

Engaging with the “otherness” of dark history events in African History textbooks

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Education)

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Date of submission: November 2024

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dark history events in African history
textbooks

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The author, whose name appears on the title page of this thesis, has obtained the applicable research ethics approval for the research described in this work. The author declares that they have observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for Researchers and the policy guidelines for responsible research.

Dedication

To my littlest love, Graye. At one point in your 5-year-old life, you wanted to be an army race car driver, but you also wanted to be like mommy; a teacher and a doctor who “helps people and teaches them”. You are still too small to understand, but you have been my greatest source of motivation to finish this thesis. Anything is possible my Graye Graye, and the sky is not the limit; the limit does not exist.

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Abstract

Otherness in history textbooks often highlights marginalised perspectives, revealing how certain narratives have been excluded, distorted or silenced. The official narrative that does appear within these history textbooks are labelled as the programmatic curriculum, influenced by current dispensations and ideology which can include nation-building and reconciliation post-conflict in an effort to forget some uncomfortable truths from the past. Dark historical events, such as the Nigerian-Biafran War in Nigeria, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin in Uganda, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, are crucial for understanding the complexities of identity and power dynamics. Using a narrative inquiry and case study methodology, this thesis set out to answer two research questions: how are events of dark history and “otherness” engaged with in textbooks in Nigeria, Rwanda, and Uganda and why are the dark history events and otherness engaged with in this manner in these countries?

To answer these questions, I investigated the narratives surrounding the specific historical conflicts in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda using key concepts, including multiperspectivity, otherness, and dark history introduced to facilitate an understanding of how these narratives are constructed and represented. An analysis tool was devised using Chatman’s (1978) narrative elements as well as Polkinghorne’s view on narrative inquiry. The findings were viewed through descriptive, analytical, and theoretical lenses.

This thesis identifies a gap in the study of dark history and otherness, specifically the degree of darkness associated with historical events in relation to their acknowledgement of otherness and multiperspectivity. To address this, the study introduces the shading continuum, a framework for categorising dark historical events based on the perspectives they encompass. It examines the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, revealing how narratives surrounding these events are influenced by collective memory, political ideologies, and historical revisionism, ultimately affecting national unity and reconciliation efforts.

The analysis highlights how dominant narratives often suppress complexities and marginalise certain groups, thereby perpetuating a sense of otherness. In Nigeria, muted discussions of the Biafran War emphasise post-conflict unity over historical trauma. Uganda presents a sanitised view of Amin’s regime, omitting victim narratives to protect the current government’s legitimacy. In Rwanda, the government’s framing of the genocide emphasises Tutsi victimhood while downplaying Hutu roles, thus shaping public memory in line with political priorities.

The study positions each historical event along the shading continuum: the Nigerian-Biafran War is classified as “grey” due to its incomplete narratives; Amin's dictatorship as “silver” for its single, oversimplified perspective; and the Rwandan genocide as the “blackest black” due to severe limitations on multiperspectivity. By challenging dominant Western narratives and employing an intersectional approach, this research amplifies marginalised voices and calls for greater inclusivity, empathy, and understanding in historical discourse. Acknowledging these aspects fosters critical thinking and empathy, encouraging the users of these textbooks (whether researchers or students) to confront biases and challenge dominant narratives.

Key terms: otherness, dark history, textbooks, African textbooks, history education, multiperspectivity

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List of abbreviations

BES	Best Evidence Synthesis
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements
DoE	Department of Education
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
IEB	Independent Education Board
JAMB	Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board
KY	Kabaka Yekka
LGBTQIA	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, or asexual
MCQ	Multiple Choice Questions
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
OBE	Outcomes-based education
PWD	Persons with disabilities
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SAGS	Subject Assessment Guidelines
UN	United Nations
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UTME	Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination
WASSCE	West African Senior School Certificate Examination

Chapter 1

Introduction: Setting the scene

“Until the lion learns how to write, every story will glorify the hunter” –
Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*

1.1 Introduction to the study

We are taught from a young age that there are two sides to every story and that we should not judge a book by its cover. In an ideal world, this moral lesson teaches us to be tolerant and empathetic towards others – placing ourselves in their proverbial shoes – to better understand our position and theirs. In a utopian setting, this would be true, but the stark reality in which we find ourselves is one where the victor writes the history that is remembered and learnt; one side is inevitably favoured over the other and portrayed as the only version of that story (Loewen, 1995). This story will be recalled in the future and soon reframed, hailing the winners, the “us”, and vilifying the losers, the “them”, so that citizens can identify with it. This fragmented story becomes the grand narrative and no one will bother asking if there was ever another side (Harari, 2014; MacMillan, 2008; Synder, 2017). This reconceptualised narrative – which, to be fair, may have some historical facts woven through its fabric – is a prime example of how the notion of the “us versus them” phenomenon is established, truly a tale as old as time (Fiske, 2011; Russell Hochschild, 2016; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). There will be two sides, so instead of hearing them out, they need to be positioned against each other and can seemingly never find peace or co-existence.

This can be seen in the 1994 Disney film *The Lion King*, where Mufasa imparts some wisdom to his rambunctious young cub, Simba, who is destined to be king one day:

Mufasa: Everything the light touches is our kingdom ... A king's time as ruler rises and falls like the sun. One day, Simba, the sun will set on my time here and will rise with you as the new king.

Simba: Everything the light touches ... What about that shadowy place?

Mufasa: That's beyond our borders. You must never go there, Simba.

(Minkoff & Allers, 1994)

Mufasa has inadvertently drawn a distinction between the light, which is seemingly good, and the dark, which is seemingly bad. Everything the light touches is part of Pride Rock and the Pride Lands, whereas everything that lurks in the shadows is part of the Elephant Graveyard and is forbidden. Simba accepts his father's advice as the truth as Mufasa is an authority and the king (that is, he is in charge and his decisions are final) and, therefore, Simba never questions it or the grand narrative. With this life lesson comes the notion that a singular truth can exist without relaying or relying on all the facts of a story and allowing the young cub to make up his own mind as to why the Elephant Graveyard is forbidden. Mufasa's life lesson highlights a concept which is key to this study – the idea of a singular grand narrative contrasted with multiple perspectives surrounding the same event. Similarly, as Achebe (1958: n.p.) has popularised the African proverb, "Until the lion learns how to write, every story will glorify the hunter." Thus, as a result of the lived experiences of his father, Mufasa, and until Simba is left to uncover his own truth, he always thinks of the Elephant Graveyard as inherently bad. Mufasa's words have become the singular narrative that is viewed as the only official grand truth regarding the Elephant Graveyard and everything the shadow touches.

The stories to which Simba has been exposed were passed down from generation to generation, mainly narrated by Mufasa but also by other animals, especially those who might have encountered the mighty lions of the Pride Lands. Simba, listening to these stories, would have noticed a recurring theme, a perspective that is often biased in favour of the other animals, particularly the hunters. He realised that his kind, the lions, were depicted as fearsome predators, rulers of the animal kingdom, but seldom were their noble qualities highlighted.

In addition to knowing only one side of the narrative, Mufasa's life lesson also speaks to another aspect that this study aims to clarify – the notion that both the light (accepted, undisputed) and the dark (controversial, disputed) matter and should be understood in the context of its lightness or darkness. In *The Lion King*, everything the light touches is considered to be good, while the place that is covered in darkness is considered to be bad or evil. Furthermore, these light and dark matters are tainted with either factual acceptance or no contention (that is, undisputed) in the light areas where Simba needs to stay versus the shadowy Elephant Graveyard, which is dark and bad, leading to controversy and contention, and is best avoided.

It is necessary to clarify here what is meant by a narrative and its various derivatives, as this notion underpins the conceptualisation of the study. Simply put, a narrative is one of the components that make up a story. For a story to be established, a plot and characters are required. The plot is determined by the events which are to be included in the story (Abbott,

2008; Bal, 2009; Hühn et al., 2014). This is further guided by the chronology in which the events are described and the manner in which this is done. It is this manner that culminates in what we know to be a narrative (Genette, 1983; Herman, 2012). Thus, a narrative is a story about events, and how the story is told and unfolds is what we are interested in. This is further explored in Chapter 3. Mufasa's tale about the Elephant Graveyard may not have been completely truthful, but his intent was to portray it as a dark and evil place, one that would instil fear in Simba to ensure that he stayed away from it and dared not question his father's authority on the matter.

In later years, Simba himself realised that while the Elephant Graveyard was indeed a desolate and dark place, it was due to environmental factors rather than those who inhabited the area. The stereotypes that were projected onto Scar, Simba's outcast uncle, and the hyenas amplified the ambience of it being an evil, dark, and desolate place. Thus, with the knowledge he had gained about the Elephant Graveyard and with Rafiki's (the wise mandrill's) guidance, Simba became determined to change the narrative and began documenting the true stories of the Pride Lands. He wrote about the compassion, leadership, and circle of life that lions revered. He penned tales of courage, love, and unity within the pride. As Simba's written stories spread, the animals of the Savannah started to see a different side to the lions. The narrative began to shift, portraying the balance that the lions brought to the delicate ecosystem. The hunter was no longer just a fearsome figure but a guardian of the delicate balance of nature. In rewriting the narrative, Simba not only gave a voice to his fellow lions but also taught the animals of the Pride Lands that every tale has multiple perspectives. The animals of the Savannah began to understand that until the lion learnt how to write, the stories would always glorify the hunter, but with Simba's new-found skill, a more balanced and truthful narrative emerged, enriching the understanding of all the creatures in the Pride Lands.

Similarly, the idea of shifting perspectives can be seen in education (Freire, 1968; Peck MacDonald, 1994; Philips, 1998). "Over the past several decades, the focus on educational change has been pervasive and unrelenting" (Timperley et al., 2007: vii) and, as such, transformation and reform are seen in various educational frameworks around the world (Ndlovu et al., 2018). South Africa's education system can be used to illustrate this point. Umalusi is the overarching body of governance for education and sets the "standards of general and further education and training" (Umalusi, 2019, n.p.). All schools in South Africa, whether private or government, must adhere to and comply with the regulations set by Umalusi despite the fact that both private and government schools subscribe to different curriculum policy documents.

