw on the information and accompany their lessons which elements from the textbook such as activities or sources. It is important to note that the power of the textbook is clear, therefore it is essential that the contexts of the textbook must be in keeping to the nature of History, while situating the content in a decolonial, democratic African society within a global context. Furthermore, seeing as History textbooks are a key means of knowledge production in classrooms, they do provide a sense of African historiography with regard to western colonialism.

#### **8.5.1.4 Chapter Four: Theoretical framework**

Chapter Four expounds the theoretical framework used in this study, which consisted of the theories of decoloniality and postcoloniality which both served equally to frame my lens for this study. The theory of decoloniality seeks to inform the present-day negative consequences of western colonialism, Euro-North American modernity, and other struggles faced by the global oppressed community in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. While this theory may seem sufficient enough to engage in a decolonial critique of my sample school History textbooks, I believed that I required another theory which considered African societies. Thus I additionally drew upon the theory of postcoloniality which places emphasis on the continuing oppressive structures and practices of western colonialism in Africa.

#### **8.5.1.5 Chapter Five: Methodological considerations**

The critical paradigm was employed for this study, as it is located in research that engages with issues of social justice including power relations, oppression, agency

and social integration. Since my study focused on these issues in the context of western colonialism in Africa, the critical paradigm proved to be best suited for this study. Essentially the critical paradigm determined how my study methodologically unfolded and how data was interpreted. My ontological consideration was embedded in historical realism, while the epistemological positioning for this study was dialogic.

Further, this study was situated in the qualitative research has the potential to address social issues and is a process that enables the researcher to make meaning, identify themes or patterns and establish possible answers to the research questions of the study. Phenomenology was used as the research design as this study explored the phenomenon and metanarratives of western colonialism in Africa.

The sample for this study included eight school History textbooks: three South African, three Zimbabwe and two Namibian school History textbooks. My rationale for this purposive sampling, as a reminder was due to the idea that the aforementioned countries had a shared history in that all three were colonised by Britain and shared similar colonial processes and structures.

The data from the sample school History textbooks were elicited that was used in this study was Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I used Fairclough's (1995) version of CDA to analyse data in this study. Fairclough's CDA considers linguistic elements, such as lexicalisation, grammar, speech functions, intertextuality and grammatical mood to unearth issues of critical social hegemony, socio-historical and linguistics I decided to use Fairclough's CDA based on the direct relationship between the western hegemonic issues of colonialism related to my study and the analysis of textual elements in the selected sample textbooks.

#### **8.5.1.6 Chapter Six: Findings from the CDA**

Following this is Chapter Six which presents the findings from the descriptive analysis of the South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks. Essentially, five key themes emerged from Fairclough's thematic analysis. These themes include discourses of forces of western colonialism, discourses of conflict-fomentation, discourses of economic exploitation, discourses of environmental degradation, and discourses of anti-colonialism. The findings revealed that the school History textbooks

depicted the processes, structures and actors of western colonialism through varying historiographies. These historiographies ranged from Eurocentric, Marxist and neoliberal sentiments which highlighted the exploitative, oppressive and acquisitive nature of western colonialism in Africa; to Afrocentric and postcolonial historiographies in which the sample textbooks illuminated the irreparable effects on the African societies and environment, and illustrated African agency against western colonialism in Africa.

#### **8.5.1.7 Chapter Seven: Interpreting the findings**

Principally, Chapter Seven attempted to synthesise the findings from Chapter Six in correlation with the literature of western colonialism explored in Chapter Two, the literature relating to textbooks in Chapter Three, and the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Four. The process analysis of the findings highlight that the sample school History textbooks reveal decolonial and Eurocentric historiographies when portraying western colonialism in Africa. Through this secondary analysis, it was evident that the school History textbooks illustrated that the western colonisers' reasons for dominating the African continent was unjustified, in that people in Africa already had existing worldviews, social hierarchies, religious praxis, economic systems, and political structures. All the sample textbooks provide evidence that Africa did indeed have thriving civilisations prior to the arrival of the colonisers, albeit in a more harmonious and sustainable way as compared to the lifestyle of the colonisers.

