

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENTATION OF NAMIBIAN HISTORY IN THE
NAMIBIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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Abstract

This research study is a content analysis of the sections on Namibian history of the Namibian Secondary School History Textbooks that were prescribed for use in schools for the period 1991 – 2008. Altogether eleven textbooks were studied. The study sought to establish the relevance of the textbooks in how far they promote reconciliation, inclusiveness and respect for diverse views in terms of their pedagogy and the way they portray Namibian history. A brief historical background on the foundations of textbooks in general and history textbooks in particular in pre-independent Namibia was given. Secondly, the study conceptualises and contextualises the theoretical and methodological approaches to textbook content analysis which underpin this study. The study made use of a mixed research approach. The quantitative and qualitative findings were corroborated in the discussion of the findings. It was found that although the textbooks generally spread the message of unity and peace building, the omission of controversial and sensitive events compromise on the purpose of studying history and meaningful reconciliation. The textbooks mainly present political themes and the actions of famous people and their relations with the colonial authorities and international organisations to the detriment of socio-economic issues, the work of civil organisations and the history of the ordinary men and women and are henceforth not inclusive. The narrative structure of the textbooks is mainly a third person one-dimensional narrative and do not include diverse views and thus does not promote tolerance and democratic values.

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms	v
List of tables	vi
List of images	vi
Acknowledgements	viii
Dedication	ix
Declarations.....	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	11
1.1 Orientation of the proposed study	11
1.2 The purpose and nature of the study	13
1.3 Statement of the problem	15
1.4 Questions of the study	15
1.5 Significance of the study	16
1.6 Limitations of the study.....	16
1.7 Definition of terms	17
1.8 Conclusion.....	21
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	22
2.2 Theoretical and conceptual framework	24
2.3 Scholarship.....	36
2.3.1 Representation of diversities.....	36
2.3.2 Omissions and inaccuracies	38
2.3.3 Messages and symbols.....	39
2.3.4 Pedagogical methods	40
2.4 The gaps in the literature.....	41
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	43
3.1 Introduction	43
3.2 Research design.....	43
3.3 Population.....	45
3.4 Sample.....	45
3.5 Research instruments.....	45
3.6 Data gathering procedures.....	51
3.7 Data analysis procedures	52

3.8	Ethical considerations	53
3.9	Conclusion.....	53
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS		54
4.1	Quantitative analysis	55
4.1.1	Representation of social groups	55
4.1.2	Inclusion of primary sources.....	63
4.1.3	Inclusive history	67
4.1.4	Pedagogical methods	71
4.2	Qualitative analysis	75
4.2.1	Demographic representation of social groups.....	76
4.2.2	History as a discipline	78
4.2.3	The narrative structure of the content	107
4.2.4	Curriculum documents.....	121
4.2.5	Pedagogical methods	137
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS		150
5.1	Quantitative analysis	150
5.2	Qualitative analysis	153
5.3	Research question 1: How are the different social groups of the Namibian society represented in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?.....	161
5.4	Research question 2: What omissions, imbalances and historical inaccuracies can be detected in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?.....	163
5.5	Research question 3: What messages, symbols and or biases are portrayed through illustrations, artwork and language usage in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?.....	168
5.6	Research question 4: What pedagogical methods are presented in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?.....	170
5.7	The research problem: The sections on Namibian history in the Namibian secondary school history textbooks do not promote reconciliation, inclusiveness and respect for diverse views in terms of their pedagogy and the way they portray Namibian history.	172
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS		175
	References	181

List of Acronyms

AMEC	African Methodist Episcopal Church
CANU	Caprivi African National Union
CCN	Council of Churches in Namibia
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
ELC	Evangelical Lutheran Church
ELOC	Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church
FNLA	National Liberation Front of Angola
JSC	Junior Secondary Certificate
LN	League of Nations
MBESC	Ministry of Basic Education Sport and Culture
ME	Ministry of Education
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MPLA	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NANSO	Namibia National Students Organisation
NCBE	National Curriculum for Basic Education
NCDP	Namibia Christian Democratic Party
NDF	Namibia Defence Force
NDP	Namibia Democratic Party
NIED	National Institute for Educational Development
NIP	National Independence Party
NSSC	Namibia Senior Secondary Certificate
NUDO	National Unity Democratic Organisations
NUNW	National Union of Namibian Workers
NWV	Namibia Women Voice
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OPC	Ovamboland People's Congress
OPO	Ovamboland People's Organisation
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
RC	Roman Catholic
RP	Republican Party
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Committee
SWA	South West Africa
SWANLA	South West Africa Native Labour Association
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPA	South West Africa Progressive Association
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
SWAPO-D	SWAPO-Democrats
SYL	Swapo Youth League
TGNU	Transitional Government of National Unity
UN	United Nations
UNITA	National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola

UNSWAP	United South West Africa Party
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
YWCA	Young Women Christian Association

List of tables

Table 1: Instrument for recording quantitative frequencies.....	46
Table 2: Qualitative coding manual.....	47
Table 3: Sample of textbooks.....	54
Table 4: Representation of social groups in the Grade 8 textbooks.....	56
Table 5: Representation of social groups in the Grade 9 textbooks.....	58
Table 6: Representation of social groups in the Grade 10 textbooks.....	60
Table 7: Representation of social groups in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks.....	62
Table 8: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 8 textbooks.....	63
Table 9: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 9 textbooks.....	64
Table 10: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 10 textbooks.....	65
Table 11: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks.....	66
Table 12: Inclusive history in the Grade 8 textbooks.....	68
Table 13: Inclusive history in the Grade 9 textbooks.....	68
Table 14: Inclusive history in the Grade 10 textbooks.....	69
Table 15: Inclusive history in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks.....	70
Table 16: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 8 textbooks.....	72
Table 17: Range of abilities in the Grade 8 textbooks.....	72
Table 18: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 9 textbooks.....	73
Table 19: Range of abilities in the Grade 9 textbooks.....	73
Table 20: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 10 textbooks.....	74
Table 21: Range of abilities in the Grade 10 textbooks.....	74
Table 22: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks.....	75
Table 23: Range of abilities in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks.....	75
Table 24: Examples of topics for Namibian Depth Study.....	178

List of images

Figure 1: Women and girls of the Afrikaner community.....	80
Figure 2: A group of Damara women.....	81
Figure 3: Sam Nujoma.....	85
Figure 4: Rural workers at Okahandja.....	87
Figure 5: KOEVOET operations in Namibia.....	99
Figure 6: Parade of death.....	101
Figure 7: Tortured former MP Geoffrey Mwilima.....	114
Figure 8: Excerpts from a Textbook Evaluation Instrument.....	122
Figure 9: Excerpts from the Junior Secondary History Syllabus.....	126
Figure 10: Excerpt on comparing lifestyles.....	130

Figure 11: Excerpt from the JSC question paper, Ministry of Education, DNEA (2010).....	135
Figure 12: The Turnhalle building.....	139
Figure 13: The DTA emblem.....	140
Figure 14: The Tsumeb mine.....	144
Figure 15: General Jan Smuts.....	147

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Dedication

I dedicate this study to my late brother, Philemon Mojao Mbaeva. This is the only thing that I can do for you to find closure to a very sad chapter. I will however, continue to visualise your unmarked grave. May your soul find eternal peace.

Declarations

I, Nathanael Kaunomuinho Mbaeva, declare hereby that this study is a true reflection of my research, and that this work, or part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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Nathanael Kaunomuinho Mbaeva

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation of the proposed study

History and history textbooks have always been characterised by romanticised views of nations and distorted versions of those perceived to be different (Mazabow, 2003). This can be seen in the extent to which the political ideologies of the ruling classes in society found their ways into history textbooks. Following the 1948 election victory of the National Party in South Africa, the school curriculum was changed to reflect the supremacist Afrikaner ideology of Apartheid (Strydom, 1997). School history textbooks were re-written in order to entrench the values of the dominant group, the white Afrikaners. According to Strydom (1997), the school curriculum and history textbooks in particular were characterised by prejudice, stigmatisation, and stereotyping. The oppressed majority were often reduced and pushed to the periphery when it came to representation in school history textbooks (Engelbrecht, 2008). Given the fact that Namibia was occupied by South Africa, these school history textbooks found their way into Namibian classrooms and were used for a long period of time.

Engelbrecht (2006, p. 71) posits that “textbooks tend to control knowledge as well as transmit it, and reinforce selected cultural values in learners”. Textbooks are often sanctioned by states and henceforth represent the official perspective from which learners should view the world. The apartheid policy put a heavy emphasis on separateness and differences between the different races and ethnic groups which were also reflected in school textbooks. In textbooks, whites were disposed of favourably in order to justify their actions (Van der Merwe, 2000).

According to Polakow-Suransky (2002), the series *History for Standard 6 – 10* written by Joubert and Britz (1975), and which have been in use in schools for a very long time, glorified and legitimised white settlement. The Afrikaner was depicted as having a God given task to civilise the primitive Africans. They were action packed with the heroism of the white Afrikaners from the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, the Free Citizens, the Frontier Wars, the Great Boer Trek into the interior, the formation of the two Boer republics, the Anglo-Boer War, and ultimately unification of the four provinces on the 31st May 1910. The history of black people was subjected to stereotypes. An incident like, *The National Suicide of the Xhosas, April 1856* (where the Xhosas slaughtered all their cattle on instruction of Nongqawuse who got the message from mysterious figures) in Joubert and Britz (1975) *History for Standard 6* textbook of these series was meant to stereotype the Xhosas as an animist ethnic group without presenting the Xhosa's resolve to get rid of the British.

Whites in general and the Afrikaners in particular were made aware of two dangers: the red danger and the black danger in Joubert and Britz (1975) *History for Standard 10* of these series. The red danger represented the expansion of communism during the Cold War era while the black danger represented the struggle of Africans for political rights and economic emancipation. Chernis (1990) argues that these series were anti-knowledge in the quest to legitimise the Afrikaners' political system and nationalist mythology. The small part of Namibian history included in the Standard 10 textbook was only meant to justify the South African occupation in light of the perceived dangers and to further the policy of racial and ethnic segregation.

The division along ethnic and racial lines was thus also reflected in school history textbooks. Namibia became independent from a long history of colonialism and apartheid on the 21st March 1990. According to Angula and Lewis (1997) the new system of education aimed to undo apartheid by changing the philosophical assumptions of the education system. In line with the constitution the new philosophy of education aims to promote unity in diversity and political pluralism.

On the eve of Namibian independence sceptics already started to question the underlying assumptions of the envisaged education system about society, culture, history, economics and politics to avoid window dressing (Popkewitz, 1988). Namibia is a diverse country which subscribes to political and ideological pluralism. Apart from diversities, the people of Namibia were deeply divided during the struggle for national liberation and often found themselves on opposing sides of the warring factions. Reflecting these diversity and pluralism in Namibian history textbooks might not be easy, given the fact that absolute objectivity is not always possible in history.

1.2 The purpose and nature of the study

The school curriculum in Namibia is mainly delivered in classrooms through the use of textbooks. Textbooks, although they are regarded as representing authentic and legitimate knowledge, are social constructs which are conceived, designed and written by real people with real interests (Apple, 1993). Against this background history textbooks are selective and include or exclude certain expectations and mostly transmit sanctioned knowledge, which is often in line

with the policy documents of the reigning government and dominant groups in society. Issues that are controversial, sensitive or considered to bring shame to the nation are often ignored or just shallowly mentioned. On the contrary issues pertaining to perceived enemies and past heroism are elaborated and hailed in detail. Either way has the potential to reinforce images of the enemies or images of the “other” in the historical narrative and may lead to new confrontations thereby jeopardising national reconciliation and nation building.

Textbooks should also take into account changing theories of learning and teaching. History as a discipline is viewed as a process than as an end product. When history is taught as a process it is open and allows different interpretations of the same event. Against this background Steiner-Khamsi (1994) argues for the plurality of voices and points of view in the national historical narrative in history textbooks.

The main purpose of this study was to find out how social groups are represented in the textbooks and to examine exclusions and inclusions in the narrative structure in order to understand the values and messages that the textbooks intend to transmit explicitly and implicitly. The study was mainly qualitative although quantitative methods were used in the initial stages of the study. Moreover, the study examined learners’ activities in the textbook to establish the implied pedagogical method. The study of the learners’ activities was done to determine how inclusive of the wide ability range and openness to multiple interpretations the activities are.

1.3 Statement of the problem

According to Tawil and Harley (2004) reconciliation between formerly antagonistic political, ethnic or other rival groups is sought through the promotion of social cohesion, inclusiveness and respect for human dignity and diversity. Namibia found herself in this situation after independence when she developed her own curricula and textbooks. McConnell (2000) argues that reconciliation in Namibia is still incomplete for as long as the unspoken stories of marginalised people in society is not embraced in the historical narratives of collective constructions like history textbooks. In light of this, this research study sought to address the following problem:

The way Namibian history is presented in the Namibian secondary school history textbooks does not promote reconciliation, inclusiveness and respect for diverse views in terms of its narrative structure and pedagogy.

1.4 Questions of the study

According to Pingel (1999) there are two major concerns pertaining to textbook research, viz. the pedagogical implications of the text and the content of the text itself. The pedagogical implications entail how the textbooks are used by teachers and how they are perceived by students. With regard to the text itself it is important to find out what is included in the textbook, what is omitted and what are the reasons for the exclusion of certain topics, events, etc. Therefore, to address the research problem this study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How are the different social groups of the Namibian society represented in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?
2. What omissions, imbalances and historical inaccuracies can be detected in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?
3. What messages, symbols and or biases are portrayed through illustrations, artwork and language usage in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?
4. What pedagogical methods are presented in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?

1.5 Significance of the study

This study may be of significant value to authors of school history textbooks in Namibia as it could guide them when writing textbooks and other materials for use in schools. It might serve as a basis for textbook evaluation and cataloguing for history curriculum committees and panels.

1.6 Limitations of the study

Conceptual limitations: The construction of convincing methods in the interpretation of school textbooks could have been affected by a lack of studies on Namibian school textbooks and may have been inhibited by possible researcher subjectivity and incomplete evidence.

Methodological limitations: Certain themed content which does not fit in categories may have been left out. The findings from this study cannot be generalised to the other sections of the textbooks nor can teachers' perception of the textbooks and the effect they have on learners be proven. This is so because teachers' and learners' perceptions of the textbooks as well as the other parts of the textbooks, namely World and African History did not fall within the scope of this study. Only the presentation of Namibian history was studied and henceforth the findings are only pertaining to the way Namibian history is presented in the textbooks. Moreover, Namibian history has its own distinctive features such as social groups, colonial history and liberation history which may differ from that of other countries.

1.7 Definition of terms

Social groups

A social group is two or more people who are connected to each other by way of their social relationships (Forsyth, 2006). For the purpose of this study a social group are people who are linked together because of their race, ethnicity, religion, political orientation, labour, socio-economic class, gender, demographic locality, etc.

Omissions

Omissions for the purpose of this study refer to the absence of some events in the textbooks. The events that are often omitted are often those about emotive and controversial issues as well as contributions of minorities, ordinary people as opposed to elites, women, workers and the youth. These groups are what Beverley (2004) refers to as the 'subaltern' and is often absent, difficult or impossible to represent in the knowledge that is constructed or imparted.

Imbalances and biases

Imbalances and biases are not only the uneven representation of groups in the textbooks but also refer to the emphasis given to particular groups or events while some events are only shallowly mentioned or not mentioned at all. For the purpose of this study imbalances and biases also mean the exclusion of a multiplicity of perspectives of which post-conflict countries are so susceptible to (Barsalou, 2006).

Symbols

Symbols in this study means what the nation believes in and strives for and hence wants to transmit or impart onto the young generations through the textbooks. According to Engelbrecht (2006) these determine the sociocultural generalisations of a society. These generalisations often represent the ideals of the dominant groups in society.

Historical inaccuracies

In historiography, entire historical accuracy is the ideal but it is impossible. This study as underpinned by the postmodern perspective rejects authoritative and metanarratives. Against this background, historical inaccuracies in this study refer to the inability of the textbooks to refer to multiple texts or sources, provide inadequate or contradictory evidence.

Explicit values and messages

According to Pingel (1999) explicit values and messages are the significant themes and messages that are overtly cherished and emphasized in the textbooks. Words and or names have an explicit meaning if they are used frequently while the space allocated to particular events and personalities explicitly reveals the value and message these events and personalities carry.

Implicit values and messages

According to Pingel (1999) implicit values and messages are the significant themes and messages that are covertly cherished and emphasized in the textbooks. These values and messages are often hidden, controversial and often portray bias.

Namibia Secondary Education

According to Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture (1996) and Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture (1998) it refers to the phase of schooling in the Namibian Education System which includes the eighth grade to the twelfth grade.

Prescribed Textbooks

Prescribed textbooks and teachers' manuals are prescribed for use in schools for specific grades and appear in the official textbook catalogue (Ministry of Education, 2007). These are different from recommended textbooks as recommended textbooks are not obligatory for schools to have them like in the case of prescribed textbooks.

Curriculum documents

Curriculum documents refer to all official policy documents which guide the teaching and assessment of a subject ranging from the broad curriculum to subject specific syllabi (Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, 1996). Textbooks are therefore important documents in implementing the curriculum as they represent subject specific syllabuses.

Diversity

In historical terms it refers to the need for historical difference or inclusive memory (Asmal, 2004). It means multiplicity in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, political orientation, socio-economic class, religion, disability, etc. when it comes to historical presentation. In this study diversity refers to different perspectives of the same history by different social groups of the Namibian society as well as the representation of these social groups in school history textbooks.

National synthesis

Granatstein (1998) and Bliss (1991) describe national synthesis as attempts to downplay multi-layered narratives of society in order to reflect the ideal of a nation state and democratic realities in order to foster unity.

Nationalist history

For the purpose of this study nationalist history means historical writing that gives prominence to the whole nation and its aspirations even where the spirit of national existence was not yet deep-rooted.

History as a set of facts

History is taught as a set of facts when it is presented as a chronology of events surrounding the history of great men brightly coloured and presented as grand narratives (Bruno-Jofré and Schiralli, 2002).

History as a process

According to Bruno-Jofré and Schiralli (2002) this approach calls on the ability of teachers and students to question multiple perspectives on history and to work across differences. History is constantly changing as new evidence is found, shifts in intellectual thought, socio-economic and political changes and these changes necessitate the teaching of history as an ever changing project.

Grand narratives

For the purpose of this study it is a single historical narrative often about the bravery of great men and women or social groups in their fight for the nation or a just cause. Lyotard (1984) refers to the grand narrative as the emancipation narrative which excludes other narratives as if some have absolute truth. Grand narratives are inadequate and cannot contain all of us.

Inclusive history

With inclusive history is meant integrating various aspects of human activities and their localities in the historical narrative (Pasternak, 2009). For the purpose of this study inclusive history is when the textbooks includes aspects such as women history, the youth, labour organisations, religion and cultural organisations and other civil society organisations. In this study the

narrative structure of the content is considered to be inclusive if the themes, topics and headings feature various aspects of human activities and do not lean on for example political aspects only.

1.8 Conclusion

This study was not intended to advocate that school history textbooks should consist of several histories of traditional communities or other social groups. It rather sought to establish the extent of inclusions, exclusions and possible distortions in the national historical narrative as presented by authors in school history textbooks. This was evaluated in relation to the Namibian philosophy of education which emphasises learner centred education through the accommodation of diverse learners' experiences. In so doing it is hoped that the study will provide a reference to all those who are dealing with the teaching of history at school level.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Few comprehensive studies were done on Namibian school textbooks. Notable studies in this regard are Amukugo (1995) which has a section on textbooks during the colonial period and McConnell's (2000) study on personal voices in the historiography of the liberation struggle. Amukugo (1995) echoed the sentiments of Chernis (1990) that the content of particularly history textbooks during the colonial period served to justify European colonialism of Africa as helping Africans. Colonialism is said to have brought good things to the Herero women like Victorian dresses and work in the cities for the Wambos (Amukugo, 1995). The colonialists were presented in the textbooks as onlookers during tribal conflicts and no mention was made of them fuelling these conflicts in their efforts to divide and rule Namibians. Textbooks were also used to justify 'separate development'. In this regard Amukugo (1995, p. 97) points out that "the cultural difference between the different 'tribes' had to be enhanced and perceived" and a great chunk of the textbooks was therefore devoted to those perceived differences. Since Amukugo (1995) covered textbooks that were used before independence, it is important to find out how the situation was redressed after independence. Did the Namibian textbooks writers reverse the roles as Engelbrecht (2008) found out in the case of South African textbooks that were produced after the first non-racial elections in 1994? Or did the South African textbook writers in their attempts to reverse inequalities overlooked aspects of gender, social class, disability and the rural/urban divide as McKinney (2005) found out?

Although McConnell's (2000) study is not about Namibian school history textbooks per se, it provides valuable insight in the way the Namibian liberation history is presented. It is a fact that it is not possible for all the voices in the historical discourse to be heard. However, what is often exposed is the grand narrative of big men/women and popular personalities which drown out other voices particularly the voices of the marginalised peasantry who took part in the liberation struggle. Against this background there will be more silence than exposition. This creates a hegemonic relationship between impersonal history and personal stories of individuals and by implication social groups in history. McConnell (2000, p. 28) argues that "in the context of African national liberation struggles the invisibility of non-leaders causes the most deficiency in the historical record". One of the deficiencies that are highlighted is the fact that when personal history is left out, notions of accepted historical processes are not problematized. This study aims to analyse the presentation of Namibian school history textbooks in how far there are omissions of accounts by social groups that comprise the Namibian society.

There are constant calls from various groups in Namibia whether they are politicians, traditional leaders and other members of society for Namibian history to be re-written. On the contrary, there are very few research studies which analysed particularly post-independent history textbooks. Research in what is included in the school textbook, how it is presented and what was left out is of paramount importance to determine how far the textbooks fulfil national reconciliation, inclusiveness and respect for diverse views. This is the main thrust of this study.

Unlike in Namibia where few comprehensive studies were done particularly on post-independent textbooks, numerous researches on school history textbooks were done in especially Europe (Wenzeler,2003; Crawford, 2003; Von Borries, 2003), America (Apple, 1991; Apple, 1993; Loewen, 1996) and in South Africa before democratisation in 1994 (Chernis, 1990; Du Preez, 1983) and textbooks that were written in democratic South Africa (Engelbrecht, 2006; Engelbrecht, 2008 and McKinney, 2005). Research on school textbooks in general and school history textbooks in particular appear to attract growing research interest elsewhere. Therefore the bulk of the literature review was from research on school textbooks done in other countries.

2.2 Theoretical and conceptual framework

The theoretical framework is a theory on which the study is based while the conceptual framework refers to the operationalization of the theory. By conceptualising, the researcher links concepts from the literature and establishes evidence which will shed light on the problem under investigation.

Postmodernism: The theoretical and methodological basis of this study was mainly informed by the philosophical perspective of postmodernism. Postmodernism is a philosophical perspective which is characterised by the belief that absolute truth in any objective sense does not exist (McDowell and Hostetler, 1998). The assumptions of postmodernism are that truth is relative to individuals and cultures and hence changes according to new perceptions and interpretations. These assumptions are relevant to this study as new perceptions and interpretations set in at independence while new ones emerge with changes in government which may impact on the textbooks.

Historical writing relies on traces from the past which are constantly discovered through anthropological excavations, for example. Against this background history textbooks are therefore often re-written. According to Ornstein and Hunkins (1998 p. 188) “postmodernism defines the world as emergent, chaotic, open, and interactive”. From this perspective there is no unified way of presenting the world. Meaning from a post-modern conception is not fixed and is continuously recreated and reconstructed. Postmodernists remain open to new challenges and interpretations and do not accept grand narratives. This study departed from the fact that historical reconstruction relies on evidence and that these evidence is interpreted differently by learners from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds. What this study intended to establish is how far the school history textbooks make room for different learners to interpret these textbooks differently and construct meaning out of the textbooks. Although all histories are actually revisionist, this study is not an attempt at historical revisionism but an attempt to establish whether a multiplicity of perspectives were included in the textbooks.

Tosh (1991) argued from a historical perspective that the disillusionment which set in following the fall of communist forms of government led to modernists’ values, grand theories and ideologies to lose their appeal. Postmodernism celebrates diversity, multiple interpretations and eclecticism of the voices and values from history textbooks. Grand narratives often produce one sided history from the perspective of the dominant groups. These grand narratives are in sharp contrast with a variety of voices as it silences personal voices and the voices of neglected social groups like minorities, women, the youth, civic organisations such as labour and other non-dominant groups. As embedded in the postmodernist perspective this study sought to find out the extent to which these voices are heard in the textbooks.

Bias in history textbooks is historically significant as it explains a shift in public opinion (Tosh, 1991). From a postmodern perspective individuals are influenced by new perceptions and this includes authors of school history textbooks. In countries which emerge from conflict and colonialism, history textbooks in particular are re-written (often in a haste) to create new national mythologies to replace the hated ones or as a means to reconcile those who opposed each other during the conflict. In the process the subject as a discipline can be compromised.

According to Higgs (1995) history textbooks reflect how knowledge is socially constructed. This underlines the post-modern perspective that knowledge is recreated and reconstructed. A good example is South African textbooks which were entrenched with racism, sexism, stereotypes, and historical inaccuracies (Siebörger, 1992). This is done to silence the voices of those who are trampled on as if they do not have a history of their own. Usually the voices of minorities, the socially stratified, and those who are politically not closer to the ruling elite are silenced.

Cole and Barsalou (2006) caution the teaching of history in post-conflict countries as being susceptible to simplified and biased presentation. Against this background they recommend multiple perspectives in textbooks as it will enable learners to identify with the social worlds which are represented in such textbooks. This will allow them to counter selective perceptions, the spreading of a particular ideology, exclusive identities, values, and stereotypes.

Namibia emerged from a protracted liberation war which divided the citizenry between two extreme poles. A post-modern conception will hence suggest multiple perceptions and voices to be heard from school history textbooks which will foster tolerance and democratic principles.

Critical theory: In addition to postmodernism, the study explored the theoretical assumptions of critical theory. Critical theory is “a qualitative research tradition that involves uncovering the nature of power relationships in a culture and seeks through its inquiries to help emancipate members of the culture from the forms of repression that operates in it” (Gall, Gall & Borg, 1999, p. 526). Critical theory is premised on the assumption that in any given society certain groups are more privileged than others. The past is often reconstructed not as fact but to serve the interest of particular groups in society who hold power at that particular point in time when the past is reconstructed. Critical theorists question the role of institutions in silencing the voices of underrepresented groups in society particularly those at the lower levels of the social and economic divide.

Critical theory is relevant to this study as it informs this study how power relations influence the writing of school textbooks. At independence a new government took over power in Namibia with the resultant shift in power relations. This study sought to establish how these new power relations alongside a new class divide transpired in the textbooks written during the period under review. Apple (1993) rightly points out that what is in the textbooks is official knowledge as sanctioned by the state.

The emphasis in critical theory is on developing consciousness as a revolutionary and liberating force. It is only after developing consciousness that the oppressed and alienated can find the truth

and experience true freedom. This study therefore tapped on the philosophical underpinnings of critical theory in determining how far the unequal socio-economic relations which are widespread in society are manifested in the Namibian school history textbooks.

Critical pedagogy enables learners to engage in research, dig deep into useful censored information in order to investigate power relations and policies in society. This assumption is particularly useful as it informs this study in its analysis of whether learners' activities in the textbooks are research oriented. Shor (1992, p. 129) states that critical theory suggests that learning should form "habits of thought, reading and writing which go beneath surface meaning, dominant myths, or official pronouncements." This is in line with learning as an empowering and liberating force. It is not about the quantity of knowledge that is transferred onto the learners. This study analysed the narrative structure of the content of school history textbooks in how far the amount of information transferred as opposed to it serving as a force to liberate the learners.