At the time of completing my Master's in History Education, the educational framework being used in government schools was outcomes-based education (OBE), although this was on the verge of being changed to the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS). However, the independent or private schools in South Africa subscribed to the Independent Education Board (IEB). Therefore, my master's study was rooted in a framework that would be changing within a year. Furthermore, while I was at school, the framework for the curriculum policy document was entrenched in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). The school I currently teach at is an independent or private school which subscribes to the Subject Assessment Guidelines (SAGS). These guidelines are based on the Grade 12 South African CAPS and are underwritten by the IEB. All these changes by the Department of Education took place in the space of 19 years. More specifically, the History curriculum, like the educational framework used in South Africa, also underwent many changes over the years:

The History curriculum has gone through many iterations, from sanitising the content after apartheid to removing the disciplinary boundaries and encouraging a constructivist approach in c. 2005 [Curriculum 2005]. History was later reinstated in the RNCS/NCS [Revised National Curriculum Statement/National Curriculum Statement] with the express intention of encouraging redress ... while maintaining an outcomes-based approach. Finally, in the Curriculum and Policy Statement (CAPS), History taught at schools was pared down and there was a return to a content focus, with a greater emphasis on "citizenship" (Ndlovu et al., 2018: 7).

Now, in 2024, everything has seemingly returned to "normal". CAPS and the IEB's SAGS are still being used under the umbrella of Umalusi; however, the change and challenge that educators face is no longer a changing educational framework but rather the uncertainty of teaching. Owing to the national lockdown imposed on South Africa as a result of the coronavirus COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, teaching changed overnight in terms of its job descriptions and expectations. Teachers were expected to teach students online using applications such as Zoom, Google Meets, Teams and other internet-based platforms, programs, and online media. In addition, some teachers were teaching in a hybrid system, in essence, teaching students online and physically in the classroom simultaneously. These changes took place within the local and national framework of South Africa – local in terms of the individual schools' responses to COVID-19 and national in terms of how CAPS and the IEB's SAGS had to adapt to the varying degrees of online or homeschooling during the hard lockdown period that lasted eight weeks.

The above has briefly illustrated how the change in the educational framework and, subsequently, the historical perspective was inevitable as it was being guided by changes that

occurred outside the educational realm in areas such as politics, society, and economics. This idea can be applied to the greater world context, too – from South Africa to the rest of the African continent. This yielded great differences in the educational landscape as well as the impact and toll that the global pandemic took on countries, including their reactions to this crisis, over and above existing issues that had plagued their countries. Moreover, the comparison can be made from continent to continent that the way in which education has been and is perceived, viewed, and executed is vastly different and most certainly guided by factors that include but are not limited to politics, economics, and social structures.

Looking more closely at the discipline of history education, Stradling (2001) noted almost a quarter of a century ago that there had been a general shift from contemporary history to cross-disciplinary history, which seems to strengthen the view that we need to move away from a single narrative to multiple perspectives. Scharf (2018: 10) concurs that “life, history, society and power cannot be understood from a single perspective; we need multiple viewpoints to truly see the world”. Multiple perspectives mean that educators need to expose students to more sources, more literature, and more knowledge, which in itself is problematic. Stradling (2001: 21) terms this notion “too much history per square kilometre”, highlighting the issue that there is far too much content to be covered and, as such, certain exclusions of historical events are bound to take place. But selection is inexorable and the question should not be what to include but rather what to exclude. Historical significance could also be an underlying factor in determining whether an event is included or excluded from a narrative, which, as Koekemoer (2012) notes, refers to how prominently an entity features in a text or how much importance is attached to it. Such significance can also be seen in government or curriculum documents that indicate what historical events are deemed significant for students to know and understand. This then filters down to the programmatic curriculum (textbooks), which are the primary tools of instruction. Could this also have something to do with which narrative is told, how it is told, and by whom? The trend suggests that a historical event (whether it is the 1967–1970 Nigerian-Biafran War, the Civil War in Nigeria, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin from 1971–1979 in Uganda, or the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda) is taught from a national and political perspective, that is, a local perspective, rather than a global one. This is discussed later in the chapter dealing with the conceptual framework of the study.

Amongst all these considerations, one has to ask why historical events are taught in the manner in which they are taught and whether this has something to do with the purpose of history itself. Kukard (2017) explains that school history exists as a recontextualised version of the academic history discipline and produces particular academic identities and narratives.

Furthermore, it can also form a powerful tool for governments in their attempt to shape civic identities (this is discussed in the literature review). Kukard (2017) furthers this idea by discussing her understanding of history by highlighting three orientations of the purpose of history: as memory, being analytical, and being critical.

The first orientation is that of memory history. This is history that should teach the national story (or narrative) to create a shared identity (Kukard, 2017). It is synonymous with the more traditional narratives to which students are exposed, deemed the “official accounts of the past” (Wertsch, 2002: 67), in which collective memory is built, and consequently, this history provides “identity, cohesion, and social purpose” (Seixas, 2000: 22). Kukard (2017: 25) concludes that the memory history orientation sees a “chronological, national, and politically focused narrative as the primary feature of an effective history education”. This type of orientation does not lend itself to multiperspectivity but rather to a singular narrative to suit a particular need and foster the identity of a group, as opposed to promoting diversity.

The second orientation is that of analytical history. This is history that should teach students to develop analytical skills (Kukard, 2017). This orientation contrasts with the first by being more progressive and looking at the construct of knowledge. Its primary purpose is “building historical knowledge and critiquing others’ historical accounts” (Seixas, 2000: 25). The aim of this orientation is to focus more on “ways of knowing” than on the content knowledge of history (Barton & Levstik, 2004: 82). Therefore, this analytical orientation allows students to come to their own conclusions regarding historical events, having been presented with the information to make up their own minds as opposed to more traditional history teaching which was far more chalk-and-talk based (and, in some instances, is still that way).

The third orientation is critical history. This orientation lent itself to this study and assisted in framing the current phenomenological issue as it is history that should help students to actively participate in society and become critically engaged citizens (Kukard, 2017). The orientation of critical history advocates for the use of a national narrative which focuses on “themes of pluralism and participation” (Barton & Levstik, 2004: 61) as opposed to narratives that may, as Kukard (2017) notes, alienate some groups or idolise others. Kukard (2017) further concludes that the goals of critical history are aimed at nationalism, that is, inclusivity rather than exclusivity, to ensure that all students are able to practice good citizenship and feel a part of their country’s national pride and identity.

Thus, in light of the above, this study aimed to engage in dark history events and otherness in selected African history textbooks using the three case studies of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. The study asked: what does the current programmatic curriculum (textbooks) say

about these events, namely the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Uganda's Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, whose narrative is presented, and why are other voices excluded from the proverbial Elephant Graveyard? How do these representations of the dark historical events (or lack thereof) contribute towards multiperspectivity and critical history?

To introduce the study, I now contextualise the intricacies of concept framing. This has already been seen through the discussion and mapping out of the notion of narratives and multiperspectivity and is further explored in Chapter 3. Notions of light and dark in the historical playground and how this connects to the core concept being explored in this study are furthered by examining otherness. This entire mirage of conceptualisation plays out in the case of three countries situated in Africa: Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. I have created a visual representation (Figure 1) to contextualise this concept.

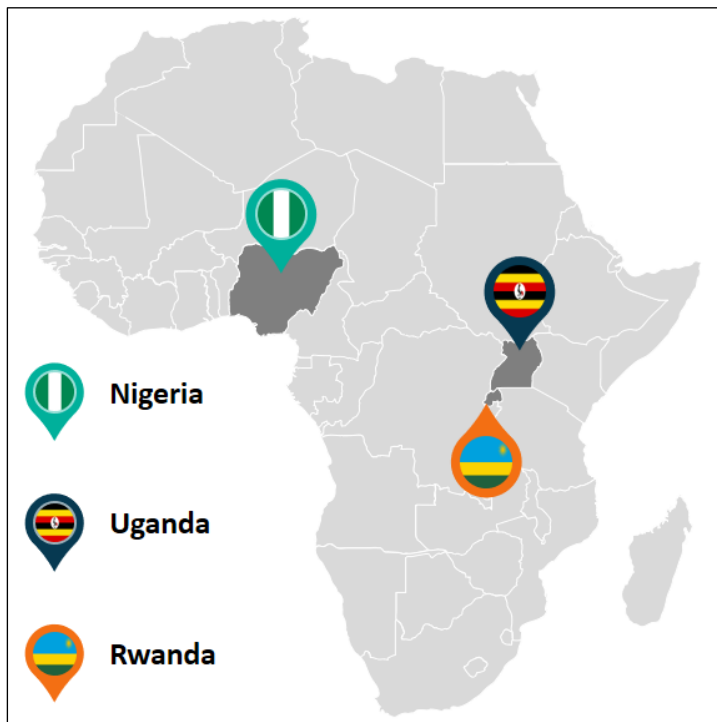


Figure 1: Map showing the geographical position of the three case studies

The background includes a comprehensive look at the historiographical position of the three case studies. This is necessary to see if there are any similarities or differences between them. The rationale and motivation are then explored to explain the need for this research. Thereafter, I identify the focus and purpose of the study and list the research questions. The theoretical framework is then explained along with the research design and methodology. Finally, I outline the structure of this study before concluding this introductory chapter.

1.2 Background and framing the context of the study

This study has hinged on many different moving parts coming together for the reader to understand and follow. By this, I mean that many different concepts were paired together (termed a bricolage of intersectional concepts for the purpose of this study) in an attempt to make sense of dark historical events by looking at concepts such as multiperspectivity, dark history, narratives, and otherness. Each of these concepts comes with its own complexities which needed to be understood individually before they could be applied to unpacking and engaging with otherness in the selected Nigerian, Ugandan, and Rwandan historical events.

At this juncture, it is important to clarify what is meant by the concept “dark” and how it relates to history and the three historical events that formed the backdrop for this study. As alluded to earlier in this chapter with *The Lion King* analogy, the concept of “darkness” is synonymous with things that are sinister or bad, in layman’s terms. This is concurred with by Stone (2006: 146), who decidedly did not

wish to enter into a philosophical debate over the term “dark”, but rather to accept a common-sense meaning, it is fair to suggest that the term “dark”, as applied here, alludes to a sense of apparent disturbing practices and morbid products [and experiences].

Dark history then refers to events that have to do with sinister issues such as death and destruction that violate human rights and cause great suffering, events that would possibly shock people who learn about them and evoke emotions that are unpleasant and disturbing, as mentioned by Stone (2006). Furthermore, when people visit sites and museums where sinister events have taken place, this kind of tourism is referred to as “dark tourism”. “Dark tourism is a scholarly label given to the global array of sites that portray or memorialise death, disaster, and atrocity within the visitor economy” (Sharpley & Stone, 2009: n.p.). Thus, if dark tourism is a by-product of dark history, then dark history can be conceptualised and explored as events in the past that deal (to varying degrees) with the macabre and sinister and which can often be viewed in a negative light.