#### **8.5.2 Reflections and Recommendations**

Bloor (2016), states that researchers who view themselves as emancipators, may not expect to be acknowledged by laity or policy makers. Rather, such researchers should expect to reach practitioners who will incorporate the research findings in their own fields. This is due to the rich data that is presented that probes practitioners to assess their current work and identify ways in which it can be improved as per the research findings (Bloor, 2016). This is what I hope to achieve at the end of my study. Since my study lay within the critical paradigm, my aim is to reach out to educational practitioners who are invariably the practitioners of the school History curriculum. After submitting my thesis, I plan to disseminate findings of this study through the various arenas the academic field, such as conferences, journals, and books.

One of the problems I faced, which many researchers too experience, is having to ensure that scholars within their discipline as well as general researchers are able to understand their work (Brannen, 2005). This was one of my major challenges, since this study can be transdisciplinary in nature, especially the methodology section as other researchers may analyse textbooks in other fields. To allow for this, I tried to provide a detailed explanation of historical aspects that I thought might be difficult for people outside of the History discipline to understand, such as historiographies, and examples.

What I would have liked to pursue in this study was why textbook authors include particular information in the school History textbooks related to colonialism. The other factor which needs to be considered is what the consequences are for all stakeholders (learners, teachers, parents, policy-makers and other educationalists) by engaging with the content included in textbooks regarding colonialism.

Future studies may also look at countries with other languages. In other words, I considered countries whose textbooks were written in English. However, it would be interesting to study textbooks written in other languages, especially of the other colonisers in Africa. It would also be interesting to examine school History textbooks compiled in the Global South and the Global North, in terms of their presentation of western colonialism.

## **8.6 Conclusion**

This chapter began by highlighting a summary of findings from the CDA, and subsequently engaged in a critical explanation of the findings for this study. Thereafter, I clarified my proposed theoretical framework for decoloniality in school History textbooks, and lastly the conclusions to the study was detailed which included review of the preceding chapters and my reflections of this study.

Essentially, this study has revealed that the South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks essentially manifested multifarious meanings and discourses and historiographies of western colonialism. These discourses and historiographies were not limited to western ideologies. In fact, there was a large extent to which decolonial sentiment was expressed through the sample History textbooks. Hence,

exposure to different ideologies may reduce colonial epistemic discrepancies and result in increasing physical and epistemic agency among African societies. History textbooks are the ideal educational tool to promote the acknowledgement of African heritage, since majority of the schools in Africa have access to them.

The key question of my study was *To what extent do discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks relate to decolonial historiographies?*. In answering this question, the three sub-questions that informed my answer indicated that the sample History textbooks all had varying degrees of Eurocentric and decolonial historiographies. The process of decolonising school History textbooks is undeniably a lengthy process which cannot be expected to occur immediately. However, what can happen immediately is the initiative taken by African societies to be their own sources of knowledge. Knowledge production does not have to be limited to the Global North. In order to be agents in the knowledge production process, African societies must draw upon African traditional knowledge.