Critical pedagogy is about making learners become aware of themselves as this will enable them to recognise injustice, prejudice and unfairness meted on them. School textbooks should encourage learners to recognise bias, stereotyping and hurtful implicit messages. Derman-Sparks (2010, p. 5) argues that "children cannot construct a strong self-concept or develop respect for others if they do not know how to identify and resist hurtful stereotyping, and incorrect messages or actions directed towards them or others." This study analysed whether there are biases or stereotypes in the way Namibian history is presented in the school history textbooks through cartoons and other implicit messages and tapped on the assumptions of critical theory in how far it aims at redressing injustices and its quest for emancipation.

The differences between critical theory and postmodernism: Although both critical theorists and postmodernists assume that knowledge is socially constructed within a particular context, there is a significant difference in their perception of rationality. For critical theorists knowledge is a logical outcome and people are able to know whereas postmodernists claim that knowledge is unstable and flexible (Kilgore, 2001). Critical theorists depart from the notion that entrenched powers created the subaltern portions of the population which are the exploited working classes in a capitalist set up. From this perspective critical theory is oriented to critiquing and changing society. On the contrary, postmodernists reject the idea that the past was real and objective to have an entrenched truth such as this one. They advocate a multiplicity of discourses which question the nature of knowledge and henceforth dissolve the idea of truth. Postmodernism is hence oriented towards understanding or explaining society.

The assumptions about truth from the perspective of critical theory lay in the dialectic of immanence and transcendence which the postmodernists reject as totalitarian (Fuchs and Sandoval, 2008). The concept of dialectic immanence and transcendence are manifested in the critical theory's conception of the class struggle within the capitalist society. The working class would rise in a revolution which will overthrow the capitalist order and establish a new order outside of the existing order. This is contrary to the postmodern conception that there are no universal truths. Postmodernists maintain that truth is a social construct and that conceptions such as the ultimate establishment of a classless society as envisaged by critical theorists are tantamount to grand narratives and absolute certainties which they vehemently reject.

Thus, there are significant differences between critical theory and postmodernism. The use of any of these theories to analyse the discourse of school history textbooks is relevant and applicable and provided numerous options in this study.

Combining critical theory and postmodernism: This study is first and foremost embedded in the research tradition referred to as critical research. Critical research questions the prevailing assumptions and understandings as mediated by human interpretation and meaning (Schultze and Leidner, 2002). Historical studies is about the reconstruction of the past at the hand of historians and this study aimed to analyse how textbooks authors give meaning to the past through the way they interpret past events. The most important streams of theory which are referred to in critical research are critical theory and postmodernism. This study premised on the assumption that there are overlaps between the two theories and that it is therefore possible to combine them. Both critical theory and postmodernism emphasise discourse as a central concept.

The assumption of both critical theory and postmodernism on discourse is the effect that power has on discourse. In her analysis of Foucault and Habermas on discourse, Love (1989) argues that both Foucault and Habermas, although they seem to be incompatible in their perspectives, call for maximal exposure to knowledge. Maximal exposure to knowledge is sometimes constrained by the power of institutions and states through policies which restrict practice and expression. According to Love (1989, p. 279) Foucault asserted that “the production of truth (and truth is produced) is thoroughly imbued with power.” When power is exercised to limit maximal exposure the knowledge that transpires is “subjugated knowledge” in Foucauldian discourse. On the contrary, when knowledge is not subjugated, previously marginalised knowledge will appear and the individual will refuse normalisation by the powers that be. Habermas also derides

systematic restrictions on communication making it just a means to an end as opposed to it being a means to emancipation. He developed his concept of communicative rationality which emphasises widespread public participation and information sharing (Love, 1989). This according to Love (1989, p. 281) will lead to “unimpaired self-representation which includes recognition of others’ self-representation, reconciles communication and individualisation, and thereby realises freedom.” It is quite clear that it is possible to combine critical theory and postmodernism in a study on school textbooks. Textbooks show power relations between those who produce them, those who sanction their use in schools and those who use them. School textbooks in Namibia are sanctioned by the state and must be compatible with official policy and curriculum documents, which may subjugate certain knowledge. This study is underpinned by a combination of critical and postmodernist theories and sought to explore how far the learners who use the textbooks are exposed to maximum exposure through the school history textbooks. It sought to establish the representation of the voices of the marginalised in the textbooks and the recognition accorded to them to emancipate themselves.

Pedagogical perspectives: History textbooks often find themselves between opposing views as to how history should be taught, as a process or as a set of facts (Pingel, 1999). History is taught as a process when it allows multiple perspectives which allow different interpretations. On the contrary the role of professional historians is overlooked when history is taught as a set of facts with the aim of promoting national aspirations, popular histories, romanticism, action packed grand narratives and the exclusion of counter narratives.

When history is taught as a process learners are not reduced to brainless sponges that soak up information and accept all the facts at face value. Learners add their own perspectives emanating from their perception. The perception that historians are couriers who transport what happened in the past to the present is misleading. Historians are scholars for they skilfully uncover, analyse, interpret, and evaluate the past (Davidson and Lytle, 1992). The process method is a pragmatic method that seeks to empower learners in historical method and craftsmanship to interpret and understand the past so that it can inform the present.

As textbooks are state sanctioned especially in a country like Namibia where most schools (public and private) follow the same curriculum, the state has a stake in the way in which its historical evolution is represented and transformed. This has the potential for bias and omissions which can only be unravelled through a multiple perspectives analysis.

Bruno-Jofré and Schiralli (2002) point out that proponents of the teaching of history as a set of facts argue that a past narrative of events peppered factually with significant names and dates, is aimed at generating a common memory and a history that serves a conservative citizenship. When taught in this fashion history tends to depict the bravery of personalities who sacrificed themselves for their people and nations while ignoring various forms of social history.

There was a strong reaction to the new views of teaching history in Canada as presented through the process model. Critiques believe multiple perspectives in Canada are not compatible with the notion of national history and a distinct national identity especially during this age of globalisation when the nation state is under threat (Granastein, 1998 and Bliss, 1991). Multiple

perspectives according to critiques have far reaching implications for teacher preparation and curriculum development. Not only do multiple and diverse historical accounts lead to political fragmentation but multiple interpretation and reconstruction of history also create a lack of national synthesis according to critiques of the process model. Multiple perspectives promote various localised histories, individual memories and voices that are not necessarily compatible with dominant narratives. Therefore they do not promote grand narratives which create a national synthesis of history.

The paradigm shift from the product to the process model put heavy demands on teachers to understand history as a discipline and to be able to handle emotive and controversial topics (Bruno-Jofré and Schiralli, 2002). In this regard poorly trained teachers rely heavily on textbooks to teach emotive and controversial topics. Against this background textbooks should be written in a way that will prepare learners to handle controversies, emotions, and conflicts. School history textbooks should be instruments in the hands of children for developing open-ended perspectives for the future. The technical layout of history textbooks and the exercises contained in them should provoke historical inquiry and invite multiple perspectives, understandings, and interpretations.

According to Delors (1996) the teaching of history can only foster individual judgement and critical thinking within the framework of the concepts of ‘learning to live together’ and ‘education for pluralism’ if a number of sources are presented in the textbooks. These sources should be open to different interpretations and the perspectives of various actors in history.

Textbooks should provide for innovative and creative interdisciplinary approaches to history and literature, the diverse cultures and traditions and other subjects.

Conceptual framework: The conceptual framework explains the main things to be studied such as key factors, concepts, or variables and how they are linked to each other and to the philosophical perspective which informs the study (Miles and Huberman, 1994). According to Apple (1991) textbooks are social constructs and are produced in the context of political, economic and cultural conflict in relation to power. In this regard textbooks serve the interests of groups in society and this can be seen in the way some knowledge is prioritised and valued while other knowledge is often de-prioritised and devalued. Certain perceived truths are produced and sustained which often enact social power, dominance and inequality in history textbooks. This often leads to exclusion. This study explored whether the history textbook prescribed for the period under study could create a negative history which has the potential to create an exclusive identity, distorted and idealistic notions of the nation state or not. This was done through an examination of social representation, omissions and the messages that spread from the narrative structure.

Moreover, the study was informed by the concept of multiperspectivity pertaining to the teaching of history. According to Stradling (2003) this entails the teaching of history as a process that accommodates and explores differing viewpoints. Textbooks should enable learners to identify with the world that the textbook represent but at the same time the textbooks should allow learners to counter selective perceptions, values and stereotypes (Cole and Barsalou, 2006). Since the Namibian system of education underlie the assumptions that each learner comes to

school with a wealth of learning experiences, textbooks should certainly accommodate these differing experiences. This study aimed to establish the implied position of the learner and how far the narrative structure of the textbook challenges the learners to give their inputs and opinions.

Stradling (2003) argues that the historical narrative can be made more complex when “the linear process of ‘and thens’ this happened ... and then ... this happened and then is supplemented with a sequence of ‘meanwhiles’” (p. 19). In so doing the reactions and subsequent actions of others will be conveyed. Against this background this study conceptualises history as unstable and more cyclical as opposed to it being linear and stable with an ultimate end. The narrative structure should therefore strive at multiplicity. This study sought to determine whether there are multiple narratives or voices in the textbooks that were studied.

To counter omissions of social groups such as women, youth, workers, the poor and ethnic minorities it is important to explore multiple perspectives. This entails the inclusion of multiple historical sources which reflect different views of historical events in the textbooks. This is particularly important for the promotion of national reconciliation, inclusiveness and respect for diverse views. These are concepts that this study explored in order to establish the relevance of school history textbooks with respect to the sections on Namibian history.

2.3 Scholarship

2.3.1 Representation of diversities

Asmal (2004) argues that the hunted lion's roar should be heard in history textbooks in South Africa. According to him South African history was written by the hunter and not the hunted. A question can be asked as to whether this call implies reversing the roles. It is with this query in mind that Engelbrecht (2008) carried out a study on the impact of role reversal in representational practices in history textbooks after apartheid.

Using a postmodern theoretical perspective, Engelbrecht (2008) found that whites were depicted in 15% of all people described, blacks 50% and blacks and whites together in 30%. From the qualitative analysis she found that "only three books seem to be racially balanced while the rest tend to adopt an Africanisation approach" (Ibid, p. 527). The butterscotch technique was frequently used in many of the textbooks analysed.

However, whilst her research study examined the representation of people in school history textbooks according to race, it falls short of answering questions pertaining to the representation of people on ethnic, religious and political affiliation. One of the major gaps in the study is the fact that the quantitative and qualitative analysis seems to run parallel and the findings were thus not corroborated.

In a remarkable study McKinney (2005) analysed representation and stereotyping in South African Grades 1 and 7 readers as well as Grade 7 natural science textbooks. The study sought to establish representation in terms of gender, race, the rural/urban divide, social class and

disability. Labour intensive quantitative methods, e.g. manually counting representation of male or female characters in readers were used. The qualitative analysis sought to establish instances of stereotyping.

McKinney (2005, p.13) found that “the general trend, with some exceptions, is the over-representation of males in relation to females.” It is desirable that the learners’ materials represent the racial demographics of the country. In some of the readers McKinney (2005) raises some concerns about the under representation of black characters. When it comes the rural/urban settings which are portrayed in the materials that were studied, it was found that they are not particularly indistinct but skewed in favour of urban readers to the detriment of children in the rural settings. The textbooks significantly represent middle-class nuclear families ignoring the overwhelming phenomenon of children of single parents and children who are raised by grandparents. Images of people with disabilities are notable omissions in the readers and textbooks that were studied.

McKinney (2005) concludes that there are generally attempts to subvert gender stereotyping but she recommends that schooling through learners’ materials should address racial diversity and the uneven representation of gender, social class and rural/urban settings.

It is important to note that the study of McKinney (2005) although it is a content analysis of textbooks, did not cover inaccuracies, omissions of certain content as well as explicit and implicit messages (apart from stereotyping) that stem from the content of the materials as these

fall beyond its scope. Representation in terms of ethnicity and the pedagogical methods that are implied in the materials are some of the limitations of this study.

2.3.2 Omissions and inaccuracies

Variations in content is a popular thread in the analysis of history textbooks in terms of what is included and excluded (Garcia, 1986). There is often silence and inaccurate representation for ethnic minorities, women and the poor. These omissions and inaccuracies can be attributed to political selectivity which results in the dilution and filtering efforts of authors in order to present a narrative that is both positive and coherent (Loewen, 1996).

In her study on the presentation of the Holocaust in English and German textbooks Wenzeler (2003) concluded that the politics of a country and major current debates had an influence on the content of school history textbooks. She found that the German textbooks gave more significance to the Holocaust when compared to the English. Wenzeler (2003) made use of a mixed research design where the quantitative design preceded the qualitative design. Although she analysed the role of narrative language, her study on culpability for the Holocaust was mainly informed by two models, the popular Hitlerism as in Crawford (2003) and the deeply rooted hatred for Jews, anti-Semitism, in Germany and other countries (Von Borries, 2003). These two models helped her to collaborate or refute the sources in the school textbooks.

The inclusion of sources in school textbooks according to Wenzeler (2003) “tends to invite pupils to develop critical historical thinking through learning about and learning from the

Holocaust” (p. 113). Every country has its dark days in history and the presentation thereof in school history textbooks depends on the prevailing politics of the day which will determine the extent of omissions, imbalances, and or inaccuracies.

According to Pingel (1999, p. 32) the presentation of the past in history textbooks is limited by two problems: “coming to terms with a past that instils us with a sense of shame rather than pride and coming to terms with the fact that communities are often divided although they share a common past”. How are controversial and sensitive topics in Namibian history presented in school history textbooks?

2.3.3 Messages and symbols

In South Africa Du Preez (1983) analysed 53 school textbooks used in black and white Afrikaans and English medium schools. These master symbols included among others the perceived superiority of Whites and the inferiority of Blacks and the God given task of Whites, and in particular the Afrikaners, to bring western civilisation to the primitive Africans.

Du Preez’s (1983) study underlines the social construction of knowledge by a given society by enfranchising one’s cultural capital to the detriment of the others. Du Preez’s study was done at a time of institutionalised apartheid and mainly concentrated on race. The messages and values from textbooks were explicit due to the legality of the policy of apartheid then. Implicit stereotyping due to differences in social, cultural, economic, historical and or political orientation within the same racial groups could not come to the fore. This study will be done on

secondary school history textbooks in a liberated Namibia where the fundamental right of equality is constitutionally endorsed and discrimination on racial grounds and or any other orientation is outlawed.

Niggerbrügge (2004, p. 3) argued that “the teaching of history and history textbooks as one of its main tools must be seen within the power structure of the nation state”. History textbooks represent the dominant group’s ideological and political perspective. In his study of South African history textbooks and syllabuses, Chernis (1990) posits that the dominant Afrikaners with their Eurocentric perceptions of history portrayed the image of the ideal South African society according to nationalistic views of the Afrikaners. The idea was to protect the established white nationhood against perceived threats and dangers.

2.3.4 Pedagogical methods

Lubben, F., Campbell, B., Kasanda, C., Kapenda, H., Gaoseb, N., and Kandjeo-Marenga, U (2003) studied incidences of prescribed textbook usage in Namibian science classrooms. It was found that teachers predominantly make use of the prescribed textbook for lessons while the range of textbook references per lesson is extremely restricted.

The question is how useful are these prescribed textbooks and in particular secondary school history in terms of their pedagogy. This study aims at uncovering the pedagogical values of secondary school history textbooks in how far they develop the critical thinking habits of

learners and multiple perspectives in the presentation of historical events as stated in curriculum documents.

Lotman's (1988) theories of discourse and text function cite the duality of texts as a means of either transmission or generation of meaning. The transmission function of textbooks serves to communicate meaning to the reader and can constrain meaning while the generative function serves to facilitate the construction of meaning by reflecting on internal heterogeneity and the accommodation of multiple perspectives within the same textbook (Wertsch, 1991).

The Namibian system of education emphasises a pedagogy which put the learner in the centre. Active learner participation in the teaching and learning process is encouraged as opposed to learners becoming passive receivers of knowledge (MEC, 1993). This study will try to determine the extent to which Namibian secondary school history textbooks make room for the transmission or generation of meaning.

2.4 The gaps in the literature

From the literature review representation of the different social groups in school history textbooks was not sufficiently researched. Research on controversial and sensitive topics from the Namibian past does not feature in the literature. It is also not quite clear how the views of the dominant groups in the Namibian society feature in the school history textbooks. Despite the adoption of the learner centred approach to teaching and learning in Namibia, the literature does

not shed light as to whether school history textbooks in Namibia are indeed learner centred or not. It is these gaps that this research study intended to fill.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

A variety of methodological approaches are used in the analysis of textbooks' content as seen in the literature review. The use of quantitative approaches in the initial stages of the research studies under review is prevalent. The research questions that this study sought to address required to be addressed in different ways. Against this background the mixed methods design was deemed to be the most appropriate. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) the core characteristics of mixed methods is that the researcher links the two forms of data by having one built on the other sequentially or that the researcher collects and analyses data based on the research questions. Some of the questions of this study lean more on quantitative techniques while others lean more on qualitative methods. Qualitative and quantitative methods complement each other in determining overlapping and different facets of a phenomenon. This leads to a meaningful understanding of the phenomenon.

3.2 Research design

This study is a mixed method design in which qualitative were given prominence. The mixed method design created room for the corroboration of findings emanating from both the manifest and latent meanings. The main reason why the qualitative approach was given dominant status is because the types of research questions which the study sought to answer are mainly descriptive and interpretive and do not seek to establish statistical significance. During the initial stages the study made use of quantitative techniques upon which the qualitative approach followed.

Quantitative research design: Quantitative research design focuses on the analysis of dynamics and behaviour of individuals and use data which is numerically expressed (Nicholls, 2005). Quantitative methods are therefore useful for this study to provide answers on how the different social groups are represented in Namibian secondary school history textbooks. In addition quantitative methods were also useful to determine the number of primary sources that were included; counting the topics and headings to determine how many lean to political, social and economic history.

Qualitative research design: This study aimed to understand and interpret the presentation of Namibian history in the school history textbooks as well as the pedagogical approaches used in the textbooks through qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). The idea was to get a deeper understanding of the underlying context of the usage of keywords and indicators which emanate from the coded textbooks’ content. The qualitative method built on the qualitative findings that preceded it. According to Hsieh and Shannon (2005) summative content analysis initially starts with counting the manifest content and then expands to include latent meaning.

3.3 Population

The population of this study comprised all Grades 8 – 12 history textbooks prescribed for use in schools from 1991 – 2008 and which appeared on the official textbooks catalogue of the Ministry of Education for the period in question. A total of 15 history textbooks have been prescribed for Grades 8 – 12 during the period in question.

3.4 Sample

Purposive sampling: Johnson and Christensen (2004) describe purposive sampling as a sampling technique whereby the researcher specifies the characteristics of a population of interest and then locate individuals who have those characteristics. In this study it was assumed that messages and values which underline the Namibian curriculum assumptions are to be more evident in the sections on Namibian history of the secondary school history textbooks compared to the other sections (Africa and the World). Therefore, the sections on Namibian history were identified purposefully as the sample. The period 1991 – 2008 was chosen because in 1991 the new Namibian school curriculum was implemented with the last major curriculum review done in 2007, and hence 2008 which was the year of implementation was chosen purposefully. Of the 15 textbooks only 11 had a section on Namibian history and these were the books that were included in the sample.

3.5 Research instruments

This study dealt with massive data and it was very important to sort and organise the data. Sorting and organising the data allowed the researcher to summarise and synthesise what is

happening in the data. It was important to reduce the data into a form that could be handled more easily. Against this background an instrument for recording quantitative frequencies and a qualitative coding manual were developed for the qualitative analysis of the content of school history textbooks.

Table 1: Instrument for recording quantitative frequencies

CATEGORY	CODE	FREQUENCIES	CONCLUSIONS
Demography	<i>Representation of social groups</i>		
Discipline	<i>Inclusion of primary sources</i>		
Structure	<i>Inclusive history, e.g. political, social, economic, local, etc.</i>		
Pedagogy	<i>Close and open-ended questions and consideration of mixed abilities</i>		

Table 2: Qualitative coding manual

CATEGORY	CODE	FINDINGS	INFERENCES
Demography	<i>Underlying reasons for specific ways of representation</i>		
Discipline	<i>Interpretation of primary sources, inclusion of diverse views and handling of conflicting perspectives and sensitive events</i>		
Structure	<i>Stereotypes, bias, omissions, balance, coherence and multidimensional depiction of events, myths and folk tales</i>		
Pedagogy	<i>Learner Centred, inquiry based activities and activities that enhance intellectual development</i>		

Units of Analysis: The units of analysis from the secondary school textbooks were a combination of artefacts, words, themes, topics, characters, paragraphs, concepts and semantics. In this study the researcher used values from the syllabi as thematic units to conceptualise and to create code categories. Krippendorff (2004) preferred thematic units in content analysis, which are left for the researcher’s judgment, to uncover the implicit messages from texts. Five values which the syllabi intend to promote have been identified for this purpose: democratic principles;

social responsibility; equality of opportunity; inter-cultural understanding and intellectual development.

Categories: The research questions were used as categories from where a priori codes were developed in order to solicit information as to how the identified values are manifested in the textbooks. In conformity with the aims of the study as informed by the research questions, the following categories can be identified: demographic representation, adherence to the discipline of history, the narrative structure of the content and the pedagogical methods used in the textbooks. The categories are mutually exhaustive.

Codes: A priori codes which are in relation with curriculum statements were established. Two ways of coding were used, namely coding the manifest content and coding the latent content. Manifest content entailed determining the frequencies of categories. This method is easy to handle and reliable in the descriptive analysis of explicit meaning and to establish certain trends from the data. It may however not uncover deeper or implicit meaning and henceforth the need to code for latent content for the analysis of implicit meaning.

Quantitative frequencies: The codes in demography sought to determine the extent to which the different social groups of Namibian society are represented in the secondary school history textbooks. Moreover, they aimed at detecting stereotyping which may occur in the textbooks.

Historical knowledge is often impaired by the incompleteness of historical sources and the fact that absolute objectivity in history is not always possible (Hockett, 1955). The codes in the

category of history as a discipline were intended to establish the number of primary sources used in each textbook in the reconstruction of the past. This study concentrated on the use of primary sources in the textbooks as primary sources are incomplete and often come without context. Their inclusion in school history textbooks will therefore enable learners to develop critical thinking skills (and allow for multiple interpretations) which is one of the curriculum objectives for learning history. Historical inquiry is mainly based on the analyses of primary sources and whether the textbooks instil historical craftsmanship largely depends on their inclusion of primary sources. Moreover, the inclusion of conflicting primary sources determines how balanced the textbooks are.

The study of history as the reconstruction of human activities in the past should be broad enough to include various aspects from the human past and not just the history of the rich and articulate (Tosh, 1991). Against this background the codes in the category narrative structure of the content aimed to determine how inclusive the history presented in secondary textbooks is, i.e. whether it includes political, social, economic, gender and local history.

The codes in the category pedagogy focused on whether the textbooks give learners opportunities to express themselves freely through open-ended questions and coverage of learners from a wide ability range.

Qualitative coding manual: The qualitative codes in the category demography sought for an understanding of the implicit meaning in the way social groups were represented and to find

reasons for implicit stereotyping as represented by the initial quantitative frequencies. The aim was to generate substantive answers to the research question on representation of social groups.

The codes in the category of history as a discipline were used to analyse issues pertaining to the authors' interpretation of the primary sources such as the origin and reliability of the source and the messages and values that the authors intended to bring to the readers through their inclusion of the sources. In addition, the codes sought to establish the diverse views in the form of conflicting cartoons, pictures and accounts included in the textbooks. It was imperative to establish how the authors handle conflicting perspectives of historical events in the rubric and artefacts.

Historical knowledge is not empirically derived in its entirety from the object of enquiry (the historical source) as the relevance of sources, their validity as historical sources and the significance of the facts they contain are often determined by the researcher (the subject of enquiry). Thus, historiography according to Cobb (1969) is a rewarding expression of an individual's personality. This gives rise to bias, omissions and imbalances in historical writing and the worship of one belief more than others. The codes in the category narrative structure focused on detecting elements of bias and its significance, the omission of certain aspects or events, the presentation of a balanced narrative as well as how heroes, myths and folktales are depicted. The codes also sought to find attempts at coherence in the narrative structure in order to determine whether the historical themes are simply presented through a chronological timeline up to an ultimate end or whether there are attempts to find connections to other events.

The qualitative codes in pedagogy sought to establish how learner centred are the learners' activities in the textbooks and the position of the learner in the narrative structure. The aim of history should be to stimulate intellectual development. Therefore the researcher thought it is important to evaluate how inquisitive and creative are learners' activities which are included in the textbooks.

3.6 Data gathering procedures

Predetermined code categories were established in accordance with the research questions. The section on Namibian history of each textbook was given a page by page reading by the researcher to determine and record the frequency of code categories from the textbooks. Each textbook was studied separately. The frequencies for each code were determined by counting the values and messages as represented by words, concepts and artefacts. In addition to this, the space allocated to artefacts and the inclusion of words and concepts in themes, subheadings, and paragraphs were considered. Inclusion of a word or concept in a theme was seen as a major treatment and given three tallies; inclusion in a subheading was given two tallies while inclusion in a paragraph was given one tally.

As for the qualitative analysis the researcher read the texts and fit the data into the space for the appropriate code. A separate coding manual was used for each textbook that was studied. Interpretive notes were made by the researcher and entered on the coding manual. These interpretive notes were mainly inferences and interpretations of implicit values and messages from the texts. The coding manual was organised in different colours for the different codes.

3.7 Data analysis procedures

Frequency distribution was used to present the manifest content of the data. This represents the different codes, their frequencies and the frequencies as percentages. The values of the data were then clustered making use of the different categories. The data was then described within context by identifying the characteristics of the population and making comparisons among the different sets of categories (Johnson and Christensen, 2004).

The qualitative analysis of the content of secondary school history textbooks dug deep to gauge the implicit values and messages against different categories. Concepts were developed from the coded data while specific incidents from the data were continually compared. These concepts were refined, their properties were identified and the relationship among them was explored. The researcher made inferences from the data within context and began to develop ideas about the categories.

Postmodern thinkers are of the opinion that history in the absolute sense is not possible (Rosenau, 1992). From this perspective history is more of a social construct at the hands of historians. The analysis tried to establish how the postmodern perspective is manifested in the secondary school history textbooks. Are the historical reconstructions in the textbooks valid and reliable? How fluid are the textbooks to allow multiple interpretations by learners? Misrepresentation can also be construed as reflecting power relations in society and the class struggle from a critical theoretical perspective. The presentation of the history of people at the lower layers of the stratification was analysed given this conception.

Hermeneutic analysis, which assumes that authors bring in their own experiences to the meaning they create, will be applied to determine what the authors really value. Linguistic analysis will aid the process of determining the author's intentions, possible prejudices, and bias. Primary evidence will be compared with other available primary sources.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Textbooks as unobtrusive data are nonreactive. The researcher can in no way interfere with the information contained in the textbooks. However, some critical issues in ethics were considered such as copyright issues in reproducing images for the purpose of analysis. Permission was sought in this regard from copyright holders. Moreover researcher subjectivity cannot be completely ruled out as with all social research.

3.9 Conclusion

In conclusion it is important to stress that the researcher's reflections and impressions cannot be excluded from the qualitative analysis. However, it is hoped that this study will provide a valid and useful analysis of school textbooks in Namibia in general and Namibian school history textbooks in particular which other researchers will refer to or replicate.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

In this study a mixed approach research design was used to analyse the content of Namibian secondary school history textbooks. The quantitative analysis preceded the qualitative analysis. The study focused on the textbooks prescribed for the period 1991 – 2008. Altogether eleven textbooks were studied.