There are various narratives (in other words, multiple perspectives) that surround dark history events. These events are heavily debated, which can, in turn, make the dark history events controversial and contentious. Furthermore, because there is no single narrative that can be agreed upon, the view that appears in the programmatic curriculum (that is, the textbooks) is not shared by everyone. This is a result of deep-seated internal issues (for instance, political, economic, or social) or disparities in either the sequence (the order in which the narrative is presented) or the interpretation of the events not being agreed upon.

Yet, simply because a history is deemed controversial does not necessarily mean that it is dark and vice versa. What makes some dark history events become subjects of controversy are the differing interpretations, perspectives, and ethical considerations which come into play. This is further explored in Chapter 3 as part of the conceptual framework. Consequently, a dark historical event is not only part of a history that profoundly divides people in their feelings towards it, but the retelling of the event for future generations can also be disputed.

Not all dark history events are created equal. Stone (2006: 157) states that dark historical events are “identifiable [in] degrees or ‘shades’ of darkness [which] can be attributed to a particular type of dark tourism”. In other words, not all dark history events are equally intense or have the same level of morbidity. Some may be more emotionally challenging or historically significant than others. Therefore, to assist me in determining how dark a dark history event might be, I developed and designed a shade continuum, which I used to analyse the dark history events selected for this study (Figure 2). These shades range from “pure white” to “blackest black”. History and its events can be shade-graded on this continuum.

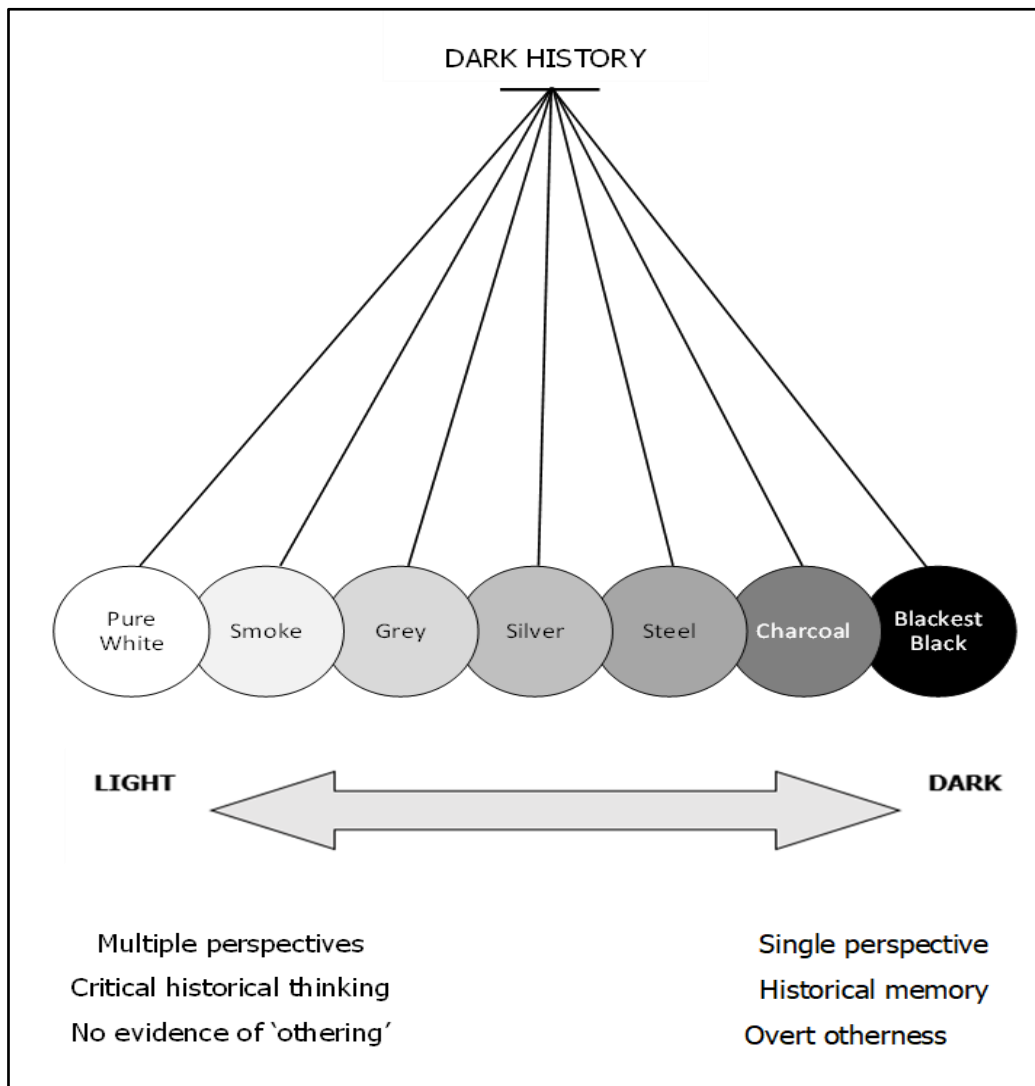


Figure 2: Diagrammatic representation of the shade continuum of dark history events

A “pure white” event is portrayed in a light manner in terms of its historical thinking, where multiple perspectives exist, an engagement with critical thinking is evident, and there is no evidence of otherness. The more perspectives that exist around a particular event, the more critical thinking takes place and the less room there is for any form of otherness to appear. This can be classified as history which contains nothing of a contentious or controversial nature. The more the perspectives that exist, are inclusive, and are generally agreed upon, the lighter they appear on the shade continuum, for example, as “pure white” or “smoke”. Here, the general assumption is that teachers do not mind teaching these events and would be “happy to teach” them (Pace, 2021: 228) as, for the most part, emotion is not evoked. There is also a sense that people are happier to learn about these events as they are less macabre than mass killings and human rights abuses.

As you move along the continuum from light to dark, the colour of the narrative increases proportionally with the increasingly contentious nature of the historical events. Events that are

ambiguous to varying degrees remain in the “grey” to “charcoal” area in the middle of the continuum. However, the more controversial, debated, and sinister events are, the darker they appear on the shade continuum and at the end of the shade continuum is a dark history or “blackest black” event. Such an event could be where only one narrative exists that contains overt otherness, where individual memory is excluded, and where historical memory favours nation-building in a narrow, nationalist sense. Dark history events are taught in this dark and sinister manner and this manner alone.

The darkest shades represent histories that are contentious and controversial at their very core, dealing with atrocities, killings, and suffering on a mass scale. Examples of such events include the Holocaust, apartheid, and the African events selected for this study, namely the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Admin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsis. The facts of these historical events are often questioned or disputed because, while multiple perspectives exist, usually only one master narrative is presented in the programmatic curriculum, and otherness is overt in the meta-narrative. Therefore, dark history events slide along the shade continuum towards the “blackest black”. Teachers often describe teaching these dark history events as those that they “wouldn’t touch with a barge pole” (Pace, 2021: 228) and they find teaching them problematic as they deal with mass killing, civilian suffering, and human rights abuses. It is these discarded parts of the narrative that make up the otherness that this study engages with as its phenomenon. The idea behind this shaded continuum is to illustrate that nothing in the dark history events in the programmatic curriculum or in people themselves is ever clear-cut as different perspectives exist; it is these “grey” areas that make treading these waters rather murky.

The idea behind this shade continuum can be taken further. It can be used to demonstrate how people view and engage with dark history events by categorising their views along the light–dark continuum. Darker shades represent only a single view being accepted as part of the official meta-narrative that has been presented, as in the case of the dark history events for this study. Lighter shades of dark history events are less contested and controversial and mostly agreed upon as there are multiple perspectives. Again, it must be noted that each individual constructs their own meaning. Generally speaking, people do not like change or to challenge their own convictions regarding something and thus tend to shy away from it. Once they have made up their minds about something, they tend to commit to that belief, whether it is entrenched in a national, local, or ethnic belief that grounds the decision. Thus, the continuum can be likened to Figure 3.



Figure 3: Screenshot of a scene from the TV series *Sofia the First*

This is a screenshot from a popular children's cartoon called *Sofia the First* created by Craig Gerber for Disney Television Animation. The series, which aired on American TV from 2013 to 2018 (Riegel, Mitchell & Mantta, 2013), follows the life of a little girl who, for the most part, starts life as a poor working-class girl. However, her mother falls in love with the King of Enchancia after which she becomes a princess. Sofia has a heart of gold and always does what is right. She faces many opponents who are seemingly evil, and she has to overcome the challenges thrown her way. One such challenge is the evil Princess Ivy who has butterflies that turn everything into black and white. This illustrates that everyone has a different perspective (whether you see it in colour or black and white, as in the case of this screenshot). It is with this individual perspective that you are presented with the multiple perspectives of a dark history event that you need to attempt to make sense of.

Princess Sofia discovers a magical amulet that allows her to understand the perspectives of historical events in a unique way. One day, she encounters Princess Ivy, a character known for her complex narrative in the colourful world of Enchancia. In the original narrative, Princess Ivy is portrayed as a character with misguided intentions, causing chaos and conflict. However, with the magic of the amulet, Sofia sees the opportunity to recontextualise the narrative, shifting it from a colourful narrative to a more nuanced black-and-white one. As Sofia delves into the magical history of Enchancia, she realises that Princess Ivy has her own story, shaped by historical events that were not fully explored. In this re-imagined narrative, the once vibrant colours of Enchancia turn black and white, symbolising the simplified view that has been presented. Princess Ivy, initially painted as a villain, emerges as a character shaped by the complexities of the kingdom's history. The amulet reveals untold stories of power struggles,

misunderstandings, and unexplored motivations. Sofia's new-found ability to see the world in black and white allows her to appreciate the shades of grey that exist in the historical events of Enchancia. In embracing this altered perspective, Sofia seeks to bridge the gaps between the characters, fostering understanding and empathy. The recontextualised narrative not only changes the way the characters are perceived but also encourages a more comprehensive understanding of the kingdom's past.

When we look at the image in Figure 3, it may make us uncomfortable as we are so used to seeing everything in colour that despite the fact that the image itself is the same in terms of the characters and setting, our response to it is different due to the lack of colour. It makes us uncomfortable, and something seems "off" or wrong as it is not from our own perspective. Similarly, when it comes to dark historical events, which we are used to viewing in a certain way. If someone comes along and tries to change that perspective, we feel upset, rattled, and challenged (Macintyre & Clark, 2003; Trouillot, 1995). People do not like change, and they find it difficult to have their convictions challenged if that is all they have ever known. For this reason, conflict and controversy will always exist when it comes to history education.