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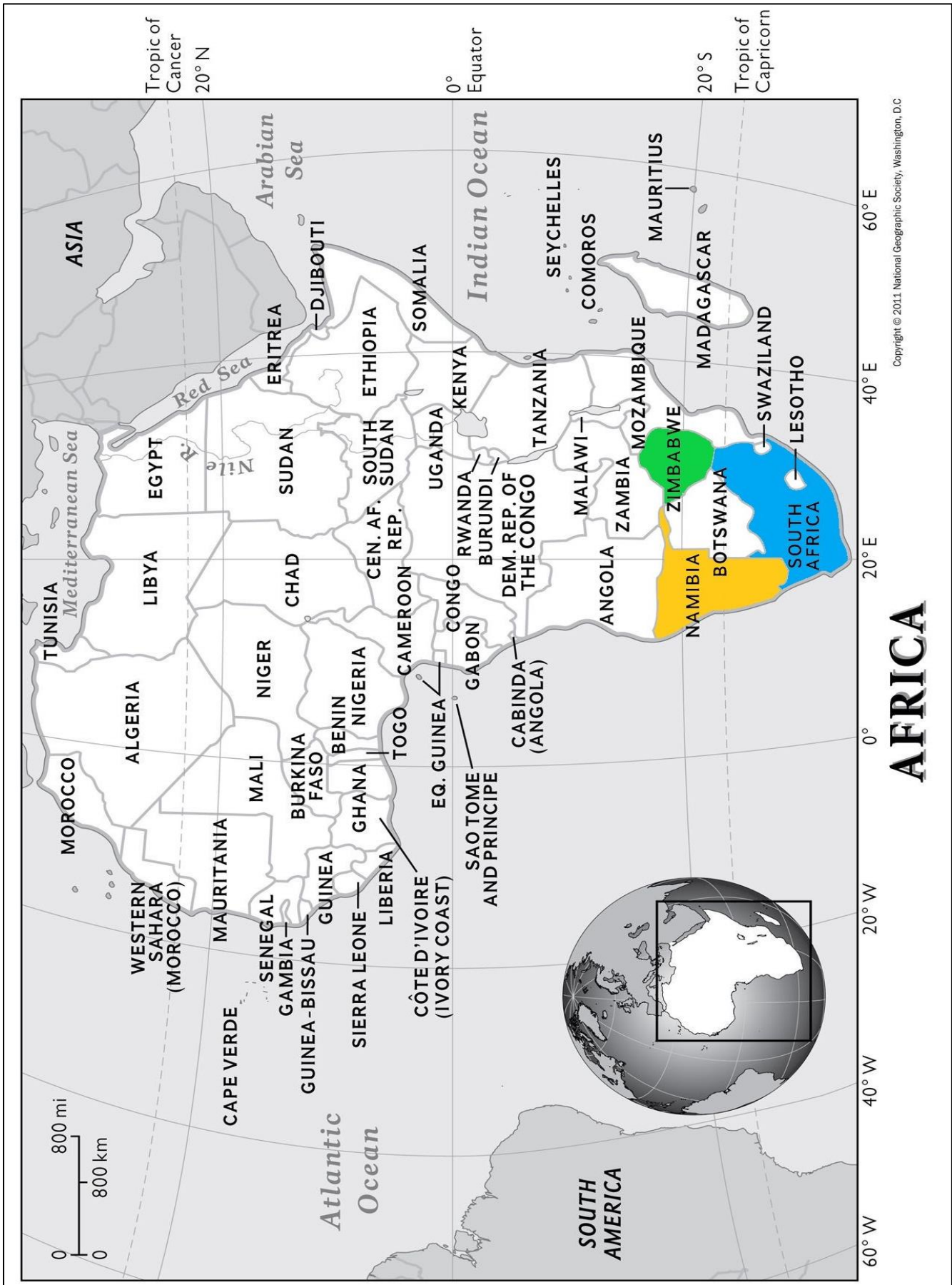
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## APPENDIX A