Table 3: Sample of textbooks

AUTHOR(S)	TITLE	PUBLISHER	PERIOD COVERED
TEXTBOOKS PRESCRIBED FOR GRADE 8			
Katzao et al (1991)	Understanding History 8	Longman Namibia	Pre-colonial – 1885
O’Callaghan et al (2000)	Understanding History 8 (revised edition)	Longman Namibia	Pre-colonial – 1885
Du Preez (2007)	Understanding History in Context	Longman Namibia	Pre-colonial – 1885
TEXTBOOKS PRESCRIBED FOR GRADE 9			
Katzao, et al (1992)	Understanding History 9	Longman Namibia	1920 – 1945
Sampson (2007)	Understanding History in Context 9	Longman Namibia	1920 – 1945
TEXTBOOKS PRESCRIBED FOR GRADE 10			
Katzao, et al (1993)	Understanding History 10	Longman Namibia	1945 – 1990
Goosen & Von Wietersheim (2001)	Understanding History 10 (revised edition)	Longman Namibia	1945 – 1990
Kotze and Lang (1993)	History for Namibian Schools: A New Perspective	Gamsberg Macmillan	1945 – 1990
Du Preez (2007)	Understanding History in Context	Longman Namibia	1945 – 1990
TEXTBOOKS PRESCRIBED FOR GRADE 11 & 12			
O’Callaghan (1997)	Understanding History: The World and Africa	Longman Namibia	1884 – 1990
Kotzé and Lang (2002)	Go for history IGCSE	Gamsberg Macmillan	1884 – 1990

4.1 Quantitative analysis

Through coding the representation of social groups, inclusion of primary sources, inclusive history and the implied pedagogical method through an analysis of learners' activities in the textbooks were explored. The frequencies were counted manually.

4.1.1 Representation of social groups

Grade 8

Three textbooks which were prescribed for the period in question were studied: Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1991), O' Callaghan, B., Von Wietersheim, E., Goosen, D., and Berens, P. (2000), and A du Preez (2007). The textbooks cover the pre-colonial history of Namibia up to the imposition of German colonial rule in 1884. Namibian ethnic groups form the bulk of social groups which are presented in the textbooks. Despite the fact that the boundaries of Namibia were agreed upon by the European colonial masters at the Berlin Africa Conference from November 1884 to February 1885, Namibia is presented as a nation in all three textbooks. This can be seen from the number of times reference is made to Namibia or Namibian people. The textbooks mainly cover the earliest inhabitants of Namibia, migration and settlement, the socio-economic organisation of the different groups as well as interaction among them. The impact of the arrival of the Oorlam Namas on the social, political and economic organisation of the inhabitants of central southern Namibia is illustrated by the frequent use of the term Oorlam. It is important to note that the northern ethnic groups are less represented in the textbooks when compared to their central and southern counterparts.

Europeans are the only foreigners who are mentioned as having entered Namibia during the period which the textbooks cover. The traders and missionaries who are mentioned in the textbooks are all of European origin. Namibian personalities who are referred to in the textbooks are mainly leaders of the different ethnic groups while personalities of European or western descent are traders and missionaries.

Table 4: Representation of social groups in the Grade 8 textbooks

GROUP	TEXTBOOKS			FREQ
	O'Callaghan	Katzao	Du Preez	
NAMIBIAN ETHNIC GROUPS	511	143	481	1135
San	42	4	50	96
Nama	126	48	81	255
Damara	50	4	54	108
Ovambo	55	25	55	135
Ovaherero	88	30	91	209
Kavango	17	2	21	40
Caprivi	19	3	23	45
Oorlam	73	26	79	178
Baster	41	1	27	69
FOREIGNERS	83	136	50	269
Traders	15	10	13	38
Missionaries	28	56	4	88
European	40	70	33	143
PERSONALITIES	55	212	73	340
Namibian	51	175	63	289
European (Western)	4	37	10	51
NAMIBIA AS A NATION	127	118	129	374
SOUTH WEST AFRICA	-	-	-	

Grade 9

Two textbooks were prescribed for the period under investigation: Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) and its revised edition Sampson (2007). The textbooks cover the period from the Berlin Africa Conference (1884-1885)

to the South African occupation up to the 1920s. Although Sampson (2007) claims to cover the period of South African occupation up to 1945, the textbook's content does not go beyond the 1920s apart from a learners' activity where learners are asked to collect data on economic development between 1920 and 1945.

There is no significant difference in the representation of social groups in the two textbooks. The colonial masters have the lion's share with 41.2% in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) and 44.2% in Sampson (2007) of the total number of social groups mentioned in the textbooks. This is followed by reference to Namibian ethnic groups with 38% in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) and 25.9% in Sampson (2007). Of all the ethnic groups mentioned the Hereros and Namas take the lion's share followed by the Ovambos. Other ethnic groups such as the Kavangos and Caprivians are scantily mentioned. Reference to Namibia as a nation represents 14.7% in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) and 18.4% in Sampson (2007) of all social groups.

Table 5: Representation of social groups in the Grade 9 textbooks

GROUP	TEXTBOOKS		FREQ
	KATZAO	SAMPSON	
COLONIAL	67	107	174
South Africa (n)	65	101	166
SA armed forces	2	6	8
INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS	12	14	26
League of Nations	12	14	26
MISSIONARIES	9	17	26
PERSONALITIES	35	72	107
Namibian	17	43	60
South African	-	1	1
African	1	4	5
European (Western)	17	24	41
NAMIBIA AS A NATION	141	202	343
SOUTH WEST AFRICA	2	16	18
NAMIBIAN ETHNIC GR	678	640	1318
San	-	-	-
Damara	-	-	-
Nama	137	88	225
Ovaherero	143	129	272
Baster	18	13	31
Ovambo	65	52	117
Kavango	1	1	2
Caprivi	1	1	2
Tswana	-	-	-
Afrikaner/Boers	9	11	20
German	268	287	555
Coloureds	-	-	-
White settlers	20	20	40
Blacks (African) in general	16	38	54
INTEREST GROUPS	22	36	58
Workers' Organisations	1	10	11
Cultural Organisations	3	10	13
Migrant workers	18	16	34

Grade 10

The four textbooks that were studied: Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993), Goosen & Von Wietersheim (2001), Kotze and Lang (1993) and Du Preez (2007) cover the period from the awakening of Namibian nationalism in the 1940s, the liberation struggle to the attainment of national independence on the 21st March

1990. Namibian ethnic groups feature prominently with the Ovambo and Ovaherero represented more than the other ethnic groups. In most of the textbooks Namibia is presented as a nation with the exception of Kotze and Lang (1993) where the geographical name South West Africa is used more than Namibia. In Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) the name South West Africa is not used at all. South Africa, which occupied Namibia, is mentioned frequently in all the textbooks. However, few references are made of the South African military apparatus although a protracted war was waged between the South African forces and SWAPO's military wing the People's Liberation Army of Namibia. The high frequency of the international community notably the United Nations is testimony to its role in the history of Namibia. The frontline states and the Non-Align Movement are scantily mentioned in the textbooks.

Despite the fact that the OPO and its successor the OPC were only in existence for three years, they are collectively mentioned more than parties and interest groups that have been in existence for longer periods of time. This shows the significance that the textbooks authors attest to the OPO and OPC. SWAPO took the lion's share of representation in all four textbooks when it comes to political parties and interest groups. Civil societies, the labour movement, women organisations and the youth are rarely mentioned in the textbooks. The churches and in particular the African independent churches however have been accorded space in the textbooks especially when their role is linked to the liberation struggle. This is in line with the relevant history syllabus. Namibian personalities feature more in comparison to groups of people especially the ordinary people.

Table 6: Representation of social groups in the Grade 10 textbooks

GROUP	TEXTBOOKS				FREQ
	Mbumba	Goosen	Kotze	Du Preez	
COLONIAL	144	127	111	217	599
South Africa (n)	138	123	111	205	577
SA armed forces	6	4	-	12	22
INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS	119	129	84	220	552
League of Nations	4	6	8	4	22
United Nations	106	109	74	195	484
OAU	8	14	1	21	44
Frontline States/SADCC	1	-	-	-	1
Non-Aligned Movement	-	-	1	-	1
CHURCHES	64	56	22	74	216
Lutheran	6	2	3	7	18
Roman Catholic	7	2	2	5	16
Anglican	7	3	1	2	13
Dutch Reformed Church	1	1	1	1	4
African Independent	30	27	9	39	105
CCN	13	21	6	20	60
PERSONALITIES	118	109	36	170	433
Namibian	81	91	12	131	315
South African	20	10	16	19	65
African	3	-	4	4	11
European (Western)	6	8	1	6	21
UN Officials	8	-	3	10	21
NAMIBIA AS A NATION	252	80	59	197	588
SOUTH WEST AFRICA	-	76	69	112	257
NAMIBIAN ETHNIC GR	47	117	71	109	344
San	1	4	2	3	10
Damara	4	6	2	6	18
Nama	3	7	7	8	25
Ovaherero	11	23	10	19	63
Baster	-	3	4	3	10
Ovambo	5	25	13	25	68
Kavango	2	3	4	4	13
Caprivi	2	3	4	3	12
Tswana	1	2	2	2	7
Afrikaner	-	-	1	-	1
German	-	-	1	-	1
Coloureds	1	3	4	3	11
Whites in general	4	10	5	9	28
Blacks (African) in general	13	28	12	24	77
POLITICAL PARTIES AND INTEREST GROUPS	149	243	125	291	808
Herero Chief's Council	8	14	7	14	43
OPO/OPC	16	31	10	38	95
SWANU	13	31	16	36	96
SWAPO	66	88	56	116	326

GROUP	TEXTBOOKS				FREQ
	Mbumba	Goosen	Kotze	Du Preez	
NUDO	2	11	3	16	32
Damara Council	4	8	1	9	22
CANU	2	9	-	13	24
National Party	5	15	3	6	29
SWAPO-D	1	1	-	1	3
National Independence Party	1	2	-	1	4
SWAPA	4	7	-	5	16
SWANLA	2	10	2	9	23
NDP	1	1	-	3	5
RP	-	1	-	3	4
Mbanderu Council	-	1	-	1	2
DTA	23	8	26	15	72
UNSWAP	1	1	-	1	3
NCDP	-	1	-	1	2
NANSO	-	1	-	1	2
Namibia Women Voice	-	1	-	1	2
Young Women's Christian Ass	-	1	-	1	2
National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW)	-	-	1	-	1

Grades 11 & 12

Two textbooks, which cover Namibian history, were prescribed for the period under investigation: O'Callaghan (1997) and Kotzé and Lang (2002). In line with the prescribed content in the syllabi, which remained unchanged with respect to Namibian history (despite localisation in 2006) for the period under review, the textbooks cover the period from the formal inception of German colonial rule 1884 to the attainment of independence in 1990.

In terms of the representation of social groups the colonial masters and their institutions were mentioned more than other social groups in both textbooks. This was followed with reference to Namibia as a nation and then mention of international organisations. A significant difference between the two textbooks in their representation of social groups lies with the fact that in O'Callaghan (1997) more reference is made to the Namibian nation compared to Kotzé and Lang

(2002). In O’Callaghan (1997) for example, Namibia is never referred to as South West Africa while this is done several times in Kotzé and Lang (2002).

On the other hand, ethnic groups were mentioned more in Kotzé and Lang (2002) than in O’Callaghan (1997) while personalities and political parties featured more in O’Callaghan (1997) than in Kotzé and Lang (2002).

Table 7: Representation of social groups in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks

Social Group	The German Colonial Period, 1884-1915		SA Admin, 1915-1945		SA Admin, 1945-1966		The armed liberation struggle to independence, 1966-1990		Total		Grand Total
	K	C	K	C	K	C	K	C	K	C	
Colonial	36	26	17	16	2	14	22	22	77	78	155
Intern. Org.	0	1	7	7	4	14	20	13	31	35	66
Churches	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	3	5
Personalities	5	8	3	2	0	5	2	9	10	24	34
Reference to Namibia as a nation	4	18	7	9	0	13	6	25	17	65	82
Reference to Namibia as South West Africa (SWA)	2	0	6	0	3	0	11	0	22	0	22
Namibian Ethnic Groups	31	10	3	3	0	3	3	3	37	19	56
Political Parties	0	0	0	0	0	7	19	24	19	31	50
Other Countries							26	9	26	9	36

K = Kotzé, C and Lang, L. (2002)
C = O’Callaghan (1997)

4.1.2 Inclusion of primary sources

Grade 8

In all the three textbooks that were studied only 37 primary sources were included of which 32 are photographs. The rock art that is included in all textbooks is the “white lady of the Brandberg”. There are no original maps, cartoons and extracts from diaries and memoirs in all the textbooks that were prescribed for the period under investigation.

Table 8: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 8 textbooks

Textbook	Type of source					Total
	Photographs	Rock art	Maps	Cartoon	Extract from diaries & memoirs	
O’Callaghan	3	2	-	-	-	5
Katzao	25	1	-	-	-	26
Du Preez	4	2	-	-	-	6
TOTAL	32	5	-	-	-	37

Grade 9

Altogether 57 primary sources are included Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O’ Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) and 34 in Sampson (2007). Extracts from diaries and photographs of famous people dominate the total number of primary sources which are included in the textbooks. In each of the textbooks only two photographs of ordinary people are included. Workers, women and the youth are rarely included. The origin of the

extracts from diaries is not cited, e.g. that they were extracted from archival materials with the numbers indicated.

Table 9: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 9 textbooks

Textbook	Type of source				Total
	Photographs	Maps	Cartoon	Extract from diaries & memoirs	
Katzao	31	0	0	26	57
Sampson	22	0	0	12	34
TOTAL	53	0	0	38	91

Grade 10

Photographs, mostly of famous people, dominate the number of primary sources that are included in the Grade 10 textbooks. More than half of the photographs which are included in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) depict atrocities against the Namibian people; the liberation struggle; or nationalist leaders. Kotzé and Lang (1993) on the contrary do not lean to the liberation when it comes to the photographs which are included in the textbook. Two or three photographs which illustrate the economic impact of the Odendaal Commission are included in Kotzé and Lang (1993), Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001) and Du Preez, A. (2007). All three textbooks except Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., O' Callaghan, B., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) include Gene Travers' cartoon on the fight between the United Nations and South West

Africa/Namibia. The origins of the primary sources which are included in the textbooks as well as the time when they were produced are rarely mentioned.

Table 10: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 10 textbooks

Textbook	Type of source				Total
	Photographs	Maps	Cartoon	Extract from diaries & memoirs	
Mbumba	20	1	-	5	26
Goosen	65	4	2	1	72
Kotze	33	4	1	2	40
Du Preez	63	2	5	2	72
TOTAL	181	11	8	10	210

Grades 11 & 12

In O' Callaghan, B. (1997) there are seven primary sources and in Kotzé and Lang (2002) there are six primary sources included and all of these primary sources are photographs. In O' Callaghan, B. (1997) four of the sources depict SWAPO activities which include guerrillas in action, rallies and demonstrations. One is a photograph of SWAPO leaders in exile; one is a photograph of workers sitting at ingots of Namibian copper; one shows mounted South African forces from the Alte Feste while the other one shows rural workers at Okahandja.

Four of the photographs in Kotzé and Lang (2002) are about personalities in Namibian history. As for the other two, one depicts the landing of South African horses at Walvis Bay when they conquered German South West Africa while the other one is the same photograph as in O' Callaghan, B. (1997) showing PLAN guerrillas in action. Apart from the PLAN guerrillas and

the photograph of Sam Nujoma, less attention to SWAPO activities is given in the photographs included in Kotzé and Lang (2002) as compared to O' Callaghan, B. (1997). It is particularly interesting to note that a photograph depicting the living conditions of workers is included in O' Callaghan, B. (1997).

It is important to note that most of the photographs do not shed much light on the events under discussion as historical evidence. Moreover, these primary sources that were included do not represent diverse views and are mainly used as stimuli for the events which are narrated apart from the one showing rural workers at Okahandja.

Table 11: Inclusion of primary sources in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks

Textbook	Type of primary source	What is depicted
O'Callaghan	Photograph Photograph Photograph Photograph Photograph Photograph Photograph	Mounted SA forces from the Alte Feste Ingots of Namibian copper with workers sitting there SWAPO leaders: Witbooi, Nujoma and ya Toivo PLAN guerrillas in action Demonstration of SWAPO supporters SWAPO Youth League rally Rural workers at Okahandja
	Total 7	
Lang & Kotze	Photograph Photograph Photograph Photograph Photograph Photograph	Curt von Francois Samuel Maharero Hendrik Witbooi (snr) Landing of SA horses at Walvis Bay to conquer GSWA PLAN guerrillas in action Sam Nujoma
	Total 6	

4.1.3 Inclusive history

With inclusive history is meant integrating various aspects of human activities and their localities in the historical narrative (Pasternak, 2009). Social themes such as labour and women affairs feature in the historical narrative in inclusive history. This study aimed to establish whether the textbooks used a thematically integrated view of the past in order to establish the interrelationship between political, local, social and economic factors. The headings were analysed to determine how far they lean to these factors. The headings were counted in how far they represent political, social, economic, local or gender in history. Inclusion in a theme/chapter heading was given three tallies while inclusion as a sub-heading was given two tallies.

Grade 8

The content of the textbooks deal with the history of traditional communities and includes aspects of their migration into Namibia as well as their social, political and economic organisation. Although it deals with traditional communities, no histories of specific localities were tackled as the histories of these communities were closely linked to the whole of Namibia. There are no aspects of gender that are dealt with in the textbooks that were studied.

Table 12: Inclusive history in the Grade 8 textbooks

<i>Textbook</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>					
	Total	<i>Political</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>Gender</i>
O'Callaghan	14	3	9	2	-	-
Katzao	38	21	7	10	-	-
Du Preez	16	5	8	3	-	-
TOTAL	68	29	24	15	-	-

Grade 9

Political factors dominate in both textbook followed by economic and social factors. No history of particular localities was included and similarly the historical narrative does not include gender issues or women history.

Table 13: Inclusive history in the Grade 9 textbooks

<i>Textbook</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>				
	<i>Political</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>Gender</i>
Katzao	58	8	15	0	0
Sampson	64	16	31	0	0
TOTAL	122	24	46	0	0

Grade 10

The Grade 10 textbooks mainly deal with the political history of Namibia. Social aspects are only dealt with under the role of the church in the liberation struggle. Civic education is dealt with under the making of the Namibian constitution while the few economic matters that are discussed fall under the migrant labour system and the impact of the Odendaal Plan on Namibia. The works of civic organisations, labour, women and youth organisations are notable omissions.

Table 14: Inclusive history in the Grade 10 textbooks

<i>Textbook</i>	<i>Frequencies</i>				
	<i>Political</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Economic</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>Gender</i>
Mbumba	55	13	2	-	-
Goosen	88	30	4	-	1
Kotze	19	9	1	-	-
Du Preez	21	5	1	-	4
TOTAL	183	57	8	-	5

Grades 11 & 12

In both textbooks prescribed for Grades 11 & 12 for the period under review which were analysed, the themes, topics and headings reflect the political history of Namibia. Aspects of the social, cultural, economic, gender and history of particular localities are not included in the themes, topics and headings. All these point to an exclusive type of history. The collective

experiences of the lives of ordinary people as well as neglected groups in society such as women, ethnic minorities and workers seem to be largely ignored.

Table 15: Inclusive history in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks

HEADINGS					
O'Callaghan			Lang & Kotze		
1. German colonial expansion			1. Namibia: the establishment of German colonial rule		
2. The War of National Resistance, 1904-8			2. Resistance to German colonialism		
3. German colonial rule			3. South African occupation of Namibia: 1915-48		
4. The League of Nations mandate and South African colonial rule			4. The mandate over South West Africa		
5. Resistance and repression			5. The United Nations and Namibia		
6. The League of Nations and Namibia			6. Resistance to South African rule		
7. The United Nations and Namibia			7. SWAPO and the liberation struggle		
8. Namibian resistance to South African rule, 1946-76			8. The achievement of independence		
9. Apartheid in Namibia: the Odendaal Plan, 1964					
10. Resistance to apartheid					
11. The last steps to independence					
12. Independent Namibia, 1990					
Textbook	No of headings	Political	Local	Social	Economic
O'Callaghan	12	12	-	-	-
Lang & Kotze	8	8	-	-	-

4.1.4 Pedagogical methods

The implied position of the learner was analysed against the background of the Learner Centred Approach to teaching and learning, which was adopted by the Namibian Ministry of Education.

Closed and open ended questions: In this study a closed ended question is an objective question that can be properly and sensibly answered with a factual answer. That is, with respect to a closed ended question, the answer is either right or wrong, e.g. “Which European country colonised Namibia after 1884?” The answer can only be Germany. On the contrary an open ended question is a subjective question with no single right answer and can generate a long response as well as critical thinking. An open-ended question invites various responses depending on how learners perceive the event in question and their exposure to the sources, e.g. “Which one played the most important role in bringing about Namibian independence, SWAPO or the United Nations Organisation? Explain your answer.” Learners may opt for either SWAPO or the United Nations Organisation with varied explanations. Alternatively, they may opt to explain the role of both before making a conclusion.

Consideration of mixed abilities: For the sake of this study questions and activities for: (i) slow learners are those where learners extract information from the text/sources and present them in raw form, (ii) average learners are those where learners use the information from the text/sources to extract answers and (iii) fast learners are those where learners use the information from the text/sources and their own interpretation to answer the questions and or do the activities.

Grade 8

Altogether there are 275 questions and activities in the textbooks that were studied of which the majority (181) are close-ended. Only in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1991) were the number of open-ended questions more than the close-ended questions. With the exception of Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1991) most questions cater for slow learners.

Table 16: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 8 textbooks

Textbook	Number of Questions & Activities	Open-ended questions	Close-ended questions
O'Callaghan	113	32	81
Katzao	59	37	22
Du Preez	103	25	78
TOTAL	275	94	181

Table 17: Range of abilities in the Grade 8 textbooks

Textbook	Number of Questions & Activities	Learners		
		Slow	Average	Fast
O'Callaghan	113	83	23	7
Katzao	59	19	28	12
Du Preez	103	65	21	17
TOTAL	275	167	72	36

Grade 9

Of the 103 questions and activities in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992), 66 are open-ended questions and 37 are close-ended. Most questions and activities target slow (40) and fast (42) learners while only 21 questions and

activities target average learners. The exercise questions mainly focus on slow learners while the projects focus mainly on fast learners.

There is no big difference in the number of open and close-ended questions included in the two textbooks. Out of the 112 questions included in Sampson (2007), 65 are open-ended questions which is 58% of all the questions compared to 64% in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992). However, there seems to be a significant difference in the level of difficulty between the two textbooks in terms of the questions and henceforth learners' activities. 74.1% of the learners' activities in Sampson (2007) cater for slow and average learners while the corresponding figure in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) is 59.2%.

Table 18: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 9 textbooks

Textbook	Number of Questions & Activities	Open-ended questions	Close-ended questions
Katzao	103	66	37
Sampson	112	65	47
TOTAL	215	131	84

Table 19: Range of abilities in the Grade 9 textbooks

Chapter	Number of Questions & Activities	Learners		
		Slow	Average	Fast
Katzao	103	40	21	42
Sampson	112	41	42	29
TOTAL	215	81	63	71

Grade 10

Out of the 693 questions 312 were open-ended. In Du Preez (2007) close-ended questions exceeded open-ended questions by far while in the other three textbooks open-ended questions were more than the close-ended questions. A trend that was observed in Kotzé and Lang (1993) is that the questions displayed the format of the external examination papers while word puzzles were included as learners' activities. The questions and activities were distributed over the ability range in all textbooks which were studied with variations in all four textbooks between the slow and average learners. Inquiry based questions feature in all four textbooks.

Table 20: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 10 textbooks

Textbook	Number of Questions & Activities	Open-ended questions	Close-ended questions
Mbumba	110	72	38
Goosen	225	120	105
Kotze	34	26	8
Du Preez	324	94	230
TOTAL	693	312	381

Table 21: Range of abilities in the Grade 10 textbooks

Textbook	Number of Questions & Activities	Learners		
		Slow	Average	Fast
Mbumba	110	40	43	27
Goosen	225	104	91	30
Kotze	34	8	19	7
Du Preez	324	153	134	37
TOTAL	693	305	287	101

Grades 11 & 12

Overall there are few questions and learners activities in both textbooks that were studied. There are eight learners' activities in O'Callaghan (1997). All activities are open-ended. In Kotze and Lang (2002) there are three open-ended questions. The three questions are not inquiry based and are set in the same way as external examinations are set.

Table 22: Open and close-ended questions in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks

Textbook	Number of Questions & Activities	Open-ended questions	Close-ended questions
O'Callaghan	8	8	-
Kotze	3	3	-

Table 23: Range of abilities in the Grade 11 & 12 textbooks

Themes	Number of Questions & Activities	Learners		
		Slow	Average	Fast
O'Callaghan	8	1	4	3
Kotze	3	1	1	1

4.2 Qualitative analysis

The qualitative analysis is built on the quantitative analysis. However, the qualitative analysis digs deeper into the content of textbooks and artwork to gauge deeper understanding using the a priori codes.

4.2.1 Demographic representation of social groups

Underlying reasons for specific ways of representation: The qualitative codes in the category demography sought for an understanding of the implicit meaning in the way social groups were represented and to find reasons for implicit stereotyping as represented by the initial quantitative frequencies.

During the period 1884 – 1920 the German colonial authorities feature more in the textbooks whereas the South African colonial authorities feature more during the period after 1920. Social groups that encountered the colonial authorities feature prominently in the textbooks. During the early advances of colonialism the names of Namibian ethnic groups that were the first to encounter colonial advances notably the Namas and Ovaherero feature prominently. It is evident that the textbooks are mainly written from the angle of the colonialists. Namibian social groups are mentioned when they reacted to colonial activities such as oppressive legislation. This explains the high representation of colonial groups in the textbooks as opposed to individual Namibian social groups. Ethnic groups that did not have direct encounters with German colonial advances such as those from Kavango and Caprivi, hardly feature in the history textbooks during this period.

Overall all the textbooks follow the same trend when it comes to representation of social groups. As from the late 1950s the textbooks show a great representation of political parties and interest groups in contrast to ethnic groups which characterise the textbooks on pre-colonial history. There is a great attempt at representing social and political transformations through group

identities, collective emotions and experience. This trend can be ascribed to attempts at presenting a national synthesis. SWAPO's greater representation when compared to other political parties and interest groups can be seen against the backdrop of it spearheading the armed liberation struggle against South African occupation while SWANU's national character gave it greater representation above other parties and interest groups.

The awakening of national consciousness is mainly attributed to the contract labour system and this explains the greater representation accorded to the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) and the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC) despite them being catering for the interests of a specific group of people, Ovambo contract workers. The OPC was the forbearer to the formation of SWAPO. Kotzé and Lang (1993) mentioned the role of churches, trade unions and black students' organisations in the awakening of nationalism although she is of the opinion that their achievement was minimal. The Herero Chief's Council was more concerned with the protection of the interest of its constituency, the Ovaherero people, and in particular for their lost land according to Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001). Thus its contribution to the development of national consciousness was minimal and hence its' minimal representation. The same can be said of the Damara Tribal Council.

The representation of groups thus attests to dominant group representation in the narrative structure of the content of history textbooks. The fact that SWAPO, which developed from the OPC and OPC, is the current ruling party influence the way its forbearers are represented in the textbooks.

That the international community played a role in Namibian history is illustrated by the inclusion of photographs of sessions of the United Nations, photographs of UN personalities as well as reference to the UN in chapter headings and in the texts. Regional and continental involvement in the history of Namibia is clearly underrepresented when the depiction in photographs and reference to the Frontline States, the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement is considered. It can be inferred that regional and continental despite the OAU's adoption of various declarations and plans of action on Namibia such as the Arusha Plan of Action in 1980 and the Accra Programme of Action in 1985, did not directly and significantly play a remarkable role in bringing about Namibian independence.