This brings the notion of recontextualisation to the fore (Bernstein, 1999; Bertram, 2016) where a story or event is looked at from a different angle or perspective. Recontextualisation is about changing how we understand something by considering its context or the surrounding circumstances, where "knowledge is selected and sequenced into curriculum documents and textbooks" (Bertram, 2016: 4). For example, if you read a story about a historical event in different textbooks, each textbook might tell the story in its own way, emphasising different aspects. Recontextualisation is, therefore, like seeing the story change when you look at it from various viewpoints. Therefore, the film *Sofia the First* attempts to recontextualise the narrative of Princess Ivy by providing a more holistic perspective of her seemingly one-dimensional character. Similarly, in recent history textbooks, educators might adopt a more inclusive approach, presenting events from multiple perspectives to give students a fuller understanding. Recontextualisation aims to offer a more comprehensive, nuanced understanding of historical events by considering different viewpoints and circumstances. This approach helps readers to develop a more critical and inclusive perspective of the past, thus lending itself to the lighter side of the shade continuum.

Furthermore, these recontextualised revisions are viewed by the reader through different layers of perspectives, namely, micro, mesa, and macro. Micro refers to the individual's perspective; mesa refers to the perspective of the immediate community the individual finds themselves in; and macro refers to the wider perspective of the country in which the individual resides. These layers of perspective can be complex and conflicting, creating the unsettled

feeling mentioned earlier when change is introduced into an individual's realm of understanding. To compound the issue, the official perspective as part of the programmatic curriculum is introduced into these collective layers of perspective, which could be in direct contrast to the micro and/or mesa perspective of the individual.

To this end, if we revert to the analogy of *Sofia the First*, the enchanted amulet became a symbol of wisdom and compassion, reminding everyone in Enchancia that historical events are not always as simple or as complex as they might seem at first glance. Through Sofia's journey, the kingdom learnt the importance of recontextualising stories, appreciating diverse perspectives, and embracing the rich tapestry of history, whether individual (micro) or shared (mesa and macro). And so, in the transformed kingdom of Enchancia, the narrative evolved from a simple dichotomy to a nuanced exploration, with Sofia and her friends embracing the true colours or shades of understanding and unity. Could this enchanted amulet be likened to the programmatic curriculum in an educational setting, thus signifying the power that lies in a textbook?

To understand the background and context of this study, thumbnail sketches of the historiography of each case study needed to be placed into context to frame the broader scope of the study. The three case studies or dark historical events that were studied were the Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin of Uganda, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. These were studied in terms of how they were portrayed in selected school history textbooks. The key points of each of the dark events looked at in this chapter are outlined below (Table 1). In addition, I indicate why these dark historical events were and remain contentious issues that are heavily debated.

Table 1: Table showing the layout of the historiography for each case study

Case study	What happened?	Why did it happen?	Multiple perspectives
1. Nigeria The Nigerian War, also known as the Nigerian-Biafran War.			
2. Uganda The political dictatorship of Idi Amin.			
3. Rwanda The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.			

1.2.1 Case Study 1: Nigeria – The Nigerian-Biafran War

The first historiographical case study background is that of Nigeria and the Nigerian-Biafran War. Nigeria is situated in West Africa (see Figure 1) and has a long history dating back to the colonial era.

The Nigerian-Biafran War took place after Nigeria – a diverse country with hundreds of ethnic groups – gained its independence from colonial Britain in 1960. It should be noted that the conflict that sparked the Nigerian-Biafran War preceded the decolonisation of Nigeria and was deeply rooted in various spheres of life: political, economic, ethnic, cultural, and religious, to name a few. At the time, the northern region of Nigeria was dominated by the Hausa-Fulani people, the western region was dominated by the Yoruba people and the eastern region was dominated by the Igbos (BBC Documentary, 2017).

Carved out of the west of Africa by Britain without regard for pre-existing ethnic, cultural, and linguistic divisions, the newly independent state of Nigeria took great strain politically and ethnically as various groups vied for power and domination. As a result of the instability amongst the ethnic groups, a military coup d'état took place in January 1966. The Igbo people, under the command of Major General Aguiyi-Ironsi, tried to protect the nation from a potential political breakdown that the Igbo leaders were concerned about (Shillington, 2004) by overthrowing the government of Sir Abubakar Balewa, who had been in power since independence.

Major Aguiyi-Ironsi, himself an Igbo, took over the reins of government. However, after the successful coup, widespread suspicion of Igbo domination arose in the northern region of Nigeria among the Hausa-Fulani Muslims. The Hausa people had always been opposed to their independence from Britain and saw the Igbo as a threat. This suspicion of the Igbo grew and spread to the Yoruba-dominated regions of Nigeria as well. In July 1966, a joint Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani counter coup d'état was lead against the Igbo. The counter-coup leader, General Gowon, took punitive measures against the Igbo. From May to October of the same year, tensions rose even further when the Northern Muslims killed more than 10 000 Igbo and Easterners living in The North in what was called a “natural reaction” (McNeil, 2014: 543) by the Northerners after seeing pamphlets discussing the murder of prominent Hausa-Fulani politicians by the Igbo. Figure 4 illustrates the complexities in Nigeria with regard to different linguistic groups and those struggling for power.

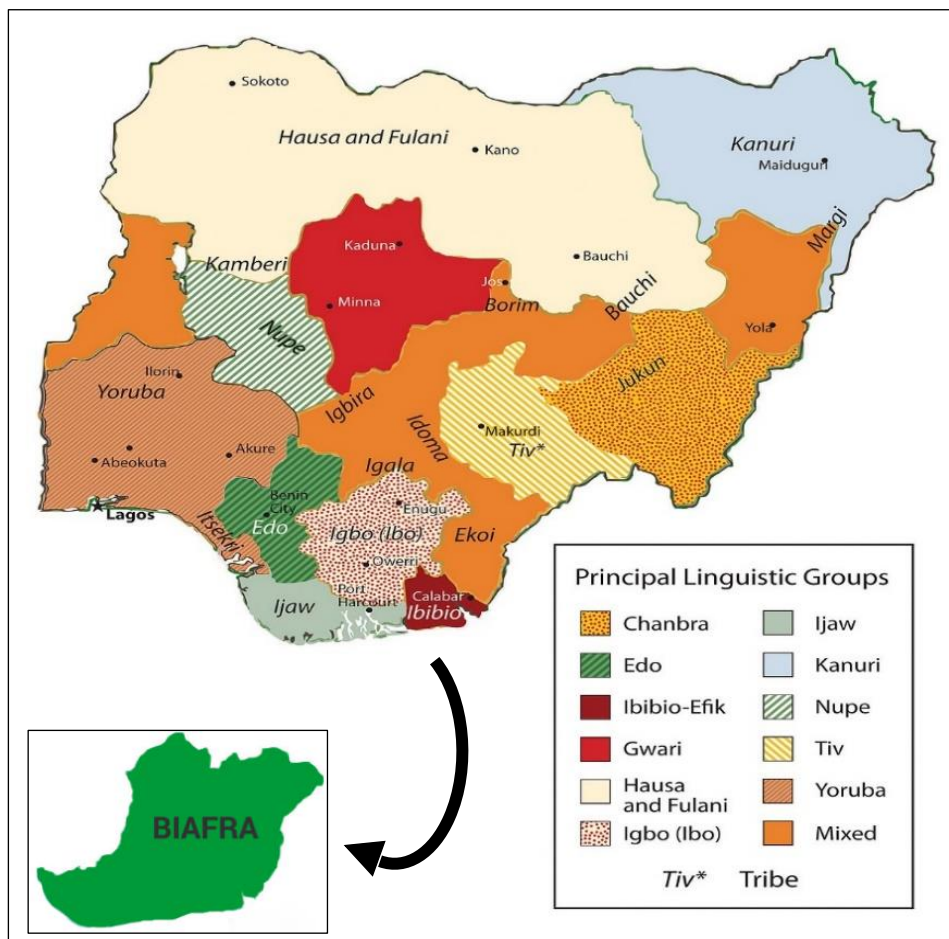


Figure 4: An adapted map showing various linguistic groups in Nigeria and the formation of the Republic of Biafra (Lumen Learning, n.d.)

These anti-Igbo pogroms triggered the call for a separate state of Biafra for the Igbo people. The Biafran leader, Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, declared the

Republic of Biafra on behalf of the Igbo people in the south-east of Nigeria. Ojukwu warned that war with Nigeria was imminent, and he dissolved all bonds with the Federal Military Government of Nigeria:

Fellow countrymen and women, we have arrived at zero hour ... the memory of the thousands of our kith and kin savagely murdered last year ... Biafrans, this is your moment. When we go to war, it will be a war against Nigeria. For it is Nigeria that has vowed that we shall not exist (Kirk-Greene, 1971: 458).

Nigeria would not accept this secessionist state, and on 6 July 1967, the Nigerian Civil War broke out when the Federal Military Government launched a full-scale invasion of Biafra.

The Nigerian-Biafran War took place over a period of two-and-a-half years, from July 1967 to January 1970. The war was fought between the Nigerian government and the secessionist state of Biafra. It is estimated that more than a million people died, mostly from starvation, during this time (Johnson, 2013; Smith, 2010). Expecting a quick victory, the Nigerian army surrounded and battered Biafra with aerial and artillery bombardment that led to large-scale losses among Biafran civilians. The Nigerian navy also established a sea blockade that denied food, medical supplies, and weapons to Biafran soldiers and civilians alike.

Despite the lack of resources and international support, Biafra stood firm, refusing to surrender in the face of overwhelming Nigerian military superiority. In 1968, images of near-starved children and women began surfacing around the world, and Biafra's leaders used this to drum up sympathy for their plight and cause (BBC Documentary, 2017). Around the world, people protested for an end to the conflict from a humanitarian point of view. During this civil war, an estimated 3 000 to 5 000 people died daily in Biafra from starvation as a result of the naval blockade (Shillington, 2004). On the battlefield, the Nigerians were stronger and better equipped for war and by 1970, the Biafran secessionists had surrendered.