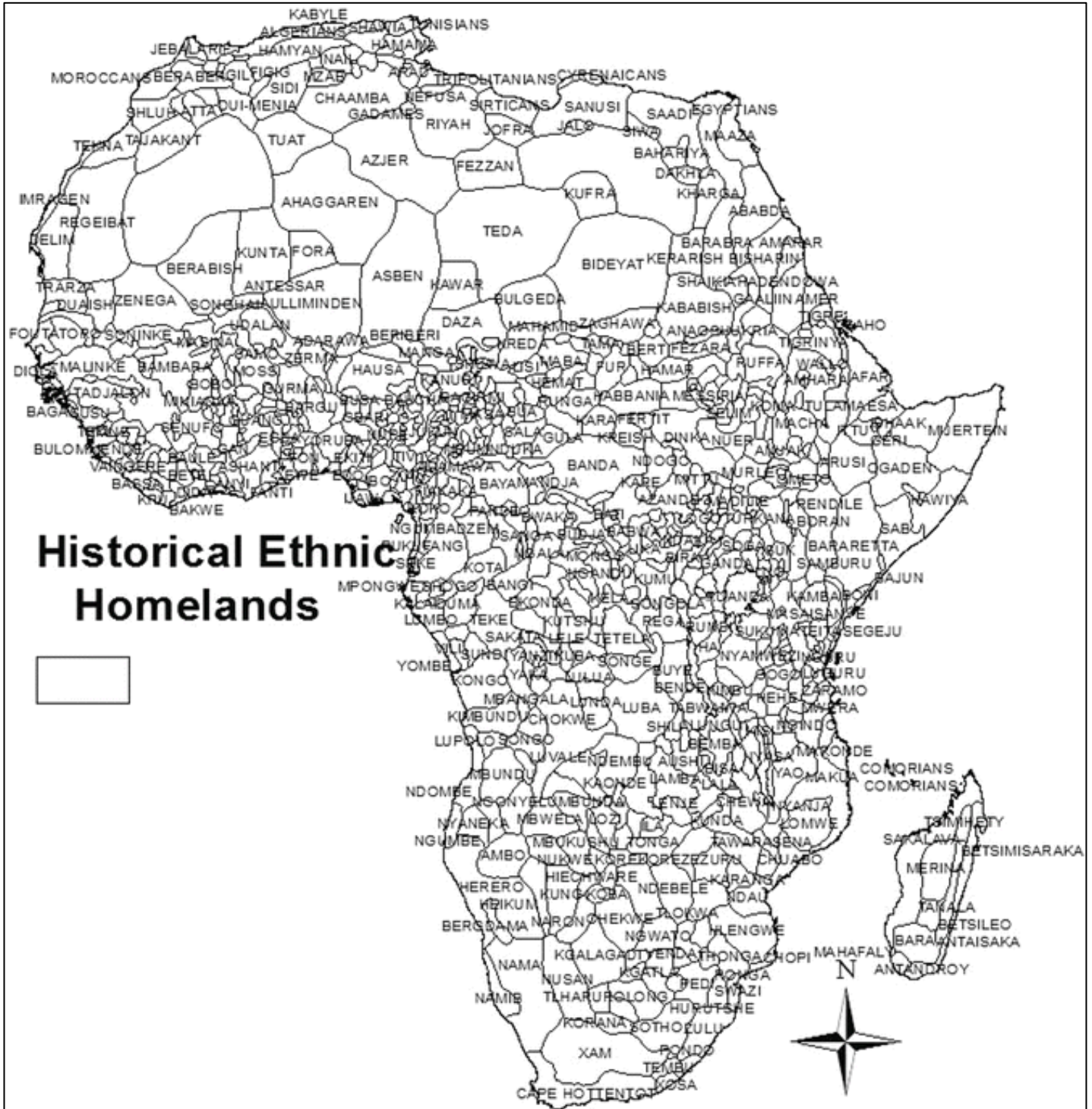
### MAP OF AFRICA, WITH THE SPECIFIC LOCATION OF THE SAMPLE COUNTRIES FOR THIS STUDY: SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE



Adapted from National Geographic Society (2012).