4.2.2 History as a discipline

The codes in the category of history as a discipline were used to analyse issues pertaining to the authors' interpretation of the primary sources such as the origin and reliability of the source and the messages and values that the authors intended to bring to the readers through their inclusion of the sources. In addition, the codes sought to establish the diverse views in the form of conflicting cartoons, pictures and accounts included in the textbooks. It was imperative to establish how the authors handle conflicting perspectives of historical events in the rubric and artefacts.

The use and interpretation of primary sources: Sources that portray human activities in Namibia in the form of pictorial sources before colonialism (distant historical period) are in most cases not available. This explains the fact that in the Grade 8 textbooks most sources are

illustrations of a secondary nature while in the other textbooks, mainly only photographs of famous people are included. Primary sources that are included in the textbooks to support distant historical periods are doubtful with regard to their origin and what they depict. In one instance there is conflicting captions of the same photograph in two different textbooks. The caption in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1991, p. 53) reads: Women and girls of the Afrikaner community in 1876. In its revised edition O' Callaghan, B., Von Wietersheim, E., Goosen, D., and Berens, P. (2000) it reads: A group of Damara women. What do you notice about their clothing?

Figure 1: Women and girls of the Afrikaner community



Women and girls of the Afrikaner community in 1876

controlled a large part of the country. No other Namibian forces could have been a danger to their joint authority.

In May 1870 Maharero and Jan Jonker concluded a peace treaty at Otjikango. They would cooperate in leading the new alliance. Jan Jonker was to restore order in the country. He was also to prevent groups of Boer settlers from coming into the country from the Cape. Jan Jonker immediately issued laws about the price of cattle and ostrich feathers and about hunting. He tried to control the activities of European traders in the country. He declared that all the missionaries should be subject to the chiefs and obey them. He suggested replacing the Rhenish missionaries with English missionaries instead.

The Rhenish missionaries were alarmed. Hahn demanded that the three southern chiefs David Christian (Bethanie), Jakobus Isaak (Berseba) and Kido Witbooi (Gibeon) should

take part in new peace negotiations. The Rhenish Mission had close contact with these chiefs, although they had some quarrels with the Witboois. The Bondelswarts community under Chief Willem Christian (the grandson of Abraham Christian) in the far south did not take part in these disputes.

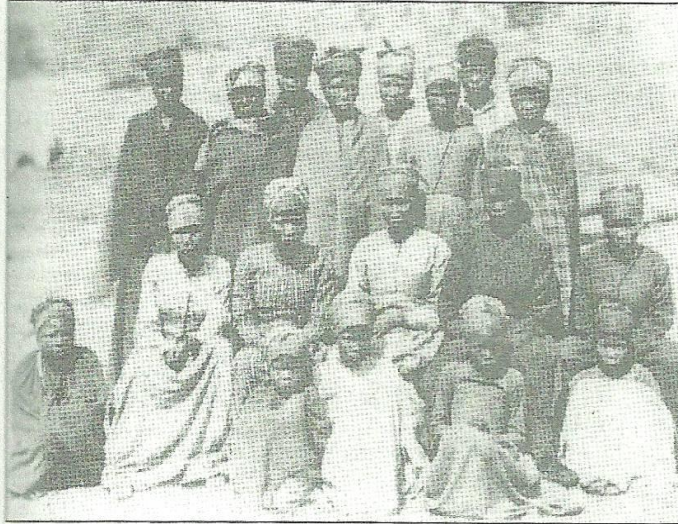
In September 1870 negotiations started at Okahandja for a new peace treaty. Those present were Maharero and Jan Jonker, a number of other Herero chiefs and Abraham Swartbooi, the three southern Nama/Orlam chiefs mentioned above, and the missionaries.

Hahn had the controlling influence in the new peace treaty. He made use of the differences between the various groups in order to isolate Jan Jonker Afrikaner. Another missionary who was present at the negotiations described the situation:

"The conference lasted eight days. Things seemed to be going smoothly at the beginning, but

Figure 2: A group of Damara women

Namibia before the 19th century



A group of Damara women. What do you notice about their clothing?

Today the Damara and the Nama speak the same language, called Khoekhoegowab. The original Damara language remains unknown.

Each Damara group consisted of a number of families. A family consisted of a husband, his wife or wives, his sons, their wives and children as well as his unmarried daughters. In most cases the younger brothers and their families, as well as sons-in-law stayed in the same group as the village head. A son-in-law only stayed until he had finished the compulsory service to his wife's parents that was part of his marriage contract.

Each Damara village was built in the form of a circle around the village tree. Near the tree, in the centre of the village, was the ritual fire. The elders used to sit around the fire cooking portions of game to which only they were entitled.

The different family heads were responsible for the organisation and the day to day arrangements of their respective groups. Discussions in this regard took also place around the ritual fire. Except for the /Gobanin who lived near Hoachanas, Damara groups did not have tribal chiefs or councils. Each group functioned independently.

35

O' Callaghan, B., Von Wietersheim, E., Goosen, D., and Berens, P. (2000, p. 35)

Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1991) included the photograph alongside the narrative about the Afrikaner tribe during the peace treaties of 1870. On the other hand O' Callaghan, B., Von Wietersheim, E., Goosen, D., and Berens, P. (2000) included the photograph alongside the narrative about how the Damara lived way before immigrants like the Bantu arrived in Namibia.

Oral sources are selectively and sparingly included and are mainly monothetic. They are monothetic in the sense that they support a single version of the narrative. In addition to that the provenance of both oral sources and extracts from letters and diaries are not cited. Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992, p. 9) state that Maharero's son, Samuel Maharero wrote a letter to Captain Curt von Francois saying:

I gather from the way you act that you are at war with us rather than at peace.

According to Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992, p. 11) Paul Rohrbach who was the commissioner responsible for German colonial settlement in 1903, is believed to have justified the policy in these words:

The decision to colonise in southern Africa means that the native tribes must leave the land where they have pastured their cattle, so that the white man can pasture his cattle there. If we are asked about the moral of this, the answer is that the natives of southern Africa have a low cultural standard, and an important law of survival says that they should no longer be savages but should become workers for the whites and dependent on them.

In Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992, p. 14) Curt von Francois, who became German commissioner in 1891, is believed to have described Captain Hendrik Witbooi as:

an implacable opponent of any form of submission to German rule

Extract of letters from Witbooi to Joseph Fredriks and Maharero as well as from Herero leaders to the German governor in August 1901 are also quoted in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992, pp. 15; 18 – 20). A German secret report of 1914 on the strength of Chief Mandume is reported to have stated:

Even the [Portuguese] governor, despite strong military back-up, did not dare ignore the ultimatum of the dynamic and powerful head chief and hastily had to withdraw from his territory ... The respect of the natives for the Portuguese troops in open battle is very small. This is not to be wondered at considering the destructive blows dealt to the troops in 1904 and later from the Ovambos, which are still fresh in everyone's memory.

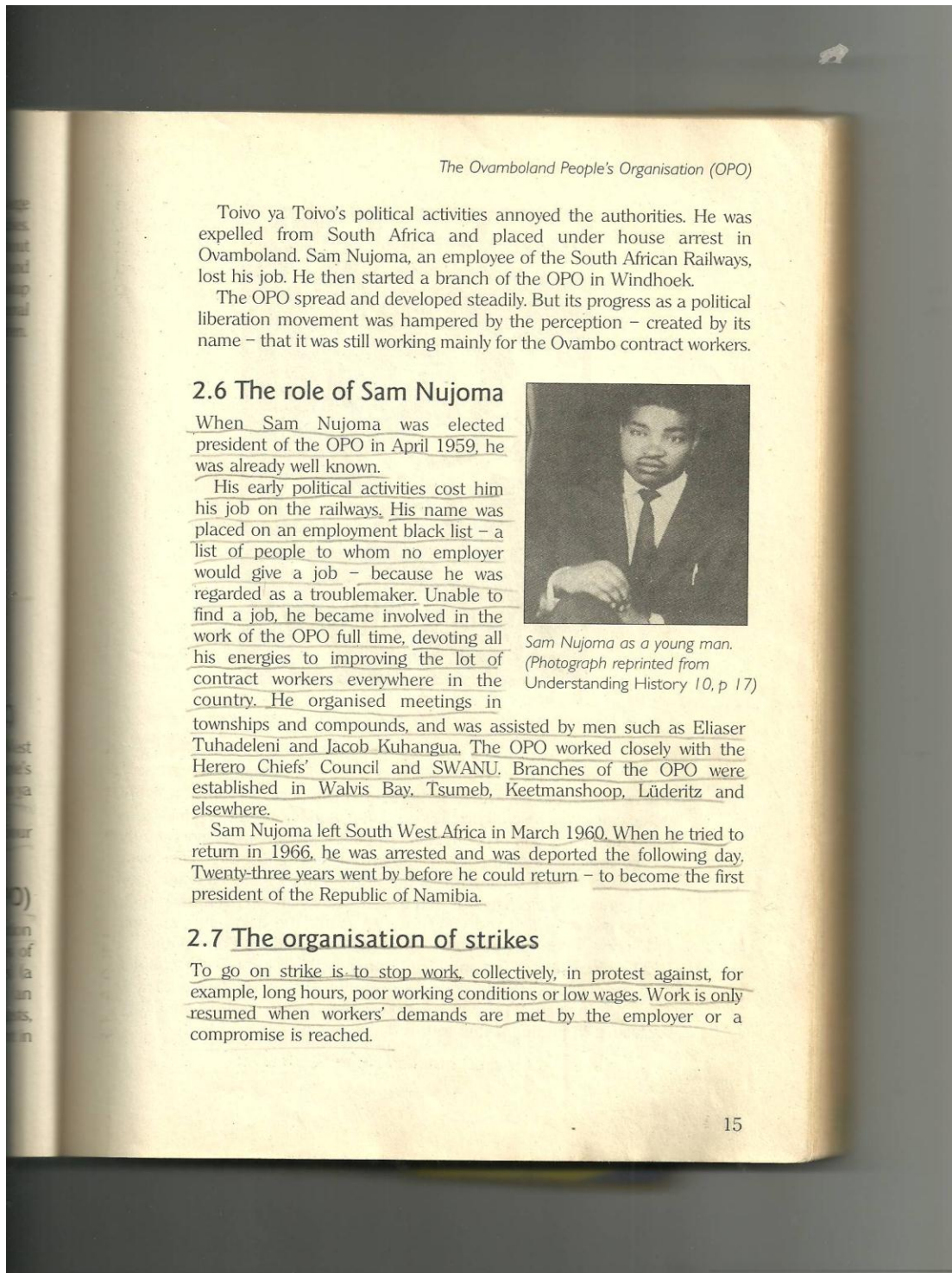
In Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001, p. 13) and Du Preez (2007, p. 17) a father who had been away on contract labour is said to have said this about the estrangement of his family:

I left a small child at home. On my return he ran and asked his mother who this strange man was. This distresses me.

The fact that the provenance of these primary sources is not cited raises questions of reliability, credibility and validity. However, oral histories are crucial due to the multiplicity of information which they provide about issues that normally do not appear in textbooks. The primary sources that are included are neither extensive nor do they represent divergent historical voices. Although distant historical periods and the unavailability of primary sources may have impacted on their inclusion, a convergence of divergent voices on for example the impact of the migrant labour system on socio-economic transformation in the urban and rural areas may provide challenging and different interpretations. Primary sources which explore the origin of the derogatory term *ombwiti* and its social, economic and cultural ramifications could be useful to put the migrant labour system into a multifaceted perspective. The migrant labour system created an urbanised people with different socio-economic and cultural organisation. A new working class developed which changed perceptions in the countryside. It would be enriching to trace the impact of the migrant labour system on organised labour in Namibia.

Most of the primary sources that are included in the textbooks are not comprehensive enough to allow interpretations from where arguments can be built in support of the interpretations. Because most of the primary sources that are included in the textbooks are mainly photographs which do not contextualise or corroborate the narrative, history as a discipline that is built on primary sources may be compromised. A photograph of Sam Nujoma as a young man alongside the heading “The role of Nujoma” in Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001, p. 15) for example is not comprehensive enough to provide interpretations from where arguments can be built that will support or challenge the interpretations.

Figure 3: Sam Nujoma



The Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO)

Toivo ya Toivo's political activities annoyed the authorities. He was expelled from South Africa and placed under house arrest in Ovamboland. Sam Nujoma, an employee of the South African Railways, lost his job. He then started a branch of the OPO in Windhoek.

The OPO spread and developed steadily. But its progress as a political liberation movement was hampered by the perception – created by its name – that it was still working mainly for the Ovambo contract workers.

2.6 The role of Sam Nujoma

When Sam Nujoma was elected president of the OPO in April 1959, he was already well known.

His early political activities cost him his job on the railways. His name was placed on an employment black list – a list of people to whom no employer would give a job – because he was regarded as a troublemaker. Unable to find a job, he became involved in the work of the OPO full time, devoting all his energies to improving the lot of contract workers everywhere in the country. He organised meetings in

townships and compounds, and was assisted by men such as Eliaser Tuhadeleni and Jacob Kuhangua. The OPO worked closely with the Herero Chiefs' Council and SWANU. Branches of the OPO were established in Walvis Bay, Tsumeb, Keetmanshoop, Lüderitz and elsewhere.

Sam Nujoma left South West Africa in March 1960. When he tried to return in 1966, he was arrested and was deported the following day. Twenty-three years went by before he could return – to become the first president of the Republic of Namibia.



Sam Nujoma as a young man.
(Photograph reprinted from Understanding History 10, p 17)

2.7 The organisation of strikes

To go on strike is to stop work collectively, in protest against, for example, long hours, poor working conditions or low wages. Work is only resumed when workers' demands are met by the employer or a compromise is reached.

Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001, p. 15)

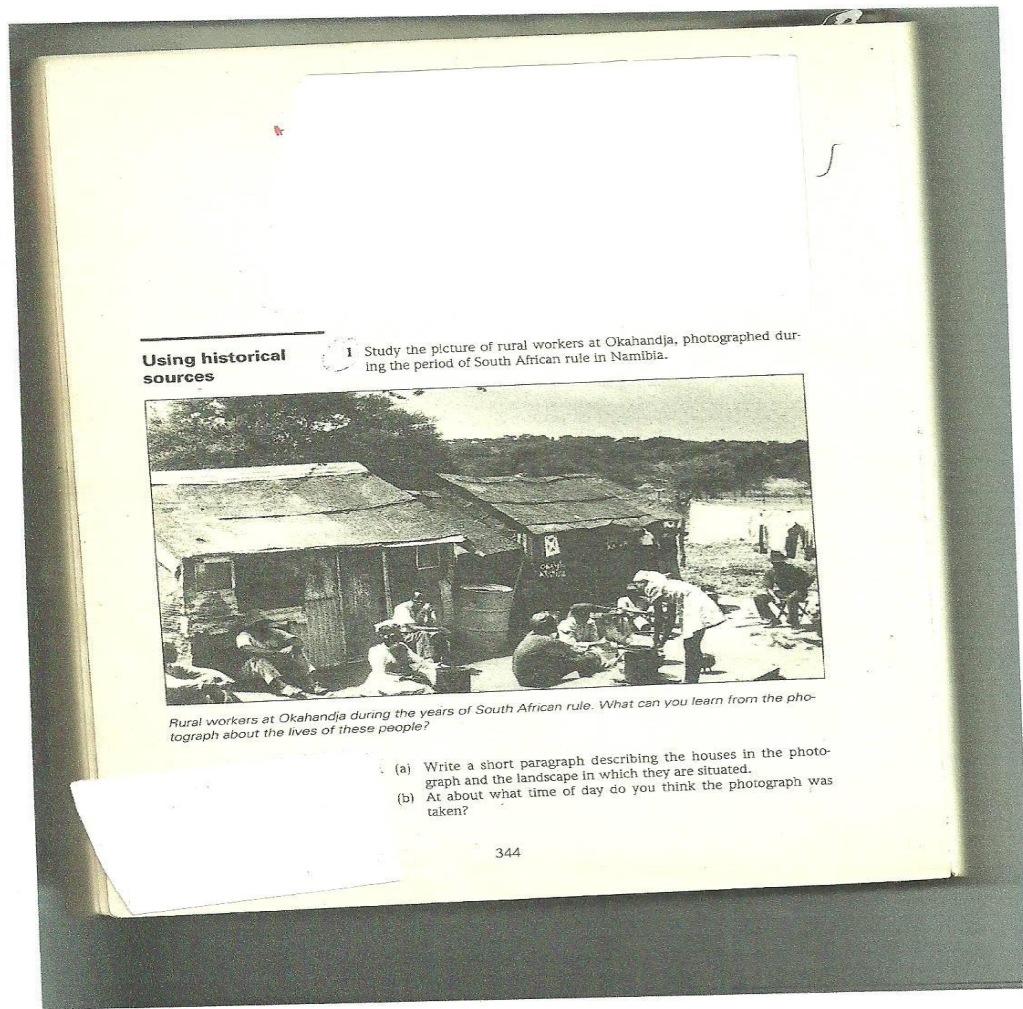
Instead of a photograph of Sam Nujoma that does not shed light on the narrative, an extract could be given:

Sam Nujoma recounted in Nujoma (2001, pp. 41 – 42) “In 1957, at the age of 29, I resigned from the SAR with the purpose of devoting my time to politics. However, I had to face the problem that, by law, an African not employed or in the service of a white man would not be allowed to live in Windhoek or elsewhere in the urban districts. My solution was to seek employment with the Windhoek Municipality doing some clerical work. But when I found myself doing the work of lazy Boers, with too little money as my salary, I resigned and found employment with Hurbert Davis, a subsidiary of a Cape Town company which supplied and fitted electric cables in new buildings. The manager liked my work, but other whites did not, so I left and moved to another job with Carsten Veld, a South African manufacturing representative and wholesaler.”

The learners could then be given the following activity individually, as pairs or in groups: Do you think Nujoma was a troublemaker who hopped from one job to the other or do you think Nujoma devoted his life to the struggle that he would risk his own well-being? In so doing the learners will deal with a primary source that shed light on the events under discussion and will critically approach the source from multiple perspectives.

A photograph of rural workers at Okahandja in O’Callaghan (1997, p. 344) on the contrary is comprehensive enough to provide for interpretations that will support or challenge the narrative on the living conditions of rural workers. Such sources are however rare in all the textbooks that were studied.

Figure 4: Rural workers at Okahandja



O'Callaghan (1997, p. 344)

Inclusion of diverse views

The primary sources that are included in the textbooks are mostly not diverse. Approached from the postmodern conception of differing perspectives in history, the textbooks do not include diverse historical memories. The views that are included in the textbooks mainly represent and symbolise the memories of the dominant group, the ruling elite. In O'Callaghan (1997) six primary sources mainly photographs are included of which four are about SWAPO. When the

past memories of the dominant group dominate representation in the textbooks, it justifies their present position. Collective consciousness and pluralism are often pushed to the periphery.

There are not much conflicting accounts of the past. All the textbooks have the potential to lead learners to accept all historical claims therein at face value as a single version of the past is largely transmitted. In Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) internal conflict is cited as the reason which made it easier for the Germans to play down one Namibian community against one another. The ideal for unity between the Nama and Herero as people of the same country against the Germans is expressed clearly. Other perspectives such as the Nama and Herero perceptions of them inhabiting one country under one of the leaders, Chief Hendrik Witbooi or Chief Maharero, are not considered or explored. Likewise, the living styles of these two communities and possible impacts on the environment are not explored as a hindrance to the resolution of the conflict. The only claim that comes through is the fact that the Germans prevented unity between these two communities.

In all the Grade 10 textbooks the forced removal from the Old Location which resulted in the 10 December 1959 shooting is only presented as a response to the introduction of Apartheid legislation and the brutality of the South African colonial authorities. Other aspects around the forced removals are not included such as the perceptions of those who decided to leave the Old Location for Katutura before they were forcibly removed are not explored. This would refute or prove claims by those who did not want to be removed or the claims by the authorities why they had to move the people. An inclusion of photographs of both the Old Location and Katutura at the time of the forced removals could shed more light on various aspects like better sanitation

which the authorities claimed or proximity to the city centre which the inhabitants claimed are not included.

The events that took place on the night of 10 December 1959 are vague in all textbooks. Kotze and Lang (1993) only mention that the police became involved in the confrontation when the black population went on strike. Stones and fire-bombs were hurled, government vehicles were set on fire and windows of municipal buildings were broken when the police open fire and killed 13 residents and wounded 52. It is not understandable why this could be called a strike given the fact that these were residents and not workers. Above all, the shooting happened at night around 10 p.m. Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) states that it was a protest demonstration against residents who were arrested upon which the police open fire killing eleven demonstrators, wounding 54 of which two succumbed to their wounds later.

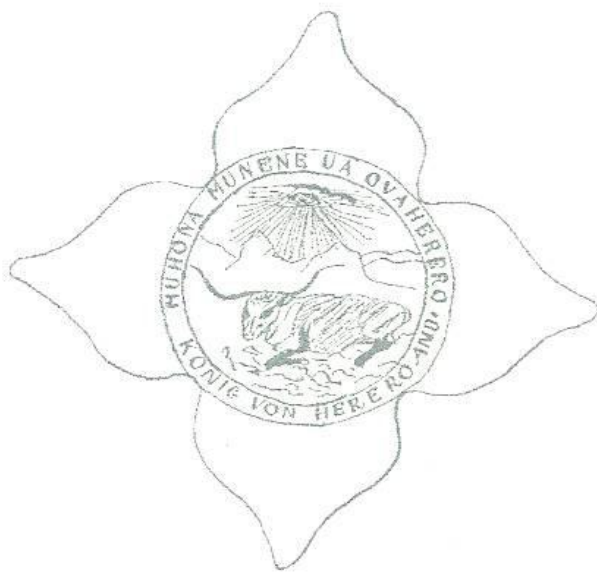
The shooting of Anna Kakurukaze Mungunda is a popular thread when the events of 10 December 1959 are narrated and is mentioned in all the textbooks prescribed for Grade 10 except in Kotze and Lang (1993). This is more due to the fact that she was a woman than to her involvement in the demonstrations. According to Niklaas Uwe Siririka who was wounded on the day in question Kakurukaze Mungunda was a regular reveller at the beer hall who refused to partake in the boycott despite having told otherwise. On that fatal day she was coming out of the beer hall to check what was happening and was accidentally shot (Siririka, 2009). The textbooks do not have lists of names of those who were killed or wounded. No reference is made in the

textbooks about the findings of the Official Commission of Enquiry (The Hall Commission) which was called by Dr Verwoerd, who was the Prime Minister of South Africa then.

In most of the Grade 10 textbooks it is asserted that homelands were created in Namibia as a recommendation of the Odendaal Commission. This is echoed by other textbooks on Namibian history like Mbuende (1986); Nujoma (2001) and Katjavivi (1988). Mbuende (1986, p. 21) does not only dismiss the existence of pre-colonial states in the geographical area called Namibia today but also reject the existence of traditional communities in pre-colonial Namibia: “Large and centralised kingdoms were unknown in precolonial Namibia. The concept of ‘tribal society’ is, thus, irrelevant with regard to the study of pre-colonial Namibia.” These are clear attempts at writing nationalist history. Pre-colonial Namibia was not one entity. Every community in Namibia occupied a portion of Namibia which it regarded as its own – a pre-colonial state. Mbuende (1986) base his conclusion when comparing the small units which constituted Namibia to for example the Bunyoro-Kitara of East Africa, Buluzi of Central Africa and the Ashanti of West Africa. It is not the complexity of bureaucracies, judicial and executive systems that should determine whether these were states or not but the perceptions of those who inhabited these states. Certainly they knew where their borders started and ended. Maharero for example issued a proclamation which detailed the territory under his control. In his dealings with the early German advances Maharero used his personal seal as paramount chief of the Ovaherero on documents. The following words were inscribed on the seal MUHONA MUNENE UA’ OVAHERERO in Otjiherero and KÖNIG VON HERERO (L) AND in German (Pool, 1991). It can thus be inferred that Maharero regarded himself as leader of Hereroland and knew how far his reign stretched.

(referent) Luis Nels en Feldwebel (sersant-majoor) Hugo von Goldammer.²⁴ Hul hoofkwartier sou vir eers op Otjimbingwe wees.

Vroeg in Oktober 1885 het dr. Göring, eerwaarde Büttner en ses ander Duitsers by Maharero opgedaag om oor 'n moontlike beskermingsverdrag te onderhandel.²⁵ Maharero wou aanvanklik nie vir Göring-hulle te woord staan nie, want hy het ander meer dringende probleme gehad. Hy het Hendrik Witbooi nie vertrou nie en was, ondanks die oënskynlike vredestoestand, enige oomblik 'n aanval van die Witboois te wagte. Sy vermoedens was reg, want op 15 Oktober het 'n geveg skielik by Osona losgebars. Die Herero's was egter deeglik voorberei en het die Witboois verslaan.²⁶ Die twee partye het mekaar daarvan beskuldig dat die een



Maharero se persoonlike seël
(Kamaharero-Nachlass, Nasionale Argief, Windhoek)

die ander doelbewus mislei het en só die geveg veroorsaak het. As gevolg daarvan is 1885 in die Hererokalender bekend as *Ojotjuova* - die Jaar van die Leuen.²⁷

Göring en sy geselskap het na afloop van die geveg tot laat die nag die gewonde Herero's verbind. Die Duitsers se menslike optrede het Maharero só beïndruk dat hy die volgende dag bereid was om Göring te woord te staan.²⁸ Na verskeie dae

The extent to which the Odendaal Plan invoked or revoked these states is not assessed. According to Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993, p. 25) the Odendaal Plan's main purpose was "to divide the different ethnic groups on geo-political basis and to leave most of the good farming land, the towns and the diamond and mining areas of Namibia to the whites." Kotze and Lang (1993) give detailed positive account of the recommendations of the Odendaal Plan with photographs of the developments which were brought by the Odendaal Plan. Goosen and von Wietersheim (2001) and Du Preez (2007) gave some account on developments brought by the Odendaal Plan, but the main thrust of the narrative is the criticism levelled against the Odendaal Plan.

Although economic measures such as the Cunene hydro-electric scheme, road infrastructure, the Bantu Investment Corporation, schools and training centres are mentioned in all the textbooks, the socio-economic impact of these measures is not assessed. The negative impacts such as racial/ethnic discrimination and dry and barren land in the homelands far outweigh any positive impacts. Even Kotze and Lang (1993) who gave a detailed account of the recommendations of the Odendaal Plan stopped at the recommendations and did not assess the socio-economic impact of the implementation thereof apart from the photographs that are included.

Multiple voices and viewpoints are not included and it appears as if the authors try by all means to avoid political controversy. The historical narrative is presented in such a way that what is filtered through is that black Namibians were victims of intruders and colonialists who awakened, fought with heroism with much sacrifice to liberate themselves. Those who participated in colonial structures are depicted as collaborators and puppets. Only Kotze and

Lang (1993) have a soft stance on South Africa and the internal political parties. Kotze has been known as a DTA politician for many years and contested as a DTA candidate in regional council's election for Windhoek West. In Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001, p. 80) and Du Preez (2007, p.84) the DTA led government (1979 – 1983) is said to be a puppet government which was established and controlled by South Africa. A cartoon on Botha's puppets taken from *The Namibian* newspaper of 3 March 1989 is published alongside the story.

According to Kotze and Lang (1993, p. 35) “the 1982 Principles were meant to bring SWAPO on the one hand and South Africa and the DTA on the other closer to one another so that negotiations could continue.” The principles on which agreement was reached are not stated. Goosen and von Wietersheim (2001) and Du Preez (2007) posit that the principles were submitted by the Western Contact Group to serve as guidelines for the constitution of an independent Namibia. The principles made provision for a constitution, a bill of fundamental rights, a government with three separate branches and the holding of regular elections. All the textbooks hint on the reason for the principles as breaking the deadlock in the Namibian settlement process, but do not provide details on the fear especially from the side of South Africa that the principles intended to allay. Similarly, the textbooks do not provide what have been compromised by either side by agreeing on the principles.