Scholars such as McNeil (2014: 539) have pointed out that many "historians, journalists, political scientists, veterans of the war, and common observers alike have commented on the Nigerian-Biafran War ... [and in] the immediate aftermath of the conflict, a veritable cottage industry of work on the Nigerian Civil War emerged". However it faded just as fast as the fascination took hold. Falola (1999) sums this up by adding that in the civil war historiography "emotions have obscured analysis" of the event itself. As a result of multiple perspectives by the different camps, the history of the Nigerian-Biafran War is currently finding itself in a grey zone of understanding and, therefore, the official narrative that exists regarding the event is contested and not agreed upon by everyone. Moreover, the historical events, as briefly

outlined above, indicate why the Nigerian-Biafran War is a contentious issue and is heavily debated. Likewise, the Nigerian-Biafran War is an example of a dark history.

There are three schools of thought when it comes to understanding the perspective taken on the origins of the Nigerian-Biafran War. The first perspective, as explained by McNeil (2014), is that civil war was inevitable and that it was just a matter of time before war broke out. This school of thought can be divided further into two tenets. The first is that the war was a tragedy as a result of colonial British rule and their decision to amalgamate Nigeria into one territory. The second is that not only was British colonial rule to blame for the war, but so was the fight for natural resources, particularly the rich oil reserves of the Igbo regions of Nigeria.

The second perspective regarding the origins of the war was that the Biafran leader, Ojukwu, was solely responsible for the start of the Nigerian-Biafran War. The Nigerian head of state General Gowon, noted that the war was due to the “blind and inordinate political ambition of Lt. Col. Ojukwu” (Gowon, 1970: 57). Revisionism seems to play a key role in this school of thought and this origin narrative. In his book *Origins of the Nigerian Civil War*, the first Nigerian president, Nnamdi Azikiwe, offers a revision of the events in Nigerian history that “many have found troubling” (McNeil, 2014: 543). According to McPherson (2003), revisionists see history as a continuing dialogue between the present and the past. Naturally, interpretations of the past constantly change as new evidence or sources are found and, therefore, new perspectives emerge. While these revisionists do not deny the fact that the Nigerian-Biafran War took place, they are concerned about the facts surrounding the historic event (Weber, 2009). Therefore, a dialogue of revisionism has emerged which is in conflict with the official narrative that exists on the Nigerian Civil War. Harry Elmer Barnes (1958) clarifies by noting that “revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude”. Moreover, revisionists are interested in interpretations of historical events which are different from the accepted available narratives. In other words, any “accepted” or official history which is looked at in a radically new way can be called revisionist history.

The third perspective is the most compelling as it addresses the practical issues that the Igbo people were facing during the 1960s. Kirk-Greene (1971: 58) argues that the Igbos “felt the need to secede because of fear – fear that the Nigerian government could not protect them from mass slaughter”. This perspective lends itself to a more humanitarian or human rights lens where the Igbo massacre, like other genocides such as the Holocaust, is seen as “a pogrom ... intended as the Northerners’ [Hausa-Fulani Muslims] final solution to end what they called the ‘Eastern menace’” (Kirk-Greene, 1971: 58).

This notion of humanitarianism and human rights has always been viewed as a Western consciousness ideal (Cmiel, 2004). The only time the world was interested in what was taking place in Nigeria and Biafra was when it was broadcast via the mass media. “The Biafran government, working with Western journalists, promulgated images of starving Biafra women and children in the Western press in the summer of 1968 to gain sympathy” (McNeil, 2014: 546). This notion was, therefore, used by the Biafran leaders as propaganda to aid them in getting support to end the war and for the struggle for sovereignty, while the Nigerians saw it as another form of political control and imperialism (McNeil, 2014: 550).

Furthermore, this Western construct of human rights illustrates the connection between local and global values. While the events that took place during the Nigerian-Biafran War examined local and tribal issues in Nigeria, the event itself had the potential to draw the spotlight on global issues at large. McNeil (2014: 540) states that the Nigerian-Biafran War should be “view[ed] ... not only as a watershed moment in African history but in global history as well”. What McNeil is implying here is that during the time of the Nigerian-Biafran War (during the 1960s), there was a great shift in thinking around the globe as new challenges were emerging in politics worldwide and the idea of “interconnectedness and interdependence of people” was at the forefront. Consequently, it can be understood that the Nigerian-Biafran War did not have a solely local or national impact within Nigeria’s borders but rather a global one. According to McNeil (2014: 540), “Nigeria’s civil war exemplifies the rising tensions of a global age, where local forces and ideas competed with and were contested by newly emerging global influences.”

The civil war might have ended, but the idea of Biafra as a separate republic did not. In Nigeria, some still believe that the underlying ethnic grievances have not been fully confronted or resolved. Despite this conflict having ended over 50 years ago, unresolved issues remain. Today, a new generation of pro-Biafran activists are marching the streets of Nigeria, with many still being injured or killed by the Federal Government (BBC Documentary, 2017), showing that this issue is by no means only a local one but a global one too.

Currently, Nigeria is under the leadership of President Muhammad Buhari. It seems as if Nigeria is still at odds with itself when it comes to the Nigerian-Biafran War and recollections thereof, so much so that there has been a constant push and pull when it comes to whether or not History should be a subject taught in school. In 2007, History was removed from the teaching curriculum by the Federal Government. Prior to this, History was not offered as a core subject, but was intertwined with Social Studies. Sunday (2021) refers to the detrimental impact that the removal of History has had on the younger generations, stating, “Not only has the subject’s removal widened the generational gap on students’ mental development, [but] it

has also disrupted the delicate process of nation-building as taught by world history” (Sunday, 2021: n.p.).

In 2019, talks began to reintroduce history as a subject by the Minister of Education, Adamu, who came to the position in 2015 alongside President Buhari. Buhari has a Twitter handle, @Mbuhari, which makes him more relatable and accessible to the general public. According to Adamu, “one of the cardinal principles of the present administration is social and behavioural change of which history is key to its realisation” (Jonathan, 2020: n.p.). Thus, history as a subject at school level was non-existent in Nigeria for more than a decade.

1.2.2 Case Study 2: Uganda – The political dictatorship of Idi Amin

The second historiographical case study background is that of Uganda and the political dictatorship of Idi Amin. Uganda is situated in Central East Africa (see Figure 1). Uganda, like Nigeria and Rwanda, has a long history of colonialism. Beginning in 1894, the area was ruled as a protectorate by the British, who established administrative law across the territory. Uganda gained independence from the British in 1962, and the first post-independence election was held in the same year. This was won by an alliance between the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) and Kabaka Yekka (KY). The UPC and KY formed the first post-independence government with Milton Obote as the Executive Prime Minister.

Idi Amin Dada, who became known as the “Butcher of Uganda” as a result of his brutal, dictatorial rule, declared himself president in 1971 after ousting Milton Obote in a military coup (History.com Editors, 2009). Amin was possibly the most notorious of all Africa’s post-independence dictators, launching a ruthless eight-year regime in which an estimated 300 000 civilians were massacred and a myriad of others were tortured during his presidency. But how did he get to power?

The exact place and date of his birth is speculation as Amin never sanctioned an official written account of his life nor wrote an autobiography. However, Amin’s son Hussein stated that his father was born in Kampala in 1928 (Elliot, 2014). Little is known about his childhood, but after receiving only a basic education, Amin joined the King’s African Rifles of the British colonial army in 1946 as an assistant cook (History.com Editors, 2009; Biography.com Editors, 2014). Being extremely charismatic and skilled, Amin quickly rose through the military ranks and by 1959, he had made the highest possible rank for a Black African serving in the British army, *effendi*, which meant the Governor’s Commissioned Officer (History.com Editors, 2009). He soon became notorious among his fellow soldiers for his overzealous and cruel military interrogations (Biography.com Editors, 2014).

After more than 70 years under British rule, Uganda finally gained its independence in 1962, and Obote became the nation's first prime minister. By 1964, Obote had forged an alliance with Amin, who helped expand the size and power of the Ugandan Army as by now he had been appointed Commander of the Armed Forces (Biography.com Editors, 2014). The two men worked to smuggle gold, coffee, and ivory out of the Congo, but conflicts arose between them in 1971 (Byrnes, 1992). While Obote was attending a meeting in Singapore, Amin staged a successful military coup (History.com Editors, 2009). Amin became President and Chief of the Armed Forces in 1971, Field Marshal in 1975, and Life President in 1976 (Anthony & Gates, 1999).

Once in power, Amin's reign of terror followed. He freed several political prisoners but simultaneously sent "killer squads" to kill any of Obote's supporters and purged the army of anyone from the Acholi and Lango ethnic groups, military personnel, and civilians (Biography.com Editors, 2014). Amin took the concept of tribalism, a long-standing problem in Uganda, to its extreme by specifically targeting the Acholi and Lango ethnic groups, as they were predominantly the supporters of Obote, and this infuriated Amin. He, therefore, embarked on an ethnic cleansing campaign to rid the ranks of the army and civilians associated with the Acholi and Lango ethnic groups. An example of specific targeting was reported by a document compiled by Amnesty International titled "Human Rights in Uganda in 1978" (Amnesty International, 1978). This report outlined one case in which the Right Reverend Janani Luwum, Archbishop of the Church of Uganda, was allegedly accused of colluding with former President Obote and the President of Tanzania against Idi Amin. "Three Ugandans were made to read out so-called confessions of having conspired with Archbishop Luwum, President Nyerere of Tanzania, former President Obote, and certain Acholi and Lango, to overthrow President Amin with Chinese weapons" (Amnesty International, 1978: 22). These confessions were read out at a meeting arranged by Amin where all the bishops were gathered to meet him. Later that day, Right Reverend Luwum was taken away by soldiers and never seen again. As if this was not strange enough, the next day two cabinet ministers, Mr. Charles Oboth-Ofumbi and Lieutenant Colonel Wilson Oryema, were also arrested. The Ugandan government then announced that the two ministers and the Right Reverend had been killed in a car accident as they tried to overpower the driver of the motor vehicle in an attempt to escape from custody (Amnesty International, 1978). This was obviously what would today be called fake news and coordinated by the government as a cover-up. Shortly thereafter, thousands of Acholi and Lango were arrested and murdered across Uganda.

Amin's victims soon came to include people from every order and rank, including journalists, lawyers, homosexuals, students, and senior bureaucrats (History.com Editors, 2009). Amin noted of the persecution of minorities:

We are determined to make the ordinary Ugandan master of his own destiny and, above all, to see that he enjoys the wealth of his country. Our deliberate policy is to transfer the economic control of Uganda into the hands of Ugandans for the first time in our country's history (Jørgensen, 1981: n.p.).