## APPENDIX B

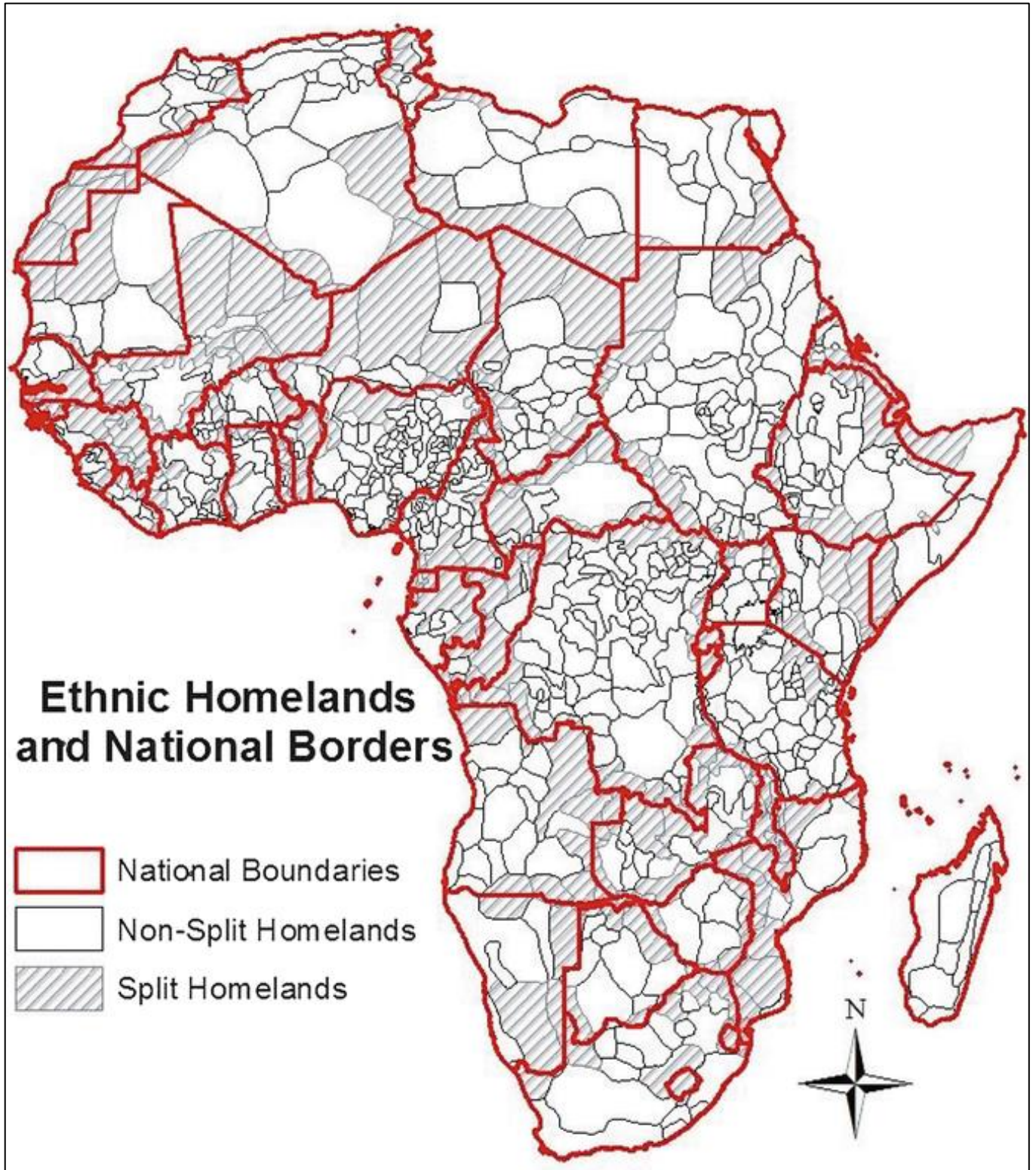
### MAP OF AFRICA, INDICATING THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC LOCATIONS DURING PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA



Source: Michalopoulos & Papaioannou (2016)

APPENDIX C

MAP OF AFRICA, ILLUSTRATING HOW THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC SOCIETIES WERE GEO-LOCATIONALLY AFFECTED BY COLONIAL BORDERS



Source: Michalopoulos & Papaioannou (2016)

## APPENDIX D



Miss Leevina Morgan Iyer (204503989)  
School Of Education  
Edgewood

Dear Miss Leevina Morgan Iyer,

**Protocol reference number:** 00004722

**Project title:** A decolonial critique of discourses of western colonialism in South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean school History textbooks

### Exemption from Ethics Review

In response to your application received on 8 November 2019, your school has indicated that the protocol has been granted **EXEMPTION FROM ETHICS REVIEW**.

Any alteration/s to the exempted research protocol, e.g., Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment/modification prior to its implementation. The original exemption number must be cited.

For any changes that could result in potential risk, an ethics application including the proposed amendments must be submitted to the relevant UKZN Research Ethics Committee. The original exemption number must be cited.

In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

#### PLEASE NOTE:

Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

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

Yours sincerely,

  
Prof Ansurie Pillay  
Academic Leader Research  
School Of Education

UKZN Research Ethics Office  
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building  
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000  
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

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