There is silence in almost all the textbooks about some of the actions of the internal parties and South Africa. In Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001, p. 80) it is stated that South Africa and the internal parties objected to the UN Security Council Resolution 435 and then decided to hold elections in December 1978. The ground for their objections which were not resolved, are

however not mentioned in the textbooks. The recognition granted by the UN to SWAPO as the ‘sole and authentic’ representative of the Namibian people is mentioned as a reason why South Africa came up with attempts at an internal solution in both Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001) and Du Preez (2007). The textbooks do not explore whether it would be fair to the internal parties for the UN to supervise the implementation of Resolution 435 while it recognised SWAPO as the sole and authentic representation of the Namibian people. The South African objection and delays in the implementation of Resolution 435 are also not explored in the textbooks against UN recognition of SWAPO.

Handling of conflicting perspectives and sensitive events

The inclusion and handling of sensitive and controversial events determines the extent to which the textbooks promote respect for truth and evidence, tolerance and hence adherence to national reconciliation.

All the textbooks which deals with the 1970s Kotze and Lang (1992); Du Preez (2007); Goosen and Wietersheim (2001); O’Callaghan (1997); Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) recognise the significance of the fall of Marcello Caetano government in Portugal in 1974. This resulted in Angola gaining independence under the MPLA. An influx of Namibian youth arrived in Zambia to join the liberation struggle. This influx of youth going into exile was fuelled by brutality of the South African security forces and traditional authorities in Ovamboland who flogged youth to suppress revolutionary ideas particularly after the 1971 – 1972 strike.

Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001) give substantial space for SWAPO camps that were established in Zambia and later Angola to accommodate these refugees. The textbooks however omit to give details about the revolt by some SWAPO members in Zambia between April 1974 and April 1976 which is referred to as the Shipanga Rebellion. The Ya Otto Commission which was sanctioned by the SWAPO leadership to investigate the causes of the revolt cited “enemy intrigues and infiltration; power struggle by some SWAPO Youth League members and poor channels of communication” as the reasons for the revolt. The textbooks do not explore whether the South African army attack on a SWAPO base at Oshatotwa in south-western Zambia on the 11th July 1976 could be ascribed to enemy infiltration or on poor supply of equipment, food and other necessities to the freedom fighters as alleged by some of the young militants. The subsequent detention of many prominent SWAPO leaders including Andreas Shipanga, Sakaria Shikomba, Hizipo Shikondombolo, Phillemon Moongo, and others at Nampudwe and Mboroma Mass Detention Camp in Zambia are not in any of the textbooks. The circumstances surrounding their detention and efforts to have them released are not included in any of the textbooks.

The impact of the détente scenario between then South African prime minister, John Vorster, and Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda, in 1974 on the Zambian government’s commitment to harbouring liberation movement and discontent within SWAPO is not assessed in the textbooks. According to Trehwela (1990, p. 78) the détente document “envisaged circumstances in which the current armed struggle will be replaced by a new spirit of co-operation and racial harmony.” Whether the actions of the Zambian army towards Namibian militants were informed by the détente scenario does not feature in the textbooks. It was obvious that the position of the Zambian government had tremendous impact on SWAPO activities as a liberation movement

that needed bases to operate from. This also impacted SWAPO's relations with other liberation movements. Initially SWAPO had relations with UNITA with the slogan SWAPO is UNITA! UNITA is SWAPO! This was perhaps because of the Zambian support of UNITA and it was certainly a difficult position for SWAPO as UNITA was in cohort with South Africa which was about to invade Angola. These are conflicting perspectives that are not addressed in the school history textbooks.

One of the most sensitive events in Namibian history is the South African attack on Cassinga on the 4th May 1978. It is sensitive especially when one considers the number of people particularly women and children who were killed there. In Kotzé and Lang (1993) the attack on Cassinga is not included which explains this textbook's bias to South Africa and 'internal' political parties such as the DTA. Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001) and Du Preez (2007) both attempt to give a balanced account of what happened at Cassinga by including the number of people who were killed at Cassinga mainly women and children but also mentioning SWAPO's non-precautionary measures to avert the lives lost in what both termed as the Cassinga Massacre. Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) on the contrary do not mention any reluctance from SWAPO to avert the attack.

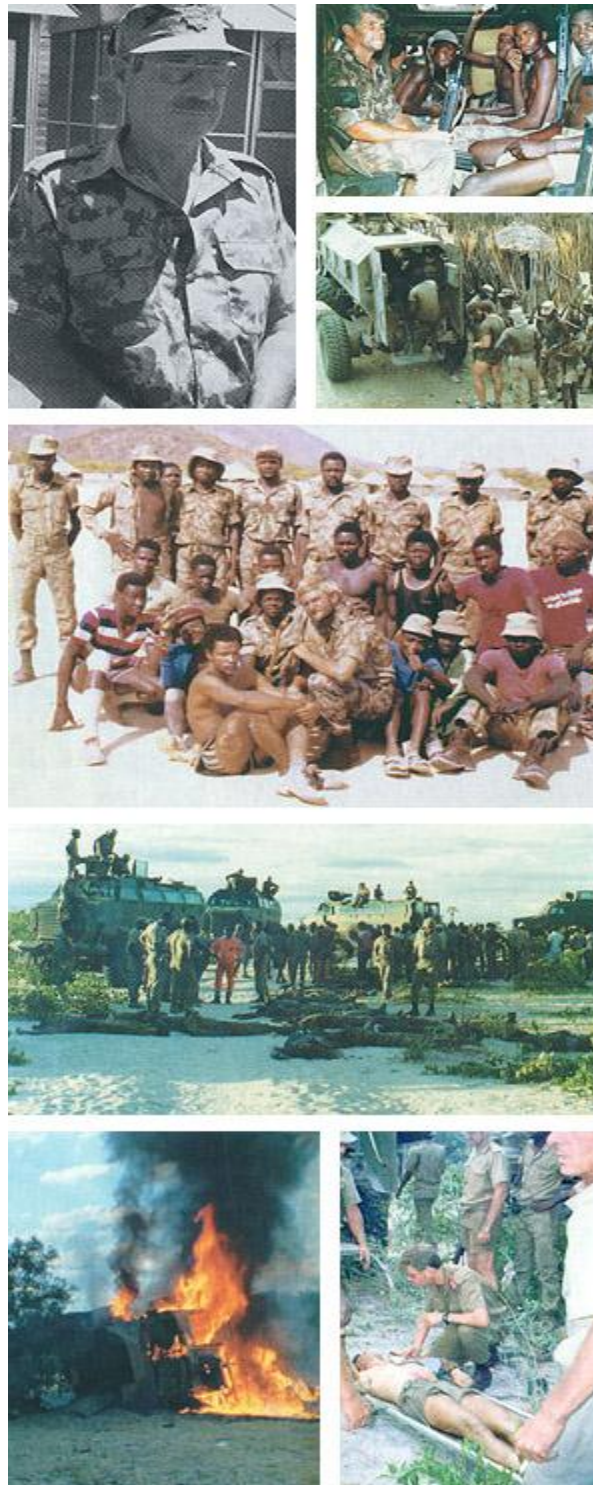
Goosen and von Wietersheim (2001) mainly make use of secondary sources to explain the attack while the few photographs that are included do not shed much light on the narrative. Photographic images of the dead are not included in any of the textbooks perhaps due to the sensitivity of the event.

The attack on Cassinga had always been shrouded in controversy as to whether it was a brutal attack on a SWAPO refugee and transit camp or an attack on SWAPO's military headquarters then (Alexander, 2003). All textbooks that were studied did not effectively explore the military situation in the war zone and the military capabilities of the warring factions at that time. The attack on Cassinga was preceded by the killing of Toivo Shiyagaya, Health Minister in the Ovambo administration, in February 1978 at a DTA rally in Okahao as well as the assassination of Clemens Kapuuo, Paramount Chief of the Ovaherero people and DTA president, on the 27 March 1978 and subsequent clashes between armed gangs of Herero and SWAPO militants in a spiral of violence (Gewald, 2004). The textbooks dealing with this period do not explore these events. Gewald (2004) argue that the killing of Kapuuo was a covert South African operation to divide Namibians along tribal lines which could strengthen the DTA and justify the launch of Operation Reindeer, the code name for the South African attack on Cassinga. These events are not documented in the textbooks that were studied let alone exploring differing points of view from the available sources.

The textbooks also omit the intensification of the armed struggle following the attainment of Angolan independence. Figures of South African soldiers based in Angola and northern Namibia are not given nor do the textbooks examine the South African militarisation of the indigenous population in Namibia through conscription and indigenous military structures such as Battalions for the different ethnic groups and commandos which served as reserves for the South African military apparatus in Namibia. The fact that a protracted liberation war, referred to as the bush war by some, was fought over Namibia for 23 years makes it necessary for the military operations in the country to be included in the textbooks. Increasing military activities

particularly in northern Namibia are not included. The impact of the presence of large numbers of soldiers and security officers as well as freedom fighters in the war zone on the local population does not feature in the textbooks. The activities of the security forces in the war zone and in townships that were widely reported in the local independent press particularly in *The Namibian* newspaper are not included in the textbooks.

Figure 5: KOEVOET operations in Namibia



Stiff, P. (2004). The Covert war: Koevoet Operations in Namibia. Retrieved from <http://www.namibiana.de/Namibia-information/literaturauszuege/title/the-covert-operations-in-namibia-1979-1989-by-peter-stiff.html>

There was an increase in police and military activities in Namibia which hint to Namibia increasingly becoming a police state in the prelude to the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435. The police counter insurgency unit called Koevoet was particularly notorious for terrorising the Namibian population. Political activities were increasingly censored and SWAPO rallies were disrupted which culminated in people being severely beaten up or worse killed like Immanuel Hafeni Shifidi, a former Robben Island detainee, who was killed by the security forces on the 30th November 1986 at a SWAPO rally in Katutura.

Coupled with serious restrictions and violations of human freedom, the display of dead bodies of presumably PLAN combatants on armoured military vehicles became a regular occurrence to frighten inhabitants (Kaiyamo, 1987).

Figure 6: Parade of death

the namibian
 Bringing Africa South No 68 70c Friday January 16 1987

Police and army deny public display of dead Swapo fighters
PARADE OF DEATH

STAFF REPORTERS
BOTH THE POLICE AND ARMY have denied liability for an incident in northern Namibia on December 29 last year at midday, when the bodies of dead insurgents were paraded to locals at Ondiwa near Oshanaungu, by members of the security forces.

In spite of numerous denials by police and army over the past year of the parading of corpses by security forces, the photographs were paraded to locals at Ondiwa near Oshanaungu, by members of the security forces.

INSPECTOR WALLY Bredenkamp, Police Liaison Officer, denied knowledge of such an incident having taken place, when approached with a report of the Ondiwa parade of corpses.

"The officer, who says green of the officer submitted a criminal offence."

"No such documents have ever been submitted to the office and we therefore have never had the opportunity to consider such a case."

He said he was "horrified" about committing a crime without researching the matter.

"We have repeatedly confirmed that we do not indulge in such a barbaric action. If anyone did such a thing he would be prosecuted."

Believing to the parade of dead bodies, he said the SADF did not need to bring about such incidents.

The Namibian approached both police and army concerning details of the incident, since the Casspir had no markings identifying it as a vehicle belonging to either branch of the security force.

Approached by comment on the scene, SADF, James Kaaliche,

Cleary claims College is open

MR SEAN Cleary's propaganda network abroad has claimed that the "White Teachers Training College" will open to all races from January this year.

was to issue one and order to a certificate for entrance to the College had been taken in terms of a report, dated by the National Authority on race to the entire population of about 2000 to the same effect.

However, Franciscan ADF will study and track people who reportedly moved away from some white schools around the country when the incident took place.

According to a spokesman for the ADF, white students who left their schools in the incident had to give an account of their lives. The spokesman said the school would be open to all races. He said he had heard that the school would be open to all races.

14h30
 23h00
 23h00

W-way
 powder?

One of the defining moments in the history of *The Namibian* was when it published a photograph of South African armoured vehicles (Casspirs) with the bodies of dead Swapo insurgents strapped to the sides. *The Namibian* had reported such events, which were consistently denied by the then SA Defence Force. Until one day when a young Namibian reader, Nico Kaiyamo (later to become a wellknown businessman), took a photograph and sent it to us for publication. The SADF could then no longer deny that they committed such barbaric acts. What follows is his version of the events of that day.

The textbooks create the impression that issues that are deemed to be sensitive on either side of the warring factions should better not be included as they are counterproductive to the declared policy of national reconciliation.

Human rights violations during the 1980s are not well-documented in the textbooks particularly mass detention and torture of people without trial. As the armed conflict escalated South Africa increased her brutality, oppression, threats and detention of the local population in the war zone. Military vehicles such as Casspirs were used to destroy villages and crop fields. The South African security forces accused the local population of harbouring SWAPO freedom fighters whom they called terrorists.

Erastus Uutoni alias Napoleon was arrested by two Ovambo members of Koevoet in Oshakati on January 24, 1985 in connection with a captured PLAN fighter and gave the following testimony (Dicker, 1992, pp. 43 – 44).

Du Plessis, a member of the SADF, joined Nicky and Matias, the Ovambo officers who arrested me. Du Plessis asked me for my ID card and then he asked me if I was “Napoleon”. This was a name during the struggle. I denied it. They started laughing. They asked me if I knew the guy who had been beaten and was chained to the table. I denied that I knew the man. They insisted that I was Napoleon. “He is your comrade and he told us everything. It won’t help if you deny it.”

After that I was taken to another place. Du Plessis was accompanied by another white man, a member of the security forces. They started asking me about the man chained to the table and about some war materials that were brought in some time ago. I denied all this and they started beating me with their fists. They tore my shirt off and blindfolded me with it. They drew my belt off and bound my hands behind my back. When they finished they started beating me again. They brought the electric shock machine in and started giving me electric shocks all over my body. They continued with beatings and electric shocks up till the time that I became unconscious. They told me that I must talk.

They took me back to the same place and left two black members of the security forces to guard me. During that night I was lying on the floor, they came back and beat me and poured cold water all over my body.

I was taken to Ondangwa police station, where they kept me without food or water. Then they took me back to the Oshakati police station where the beatings and electric shock was the food of the day and night, day and night, day and night.

The impact of counter-terrorism legislations which were enacted like AG 9, AG 16 and AG 26 made provision for mass arrests without trial for prolonged periods are omitted from the textbooks. The extent of interrogations and torture by the security forces and in particular Koevoet and the impact thereof on mass mobilisation as well as polarisation of citizens are not examined in the textbooks.

Events like the bomb explosion in the Oshakati branch of the FNB on Friday, 19 February 1988 and its aftermath are not explored in any of the textbooks. The subsequent trial of Leonard Sheehama is nowhere to be found in any of the textbooks.

The 1980s also saw increased mobilisation of workers and student organisations with the formation of the Namibia National Students' Organisation (NANSO) in July 1984. The subsequent increase in school boycotts with increase repression by the South African security forces is not included in the textbooks. The occupation of Ponghoni Secondary School in Ovamboland by the South African army which fuelled school boycotts is a notable omission from the textbooks.

SWAPO on the other side blamed its' loses in human lives on infiltration by enemy spies. This gave rise to increase detention of its own cadres in underground dugouts – the infamous Lubango dungeons. The detainee issue is mentioned in some of the textbooks dealing with the period in question (Goosen, 2001; Du Preez, 2007). Kotzé and Lang (1993) and O'Callaghan (1997) however do not mention the detainee issue. It is quite interesting to note that the earlier publications do not mention the issue perhaps due to its sensitivity at the time in question.

In both Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001) and Du Preez (2007) the extent to which SWAPO was infiltrated by enemy spies is not included in the narration. The fact that both textbooks refer to the issue as on-going raise questions why the textbooks did not include pertinent issues around the detainee issue such as: confessions made by those who were accused and detained during

interrogations; accounts made by the SWAPO leadership in order to put the issue into perspective and allow for multiple interpretations.

When arrested, people were tortured until they confessed that they were spies and in their statement that they had to sign, they also had to indicate other -supposedly- spies. They were called in when a new detainee had arrived. “This was a very painful process. When you arrived in that office, the person sitting there is full of blood because of the torture that was going on there. And this person is getting so excited when they see you, thinking that you have come to rescue him, seeing that you are the person that they know.” Yet what Pauline was forced to do was to confirm that the person under interrogation is a spy. “It is so painful for you to do that dirty act and to see the person who feels heavily betrayed by you”. The numbers confirm that it was an act of survival. Out of the estimated 2000 people detained, only 169 came back. The others are still missing, unaccounted for, among which Pauline’s husband. (Claske Dijkema http://base.modop.org/en/corpus_entretien/fiche-entretien-12.html accessed on 31 October 2012)

The “detainee” issue was the main weapon used against SWAPO in the Independence election in 1989. It is true that we detained individuals who had been detected to be South African agents, or for whom there were strong grounds for suspicion. Some of them had caused deaths of many of our people in Shatotwa in the Western Province of Zambia in 1976 and at the Cassinga massacre in May 1978. The discovery of these sites was the work of spies the South Africans had sent to infiltrate SWAPO rank and file. They spent millions of rand in their undercover operations, part of the web of secret activities which led to the scandal called ‘Muldergate’.

People accused SWAPO of detaining these people unjustly, but we had to detain enemy spies.
(Nujoma, 2001, p. 356).

Claims by those who were detained of the disproportionate detention of southerners as opposed to northerners; the educated as opposed to the uneducated are not examined in the textbooks. Various sources on the detainee issue such as Groth (1995), Lush (1993) and Basson and Motinga (eds.) (1989) and other works were not included to give learners a multiplicity of perspectives from which to understand the issue. Basson and Motinga (eds.) (1989) in particular are not very much sympathetic to the detainee issue when compared to Groth (1995) and this could provide a multiplicity of perspectives.

The textbooks that mentioned the issue of SWAPO detainees appeared to concur with Nujoma (2001) that the issue be rather forgotten:

If we are accused of ill-treating detainees, this was very little compared to the killing, cruel torture and brutal treatment the apartheid South African regime inflicted on our people ... We know that some of the torturers are still serving in the Namibian police and army, but we have pledged ourselves to reconciliation. We prefer to leave that sad history behind us and concentrate on national reconciliation, economic reconstruction, nation-building and a better future for all Namibians (Nujoma, 2001, p. 357).

Du Preez (2007 p. 133) states that “after the election, SWAPO declared its commitment to national reconciliation and asked Namibians to put the unhappy history of the war period behind

them. SWAPO president Sam Nujoma offered the hand of friendship to all Namibians, including former detainees and military opponents.”

The events that unfolded on the 1 April 1989, when more than 300 PLAN combatants were killed by the South African security forces, are not sufficiently covered in the textbooks. Given the fact that the events of 1 April 1989 almost derailed the implementation of Resolution 435, the textbooks also do not explore possible loopholes in the agreements for example the withdrawal and confinement to base of South African troops and the confinement to base beyond the 16th parallel of SWAPO forces. Issues like how strong the South African military presence was in Namibia at that time and the fact that its counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, resorted under the police are not dealt with in the textbooks. Likewise it is not clear how many SWAPO forces were already in Namibia at this point in time and whether UNTAG has fully established its presence in Namibia by the 1st April 1989 to deal with the demobilisation of SWAPO forces and confine them to base inside Namibia. Thus, the textbooks do not explore how far the ceasefire agreement was violated and who was to blame.

4.2.3 The narrative structure of the content

The codes in the category narrative structure focused on detecting elements of bias and its significance, the omission of certain aspects or events, the presentation of a balance narrative as well as how heroes, myths and folktales are depicted. The codes also sought to find attempts at coherence in the narrative structure in order to determine whether the historical themes are

simply presented through a chronological timeline up to an ultimate end or whether there are attempts to find connections to other events.

Stereotypes, bias, omissions and balance

While this research study acknowledges the fact that states try to have a collective definition of the nation state through education and textbooks, the question it poses is how comprehensive this definition is. Against this background this study aimed to find out whether the textbooks made provision for the exploration of issues from a multiple perspective. This entails investigating elements of stereotyping, bias and omissions. This is particularly important when it comes to addressing conflict and national reconciliation.

Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) and Sampson (2007) gave the reasons why the German colonial authorities did not extend their colonial occupation further north of the “Red Line” as being afraid to risk confrontation with strong Namibian communities in Ovambo and Kavango who acquired modern weapons through trade; that the Kaokoveld was not suitable for farming; that Caprivi was far away from central Namibia. By implication this means the communities of the Kaokoveld, Caprivi and those of central south Namibia were weak and the German authorities were ready to confront them militarily had it not been unsuitability for farming and remoteness with respect to the Kaokoveld and Caprivi respectively. Both textbooks did not explore the suitability for cattle farming, mining prospects or other economic activities that the colonisers could have considered with respect to settlement in Ovambo and Kavango. The German strategy of subduing communities one by one was also not explored.

If a strong community is measured in terms of the number of its inhabitants, then the textbooks should certainly have provided the number of inhabitants at that point in time. Vedder (as cited in Ngavirue, 1997) gives the total number of Ovaherero clans towards the end of 1870 as 80,000. According to Schalker (2003) the Finnish missionary, Pettinen, estimated the population of Ovamboland at 100, 000 towards the end of the 19th century. The conclusion that the northern regions have always been densely populated creates the impression that the authors look at the past with the eyes of the present without considering population dynamics in central and southern Namibia before German subjugation.

Both textbooks that were prescribed for Grade 11 & 12 show bias, each to one side of the political divide then. The result is that what can be construed as stereotypes go along these lines. In O'Callaghan (1997, p.335) it is stated that Leutwein said that it was better for them (the German authority) to “influence the natives to kill each other for us (meaning for them), than to expect streams of blood and money from the Fatherland (Germany).” Although this is indicated as a quote the source is not acknowledged. While it transpired from O'Callaghan (1997) that the Germans colonised Namibia through unscrupulous means, Kotzé and Lang (1993, pp. 226 – 227) talked about the Germans taking possession of the territory officially and further alleged that Von Francois moved into Windhoek after it was abandoned by the original inhabitants, the Herero and Nama, while the Damara lived in surrounding hills. According to Ngavirue (1997) in principle the Germans were in agreement that the economic benefits of colonisation could be realised through conquest although there were some divisions between extremists and moderates

in the Reichstag. Therefore sending in more troops and the financial implications thereof were issues which the opposition in Germany raised.

While O’Callaghan (1997, pp. 335 – 337) refers to von Trotha as the notorious general von Trotha who ordered his soldiers to exterminate the Herero, to machinegun and bomb them into submission, Kotzé and Lang (1993, p. 228) is of the opinion that von Trotha has been accused of having **tried** to exterminate the Herero nation. It is interesting to note here that Kotze refers to the Herero as a nation. Different perceptions of what constitute a nation come to the fore. Kotze’s reference here means a community that shares commonalities in terms of culture, traditions, history and language. The nation in most of the textbooks studied refers to a people living in the same borders, shared the same colonial oppression and who rose together against colonial oppression to free themselves.

On the labour front and urbanisation Kotzé and Lang (1993, p. 230) mention urbanisation among the black population as being due to the absence of jobs in the reserves; the need for labour on the mines and other developing industries; population and economic pressure within the confines of reserves and overcrowding. A fact that does not feature much in Kotzé and Lang (1993) is that people were pushed to the reserves from towns and farms around towns that became white owned.

If a massacre is defined as a vicious and indiscriminate killing of large numbers of people who are often unarmed and hence non-combatants then reference to the “Windhoek Massacre” may be questioned on the basis of the number of people killed. Given the number of people who were

killed at Cassinga and the fact that many were non-combatants, the brutal killing at Cassinga certainly qualifies to be called a massacre. Similarly questions may arise on the “Cassinga Massacre” on the basis of some perceptions that Cassinga was not only a refugee reception as there was contingent of some military personnel. Both textbooks refer to them as massacres in line with the relevant syllabus.

The section on Namibian history in O’Callaghan (1997) is too concise and resembles a chronology of events and hence excludes details of a lot of events. Bias is prevalent as in the following statement: “The DTA was a South African sponsored majority group in the so-called ‘National Assembly’” (p. 341).

If a stereotype is defined as an oversimplified conception of a person or group of people based on imagined characteristics by the dominant group, then some expressions from the textbooks can be seen as stereotypes. In O’Callaghan (2000, p.35) it is mentioned that “the original Damara language remains unknown.” It is further alleged that “the most important consequence of the Nama-Damara contact was that the Damara lost their original language and culture” (Ibid. p. 45). These allegations are not substantiated with linguistic or anthropological evidence and can be seen as oversimplifications and generalisations that have come to be accepted as the truth.

In some instances the San people are referred to as Bushmen Kotzé and Lang (1993, p.25); Goosen and Von Wietersheim, (2001 p.70); Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A., (1991, p.33) which is a derogatory term and can be construed to mean people who have no habitat and consequently stay in the bush. Under the *Did you know*

section of Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001, p.44) it is alleged that: “The San were not familiar with the concept of private ownership of animals. They believed that everybody had the right to hunt animals, even if the animals were the livestock of newcomers.” This is a good example of an imagined generalisation.

Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) use the expression “colonial intruders” as an inclusive name for all European entrants into Namibia although it cannot be established if all of them came illegally, had ulterior motives or were not welcome. Similarly the word “settler” excludes non-white people who settled in Namibia before 1840 like the Bantu or after 1840 like the Oorlam or the Tswanas. In the revised edition of the same textbook Sampson (2007) the expression colonial intruders was replaced with “European groups”. Both Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992) and Sampson (2007) refer to General Lothar von Trotha’s extermination order as “genocide”. The term genocide in this regard has been a highly contentious one in recent times. The different perceptions and conceptions on the 1904 – 1908 wars and whether these wars can be construed as genocide or not were not explored in the textbooks.

The question of the Caprivi Region being an integral part of Namibia has become a contentious issue especially in light of the Kasikili/Sedudu islands over which a territorial dispute erupted between Namibia and Botswana which was resolved by the International Court of Justice in The Hague, and the Caprivi secessionist attack on August 02. 1999. Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992, p. 7) state the following on how borders were fixed with respect to the Caprivi:

In the east, the British had occupied Botswana (then called Bechuanaland). The border here was fixed between the British and the Germans in an agreement on 1 July 1890. In their negotiations with the British, the Germans also received the Caprivi Strip. They wanted this arm-shaped strip of land because it gave them access to the Zambezi River. It was eventually meant to link Namibia with Germany's protectorate in East Africa.

This narrative explanation is not complimented with a map to aid it. The latter part of linking Namibia with Germany's protectorate in East Africa is highly questionable as one has to go through Zambia, a British protectorate then, to reach the German protectorate of Tanzania and Zanzibar. Quite interesting to note is the fact that this heading on borders was not included in the revised edition of this textbook, Sampson (2007) which was printed eight years after the Caprivi secessionist attack. Hence, the question of borders can be seen as a significant omission in light of the fact that more than a hundred Caprivians are presently in prison charged with high treason for trying to secede the Caprivi Region from the rest of Namibia while some are refugees in neighbouring Botswana and a few in Europe. In the meantime the Caprivi High Treason Trial is not yet finalised in the Namibian High Court and is regarded as the case that took the longest time to be resolved in Namibian judicial history.

The subsequent crackdown on the separatist rebels is not included in the textbooks. Widely reported abuses by the security forces are not in the textbooks. Lister (1999) reported gross human right abuses on former Democratic Turnhalle Alliance Member of Parliament, Geoffrey

Mwilima, who was reportedly stripped naked, repeatedly kicked and whipped by the security forces.