To ensure this transfer of economic control, Amin expelled all Asians from Uganda in 1972 in what he called an "economic war", an action that led to the breakdown of his country's economy. Without the appropriate resources to support them, manufacturing, agriculture, and commerce came to an immediate halt (Luganda, 2003). This left the country in dire financial straits.

In addition, Amin was continuing his reign of terror and became known as the "Butcher of Uganda" for his brutality, as mentioned earlier. Anyone who was opposed to his regime or supported his opponents was eliminated. This started with officers who had not supported Amin in his coup. Flying squads of executioners arrived at bases across the country, slaughtering untold numbers of officers and soldiers. Most of these victims were shot, but prominent ones (such as ministers and people of influence) were often beheaded, and their heads were reportedly stored in a freezer in Amin's residence (Pearson, 2003). Anecdotal evidence suggests that he would periodically remove the severed heads from the freezer, place them around his dinner table, and hold "conversations" with them (Pearson, 2003), corroborating what people later thought about Amin that he was psychologically disturbed. Others were either killed, tortured, or imprisoned.

Furthermore, Amin involved himself in what the rest of the world would deem unsavoury, business deals and alliances. In 1976, he – alongside the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) – was involved in the hijacking of a French airliner to Entebbe (Boddy-Evans, 2019). Amin supplied the terrorists with troops and weapons (History.com Editors, 2009) but was humiliated when Israeli commandos rescued the hostages in a surprise raid on Entebbe Airport. As a result, Amin ordered the execution of several airport personnel, hundreds of Kenyans whom he believed had conspired with Israel, and an elderly British hostage who had previously been escorted to a nearby hospital (History.com Editors, 2009).

Despite these atrocities, Amin was considered by many to be an extroverted and charismatic leader. He was often portrayed by the international press as a popular African independence

leader (Boddy-Evans, 2019). Amin had great admiration for Hitler and was often heard speaking about the cleansing that took place in Germany. For example, Amin, as quoted in Boddy-Evans (2019: n.p.), said:

Germany is the place where when Hitler was the prime minister and supreme commander; he burned over six million Jews. This is because Hitler and all German people knew that Israelis are not people who are working in the interest of the world and that is why they burned the Israelis alive with gas in the soil of Germany.

Amin became increasingly paranoid as time went by. More authoritative sources suggest that he may have suffered from hypomania, a form of manic depression which is characterised by irrational behaviour and emotional outbursts (Boddy-Evans, 2019). As his paranoia became more pronounced, he imported troops from Sudan and Zaire until less than 25 per cent of the army was Ugandan. As accounts of Amin's atrocities reached the international press, support for his regime faltered. The Ugandan economy destabilised even further, and inflation reached in excess of 1 000 per cent (Boddy-Evans, 2019).

In 1978, Amin ordered an attack on Tanzania in an attempt to annex Kagera (the northern province of Tanzania, which shares a border with Uganda). Aided by Ugandan nationalists, Tanzanian troops eventually overpowered the Ugandan army. As the Tanzanian-led forces neared Kampala in 1979, Amin fled the city, first to Libya and then to Saudi Arabia, where he remained in exile until his death in 2003.

As a result of the multiple perspectives of different sides, the history of Idi Amin's political dictatorship currently finds itself in a grey zone of understanding (just like that of Nigeria's Nigerian-Biafran War) and, therefore, the official narrative that exists regarding the event is contested. The historical events, as briefly outlined above, indicate why the political dictatorship of Idi Amin is a contentious issue and is heavily debated. There are many conflicting sources and much ambiguity surrounding certain aspects of his life. Many of these stem from what has been sensationalised in the media – similar to the cases of Nigeria and Rwanda.

The media had a "field day" with Idi Amin. His portrayal in the popular media outside Uganda (Amin would have censored anything that was printed within the borders of Uganda) was that of a comic, eccentric figure. An example of this is the *TIME Magazine* article that described him as a "killer and clown, big-hearted buffoon and strutting martinet" (TIME Magazine, 1977). LEADS PRESS (2022) concurred and noted that Amin's "abrupt changes of mood, from buffoonery to shrewdness, from gentleness to tyranny [showed the] extreme[ism] in his

nationalism". Between 1976 and 1979, the comedy series *Saturday Night Live* aired Idi Amin sketches, including "one in which he was an ill-behaved houseguest in exile and another in which he was a spokesman against venereal disease" (*Saturday Night Live*, 1976).

While the media was making fun of Amin, many Ugandan exiles and defectors criticised the foreign media for emphasising Amin's eccentricities and taste for excess while downplaying or excusing his murderous behaviour (Kibazo, 2007). Other commentators even suggested that Amin had deliberately cultivated his eccentric reputation in the foreign media as an easily parodied buffoon to defuse international concern over his administration of Uganda (The Telegraph, 2003). Idi Amin's portrayal in the media and literature has varied over the years. What society knows about him is what they have seen in the popular media. Films such as *The Last King of Scotland* drew much attention and was often quoted when discussions were held regarding Amin. Similarly, there have been numerous documentaries, books, and even songs written about Amin indicating his significance as Africa's most notorious dictator. Thus, the media has played a key role in what people know about the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, allowing for multiple perspectives and making revisionism possible. Therefore, Idi Amin's reign of terror is an example of dark history.

Uganda is currently under the leadership of Yoweri Museveni, who has been in power for 35 years. An ex-rebel, Museveni, came to power in 1986 off the back of an armed uprising. His reign as president has been accompanied by peace and substantial developmental changes in Uganda. His presidency has often been compared to that of Obote and Amin, which were nothing short of turbulent and tyrannical. Museveni is well-loved by Ugandans and is seen as a father figure to many. He is also very active on social media and has a Twitter account, @KagutaMuseveni, which makes him very relatable. In terms of the History curriculum, Mino (2011: 10) notes that "Uganda's national History curriculum has not significantly changed since independence, the most important independent variable is the change in access to education".

1.2.3 Case Study 3: Rwanda – The genocide against the Tutsi

The third and final historiographical case study background is that of Rwanda and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Rwanda is situated in Central East Africa and is one of the smallest countries on the African continent (see Figure 1). Similar to Nigeria and Uganda, Rwanda has a long history dating back to the colonial era and even prior to that. The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi took place after Rwanda gained its independence from Belgium in 1962. It should be noted that the conflict that sparked the genocide against the Tutsi preceded the decolonisation of Rwanda and was deeply rooted in various spheres of life, including political, economic, ethnic, and cultural. Despite the fact that the genocide only took place after decolonisation,

the interference by various European colonial powers such as Germany, France, and Belgium prior to independence exacerbated the situation between the ethnic groups of the Hutu and Tutsi people.

There were two major ethnic groups living in Rwanda, the Hutu majority and the Tutsi minority (see Figure 5), the latter consisting of approximately 15 per cent of the population by 1994 (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014).

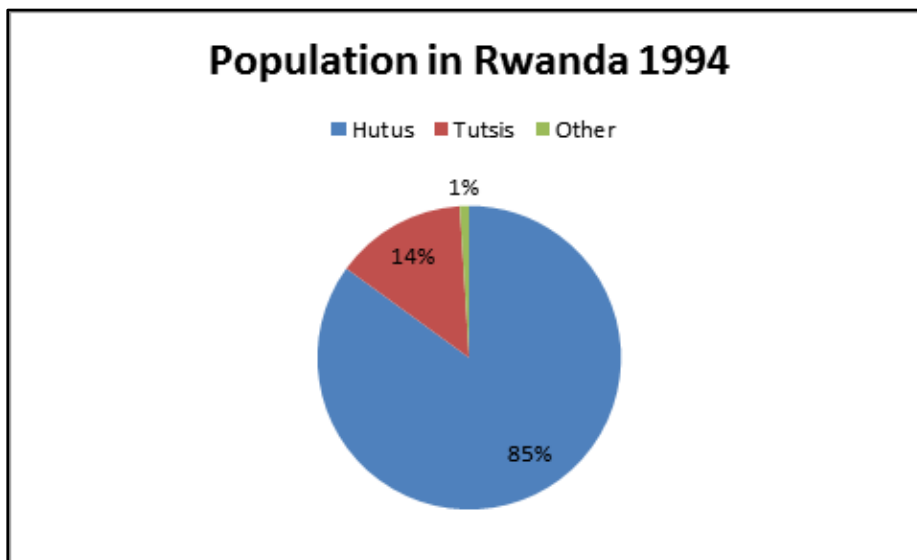


Figure 5: Pie chart showing Rwanda's ethnic groups

In a mass slaughter of the Tutsi minority by the Hutu majority between April 1994 and mid-July 1994, it is estimated that 800 000 Rwandans lost their lives (BBC News, 2011). This constituted approximately 70 per cent of the Tutsi population. In addition, the “forgotten victims” (Sheshadri, 2005), that is, the Pygmy-Batwa (the earliest inhabitants of Rwanda, more commonly known as the Twa) and moderate Hutus who would not buy into the ideas of mass killing were also killed. Those slaughtered were killed by the Hutu extremists and militia. Although the genocide and widespread slaughter of Rwandans took place over roughly 100 days, tensions existed between these two Rwandan ethnic groups during the pre-colonisation, colonisation (pre-independence), and post-colonisation (post-independence) periods.

It should be noted that referring to the ethnicity of people in Rwanda in a contemporary context, that is, after the genocide against the Tutsi, is illegal. In 2000, the people of Rwanda adopted a new constitution that abolished the use of ethnic groups in Rwanda. “In the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, Rwandan President Paul Kagame banned people from sharing their ethnic identity” (Moreno, 2023: n.p.). Rwanda has implemented laws and policies to discourage the mention of ethnic distinctions in an effort to promote national unity and reconciliation. The government has sought to foster a sense of shared national identity and

reduce the emphasis on ethnic differences. *The Economist* (2019: n.p.) reported that it was deemed “criminally “divisionist” to use the labels Hutu and Tutsi in public” with Kamanzi (2021: n.p.) noting that “punishment for breaking these laws includes lengthy prison sentences and hefty fines”. How, then, does one refer to people in Rwanda in a 2024 context? Baldwin (2021: n.p.) clarifies that a national motto or creed exists, “*Ndi Umunyarwanda*” or “We are all Rwandan”, which is strictly adhered to in an attempt to “promot[e] a national identity instead of forms of ‘ethnicity’” (Buhigiro, 2017: 14).

However, to understand the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi as a dark historical event, ethnicity must be taken into account as the fundamental cornerstone as virtually everyone is conscious of whether someone hails from a family of “victims” or “perpetrators”. Baldwin (2021: n.p.) notes that the only time that discussion about ethnicity is allowed in Rwanda “is during the 100-day *kwibuka*, or remembrance period, beginning on April 7th each year”. Despite this prohibition in Rwanda, for the purpose of this study, ethnic groupings are included and discussed to grapple with the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi,

The Hutu and Tutsi of Rwanda share a common language, follow the same traditions, and inhabit the same areas (BBC News, 2011). There are numerous origin theories as to how both groups came to reside in Rwanda. The distinction that has been made between the two groups was, at first, not a racial one but rather a class or caste system, as the Tutsi were originally cattle herders while the Hutu were farmers (Mamdani, 2002). The population coalesced first into clans and later into eight kingdoms. At this point, tensions began between the Hutu and Tutsi. Between 1853 and 1895, the most powerful kingdom was ruled by King Rwabugiri (who was part of a Tutsi clan). He initiated administrative reforms that saw a rift growing between the two groups (Mamdani, 2002). By 1897, Germany (which was assigned Rwanda and Burundi in the Berlin Conference of 1884) had formed an alliance with the king and planned to rule the country through the Rwandan monarchy. The colonialists favoured the Tutsi, believing that they were racially superior to the Hutu. This notion of favouritism continued when the Belgians took control of Rwanda and Burundi during World War One (WWI) and, from 1926, adopted a more direct form of colonial rule, not through a monarchy but rather in a more hands-on manner, leaving the Hutu disenfranchised (Prunier, 1999). This was further compounded when the Belgians introduced an identification card system which labelled each Rwandan as either Tutsi, Hutu, Twa, or naturalised (Gourevitch, 2000). This European inference further perpetuated the growing tension between the Tutsi and Hutu groups.

After World War Two (WWII), the Hutu, who were at this stage fuelled by huge resentment, started an emancipation movement. This was aided by yet another external inference from Europe – the Catholic Church (Prunier, 1999). The Church saw it as their mission to aid the

neglected Hutu rather than support the Tutsi elite. The support of the Church enabled the Hutu to form an educated elite and a new counterbalance to the established political order (Prunier, 1999). This was a pivotal point in the tension as this Hutu elite wrote a manifesto in 1957, which was the first document to label the Hutu and Tutsi as separate races. In addition, they called for a transfer of power from the Tutsi to the Hutu, based on statistical law (Prunier, 1999). Using statistical law and based on the race classifications imposed by the colonisers, it was implied by the Hutu that as the racial majority, they should have a greater, if not all, the say in how the country was run, almost like a quota democracy of sorts. This led to more tension.

The turning point for the Hutu came when a sub-chief named Dominique Mbonyumutwa was attacked close to his home by pro-Tutsi supporters. Rumours spread that he had been killed, and the Hutu retaliated by killing the Tutsi elite and ordinary civilians. This marked the start of the Rwandan Revolution (Prunier, 1999). The Tutsi retaliated with attacks of their own, and a tit-for-tat scenario ensued. The Belgian administration started to back the Hutu and wanted to overturn the Tutsi control that they had supported previously. Thus, in 1960, the Belgians replaced the Tutsi chiefs with Hutu chiefs and organised an election which yielded an overwhelming Hutu majority victory. The Hutu-dominated republic was created in time for the country's independence in 1962 (Prunier, 1999). After independence, several incidents of violence occurred between these two ethnic groups, resulting in thousands of Tutsis seeking refuge in neighbouring countries (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014).

The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi took place in the context of the Rwandan Civil War, which began in 1990 between the then Hutu majority ruling party and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which consisted predominately of Tutsi refugees who had fled to Uganda. The RPF was first led by Fred Rwigyema but he was killed on the third day of the attacks, so his deputy, Paul Kagame, took charge of the RPF. These refugees formed armed groups known as *inyenzi* (cockroaches), and they launched attacks on Rwanda in retaliation for being driven out of their homeland. These attacks were met with reprisal killings and further exiles. During this civil war, many attacks were launched, and ceasefires were called. The most notable ceasefire, known as the Arusha Accords, was signed in Tanzania and it led to a multiparty coalition government being formed. This did not please some of the Hutu extremists (both in the Rwandan government and army) as they were worried about the possibility of the Tutsi being included in the government, so they actively began plotting against the incumbent first democratically elected president, Grégoire Kayibanda, and, in the 1973 coup, Juvénal Habyarimana seized power from Kayibanda using infantry from the Rwandan National Guard (Prunier, 1999).

The constant cat-and-mouse game that followed over the next several years between the Hutu and the Tutsi saw many more innocent people die. The catalyst of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana. On 6 April 1994, the plane in which he was travelling together with the president of Burundi (who happened to be Hutu), was shot down, and all on board died. Colonel Théoneste Bagosora took control of the country after the assassination (Melvern, 2004) and a widespread cleansing and killing of moderate political figures and those legally next in line to take over the presidency took place. Bagosora was the principal authority coordinating the genocide (Prunier, 1999).

The large-scale killings started hours after Habyarimana's death and were based on ethnicity. The youth militia for the ruling Hutu party, the Interahamwe, actively carried out the massacres using machetes, razor blades, saws, and scissors (Prunier, 1999). These killings were deliberately planned as in 1993, the Hutu Power¹ leaders not only began compiling a list of traitors to get rid of but also started importing machetes on a far larger scale than was required for agricultural purposes (Melvern, 2004). Not only were the means of weapons pre-planned, but also the methods of killing and intimidation. Victims were often sexually assaulted and raped, leaving many women HIV-positive, maimed, and ultimately killed. Propaganda was used by the Hutu Power leaders to encourage and often pressurise Hutu civilians to take part in these killings. This included using radio stations to broadcast racist, obscene jokes and music favouring the Hutu (Prunier, 1999). The Hutu Power leaders even went as far as suggesting the idea of a "final solution" (a term used by Hitler during the Holocaust) as early as 1992, but it was now at the top of their agenda (Prunier, 1999). They banked on the fact that they could intimidate civilians to do their bidding, as Rwandans were known for their traditional obedience to authority (Prunier, 1999). An ethnic cleansing campaign spread throughout the country where, on the one hand, neighbours killed neighbours and on the other, large and organised militia groups mowed down villages and people hiding in churches or schools (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014). The Hutu militia organised roadblocks, distributed weapons, and systematically carried out the massacre of the Tutsi either with machetes or AK-47s (Strauss, 2004; Verwimp, 2006). Finally, in late July, the RPF were able to capture the capital of Kigali, the government collapsed, and the RPF called a ceasefire (BBC News, 2011). Many Hutu fled to Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC]) as soon as it became clear that the RPF had been victorious (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014). At first, an attempt was made to set up a multi-ethnic government between Paul Kagame (RPF) and a Hutu named Pasteur Bizimungu, but the two could not see eye-to-eye, and Bizimungu was

¹ Hutu Power was the extremist ideology and actions, with their leaders advocating for the political and social dominance of the Hutu over other ethnic groups in Rwanda. Hutu Power contributed to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

jailed for his crimes against the Tutsi (BBC News, 2011) leaving Kagame to take the reins as president.

The aftermath of the genocide can still be seen in Rwanda today, as the country has never been able to enact a complete ceasefire between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Despite interventions by several countries, including the United Nations (UN), they have all failed to end the fighting in Rwanda (BBC News, 2011). The genocide has had lasting and profound effects on Rwanda as well as on its neighbouring countries. The pervasive use of rape as a weapon of war caused a spike in the rate of HIV infection in both the mothers and the babies born to mothers infected during the rapes. Owing to the wholesale slaughter of both men and women, many households were headed up by widows or orphaned children. The destruction of infrastructure and the severe depopulation of the country crippled the economy, challenging the emerging government to achieve rapid economic growth and attempt stabilisation.

In addition, the Hutu *genocidaires* (those who had committed genocide) fled to Zaire and began to regroup in refugee camps along the border shared with Rwanda. Declaring a need to prevent further genocide, the RPF-led government led military invasions into Zaire, resulting in the First (1996–1997) and Second (1998–2003) Congo Wars. Large Rwandan Hutu and Tutsi populations continue to live as refugees throughout the region.

International involvement, fuelling the tension between the Hutu and the Tutsi, both during the colonial period and after independence and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, has been well documented. Media reports have claimed that many international bodies and countries were simply bystanders and did nothing until it was too late, including the UN. One such report, commissioned by the current Rwandan government and conducted by a Washington law firm, surfaced in 2017. It stated that France had allegedly supported the Hutu government after the genocide had begun, training Hutu counterparts and supplying them with weapons (Le Monde, 2005). In 2006, a French judge opened an investigation into the plane crash of then-president Habyarimana. It is alleged by French officials that the Tutsi rebels orchestrated the plane crash. However, Kagame, who also happened to be the leader of the Tutsi rebel army then and is now President of Rwanda, upholds that the plane crash was the work of the Hutus (Le Monde, 2005). As a result of multiple perspectives from different sides, the history of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is currently finding itself in a grey zone of understanding (just like that of the Nigerian-Biafran War and the political dictatorship of Idi Amin) and, therefore, the official narrative that exists regarding the event is contested.

What many people know about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi they have learnt through the media and films such as *Hotel Rwanda*. Charles Beckett, director of POLIS, a journalism

think-tank, posed the question, “How many people saw the movie *Hotel Rwanda*? [It is] ironically the way that most people now relate to Rwanda” (POLISMedia, 2009) while Des Forges asserts that films for popular audiences on the subject have increased awareness with a “widespread realisation of the horror that had taken the lives of more than half a million Tutsi” (International Development Research Centre, 2010). Thus, the media has played a key role in what people know about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, allowing multiple perspectives to be viewed and making revisionism possible. Therefore, the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is a contentious issue, heavily debated, and an example of dark history.

But what makes genocide possible? Uvin (2001) distinguishes between three different perspectives that could aid in explaining why the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi took place: elite manipulation, ecological resource scarcity, and socio-psychological features of the perpetrators. The perspectives explaining the reason for the genocide are listed in order of frequency (how often this explanation is used). Below is a succinct explanation of each.

The first perspective is elite manipulation. This perspective explains that the genocide took place due to the desire of Rwanda’s elite to stay in power to benefit politically and economically (Uvin, 2001). To retain this power, the elite used every means at their disposal to fend off threats to their privilege in terms of politics and economics. This perspective lacks the inclusion of deeper social influences. The argument of the elite manipulation perspective is adopted by most scholars from varying disciplinary perspectives (Gourevitch, 2000; Prunier, 1999) and includes historians, anthropologists, human rights organisations, and journalists (Uvin, 2001).