Figure 7: Tortured former MP Geoffrey Mwilima



Former MP Geoffrey Mwilima, The Namibian, 20 August 1999

Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001) and Du Preez (2007) include the August 3, 1999 front page of *The Namibian* newspaper on the separatist attack in Katima Mulilo, Caprivi Region. The texts from the two textbooks are the same. Both textbooks state that the main objective of the Caprivi African National Union (CANU) was to enlist the support of the UN in order to end South African rule in the Caprivi. This objective is contrary to the common objective of all the other major political groupings which wanted to unite all the people of South West Africa. These two textbooks, which were prescribed for Grade 10, are also vague on the reasons why CANU joined SWAPO in 1964 mentioning only “for practical and organisational reasons”.

Cajan (2012) refers to the merger between CANU and SWAPO which was signed on the 5th November 1964 under the following conditions: (1) To fight a common enemy, the South African regime that was illegally occupying the two countries. (2) At the attainment of independence, the people of the Caprivi must be asked whether they want to join Namibia or remain independent. (3) If the first President comes from SWAPO, then CANU must automatically produce the vice president and vice versa. (4) It should not be compulsory that a CANU card carrying member be forced to have a SWAPO membership card.

The textbooks omit to explore multiple perspectives around the CANU-SWAPO 1964 agreement. Against this background the cause of the events which are portrayed by *The Namibian* front page is not clear from both textbooks. Under the *Did you know?* section both textbooks state that:

Mishake Muyongo and his CANU party joined SWAPO in 1964 and he later became vice president of SWAPO. He was expelled from SWAPO in 1980 for expressing his dissatisfaction with that organisation. He then joined the DTA party and in 1986 became its president. In September 1999 he was kicked out of the DTA. He was accused of supporting a secessionist movement in the Caprivi. Secession is the act of seceding which means to withdraw formally from membership of a political alliance, a church or other body, or a country. The Caprivi secessionists wished to break away and to become independent from the rest of Namibia. Separatist or secession movements are unlawful and unconstitutional.

It is clear that this section tries to instil obedience to the national laws and particularly the fact that the unitary nation state is sacrosanct. The omission of multiple perspectives in this section will not accord learners an opportunity to use the historical method through reasoning on the basis of facts from various conflicting sources and to learn how to defend their interpretations with sound arguments.

Both Chief Mandume yaNdemufayo of the Ovakwanyama and Chief Kandjimi Hawanga of the Vakwangali fought Portuguese on the other side of the border. Chief Mandume was wounded in battle against the South African colonial authorities and decided to die as a free man by taking his own life on 6 February 1917 (Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993); Sampson, 2007). However, Chief Kandjimi does not feature in the textbooks. According to Siremo (2010) “the paucity of academic work on this towering freedom fighter and colonial resistor needs a serious revisit”. This underlines the exclusion of Kavango history in general from the textbooks. Even the socio-economic impact of the Angolan civil war after 1975 on the population of northern Namibia is not explored including the decision to crack down UNITA rebels by the independent Namibia in the early 2000s and its social ramifications particularly in Kavango.

Attempts at resolving the issue of people who disappeared or who were unaccounted for while in detention during the pre-independence period, are not included in any of the textbooks. The motion that was introduced by MP Moses Katjuonga in the National Assembly in April 1991 which sought the establishment of a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the issue of people who disappeared or who were unaccounted for while detention during the pre-independence period,

and the ensuing debate surrounding the motion and its subsequent defeat in the august house on May 28, 1991 (Dicker, 1992) is nowhere in the textbooks.

Another motion that was introduced by Attorney-General Hartmut Ruppel which asked the Prime Minister to request the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to engage the governments of Botswana, South Africa, Zambia and Angola to assist with the investigation was accepted by the National Assembly on May 31, 1991. The work of the ICRC in this regard and its findings is not included in any of the textbooks.

The 1989 amnesty granted to political crimes appeared to justify the exclusion of the dark part in Namibian history. The name Dr Wouter Basson does not appear in any of the textbooks. This despite the fact that murder charges were raised against Basson for poisoning 200 SWAPO prisoners of war in a Namibian detention camp and the alleged murder of five other SWAPO members in Namibia (Burgess and Purkitt, 2001). An exploration of Basson's trial at the South African Truths and Reconciliation Commission could shed more light on the extent of the South African Defence Force chemical and biological warfare against the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

Coherence and multidimensional depiction of events

The Namibian Secondary School History Textbooks mainly followed a linear approach from the settlement of traditional communities in Namibia, colonialism, the struggle of the Namibian people for independence and the ultimate achievement of national independence on the 21st March 1990. The textbooks, in line with curriculum documents such as syllabuses, create the

impression that Namibian history ended with the attainment of national independence in 1990. In Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) the title includes a sub-title “History of Namibia on the road to Independence...” This phrase does not appear in the revised edition of the same textbook: Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001) and Sampson, (2007). Nothing that happened after the 21st March 1990 is included in the textbooks and Namibian history seems to be equated to the struggle for national liberation.

It is mainly a one dimensional cause and effect narrative story. The cause is mainly colonial and imperial expansion while the effect is the reaction of the Namibian people to colonialism. There is a great attempt at writing nationalistic history as evident in the portrayal of the Namibian nation as early as 1884 and the rise of Namibian nationalism as early as the 1940s.

All textbooks that were studied use a third person narrative with a one-dimensional depiction of personalities in Namibian history. People like Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero are depicted as heroes of the wars of national resistance. There is little mention of their association with the German colonial authorities. The impact of Witbooi’s agreement with the Germans to provide military assistance to the Germans provided that he would not be disarmed on the subjugation of other Namibian communities is not dealt with in detail in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992). Nothing of the wickedness of Samuel Maharero especially when it comes to land sales and his overindulgence with alcohol is mentioned in the same textbook. That Samuel Maharero played a major role in the suppression of the Ovambanderu-Khauas war and the subsequent execution of Kahimemua Nguvauva and Nicodemus Kavikunua on the 12th June 1896 is also not mentioned.

As a linear approach the textbooks follow a sequence of what Stradling (2003) terms and thens ... this happened ... and then ... this happened and then ... This linear approach is not supplemented with multiperspectivity to include the meanwhiles. The only little exception is the inclusion of a chapter on the role of the church in the liberation struggle in the Grade 10 textbooks. Overall the narratives in the textbooks do not include temporal distortions which will allow for fragmentations in order to include for example socio-economic issues which the political events, which dominate most of the textbooks especially from Grade 9 – 12, had caused. The pluralistic nature of society does not transpire from the textbooks. In Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001); Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1993) and Du Preez (2007) for example, the role of the church is only explored with respect to the liberation struggle. None of the textbooks look at the spiritual impact of the new independent churches. How far did cultural differences within the Lutheran Church lead to the breakaways and the establishment of independent churches like AMEC, Oruano and ELOC?

The textbooks' one dimensional narrative is also reflected in the absence of inter-textual references. There are scant attempts to absorb or transform other texts. Even in a revised edition of a particular textbook, there are no significant differences to absorb new historical evidence which have been uncovered. This is due to the fact that the textbooks have a dominant narrative which gives rise to a grand narrative. The grand narrative which comes strongly from the textbooks is the collective marginalisation of black Namibians through colonialism and imperialism, their fight and heroic resistance of colonial rule and ultimate achievement of independence and nationhood. This dominant narrative does not only create a bias representation

of Namibian history, but it is also reductionist as it presents Namibian history as a story about the fight for national freedom only. Other emerging issues such as gender and local history are mainly not presented in the narrative.

There are attempts at coherence as reference is made to international events such as European imperial advances in the late 19th century which culminated in the Berlin Africa Conference, 1884 – 1885. The significance of the First World War is alluded to as Namibia was made a mandated territory under British rule by the League of Nations. After the Second World War the United Nations was established and Namibia became a flashpoint in the eyes of the international community which many textbooks which deal with the period in question mentioned. The textbooks mainly concentrate on the fight between the United Nations and its agencies such as the International Court of Justice and South Africa over Namibia.

The textbooks however are not open on the United Nations being the battleground for Cold War rivalries between the West and the East. Du Preez (2007, p. 115) pointed out that “the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for Namibian independence proved to be the most enduring obstacle to a negotiated settlement for Namibia.” This is the linkage referred to in almost all the textbooks dealing with this period in Namibian history. In all the textbooks studied the linkage concept is not linked to the Cold War that was looming between the West and the East and that it could be interpreted as a United States’ policy to weaken communist Cuba and by extension Soviet’s stronghold in Angola using South Africa. All textbooks dealing with the period leading to the implementation of United Nation’s Security Council Resolution 435 mention the 1988 agreements such as the Brazzaville Protocol signed on

13 December 1988 and the New York Accord signed on 22 December 1988 by South Africa, Cuba and Angola. Although the United States was present during the negotiations leading to the signing of these agreements the Soviet Union was not present. The withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola as well as the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia with the remaining 1 500 confined to their bases was agreed upon. During this period in time *glasnost* and *perestroika* was taking place in the Soviet Union and hence Soviet communism and its stronghold on its satellite states was crumbling paving the way for the easing of Cold War tensions. The textbooks do not explore the impact of the collapse of Soviet communism on the tripartite agreements. This is despite of the fact that the textbooks acknowledge the South African invasion of Angola in 1976 and assistance it rendered to UNITA and FNLA were linked to the Cold War. This prompted the MPLA led government to ask for Cuban assistance, a fact included in most textbooks.

4.2.4 Curriculum documents

There is no doubt that the textbook is one of the most effective tools when it comes to the delivery of the curriculum in the classroom. Textbooks in Namibia are evaluated by curriculum committees or curriculum panels under the auspices of the National Institute for Educational Development. Curriculum committees are established for single subjects whereas curriculum panels are established for a learning area which consists of several subjects, e.g. social sciences. According to Ministry of Education (2007b) curriculum committees or panels use specific criteria which are laid out to evaluate textbooks.

Figure 8: Excerpts from a Textbook Evaluation Instrument

2. CONTENT		
2.1	How consistent is the approach used in the book with the syllabus? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
2.2	To what extent are relevant knowledge objectives catered for in the book? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
2.3	To what extent are relevant skills objectives catered for in the book? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
2.4	To what extent does the content reflect current knowledge and culture? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
2.5	Is the content of the book factually accurate? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
2.6	How free is the book of biases unacceptable to teachers, learners, communities and MINISTRY OF EDUCATION policies? (5 Entirely to 1 Scarcely)	
2.7	To what extent do the materials reflect the contributions and perspectives of various ethnic and cultural groups where appropriate? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
2.8	Is the book free of sex stereotypes? (5 Yes to 1 No)	
2.9	To what extent does the material encourage a positive attitude towards gender? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
2.10	To what extent does the material encourage a positive attitude towards environmental issues? (5 Largely to 1 Scarcely)	
2.11	To what extent does the material encourage a positive attitude towards population issues? (5 Largely to 1 Scarcely)	
Sub-total		
%Mark: $\frac{\text{Sub-total} \times 100}{55}$		

3. PEDAGOGICAL ASPECTS		
3.1	To what extent is the content of the book likely to be clearly understood by the learners who will be using it? (5 Largely to 1 Hardly)	
3.2	How helpful are the tests and other assessment devices in the book likely to be to the teacher ? (5 Very to 1 Not much)	
3.3	How helpful are the tests and other assessment devices in the book likely to be to the learner ? (5 Very to 1 Not much)	
3.4	Does the design of the materials allow teachers to use the differently according to the needs of different learners? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
3.5	Is the primary instructional pattern likely to help the learner to achieve the syllabus objectives? (5 Fully to 1 Scarcely)	
3.6	Is the book of an appropriate length? (5 Yes to 1 No)	
3.7	Is the use of the book or material easily manageable by the teacher? (5 Largely	

3. PEDAGOGICAL ASPECTS		
	or 1 Not easily)	
3.8	Does the book include activities that learners are capable of performing and will find stimulating, interesting and rewarding? (5 Largely to 1 Scarcely)	
3.9	Does the book use appropriate tables, diagrams, charts, sketches and photographs to explain the content? (5 Yes to 1 No)	
3.10	Does the book contain a table of content? (5 Yes to 1 No)	
3.11	Does the book contain an adequate index? (Where applicable) (5 Yes to 1 No)	
3.12	Is special equipment which is not readily available at all schools required in order to be able to use the book? (5 No or 1 Yes)	
Sub-total		
%Mark: $\frac{\text{Sub-total} \times 100}{60}$		

Against this background textbook writers and publishers will try to meet the laid out criteria. It was however found that the history textbooks mainly tried to meet the content prescribed in the syllabuses first and foremost. The long narrative style in all the history textbooks left little space for the continuous use of activities that will enhance the development of skills and the promotion of critical thinking. The *Do you know sections* which are used continuously in O'Callaghan, B., Von Wietersheim, E., Goosen, D., and Berens, P. (2000); Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001); Du Preez (2007); Du Preez (2007) and Sampson (2007) are informative and do not lead to the promotion of critical thinking skills.

It was therefore important to study the textbooks in relation to curriculum documents in order to assess the impact these documents have on how textbooks are written. The following curriculum documents were studied: The National Curriculum for Basic Education, History syllabuses, Question papers and mark schemes of external examinations. External examination question papers were chosen because it was assumed they will be strictly follow prescriptions.

The National Curriculum for Basic Education

The basic document from where all other curriculum documents are developed is called *The National Curriculum for Basic Education*. The basic curriculum statements are drawn in such a way so as to give impetus to the knowledge-based society envisaged in *Namibia Vision 2030*. It is envisaged that the curriculum will foster democratic principles such as tolerance, mutual understanding to promote tolerance of other people's religion, cultures and ways of life, equality of opportunity for males and females.

According to Ministry of Education (2010e, p. 9) 'the curriculum aims to develop a flexible, enquiring mind, critical thinking skills in creativity, the ability to construct alternative solutions to problems, and to make independent, informed decisions in real-life situations.' In addition to these aims the curriculum set out core skills such as learning to learn, personal skills, social skills and cognitive skills. The curriculum is divided into eight learning areas and history is under the social sciences learning area. The social sciences learning area focuses among others on understanding for and tolerance of diversity.

The National Curriculum for Basic Education makes provision for phase competencies that learners have to master on completion of a phase, e.g. junior secondary phase. It is expected in the social sciences that learners who complete the junior secondary phase will know how to act effectively and responsibly in a democratic society in various dimensions such as the environment, the biophysical world, political, social and economic. Upon completion of the senior secondary phase it is expected that social science learners will understand the

interrelationships of resources and be able to conduct critical analyses of issues and evaluate interpretations.

History syllabuses

Knowledge and learning is organised around subject area syllabuses. The subject syllabus is developed in relation to the goal, aims and skills outlined in *The National Curriculum for Basic Education*. In *The National Curriculum for Basic Education* it is cautioned that if subject boundaries are strong learning experiences, knowledge, skills, attitudes and values will be compartmentalised. This is particularly true when it comes to the history syllabuses especially on Namibian history. The link to other subjects in the curriculum and skills outlined in the basic curriculum document, *The National Curriculum for Basic Education*, that learners have to acquire are blurred. The most significant component of the history syllabus remains the learning content which is divided into topics, learning objectives and basic competencies. *The National Curriculum for Basic Education* describes a competence as comprising the cognitive, affective and/or practical skills which a learner has to demonstrate as a result of the teaching/learning process, and which will be assessed. It is quite clear that the history syllabuses mainly target the assessment domain knowledge and understanding which tests recall, select, organise and deploy relevant knowledge.

Figure 9: Excerpts from the Junior Secondary History Syllabus

NAMIBIAN HISTORY		
LEARNING CONTENT FOR GRADE 8		
TOPICS	LEARNING OBJECTIVES <i>Learners will:</i>	BASIC COMPETENCIES <i>By the end of Grade 8, learners should be able to:</i>
1.2 Migration of Bantu-speaking people	understand the relations between the Bantu-speaking people of Namibia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • define the term ‘migration’ • describe the places of origin, and the reasons why trek routes were used by Bantu-speaking people • mention the names of the major language groups that moved southwards • indicate on a map where they have settled and list reasons for settling there • discuss the dependence of the Bantu-speaking people on their environment
1.3 Migration of the Khoisan and Damara people	understand the origin, movements and settlements of the Khoisan and Damara people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discuss the possible origin of the Khoisan and Damara people • compare how the Khoisan and Damara people made a living • explain why a ‘good’ environment was important for these people
1.4 Focus on population migration issues	understand that the migrations of Bantu-speaking people, Khoisan and the Damara had implications on the population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • indicate on a map the different routes along which the Bantu-speaking people, Khoisan and the Damara migrated • list the most important reasons why the above-mentioned groups migrated to Namibia

NAMIBIAN HISTORY		
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • draw a map of Namibia indicating where the Damara and Khoisan settled • describe briefly some of the major cultural lifestyles of the Bantu-speaking people (e.g. Herero, Ovambo)
	understand that the migrations of the Nama, Oorlam and the Basters (Rehoboth people) also had implications on the population of Namibia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • draw a map indicating where the Nama groups settled • give reasons why the Oorlam immigrated from the Cape Colony • list the different Oorlam groups which settled in Namibia • explain the origin of the Basters and where they settled • compare the lifestyles of the Oorlam and Basters with that of the Nama groups • evaluate the impact of migrations on the Namibian population
LEARNING CONTENT FOR GRADE 9		
TOPICS	LEARNING OBJECTIVES <i>Learners will:</i>	BASIC COMPETENCIES <i>By the end of Grade 9, learners should be able to:</i>
1.4 Establishment of German Colonial Rule	understand why Germany decided to colonise Namibia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • define the terms 'colonial rule' and 'resistance' • explain why the Germans came to Namibia • identify the indigenous leaders who opposed German colonial rule • describe how German colonisation affected the

NAMIBIAN HISTORY		
		different indigenous groups and their various rights
LEARNING CONTENT FOR GRADE 10		
TOPICS	LEARNING OBJECTIVES <i>Learners will:</i>	BASIC COMPETENCIES <i>By the end of Grade 10, learners should be able to:</i>
2.2 Apartheid in Namibia	understand that South African racial policies were introduced in Namibia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discuss the Odendaal Plan • name and explain the economic and political recommendations made by the Odendaal Plan • list the effects of the Odendaal Plan on the Namibian population • evaluate the impact of the Odendaal Plan with specific reference to human rights
4.6 The Constitution	understand that after the 1989 election the elected representatives drew up the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • describe the main features of the Namibian Constitution, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the Executive branch; - the Legislative branch; - the Judicial branch - Regional and Local Authority
5.1 Human rights	understand that the Constitution protects human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discuss how the Constitution protects human rights
5.3 International Conferences on Women's Rights	understand the different international conferences on Women's rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • compare the achievements of the Mexico Conference (1975) on women rights with the position of women today • describe the other international conferences on women's rights, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Copenhagen Conference (1980)

NAMIBIAN HISTORY					
				- Nairobi Conference (1985)	
				- Beijing Conference (1995)	
CROSS-CURRICULA TOPICS FROM THE NAMIBIAN SECTIONS					
GRADE	ENVIRONMENTAL LEARNING	HIV & AIDS	POPULATION EDUCATION	EDUCATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY (EHRD)	ICT
8	- Migration of Bantu-speaking people - Migration of the Khoisan and Damara people	-	Focus on population migration issues	-	-
9	-	-	-	Establishment of German Colonial Rule	-
10	-	-	-	- Apartheid in Namibia - The Constitution - Human rights - International Conferences on Women's Rights	-

Ministry of Education. (2010b)

It is quite clear that the heavy concentration on political themes (one dimensional) makes the integration of cross-curricular topics as from Grade 9 extremely difficult and rigid subject boundaries become clearly visible. As from Grade 9 topics can only be integrated with Education for Human Rights and Democracy cross-curricular topics.

The textbook writers try by all means to make the textbooks compatible with the relevant syllabuses and in particular the basic competencies. In the process the basic competencies look like questions and the textbook the answers. Consider the following basic competency from the Grade 8 learning content (Ministry of Education, 2010b, p. 12):

By the end of Grade 8, learners should be able to:

Compare the lifestyles of the Oorlam and Basters with that of the Nama groups.

The fundamental principle behind this competency is that it is intended to instil an important cognitive skill, that of making comparisons. However, learners will not have that opportunity as the textbook does not lead them to make comparisons but provide the answer which the learners possibly have to memorise. The narrative parts of the textbooks dominate the textbooks so much that critical thinking activities such as deductive reasoning are hardly included along the narratives to allow interpretation. Du Preez (2007, pp. 51 – 52) provide a good example of how the way textbooks are written supports rote-learning and senseless memorisation.

Figure 10: Excerpts from on comparing lifestyles

Did you know?

In earlier times, most people, especially living far from towns, did not use money to get the things they needed. They exchanged goods with one another. The Basters offered 100 horses and five ox wagons for a large piece of land. You will find other examples of exchanges of goods in this book. The value of the item being exchanged was set when both sides of the exchange were satisfied that they had found a bargain.

Comparing lifestyles

When the Oorlam started to move into Namibia, they met other Nama groups already living there. Although they spoke the same language, their lifestyles were very different.

Nama The Namas were the first Khoekhoe to settle in Namibia and were nomadic herders. Their lifestyles can be described as follows:

- Lived in settlements of family groups called clans.
- Clans comprised about 200 to 1000 people.
- They were almost completely **self-sufficient**. This means that they did not need any goods from outside their community.
- The men made their own weapons such as assegais, bows and arrows.
- They lived on simple food such as sour milk, veldkos and meat.
- They made their clothing from animal skins and their ornaments from ivory and copper.
- They made clay pots for household use, used calabashes as milk pots and carved buckets and cups from wood.

Oorlam The Oorlams were Khoekhoe people who moved to Namibia from the Cape Colony from 1790. Their lifestyle can be described as:

- Lived in much smaller groups.
- Each group settled around a military commando leader, the *kaptein*, and his family.
- Family or clan ties had ceased to be important to the Oorlam.
- They had fewer cattle than the Nama.
- They needed cattle mainly for trading, so they usually raided cattle from other groups and then traded them.
- Because their groups were small and because they had horses, the Oorlam were much more mobile than the Nama groups and could move quickly and easily.
- They had become used to European goods such as alcohol, tobacco, European clothes and household goods. They were therefore dependent on trading these from European traders.

“Early Nama chiefs had more followers, larger settlements and more cattle than the incoming Oorlam *kapteins*. The Albrechts (missionaries) estimated that the Bondelswarts numbered about 1 400 and the !Gamen 800; missionary Schmelen reckoned that the Kai/khaun numbered between

5 000 and 6 000 people. On his travels, he passed cattle posts of the Veldskoendraers and other Nama chiefs with populations of 1 000 people or more.”

Source: Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time, by B. Lau

Basters When the Basters arrived in Rehoboth in 1870, the new and old Nama groups were no longer recognisable as separate groups, they had intermarried, and most of the Nama had adopted the Oorlam lifestyle. In some ways, the Basters had a similar lifestyle to that of the Oorlam Nama:

- They owned cattle and sheep.
- They wore European clothing.
- They spoke Dutch and were Christians.
- They preferred to live with a missionary and they knew how to trade and deal with traders.
- They were not interested in cattle raiding or gaining power over other groups.
- Their aim was to settle permanently at Rehoboth, and for this reason, they started to practice agriculture along with cattle and sheep breeding.
- They also wanted to be left alone. They kept very much to themselves and did not encourage intermarriage with other Namibian groups.
- They remained politically neutral whenever possible. This means that they did not support any specific group in Namibia and did not take sides in conflicts.

Du Preez (2007, pp. 51 – 52)

Even the secondary source (extract from a book) that is included here does not help much to facilitate the skill of discovery and making comparison. It is too straightforward.

The learning content of the Namibia Secondary School Certificate (NSSC) Ordinary and Higher Levels syllabuses is divided into topics, general objectives, specific objectives and specified content. The learning content with respect to Namibian history is to be studied with reference to the assessment objectives listed under Knowledge with Understanding only. There is no

progression from JSC (Grade 10) to NSSC Higher Level (Grade 12) with respect to Namibian history as the assessment objectives remain largely the same. Under Knowledge with Understanding learners should be able to:

Extract from the Namibia Secondary School Certificate Ordinary & Higher Level Syllabuses

1. recall, select, organise and deploy relevant knowledge of the syllabus content;
2. demonstrate an understanding of:
 - change and continuity, cause and consequence, similarity and difference;
 - the motives, emotions, intentions and beliefs of the people of the past.

Ministry of Education (2010c, p. 14) and Ministry of Education (2012d, p.10)

Extract from the Junior Secondary Certificate Syllabus

- A1. recall, select, organise and deploy relevant knowledge of the syllabus content and locate knowledge within the range of local, regional, national, international and global scale.
- A2. demonstrate an understanding of:
 - change and continuity, cause and consequence, similarity and difference;
 - the motives, emotions, intentions and beliefs of the people of the past;
 - use and apply historical knowledge and understanding in verbal, numerical, diagrammatic and pictorial form;
 - select, organise, present and interpret historical data

Ministry of Education (2010b, p. 40)

This is so because Namibian history is not studied under the Depth Studies in the NSSC Ordinary and Higher Levels, which cover only Germany, the USA and Africa and Western Imperialism with case studies from Algeria and Zimbabwe only. Therefore learners do not deal

with assessment objectives under critical analysis with respect to Namibian history. The following are the assessment objectives under critical analysis:

Extract from the Namibia Secondary School Certificate Ordinary & Higher Level Syllabuses

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Learners should be able to:

3. Interpret and evaluate a variety of historical sources and their uses as evidence to:

- Comprehend;
- Locate, extract and infer information;
- Distinguish between fact, opinion and judgment;
- Indicate deficiencies, such as gaps and inconsistencies;
- Detect bias, and to make judgments about reliability and utility;
- Reach conclusions based upon the use of a range of sources as evidence;
- Identify and base judgments upon different interpretations of the past.

Ministry of Education (2010c, p. 13) and Ministry of Education (2012d, p. 10)

The conclusion can be made here that the NSSC Ordinary and Higher Levels' Syllabuses set low expectations for Namibian history. These low expectations spill over in the way the sections on Namibian history are written in the textbooks. There is hardly diversity of sources included in the textbooks. The sections on Namibian history are merely one dimensional narrative in line with the syllabuses.

Question papers and mark schemes of external examinations

The Junior Secondary Certificate history question paper consists of one paper which is divided into three parts like all the textbooks for the junior secondary phase. All the three questions in Section B carry equal marks with Section A being a multiple choice section of 34 marks where

the marks are almost equally divided into the three sections. Section B consists of three structured questions on each area of the learning content. According to the assessment part of the syllabus historical source materials will be used.

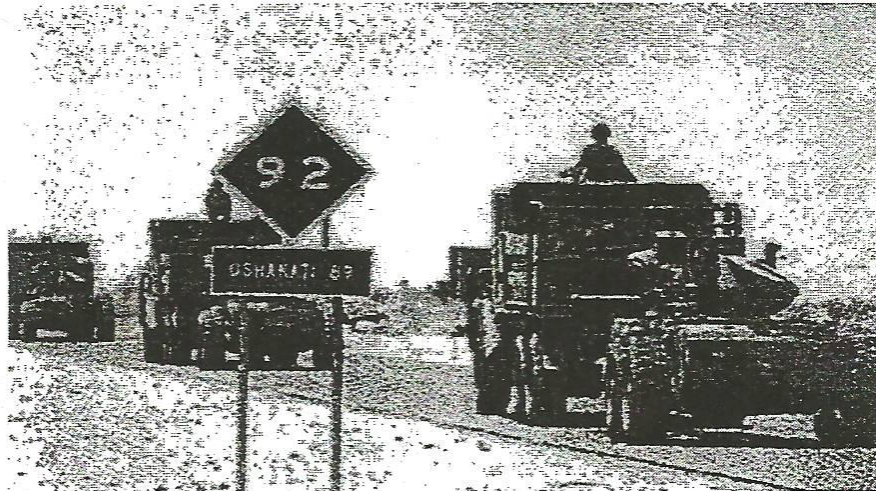
Figure 11: Excerpt from the JSC question paper, Ministry of Education, DNEA (2010)

SECTION B

QUESTION 1

NAMIBIAN HISTORY

Study the picture and then answer questions (a), (b) and (c).



South African Defence Force withdrawing from Angola and northern Namibia

The following three questions were set to meet Assessment Objective B:

- (a) How did the presence of South African soldiers affect the lives of Namibians? (4)
- (b) Why were these soldiers sent to Namibia? Explain your answer. (3)
- (c) How important was the withdrawal of South African soldiers in the history of Namibia?
Explain your answer. (3)

The syllabus Assessment Objective B: Critical Analysis states the following:

Learners should be able to:

B3. Interpret and evaluate a variety of historical sources and their uses as evidence, e.g.

- to comprehend sources;
- to locate and extract relevant information from sources; and
- to distinguish between fact, opinion and judgement in sources.

Although the assessment objectives are expressed separately, they are not discrete.

Ministry of Education (2010b, p. 41)

The source cannot be used to answer any of the questions as it does not provide any comprehensive evidence or details to explain “how the presence of South African soldiers affect the lives of Namibians.” The source can equally not be used as evidence to explain “why these soldiers were sent to Namibia” nor does it provide comprehensive evidence on the importance of the withdrawal of South African soldiers in the history of Namibia. According to the caption the soldiers were withdrawing from northern Namibia (and henceforth Oshakati) while the road sign ‘Oshakati 89’ shows that these soldiers were indeed going to Oshakati. It is therefore quite clear that the caption does not provide an accurate description of the source. It is obvious that all these three questions will not fulfil the demands of Assessment Objective B. The learners will not be able to “interpret and evaluate” the source let alone comprehend it, locate and extract relevant information from it in order to distinguish between fact, opinion and judgement in sources.

There is a great similarity between the inclusion of primary sources in the textbooks and the ways of assessment. Primary sources or any other sources are not included in the textbooks to explain, verify and contextualise the narrative content but only to serve as stimuli to the events that are narrated. The fact that the assessment objectives are not reflected in the syllabus learning

content has a great influence on how the learning content is assessed and the way textbooks are written particularly on Namibian history.

4.2.5 Pedagogical methods

The code in the category pedagogy sought to establish how learner-centred the learners' activities and questions in the textbooks are. It also wanted to establish whether the learners' activities are inquiry based as well as to determine activities and questions that enhance intellectual development.

Questions and learners' activities in almost all the textbooks are included at the end of chapters, themes and topics under varying headings such as: exercises, thinking and discussion check your understanding, what have you learned, projects, test yourself, knowledge and understanding, using historical sources.

Learner-Centred

The basic assumption of postmodernism, which underpin this study, is that all knowledge is constructed in the individual's mind. Textbooks therefore should create an enabling and conducive environment for learners to construct knowledge. In this regard textbooks are considered to be learner-centred if they strive for diversity, equality in power relationships, tolerance and allows individual learners from different cultural perspectives and social backgrounds to express themselves.

The implied position of the learner was analysed against the background of the Learner-Centred Approach to teaching and learning which was officially adopted by the Namibian Ministry of Education. I found that the textbooks that were prescribed are mainly content driven with little or no regard for the development of skills. Learners are expected to absorb volumes of content before they engage with the activities which are put at the end of units. It appears that the emphasis is on the stories associated with the histories. Against this background the rationale for studying history and curriculum statements are compromised.

The way in which the content is presented in the textbooks does not enable learners to meet the aims of for example the junior secondary history syllabus of which one is “to enable learners to develop a lively, questioning, appreciative and creative intellect, enabling learners to discuss issues rationally, make careful observations and analysis, experiment, think scientifically, solve problems, and apply themselves to tasks”. The same is true of the senior secondary school textbooks which do not meet the aim of enabling learners “to acquire skills for inquiry, communication, critical analysis and the drawing of balanced judgement and problem solving” particularly with the sections on Namibian history.

The textbooks do not engage learners in activities alongside the narrative through comprehensive images and primary accounts of the events that are narrated apart from an occasional photograph and in some textbooks a “*Did you know?*” section, sometimes with some bias details which is not substantiated by a source in the textbook, e.g. that “Chief Clemens Kapuuo, who was promised a high post in a future independent Namibia” (Goosen and Von Wietersheim, 2001 p. 70; Du Preez, 2007 p. 76).

Figure 12: The Turnhalle building

Namibian History 1945 – 1990

governed. It is usually written by women and men who represent the people of their country. They form a constitutional conference, which meets over a period of time until the constitution for the country is finalised.

South Africa asked the National Party in Namibia to organise a constitutional conference. More than 150 delegates from all over Namibia were invited to take part. They met on 1 September 1975 in



Windhoek in the old gymnastics hall, called the 'Turnhalle' in German. The venue lent the conference its name, the Turnhalle Conference. Members of the constitutional conference met on 1 September 1975 in the Turnhalle, Windhoek. The building is now used by the National Council. (Photograph reprinted from *Understanding History 10*, p.28)

The members of the conference were not the elected representatives of Namibia's people; most were chosen by the South African authorities from the different ethnic groups. Many held official posts in the homelands created by South Africa under the Odendaal Plan. Individuals from the Oshivambo, Herero, Damara, Nama, Rehobother, coloured, Bushman, Kavango, Caprivi and white groups agreed to participate.

Did you know?

The most prominent black member of the Turnhalle Conference was Chief Clemens Kapuuo, who was promised a high post in a future independent Namibia. He was killed in 1978 by unknown gunmen. The most prominent white member was Dirk Mudge. At the time he was still a member of the white National Party, and he was the main person responsible for organising the conference.

SWAPO, SWANU and other nationalist parties did not take part in the

70

Goosen and Von Wietersheim (2001 p. 70)

Kotzé and Lang (1993) are not different either. Long narratives are provided and learners are not engaged in activities along the narrative. The DTA emblem that is provided along the narrative on The Turnhalle Conference for example is not comprehensive enough to engage the learners.

No activities are given to unlock and contextualise the narrative apart from those at the end of the chapters.

Figure 13: The DTA emblem

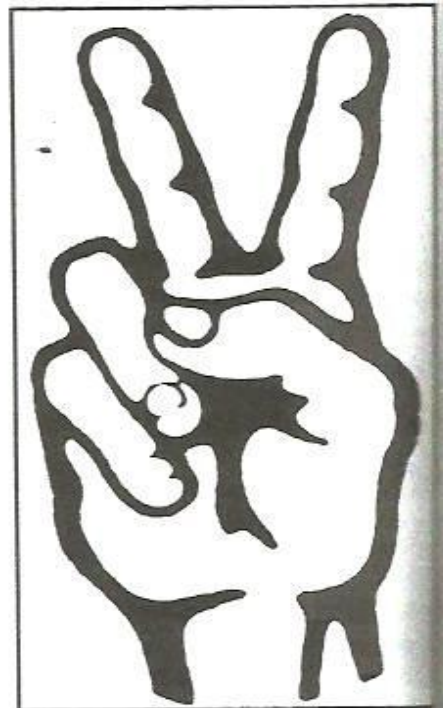
The main aim of this alliance was thus not to divide, but to unite all those political parties that supported the same ideals. The final result had to be the formation of a single political party.

2.7 The Turnhalle Conference

In 1975 unelected representatives of some of the ethnic groups agreed to meet in the old Turnhalle (gymnasium) building in Windhoek to talk about a solution to the Namibian problem. The idea for such a conference came from the South African government, and the local National Party took the lead in organising the meeting. For this reason many people believed that it was just a South African scheme to maintain control over Namibia, and some ethnic groups refused to take part. SWAPO, the international community and the United Nations also refused to accept the plans being discussed at the conference.

However, groups from the Wambos, Whites, Hereros, Damaras, Rehobothers, Coloureds, Namas, Bushmen, Kavangos and Caprivians agreed to participate. Dirk Mudge was responsible for most of the organising. Nationalist parties like SWAPO and SWANU disassociated themselves from the talks, mainly because they disagreed with the principles which had been spelt out beforehand. These included -

- the recognition of separate ethnic groups;
- consensus between the ethnic groups; and
- political transition under the directives of white leadership.



The DTA Emblem

Kotzé and Lang (1993, p. 32)

The bottom-line is that the texts do not engage the learners throughout and instead transmit knowledge onto the learners. Learners do not get the opportunity to construct their own individual knowledge. Against this background the textbooks do not subscribe to the learner-centred pedagogy. The organisation of most of the textbooks resembles what Freire (1974) called banking education. The highly compact content precedes the learners' activities which are at the end of the units in most textbooks. It means first you 'deposit' the content and then 'withdraw' it at the end.

Enquiry based activities

On the basis of newly acquired knowledge through the textbooks and which is integrated with their own experience, the learners will ask questions and generate hypothesis about historical events. Learners will then investigate these events and construct new knowledge. Through discussion and reflection on their new discoveries learners will generate new questions. This underlies the fact that enquiry-based learning is a cyclical process (Sincero, 2006) and gives impetus to the assumption of postmodernism that new knowledge is constantly constructed as new discoveries are uncovered.

Enquiry-based activities should be project oriented; learners do not need to reproduce materials from a textbook or be fed by a teacher but they engage in real and meaningful historical enquiry. In this study I attempted to establish how inquisitive learners' activities in the textbooks are.

The textbooks include a number of enquiry-based activities of which some requires learners to be empathetic in the decision they take with respect to the events they are dealing with O'Callaghan (2000, p. 82).

This activity will enable learners to consider two sides of an event in history. On the basis thereof learners will take decisions. The activity will promote tolerance which is a stated value in curriculum documents.

In Kotzé and Lang (1993 p. 16) there is a project work:

“The following projects can be done by individual learners or by groups of learners:

- *Start your own political party: draw up a brief constitution (set of rules by which you will operate) and state the aims of your party clearly. Then try to persuade your classmates to join your party instead of those of others in the class.”*

This project does not provide the context under which the political party should be started and hence can be interpreted by the learners to mean now. However, if the context is “the awakening of political awareness” in Namibia then it will provide for a good enquiry-based project which involves comparing the parties that were formed then.

Sampson (2007) gives an enquiry-based activity on interpreting sources that will invite learners to be definitional ‘describing the landscape in which the mine is situated,’ with speculative questions such as ‘does the photograph help to explain ...’ or ‘is the photograph useful ...’ It is however doubtful whether the photograph was taken during the time of the events it describes,

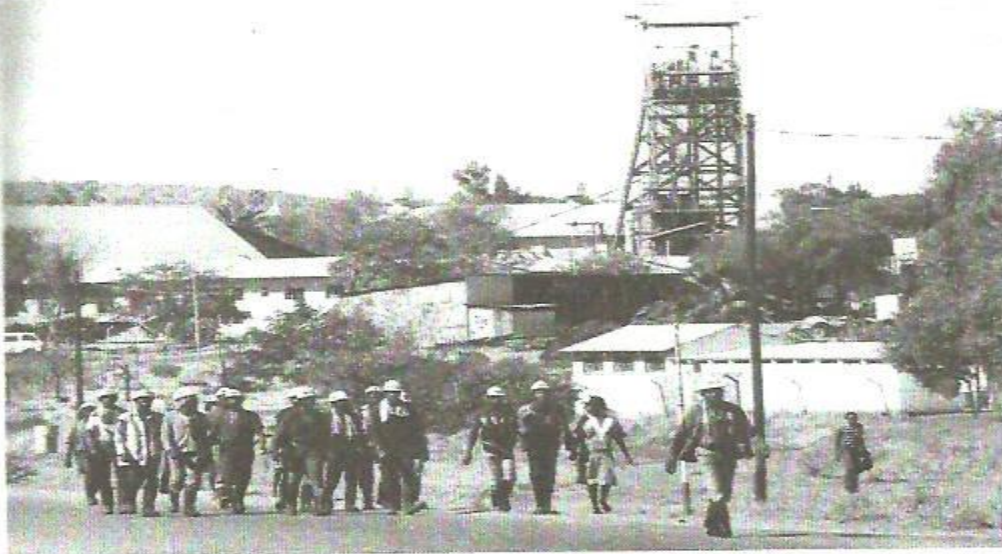
i.e. during the German colonial period. The buildings and other structures do not resemble this period in history so does the microbus in the background and the fact that a woman is among the workers is testimony to this. The photograph is a recent one and is certainly not a primary source which can shed light on “why the German owners had to depend on migrant labourers to obtain a workforce for the mine”.

Figure 14: The Tsumeb mine

German and South African rule: 1909 to 1945

Economic development

Mines and railways There were two large mining operations in Namibia under German colonial rule. In 1906, the Tsumeb mine was opened in the north of Namibia. Copper and lead were mined there. The mine was close to the Otavi sites where Namibians had traditionally dug up metals.



Copper and lead were mined at the Tsumeb mine.

Activity: Interpreting sources

Look carefully at the photograph of the Tsumeb mine above.

- Describe what you see in the photograph. For example, what information does it give about the landscape in which the mine is situated and about its buildings and other structures?
- Can you suggest what use would be made of any of the buildings or structures shown in the photograph?
- Was the mine at work or closed down when the photograph was taken?
- Does the photograph help to explain why the German owners had to depend on migrant labourers to obtain a workforce for the mine? Explain your answer.
- Is the photograph useful as a piece of evidence about working conditions in the mine? Why or why not?

Sampson (2007, p. 39)

The learners' activities and questions in O'Callaghan (1997) appear under three headings: Knowledge and understanding; using historical sources; thinking and discussion. There are eight open-ended questions which fulfil the six cognitive levels of Bloom.

The question on using historical sources has the potential to stimulate diverse thinking from the learners as the houses shown and the general set-up of these workers may not be different to ordinary subsistence farmers or peasants. Nevertheless, the questions set on the photograph will stimulate enquiry and are sophisticated for example: Question (e). The photograph first appeared in a book that supported the liberation struggle in Namibia. Explain why publishers might have decided to use it (O'Callaghan, 1997, p. 345).

In Kotze and Lang (2002) there are three questions which to some extent fulfil the six cognitive levels of Bloom (it does not have an application level). On close analysis the questions are set according to the prescription for external examination. There seems to be a mismatch between the source, the SWAPO emblem, and the questions. The emblem does not relate to the questions and there is no way the learners can use it to answer the three questions. The questions do not have an application level and are not enquiry-based.

A number of enquiry-based activities are included in particularly the textbooks that were prescribed for the junior secondary phase. The same can however not be said of the textbooks that were prescribed for the senior secondary phase. This can be attributed to the fact that very little space is allocated to Namibian history in the senior secondary textbooks.

Activities that stimulate intellectual development

The activities in the textbooks were studied to determine how far they invite learners to approach texts critically, read the texts in order to learn new material so that they can grow intellectually.

Although there appears to be a balance in the learner's activities with respect to covering the wide ability range of learners in most of the textbooks that were studied, it is equally true that the activities mainly test how well learners comprehend what they read. Few of the activities which are included aimed at developing analytical skills which will enable the learners to interpret historical sources. In other words, the learners' activities do not inculcate in the learners the habit of thinking historically. There are a significant number of activities that are value-laden and leading questions.

The following question appears in Sampson (2007 p. 32):

2. *When the war started, Samuel Maharero ordered that no German missionaries or women and children should be hurt.*
 - a) *Why did Samuel Maharero give this order?*
 - b) *Did the Germans show the same kind of humanity towards the Herero communities?*

Explain your answer.

There is a tendency to streamline the activities in the textbooks with the format of question papers especially those that are set externally. Multiple choice questions are found in most of the junior secondary phase textbooks perhaps because there is a section containing multiple choice questions in the junior secondary examination.

The activities that are included in the textbooks' sections on Namibian history do not promote dialogue between the traces that the past has left and the questions that arise in the present. Activities mostly do not challenge learners to think how historical knowledge is constructed.

Learners are therefore not invited to become involved in the construction of knowledge about the past through comprehensive and logical arguments. In most activities they are expected to lift information from the narrative content or sources to do the activities and not from their interpretation and analysis of the sources. The following activity appears in Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992, p. 11):

Study the photograph and then answer the questions that follow.

Figure 15: General Jan Smuts



General Smuts, to the right of the table, receives the mandate on behalf of South Africa in Windhoek

Katzao, J. J., Mbumba, N., Patemann, H., Van Staden, E. I., and Tait, D. H. A. (1992, p. 11)

- (a) Why did South Africa invade Namibia during the period in the photograph?*
- (b) Which international body decided that Namibia should be a mandate of South Africa?*
- (c) What is the difference between a mandated territory and a colony?*
- (d) Name the two incidents immediately after the mandate was given to South Africa where Namibians resisted South African rule.*

(e) Name two conditions the ruler of a mandated territory was supposed to meet.

(f) Did South Africa meet these conditions? Give reasons for your answer.

In doing this activity the learner is more likely not to think historically as the learner does not need to engage with the source. The learner will lift content knowledge from the textbook and will not construct new knowledge. Thus, the textbook did not stimulate the learner's intelligence but rather only expect of the learner to reproduce knowledge that is readily available.

The textbooks that were prescribed during the period under investigation set a precedent for rote learning and meaningless memorisation of facts which may promote apathy towards history and make it a boring subject in the school curriculum. Critical thinking cannot be enhanced through knowledge lifting from the narrative content of the textbooks but through making inferences on what is presented. In so doing learners will be able to comprehend the complexity of issues, be able to deconstruct bias, synthesise what they have studied and construct new knowledge.

In conclusion, it is clear that the textbooks to some degree display historical amnesia both through the content that is presented and the pedagogical methods they leaned on. Some events are downplayed and the learners' activities are in many cases one-sided and expect of learners to acquire and display specific knowledge about the past. Events that are deemed as sensitive and or controversial are either omitted or dealt with at superficial level. The focus is rather put on resistance and liberation which give rise to a grand narrative and national synthesis. Almost all the textbooks that were studied represent what Apple (1993) calls official knowledge. They transmit knowledge that is accepted to the majority or the dominant groups in society. The way

the narrative is presented and the learners' activities are mostly in line with official state policy and public pronouncements of the ruling class.

According to Muzaini (2008) the road to peace and hence national reconciliation may be lined and lit if there is historical understanding, mutual acceptance and unmitigated tolerance. Against this background the presentation of reconciliation in textbooks should not only be a matter of transmitting accepted knowledge. The emphasis with respect to school history textbooks should be on questioning a variety of traces from the past and creating new knowledge.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The results that came out of this study have significant implications to the way we understand history as a subject and the way we teach history in schools, more particularly our own history. In this section I discuss the quantitative and qualitative results of the study and the corroboration thereof. Then I discuss how the results provide answers to the questions that this study sought to address. Finally, I explore the problem that this study posed from the onset: whether the presentation of Namibian history in the Namibian Secondary School history textbooks promotes reconciliation, inclusiveness and respect for diverse views in terms of its narrative structure and pedagogy.

5.1 Quantitative analysis

The results from the quantitative analysis indicate that Namibian history in the school history textbooks is mainly viewed from the angle of colonialism and the subsequent resistance to colonial rule. In the textbooks frequent reference to the German authorities is observed during the German colonial period and the same can be said of South African colonial authorities and their institutions during the period of South African occupation. During the pre-colonial period the bulk of representation of all social groups are Namibian ethnic groups. However, as the period which the textbooks cover becomes more recent the representation of ethnic groups is overtaken by the colonial authorities who are mentioned frequently. It is also interesting to note that ethnic groups which encountered the advancing colonialists directly more particularly in central and southern Namibia enjoy the bulk of representation. Colonial advances are seen

through the frequent mentioning of European traders and missionaries during the period before the imposition of colonial rule. After colonial rule was imposed there is scant reference to European traders and missionaries. Others who did not have much to do with colonial advances particularly the official German colonisers who represented the German emperor, are not mentioned frequently during this period notably people from Kaokoland, Ovamboland, Kavango and Caprivi.

As resistance to colonial rule increased, an increasing desire to have a nation state can be seen in frequent reference to the Namibian nation as opposed to the different ethnic groups. The awakening of nationalism is covered as a theme in the textbooks that were prescribed for Grade 10. Namibian personalities enjoy greater representation than ordinary people and groups. This is tantamount to writing history of great men as opposed to collective memories. There is a frequent reference to political parties while the textbooks hardly mention civic society organisations, youth, women, workers, student organisations, etc. The churches particularly those that are referred to in most textbooks as independent churches only feature in the textbooks when it comes to their role in the liberation struggle.

An aspect that has been heavily neglected in the textbooks is the inclusion of primary sources. Very few primary sources are included in the textbooks. Most sources that are included are photographs of famous people which underlie the fact that the textbooks mainly deal with the history of great men. Ordinary people hardly feature. The extracts from diaries that are included are also from famous people like Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi and some colonial officials. The fact

that historical craftsmanship is gained through the interpretation and analysis of primary sources may be compromised if fewer primary sources are included in the textbooks.

The quantitative analysis revealed that there is a great tendency to include more political topics than social issues. Economic issues feature only when related to political issues. The activities of women and rural groups who were far removed from the dominant groups in society do not feature much in the textbooks, and so does marginalised ethnic minorities like the San, Ovahimba, Ovatjimba, Ovazemba and Ovatwe. No activities appear in the textbooks which will accord learners opportunities to engage in the history of certain localities. The names of women personalities only feature when they suffered colonial aggression. Economic issues such as growth and decline in GDP and other related macro-economic indicators over the years do not feature in the textbooks. This is particularly important to substantiate purported economic exploitation by the South African colonial authorities in particular which are narrated in the textbooks. Population issues such as population growth, demography and migration are not addressed in the textbooks. This is so because themes and topics from social history are not entertained. The little that features in this regard for example the impact of the contract labour system on family life is mainly approached from a political angle.

The quantitative analysis of the pedagogical aspects of the textbooks reveals that in most textbooks there are many questions and or activities which are compacted at the end of units, themes or chapters. Most activities are close-ended. However, there are a number of questions and activities that cater for a wide range of abilities. Questions and activities that challenge the historical narrative which is presented in the textbooks and thus promote independent learning,

investigation and enquiry are few. This sends the message that textbooks contain legitimate knowledge which every learner must know.

5.2 Qualitative analysis

The representation of social groups in the textbooks reflects a narrative of victim and perpetrator. The Namibian people are presented in most textbooks as victims of the unjust, exploitative and racist system of colonialism. They are passive victims on whom the colonialist acted. It is only when they resisted that their actions are noted. This explains the frequent reference of the colonial authorities and their institutions and hence their high representation as a group for they were the actors. Change and continuity are determined by the actions of the colonial authorities both Germans and South Africans. Thus, Namibian history is mostly seen in relation to the actions of the colonisers who perpetuated atrocities against Namibians and the brave resistance that the helpless Namibians posed with any small means that they had at their disposal.

The territorial space, first known as German South West Africa, that was crafted at the Berlin Africa Conference, 1884 – 1885 provides the context for nationalist history in most of the textbooks. Nationalist history is one dimensional, creates the impression that the nation state existed since time immemorial and often attempts to instil patriotism. On the contrary inclusive history recognises and embraces diversity. Reference to Namibia and the Namibian people as far as during the migration and settlement of Bantu-speaking people is testimony to attempts in the textbooks to foster a national synthesis. The alliance between Jan Jonker Afrikaner and Tjamuaha is described in the Grade 8 textbooks as attempts at state formation. This is tantamount to wishful thinking by the authors as in so doing nationalistic history far outweighs an

investigation of the intriguing self-interest that characterised the unequal relationship in the alliance where Jan Jonker Afrikaner enriched himself and to an extent his subjects while Tjamuaha entered into the alliance to save his own family from Oorlam's raids.

Nationalist history far supersedes the histories of individual traditional communities and the evolution of the leaderships of these communities and subtleties in their socio-economic organisation. In most textbooks the awakening of nationalist consciousness is attributed to the contract labour system. Against this background the OPC/OPO which was formed to address the plight of contract workers and which was later reconstituted into the nationalist movement, SWAPO, has a higher frequency in the textbooks compared to ethnic councils such as the Herero Chief's Council and the Damara Tribal Council which advocated the return of lost tribal land. In fact dispossession of land is not given much prominence in spearheading anti-colonial resistance such as resistance to the Union's attempt to incorporate Namibia as a fifth province in 1946 which led to the first petition and Chief Hosea Kutako's prayer. Although Kutako is hailed as the father of modern Namibian nationalism in the textbooks, his position on the land question is not clearly articulated in the textbooks.

Conceptions such as the "War of National Resistance, 1904 – 1908" are highly contentious in the sense that the 1904 – 1908 war was sporadic resistance by various traditional communities starting with the Bondelswartz in 1903 and came to an end when Simon Copper was subdued in 1908. The concept "War of National Resistance, 1904 – 1908" which is used in many textbooks creates the impression that it was a united effort by all Namibians against colonialism which may be interpreted as an attempt to foster national synthesis.

The scant use of extensive and comprehensive primary sources to contextualise the historical narrative which is so prevalent in most of the textbooks that were studied, may have detrimental effects on learners' understanding of history and the acquisition of critical thinking skills. I observed that there is a great disparity between the history that is presented in the textbooks and history as a discipline practiced by academic historians. The heavy reliance on photographs (mainly of famous people) that do not contain much detail will not make learning relevant and meaningful. Learners cannot create their own interpretations from most of the primary sources that are included in the textbooks and are henceforth more likely to memorise the facts that are presented.

Extracts from diaries are selectively and sparingly used to justify a monothetic version of events which in turn will give impetus to the main message that comes out of the textbooks. This message is the suffering of the Namibian people at the hands of the colonialists and their heroic and brave resistance. The distant period in Namibian history impacted negatively on the inclusion of primary sources in the textbooks dealing with this period in history. Extracts from diaries on this distant period that are included in the textbooks without indicating the origin thereof raises doubts on validity and reliability. This has the potential of making the teaching of history inauthentic, irrelevant and ineffective.

It is prevalent from the textbooks that the inclusion of primary sources which belie each other by conveying divergent and conflicting accounts of the same event was avoided at all cost. The sources that were included in the textbooks represent a univocal narrative of events. Sources that

display controversial and sensitive events were not include. This is in support of the implied position of the authors that in order to promote national reconciliation, these events should rather be left out or presented at superficial level.

The photographs of the United Nations in session and other international personalities were included to explain the role of the international community and foreign countries in the Namibian struggle. The sources that are included in the textbooks however do not illustrate multiple connections with a broader perspective. There are for example no sources that show the implied causal link between Cold War rivalries and the linkage (withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola before the implementation of the settlement plan) that was brought to the equation by the Reagan administration and which was supported by South Africa.

Although overt stereotyping is not prevalent in the textbooks that were studied apart from a few examples, e.g. that the San believed animals could not be possessed and could be hunted by anyone; that the Damara lost their original language and culture; that the northern traditional communities of the Ovambos and Kavangos were strong as opposed to their central and southern Namibian counterparts and hence the Germans in particular could not risk waging a war against them, the struggle for national independence draw a visible line in the textbooks between the “nationalists” and the “collaborators”.

Goosen and Wietersheim (2001 p. 69) argue that South Africa came up with an ‘internal solution’ because “popular support for the nationalist movement SWAPO was growing steadily in Namibia; the UN continued to support SWAPO and in 1974 recognised SWAPO as the ‘sole

and authentic representative of the Namibian people; SWAPO freedom fighters were becoming increasingly effective”. On the other side the very same textbook painted this picture on the Turnhalle Conference and its delegates. “The members of the conference were not the elected representatives of Namibians; most were chosen by the South African authorities from the different ethnic groups. The most prominent black member of the Turnhalle Conference was Chief Clemence Kapuuo, who was promised a high post in a future independent Namibia” (Ibid., p. 70). The textbooks are silent on the National Convention, where all major political groupings were represented, and its fruitless efforts to gain UN recognition and its disintegration following the UN declaration of recognising SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people in 1973. The collapse of the National Convention thus drew a wedge between Namibians and polarised them into the “nationalists” and the “collaborators” which all the textbooks omit to mention.

An important aspect which the textbooks do not examine is the underlying reasons why Chief Clemence Kapuuo joined the Turnhalle Conference apart from him “being offered a high position in independent Namibia”. According to Gewald (2004) the decision by Chief Clemence Kapuuo to join the Turnhalle Conference can be attributed to the land question under the Odendaal Plan and in particular the Aminuis reserve. From the mid-1920s throughout Chief Hosea Kutako and the Ovaherero leadership had been pressing the colonial authorities about land. Land was the main reason for Kutako’s resistance of colonial rule. Emmett (1999, p. 229) sum up the relationship between the Ovaherero leadership and the South African colonial administration as follows: “although on the surface the Herero indigenous leadership appeared to be playing a typically collaboration role, their relationship with the colonial authorities was far

more complex and subtle, and provided a striking contrast with that of the Ovambo kings and headmen. While co-operating with the administration on some issues, usually to gain certain concessions, the Herero leaders challenged the administration on other issues”. The textbooks did not explore the concessions that the Ovaherero leadership under Chief Hosea Kutako made to get land within the Police Zone and how far Chief Clemence Kapuuu pursued this line of doing things following the implementation of the Odendaal Plan.

It is quite obvious that the perspectives of the various authors underpin the narrative structure of the textbooks. In most of the textbooks studied, the narrative structure which is often one-dimensional gives impetus to the message that comes out strongly from the textbooks: that the Namibian people were victims of colonialism; that they resisted heroically and eventually achieved freedom. The textbooks lack a dynamic representation of how historical events and processes influenced each other. Thus, the textbooks lack complexity. The narrative structure is linear, i.e. from the settlement of traditional communities in Namibia, anti-colonial resistance and the ultimate achievement of national independence. This explains why Namibian history ends with independence on the 21st March 1990.

Although some of the textbooks include interesting enquiry based activities that have the potential to stimulate intellectual development, learners only encounter these at the end of units. It means they are not learning activities but assessment activities. The learners are not led through such activities to gradually develop enquiry skills throughout the units and the result may be that they would find such activities extremely difficult at the end of units. The textbooks

activities are to some degree examination driven and not learning driven as the questions and activities are structured in the same way as examination papers.

The history curriculum to a great extent had an influence on the way the sections on Namibian history are presented in the textbooks. The history curriculum and particularly the sections on Namibian history are content driven at the expense of skills and the acquisition of historical craftsmanship. This explains the fact that Namibian history is not included in the Depth Studies in senior secondary history while the ‘source based questions’ in the junior secondary phase history are in reality not source based but content recall questions. The long third person narratives pieces that are presented are tantamount to making the subject boring through idealistic notions of the coming into being of the independent nation state. The textbooks create the impression that history is the fight for national liberation and does not render itself to the development of cognitive skills. There are no complexities, contradictions and nuances in the way Namibian history is presented in the textbooks.

The way Namibian history is written in the textbooks does not promote critical thinking skills and does not provide insight to learners to face present-day challenges in a free and independent country. Any study of history is based on an analysis of sources from where evidence is drawn to support claims and particular points of view. For as long as comprehensive and detailed source materials are not included in the textbooks, learners will not be led to think critically and historically. If diverse source materials are included in the textbooks learners will learn to consider alternative solutions to problems and learn to become tolerant. Instead, the textbooks that were studied try by all means to avoid controversy and sensitive events.

The textbooks send the message that the great nation that was born on the 21st March 1990 should go ahead and forget that Namibians lost their land to successive colonial rulers; that Namibians were hired on contract basis on white-owned farms where they disappeared without a trace and are unaccounted for; that Namibian vulnerable women and children were killed and or maimed by South African occupation forces in foreign countries; that Namibians were fighting on both sides of the warring factions during the liberation war; that both South Africa and SWAPO detained, tortured, murdered and caused people to disappear while in detention. Sensitive and controversial issues are only dealt with on a superficial level.

Any reform to history education in post-conflict societies always goes hand in hand with changing the representation of the past of social groups. According to Cole (2004) this is done to promote tolerance, inclusiveness, an ability to deal with conflict in a nonviolent manner and to build capacity to think critically. This will make it possible for learners to question assumptions that could be manipulated to instigate conflict and henceforth foster reconciliation and peace building.

5.3 Research question 1: How are the different social groups of the Namibian society represented in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?

The textbooks that were studied show similar patterns when it comes to the representation of social groups. The history of pre-colonial Namibia shows a high representation of ethnic groups especially in the textbooks that were prescribed for Grade 8. Within these ethnic groups subgroups, clans, women and the youth are not represented. The socio-economic dynamics of pre-colonial Namibian societies, their political and cultural organisation and evolution are not explored maximally. This explains their limited representation in the textbooks as their actions are mainly seen through their interaction with new arrivals particularly the missionaries, the Oorlams and the colonial authorities in later years. The elite which is represented by the Kings, Captains or Chiefs features more in the textbooks when compared to ordinary people.

The partition of Africa and subsequent imposition of colonial rule add another dimension to the representation of social groups. New social groups such as the traders and adventurers and most importantly officials of the imperial governments start to feature more in the textbooks. The activities of the colonial authorities are well-documented and hence the colonial authorities and their institutions are highly represented in the textbooks as compared to other social groups.

The awakening of nationalism from the mid-1940s through the early 1960s saw an increase in the representation of political organisations particularly those that advanced nationalist ideas. Political groupings that are perceived to be ethnic or anti-nationalistic are less represented in the

textbooks. Civic organisations such as workers' organisations, youth and women organisations are hardly represented in the textbooks. The churches and in particular the independent churches are only represented for as long as they are associated with the liberation struggle and not when they are engaged in issues of spirituality and morality. Urban life that can be linked to the contract labour system and its' socio-economic dynamics such as cultural organisations, sport clubs and music bands do not feature in the textbooks.

Although the textbooks include forced removals under apartheid legislation such as the Odendaal Plan the lives of social groups in the reserves that were created as a result do not feature as can be seen in their limited representation. The political nature of the history that is presented in the textbooks limits the representation of social groups.

The role of the international community is seen through the high representation of the United Nations Organisation. Continental organisations such as the Organisation of African Unity and regional organisations such as the Southern African Development Coordinating Committee are downplayed through their scant representation. The Non-Aligned Movement, the Soviet Union, China and Cuba do not feature much in the textbooks. This can be attributed to the poor representation in the textbooks of the military side of the struggle. Despite the fact that SWAPO as the nationalist movement that spearheaded the armed struggle is represented more than any other political party in the textbooks, the activities of its military wing PLAN are not well represented in the textbooks. Encounters with the South African security forces do not feature much in the textbooks. This could shed more light on the intensity of the armed liberation struggle that was waged in northern Namibia for almost 23 years.

The imbalanced representation of social groups in the textbooks makes it difficult to determine the role of minority and often marginalised groups in society such as the youth, civil organisations and women. Moreover, social and economic issues are not given prominence in the textbooks which aggravate the representation of some social groups.

5.4 Research question 2: What omissions, imbalances and historical inaccuracies can be detected in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?

It is almost impossible to include every significant event in the textbooks. The material is so overwhelming to be included in the textbooks. However, I found some patterns when it comes to the omission of certain events. Firstly, omissions and or superficial coverage is found in controversial and sensitive events; secondly, the textbooks omit events that are presumed not to link well with politics and the national history; and finally, the textbooks provide a one-sided perspective of events ignoring significant contributions of non-dominant groups.

Gross human rights abuses committed by both the South African security forces and SWAPO are dealt with on a superficial level. The fact that SWAPO, which is the dominant group in Namibia since independence, was involved in human rights abuses during the liberation war plays a very important role in the exclusion of South African atrocities from the textbooks. In line with the official stance of the government which can be traced back to the dominant groups' rejection of the establishment of a Judicial Commission of Inquiry or a Truth Commission, the textbooks

embrace the perception that national reconciliation means better not to open old wounds as no one knows whether they healed deep inside. The textbooks thus send a message that the nation must forgive (and perhaps forget) and continue with nation building.

Arbitrary arrests of citizens by the South African security forces, detention without trial, torture during interrogations, death while in detention and disappearances are not extensively dealt with in the textbooks with substantive sources. The reign of terror with curfew regulations, which were carried out by the South African security forces and most particularly its counter insurgency unit, KOEVOET, in the northern war zone is not explored in the textbooks. The socio-economic impact of the armoured vehicles that were used to destroy the crop fields of villagers is not examined.

In an apparent attempt for the atrocities to cancel each other the SWAPO spy drama which dates back to the Shipanga Rebellion in 1976 up to the Lubango dungeons of the 1980s are not covered extensively and comprehensively. The SWAPO security forces cracked down suspected South African agents among its' own folk and extorted confessions from them through torture. These people were then detained under inhumane circumstances in dugouts where many perished and some are still unaccounted for up to this date. The textbooks do not enable learners to determine the extent to which SWAPO was in fact infiltrated by enemy spies or the alleged disproportionate detention of Namibians from the southern and central regions in relation to those from the northern regions.

The inclusion of themes of a political nature at the expense of socio-economic themes or themes that address gender issues also leads to omissions. A case in point is the inclusion of a theme in particularly the textbooks that were prescribed for Grade 10 on the role of the church in the liberation struggle. In so doing the textbooks do not examine how far the newly established independent churches impacted on the moral and spiritual well-being of their members. The textbooks also do not examine how the newly independent churches incorporated African values and norms as opposed to the Eurocentric nature of Christianity of the missionaries.

Notable omissions are the exclusion of civil organisations such as organised labour, youth and women organisations. As for women issues several women conferences such as the Beijing women conference that took place in China are included. This study aimed to explore the role of women in Namibian history as it is presented in school history textbooks. The role of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) and its affiliate unions is not effectively dealt with in the textbooks. Youth organisations such as the Namibia National Students Organisation (NANSO) and its role in spearheading the students' boycotts and demonstrations in the 1980s are not well documented in the textbooks. This is perhaps so because textbooks that were studied tend to put international solidarity and exile politics at the forefront while events inside the country are largely omitted.

The pre-colonial history of the north, north eastern and north western regions of Kakoland, Ovamboland, Kavango and Caprivi are not well documented in the textbooks. The administration of the Caprivi before and during the colonial era is a highly contentious issue which the textbooks seem to avoid dealing with in detail. The information contained in the

textbooks on the Caprivi region will, for example, not enable learners of history to air informed opinions on events that took place in or about the Caprivi region such as the Kasikili/Sedudu Island which was resolved at The Hague or the ongoing high treason trial of the Caprivi secessionist attempt. It appeared as if the textbooks try by all means to keep the sacrosanct borders and protect the territorial integrity of the Namibian state.

Socio-economic issues are not well-catered for in the textbooks. With the abolition of the pass laws in the late 1970s, one will expect issues of demography to feature in the textbooks to assess the impact thereof on the migration of people as this will certainly lead to a relaxation of influx control. No single textbook used the 1981 census as a source to explore for example urban history. On the education sector the Academy for Tertiary Education was established in the early 1980s to provide teacher training while other courses were later introduced. Its impact on the education sector is not investigated in as far as the number of students who went to South Africa or elsewhere for further studies. Similarly, perceptions on the Academy by the nationalist movements are not investigated in the textbooks especially when compared with the Lusaka-based United Nations Institute for Namibia.

The social, economic and technological dimensions of agriculture are not handled in the textbooks. A very contentious issue that started before independence, that of enclosure of communal land which force the poor off the land is not investigated in terms of how it started and its socio-economic ramifications. Thus, there is evidence that issues that are not political are often excluded from the textbooks.

The Turnhalle Constitutional Conference was certainly a significant event in Namibian history. Most textbooks that deal with this period in history emphasise the fact that the ethnic delegates were handpicked by South Africa and were not elected by the Namibian people and that it did not enjoy international recognition. The textbooks do not point to the fact that it was certainly the first huge multiracial and multiethnic conference to take place in Namibia. Even SWAPO that was accorded “the sole and authentic representation of the Namibian people” by the UN two years before the Turnhalle Conference did not enjoy such a huge multiracial and multiethnic support at this point in time. The November 1989 election results for the central and southern parts of Namibia 14 years after the conference is testimony to mass support that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which was formed by those who attended the conference, still enjoyed at that point in time. The presentation of the Turnhalle Conference in the textbooks illustrates a one-sided perspective of events as it ignores the contributions of non-dominant groups. The abolition of apartheid legislation by the DTA interim government is also downplayed by expressions such as “it abolished petty discrimination and repealed some discriminatory laws” (Goosen and Von Wietersheim, 2001, p. 80). The textbooks do not assess the socio-economic impact of the repeal of some apartheid laws such as the pass law during this time.

Imbalance in the textbooks mainly occurs in the emphasis that is given to political topics and the de-emphasis of socio-economic topics. Social and cultural evolution of the Namibian people due to, for example, urbanisation as well as the possible erosion of the family, the clan as well as ethnic and social institutions are not assessed extensively. The struggle for national liberation and in particular the role played by SWAPO is glorified while internal attempts to achieve

independence gradually such as the Turnhalle Conference and the Multiparty Conference are portrayed as South African initiatives which were accepted by the South African puppets and rejected by the nationalist movements in particular SWAPO and the international community. The fact that the perceptions of those Namibians who were involved in these initiatives are not explored in the textbooks is tantamount to historical inaccuracy or distortion.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and its impact on the achievement of a negotiated solution for Namibia is minimised or not considered in the textbooks. The same applies to the effects of the sanctions that were imposed on South Africa. There was a significant thaw in Cold War relations which definitely brought about changing relations between the USA and her partner, South Africa, on the one hand and the USSR and her partners, Angola and Cuba on the other hand. These changing relations are not assessed in the textbooks especially in how far they influenced the 1988 agreements. The terms of the agreements are also not considered in order to assess who compromised what.

5.5 Research question 3: What messages, symbols and or biases are portrayed through illustrations, artwork and language usage in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?

The tone of the authors always creates the impression that their version of history is the only true version. The voice of the third person narrator in the textbooks is omniscient and lacks interpretive dissension as trails of evidence are often not provided through conflicting sources for

example. It appears that all historical events are submerged under the weight of narrating maltreatment by the colonialists and the growth of a nationalistic consciousness which culminated in the struggle for freedom and the birth of a new nation. This is the main message that comes out strongly from the textbooks.

The content of the textbooks has the potential to instil long lasting effects on the learners which will determine the way in which they see the world. These are the master symbols that come out of the textbooks. According to (Du Preez 1983; Chernis 1990) the deep-rooted perspectives form the lens through which they will see, experience and evaluate everything. The most apparent master symbol is nationhood. The textbooks foster a form of collective identification as Namibians mainly through boundaries as was conferred by the imperial forces as well as common past experiences through colonialism. The second master symbol is that Namibians are depicted as brave people who rose in arms against colonial subjugation and oppression. This symbol legitimises armed resistance for oppressed people, and that freedom can only be achieved through the barrel of the gun.

Cartoons and other forms of artwork are used in history textbooks as devices for interpreting historical events, and because learners will be involved in the analysis thereof they are used to sharpen critical thinking skills. This is an area where the textbooks lag far behind. Very few artworks in the form of cartoons are included in the textbooks. The photographs and few cartoons that are included are not extensive or comprehensive enough for interpretations to be drawn from them. Some photographs show bias particularly in favour of SWAPO and against for example the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) where protesters demand the

implementation of UN Resolution 435 in reaction to the TGNU. There are no photographs of the inaugural ceremony of the TGNU for example alongside to balance the narrative.

5.6 Research question 4: What pedagogical methods are presented in the Namibian Secondary Education History Textbooks?

All the textbooks that were studied contain a large chunk of narrative content with a lot of recall questions at the end of the chapters, themes or units. This points to what Lotman (1988) refers to as the transmission of meaning. In other words the textbooks serve to communicate meaning to the learners as opposed to facilitating the construction of meaning.

The narrative structure of the content of the textbooks with respect to the sections on Namibian history is one-dimensional third person narrative which does not include a multiplicity of perspectives. Thus, the textbooks do not include what Wertsch (1991) calls internal heterogeneity of voices. Different voices are not heard in the textbooks. The textbooks are mainly fact-centred and learners are expected to absorb a large amount of factual materials which are strengthened considerably by the imperative to test. Against this background the textbooks use in some cases standard activities with the same format as that is expected in national external examinations.

The one-dimensional narrative in the sections on Namibian history excludes counter narratives. The activities of the dominant group, SWAPO, for example its rejection of South African

initiated settlements is presented as the legitimate course of action at that point in time. The reasons advanced by those who participated in such settlements, the puppets, are not considered as counter narratives in the textbooks resulting in silence from their part. The inclusion of a multiplicity of voices according to Steiner-Khamsi (1994) will break the silences in history textbooks by promoting counter narratives. Learners of history should be accorded the opportunity to debate the right course of action then given multiple actions that were undertaken in the past and the consequences thereof.

Learners' activities are not interwoven alongside the narratives which is an illustration of making the learners passive receivers of information and not active constructors of knowledge. In this regard the textbooks do not promote the learner centred philosophy. Instead they create room for the teacher to explain the long narrative to the learners and then give activities that are at the end of the chapters, themes or units as homework. This situation is worsened by the scarcity of comprehensive primary sources to support or counter the narrative.

In conclusion, the sections on Namibian history in the Namibian Secondary School textbooks which were prescribed for the period under investigation do not support a learner centred philosophy on teaching and learning.

5.7 The research problem: The sections on Namibian history in the Namibian secondary school history textbooks do not promote reconciliation, inclusiveness and respect for diverse views in terms of their pedagogy and the way they portray Namibian history.

The findings indicate that there is a great attempt at a national synthesis in the sections on Namibian history in the secondary school history textbooks. The textbooks strive to bring about an understanding of Namibia as a nation or alternatively as many nations within one nation and one country.

The contemporary Namibian state is identified in the textbooks based on its colonial background with a remarkable persistence of colonial borders. It is clear from the textbooks that the people of Namibia had no pre-colonial experience of statehood apart from a superficial mention of the northern kingdoms and attempts at state formation by Jan Jonker Afrikaner and Tjamuaha in central southern Namibia. Thus, pre-colonial Namibian societies are mainly depicted as non-state societies in the textbooks.

The national story is defined in the textbooks in how far it closely links to resistance of colonial rule and oppression. Against this background certain social groups who were at the forefront of colonial resistance, e.g. the Herero and Nama against German colonialism and SWAPO against South African occupation and apartheid colonialism are included or feature more in the textbooks while others are excluded. Inclusion of the multi-layered levels of society seems to be only relevant when it is of political relevance like when it serves to show resistance to colonial

rule as in the case of the role of the churches in the liberation struggle. The role of the churches as social institutions is not included in the textbooks. Civic organisations like labour, cultural, women and youth organisations do not feature much in the textbooks. The history of marginalised communities is also excluded from the national narrative and all these point to exclusion.

The exclusion of diverse voices or multiple perspectives is prevalent from all the textbooks that were studied. This includes the superficial handling of controversial and emotive issues. The sections on Namibian history of the secondary school history textbooks do not include primary accounts of victims from both sides of the warring factions during the liberation war for example. These are important to remove fear, building confidence and trust and the creation of empathy which are so important for reconciliation.

In general, the textbooks are not explicitly triumphalist, polemical or vindictive about non-dominant groups. However, in the narration of the initial wars of anti-colonial resistance the German suppression of the resistance is termed genocide and is highly vindictive. Implicitly the textbooks hint on the defeat of the South African government and its surrogates, which participated in its interim governments, and the triumph of SWAPO, the Angolan and Cuban forces.

The textbooks do not provide opportunities for learners to discover and construct knowledge. Instead they provide long narrative historical accounts, often one sided, which learners have to absorb. Apart from the end of chapter's activities, there are rarely activities alongside the

narrative so that learners can learn to analyse primary sources, role-play situations and events and so develop critical thinking habits and better understand past events. Although a significant number of open ended activities are included in the textbooks, these are usually at the end of the chapters and do not unlock the narrative content as learners progress but have the potential to reproduce what was narrated in the content.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study found that the textbooks' sections on Namibian history lack when it comes to the inclusion of a multiplicity of voices and henceforth do not show balance, depth as well as narrative complexity. The one-dimensional third person narrative dominates the content of the textbooks' sections on Namibian history to the detriment of the inclusion of diverse and contradictory primary sources which encourage critical thinking skills. In general the textbooks' sections on Namibian history are mainly content based as opposed to them being skills based and do not promote historical craftsmanship.

The textbooks' sections on Namibian history's inadequate representation of all Namibian social groups and their superficial handling of controversial and emotive issues may not promote values that the curriculum intends to foster such as tolerance, democracy, equality and social justice. Although there are changes to the way the curriculum was taught in the past, there seems to be no significant additions to the way the distant past is presented in the current textbooks compared to those of the past. The arrival of new immigrants in Namibia like the Basters and the Oorlams and the impact of their arrival on the balance of power in central and southern Namibia for example are presented in the textbooks in the same way as in the past. There are however significant additions from the history of anti-colonial resistance to the liberation struggle. The literature on curriculum reform in countries that emerged from violent conflict suggest that the way the curriculum was taught in the past as well as the present curriculum need to be considered and aligned to the intended goals of reconciliation in the whole system (Tawil and Harley, 2004).

The fact that learners' activities are packed at the end of themes in almost all the textbooks makes the position of the learner a passive receiver of content knowledge instead of him/her being active in the construction of knowledge. This situation can be improved through the inclusion of more primary sources in the textbooks and to limit the length of the narrative content. In so doing the learners will engage with the sources, build historical understanding and construct their own narratives of the past. Although aligning the learners' activities to examination question papers as is the case in most of the textbooks that I studied probably prepares learners for examinations, it is tantamount to examination coaching and does not promote meaningful learning.

Directions for further research

The curriculum that is taught is broad and includes the intended and hidden curriculum. Whether inclusivity, diversity and reconciliation will be achieved do not depend on the content of school history textbooks only, let alone on the sections on Namibian history. This study does not focus on the teachers' perceptions of the school textbooks in general and their perceptions on the sections on Namibian history in particular; the way learners' perceive the sections on Namibian history is not analysed in this study as well.

Namibia emerged from a segregated society under apartheid colonialism and a similar segregation of schools along racial and or ethnic lines. Independence did not necessarily remove these lines of segregation completely. In some instances these lines have become lines that segregate society along social and economic class or status. This study neither addresses the

school contexts in which the textbooks' sections on Namibian history are taught nor does it analyse additional resources that are used to aid the textbooks and in particular the sections on Namibian history. This study also did not exhaust the curriculum expectations on assessment and how these are manifested within the school context. These are all areas for further research.

Suggestions for curriculum designers and textbooks authors

The fact that the assessment objectives which contain the skills that need to be mastered in history cannot be linked to specific content largely contributes to the exclusion of these skills in history textbooks. The textbooks do not provide a clear cut connection between the skills and learning objectives. It is obvious that textbooks authors largely concentrate on covering the learning content. This leaves the learners' mastery of the skills entirely to the teachers. Textbook writers may consider including learners' activities along the narrative content in which learners can use historical skills to unlock the content.

The learning content that needs to be mastered is huge and compact especially in the lower secondary phase of schooling. The two years of the upper secondary phase of schooling is a repetition of everything that was done in the last two years of lower secondary. The non-inclusion of a depth study on Namibian history is detrimental to the study of Namibian history. This can clearly be seen in the way Namibian history is presented in the upper secondary textbooks. There is virtually no complexity or depth and no new topics or new sources that were discovered. The question of complexity can be addressed through bringing in options for schools to choose from. This will not only enable schools to explore topics in depth but will also allow them to deal with various topics on social history and the history of certain localities. Upper

secondary school history need not be a repetition of what was done in the previous grades. The introduction of a depth study exclusively on Namibian history is long overdue. It will be good if the depth study is based on a new topic prescribed for every examination. Curriculum designers may consider including post-independence themes on political changes and the impact of socio-economic reform policies. This study also recommends that the content be reduced and that the history curriculum focuses more on the acquisition of skills to critically analyse historical events as opposed to absorbing a lot of content.

In light of this, this study suggests among a host of topics, the following topics as examples for the Namibian Depth Study which the study proposes for the upper secondary school history:

Table 24: Examples of topics for Namibian Depth Study

TOPICS	TITLE
1	Concessions and collaborations by Namibian communities between 1920 and 1948: Did these benefit Namibian communities or strengthen the South African Native Land Acts?
2	The Contract Labour System: Origin and its social, political, economic and cultural ramifications.
3	The ruling of the International Court of Justice and Omgulu gwOmbashe, 26 August 1966: To what extent did the court ruling lead to the events of 26 August 1966? Did SWAPO launch an armed struggle or was it reacting to South African attack?
4	Jariretundu Kozonguizi's Radio Peking Speech: Exile politics, diplomatic rows – how did SWAPO overtook SWANU as a national liberation movement?
5	“We are Namibians and not South Africans.” The Pretoria Treason Trial: Did it pacify/intensify Namibian resistance?
6	The Tanga Consultative Conference: How far did it pave the direction of SWAPO as a liberation movement?
7	Why did the National Convention disintegrate? Was it because SWAPO started to feel bigger than the other parties after its recognition as “the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people” by the UN General Assembly in 1973?
8	The interim government, 1978 – 1983. Was it an illustration of South African commitment to an internal settlement or a puppet government to derail the people's

TOPICS	TITLE
	just struggle for genuine national liberation?
9	How far did Angolan independence intensify SWAPO's armed struggle/
10	How far did the collapse of the Soviet Union, its satellite states and the subsequent end of the Cold War herald a new dawn for Namibia?
11	The Lubango Detainee saga: What happened in Angola? How far was SWAPO infiltrated by South African spies? Was the crackdown on suspected spies an overreaction from the SWAPO side? Is it true that mostly "southerners and intellectuals" were targeted by the SWAPO Security apparatus?
12	1 April 1989: An "ill-advised, symbolic incursion" as victory and independence beckoned? Flaws in the terms and conditions of Resolution 435 or a South African way to avenge her defeat at the decisive battle of Quito Cuanavale?
13	The Caprivi secessionist rebellion. Was it a threat to the unitary state or a genuine attempt at self-determination by the people of Caprivi? How far did the declaration of a state of emergency and cross border attacks on Namibians by UNITA fuel human rights abuses by the security forces? Did the reaction of the NDF proved those who did not support a standing army at the onset wrong?
14	Namibian involvement in the DRC war. Economic interest or regional obligation?
15	The first Constitutional amendment – the presidential term of office. Was it prompted by attempts at hailing one individual, Sam Nujoma, as a redeemer of the Namibian nation? Was the acclaimed Namibian constitution under threat?
16	Socio-economic transformation after independence: EFA (Education for All), NDP I, II and III, attempts at industrialisation and Vision 2030 (the first ten years), ETSIP, BEE, The Resettlement Programme

Although high stake national external examinations are certainly important for the sake of uniformity and setting standards, they are certainly detrimental to the study of the history of certain localities. Learners from a given town or village are not accorded opportunities to investigate an old building in their town or village or more so the history of their town or village as a project. It is against this background that this study suggests that apart from the core history curriculum, schools should be given open choices for project work as part of school based studies. This study further noted with grave concern that there is no school based studies for the upper secondary phase in history, only the terminal examination count. This is a matter that needs to be addressed with urgency.

Textbooks impact skills as well as content knowledge. Learners' activities, and thus skills, should preferably unlock historical knowledge and not the other way around where content is given followed by learners' activities. The textbooks should include a multiplicity of often contradictory sources covering different historical perspectives. This will enhance historical studies through the promotion of critical thinking and tolerance for diverse views. The present scenario to some degree depicts reading comprehension exercises.

The teaching and learning of history contributes to the formation of tolerance in a highly diverse and pluralistic society like Namibia. National reconciliation in Namibia is a declared policy not a legislated law. Therefore the way it is interpreted and its application may vary or it may be invariably invoked to suit specific purposes. I hope that this study may contribute to the way textbooks are written in order to promote social cohesion and national reconciliation.

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