The second perspective is ecological resource scarcity. This perspective argues that the root cause of the genocide was Rwanda’s scarcity of ecological resources (Uvin, 2001), especially considering that, as a country, Rwanda has the highest population density in Africa (Prunier, 1999). This perspective is popular among scholars in the medical profession, economists, and specialists in public health, agriculture, and the environment (Uvin, 2001).

The final perspective is the socio-psychological features of the perpetrators. This perspective deals with socio-psychological and cultural dynamics. Traditional Rwandan mentality was to conform to authority without question (Prunier, 1999; Uvin, 2001). This perspective feeds into the first perspective of elite manipulation. The elite used their power to manipulate the psychological predisposition of blind obedience or loyalty of the Rwandan people to their advantage. As mentioned previously, with so many perspectives in existence, it becomes a shadowy mess to establish what to believe as “the truth” as the plausible alternatives make sense to different people depending on their frame of reference.

Revisionism is seen as a criminal offence in Rwanda, along with historical negationism and trivialisation of genocide. Over 489 individuals have been convicted of genocide revisionism and other related crimes. This highlights the extremely controversial nature of this particular case study. One such revision includes the theory of “double genocides” by French investigative journalist Pierre Péan, who accuses the Tutsis of engaging in “counter-genocide” against the Hutus (Gouteuz, 2004). This contravenes the official narrative and is, therefore, not tolerated.

Another example of revisionism or the questioning of the genocide is that of the scholars Davenport of the University of Michigan and Stam of the University of Virginia, who asked in 2009, “What really happened in Rwanda?” and their investigation led them to conclude that “conventional wisdom was only partly correct” (Davenport & Stam, 2009). They went on to say:

A great deal of effort has been extended to make sure the focus stays exclusively on the Francophone Tutsi victims and their Hutu slaughterers. But, of the estimated one million people killed, between 300,000 and 500,000 of them were Tutsi, according to best estimates. What about the other 500,000 to 700,000 people? Who is responsible for their deaths? (Davenport & Stam, 2009: n.p.).

In October 2014, a BBC documentary, *Rwanda: The Untold Story*, was aired featuring interviews with Davenport and Stam. It suggested that Kagame’s RPF was involved in the shooting down of Habyarimana’s aeroplane (BBC Documentary, 2014). This aroused considerable controversy, as previously mentioned. Following this, the Rwandan government banned the BBC’s radio broadcasts from the country before conducting a three-week inquiry into the documentary.

From these brief examples, it can be seen that there is no easy way to understand what happened in Rwanda and subsequently with the genocide. Differing perspectives exist, but the problem is compounded when the constitution of the country does not allow scholars to delve into the murky waters of evidence that exist.

Currently, Rwanda is under the leadership of President Paul Kagame. He has been Rwanda’s de facto leader since the end of the genocide in 1994. Twenty-five years later, Rwandans are not only remembering the atrocities of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi but are working together to end ethnic discrimination. “Ethnic reconciliation is a cornerstone of the rule of Kagame ... He is credited with bringing Rwanda stability, economic growth, and improved health and education” (NBC News Associated Press, 2019). Kagame also has a Twitter

handle, @PaulKagame, which, like Buhari from Nigeria, makes him more accessible and relatable to the people of Rwanda. In an age where most of the population has access to a mobile phone and not a textbook, it is an excellent way to get the official message across. The first official History curriculum was only introduced in 2008, 14 years post-genocide. Sundaram (2016: 86) specifies that “history, particularly of the time of the genocide, was so vital to the president’s repression that for many years it was not taught by school teachers but by soldiers”. Furthermore, Hodgkin (2006: 204) observes that “a ‘politically correct’ historical narrative has emerged, shaped by government rhetoric surrounding the National Unity and Reconciliation project”. However, Thomas and Skinstad van der Kooij (2018) note that research has also shown that Kagame’s dispensation was successful in instilling the official narrative into the population.

The historiographical backgrounds of the three case studies have provided insight into the complexities of each of these dark historical events. What has become apparent by discussing the three case studies is that all three are contentious and controversial in nature. Historians cannot agree on certain aspects of the narrative, and thus, it is heavily debated. Bearing this in mind, textbook production has had to navigate this minefield as well as media sensationalism and thus, the outcome of the programmatic curriculum is unclear and somewhat greyed. Consequently, creating a niche for this study, I have engaged with and analysed what appears in these textbooks regarding these dark historical events and the narratives that are omitted, such as otherness.

1.3 Rationale and motivation

“What do you teach?” is a question I am often asked. My response, and very proudly so, is “History!” That reply is almost always met with a confused look and a cocked head followed by “Why *History*?” and then ramblings of their own fossilised teachers and how boring it was with all those dates and dead people! Thinking about it now, my response should have been, “Why not?” Instead, I inevitably launched into a song and dance of its importance and how we need it in our society, especially for the youth of today. This made me realise that not many people besides my fellow history colleagues understand the fascination. I am by no means a walking history buff, but there is something alluring about the discipline that I simply cannot explain. Thus, the main rationale and motivation behind this study is simply because I love it. Not just the discipline of history and the content but the thrill of uncovering new ways of thinking about things and the challenges that it sets for me.

Professionally speaking, I embarked on this journey to further my career and obtain a doctoral degree in History Education. My now supervisor (who also happened to be my first-year

lecturer) once asked my first-year BEd History 101 class to take out a piece of paper and take 15 or so minutes to think about a five-year plan for themselves and, thereafter, a 10-year plan. I still remember his booming voice reiterating, “Be realistic. Where do you see yourself in five and ten years, respectively?” I also remember how I nerdishly scribbled down my aspirations. This PhD has always been my goal and dream. I wanted to be the best I could be. My vision is still the same as that nervous first-year student back then. Along the way, I have also learnt some valuable lessons (both personally and professionally) – things do not always follow a strict timeline; however, if the dream and motivation are big enough, it will come to fruition.

Professionally, my students will benefit from my continued research which entails constant honing of my research abilities and reading widely. This is also of benefit to my teaching. Having taught predominately in tertiary education, previously history and languages to prospective teachers, this was my chance to get into secondary education and teach the students I was trained to teach in the subject that I adore. This research is important to me as it allows me a deeper insight into textbooks – a research field that I am familiar with due to my previous studies and contribution to a global study of the mapping of the Holocaust in textbooks (Carrier, Fuchs & Messinger, 2015) and how they relate to contentious, controversial, and contemporary historical events, along with my fascination for the discipline and, even more so, with issues that are contentious – the more controversial, the better. As corny as this may sound, I want my research to be thought-provoking and cutting-edge. I have always told my students, whether tertiary or secondary, that if they only ever take one thing from my lectures or lessons, it is to question everything and not blindly accept what they are told. Then I have done my job. Similarly, I want my study to be thought-provoking and get people to have crucial, controversial conversations about issues or topics which they tend to shy away from, especially when it has to do with what teachers teach and what students learn from them.

Intertwined with the above is my personal rationale for this study which I have alluded to already is my passion for history. In dealing with controversial issues, the Holocaust had been an interest of mine for many years and the focus of my MEd. The area of interest for my PhD, however, was a new one, which sparked an excitement but also a nervousness as I was venturing into the unknown. I had hoped to continue with the Holocaust – something with which I was familiar and, thinking about it now, would have been a safe choice. Yet here I was, being thrust into the unknown of understanding history from an Afrocentric perspective and not a Eurocentric one.

Conceptually speaking, this study aimed to explore the notions of otherness, multiperspectivity, dark and light, silences, and censorship through selected historical events.

The intersectionality of these notions was also explored. Intersectionality recognises the interconnected nature of these social categorisations, and instead of looking at each category in isolation, intersectionality considers how they overlap and intersect, shaping individuals' experiences and identities. This, I felt, would bring a greater understanding of why people believe the narratives they are told. The narratives that most people are exposed to and the ones that they are most likely to believe are those in textbooks – something which can be changed and revised by whoever is in power. In other words, the curriculum is programmatic. Being South African and being interested in European history, such as the Holocaust, I wanted to push myself to move out of my frame of reference and look at African countries for case studies of dark historical events. Hence, I used the case studies of Nigeria (the Nigerian-Biafran War), Uganda (the political dictatorship of Idi Amin), and Rwanda (the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi). The trepidation with this unknown was that I was not familiar with their education systems or the curricula. While that could have proved to be a limitation, it assisted me in adopting a more objective approach as opposed to an accidental or subconscious bias based on my own frame of reference of being a South African and researching something close to home.

This is further linked to my scholarly motivation for this study, in which I hoped to understand why certain stories or narratives were deemed more significant than others.

This study has sought to contribute to the body of knowledge regarding otherness and dark (contentious and controversial) history but from an Afrocentric perspective. So much of how the world views history comes from the ideal of Western consciousness, and this study aims to engage in African history from an emerging African perspective.

1.4 Focus and purpose of the study

The focus of a study refers to the aspect or component of a broader topic that the research aims to investigate or examine. It further defines the particular area or dimension that the study delves into, providing a clear scope for the research. To this end, the focal point of this study was to engage with and understand the intersectionality of otherness, multiple perspectives, dark and light in specific historical events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda, and to highlight the story of marginalised people and how this plays out in terms of cultural memory and identity.

These narratives of dark historical events are, by their very nature, contentious and controversial, and there are various interpretations of them (as explained in the introduction). Therefore, the textbooks I chose to analyse were compared in terms of the narratives they promoted and how they portrayed the selected dark history events (the Nigerian-Biafran War,

the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi) to determine whose story was being told and why as well as whose story was being left out and why.

The purpose of a study outlines the overall goal or objective of the research. It explains why the study is being conducted and what the researcher aims to achieve. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the existing body of knowledge about otherness and dark history events from an Afrocentric perspective rather than from a Eurocentric view imposed on Africa. The purpose is also to continue the critical conversation after the study is complete as the scope of the intersectionality is only touched on, and further investigation is required, possibly by looking at other dark history events in other African countries.

1.5 Research questions

Through this study, I wished to complement the existing body of knowledge regarding dark history, multiperspectivity, and otherness in an African context. In doing so, the aim was to close some of the gaps that exist in the current research literature (Koekemoer, 2012). In light of this, the research questions that the study aimed to answer were:

1. How are events of dark history and “otherness” engaged with in textbooks in Nigeria, Rwanda, and Uganda?
2. Why are the dark history events and “otherness” engaged with in this manner in these countries?

1.6 Conceptual framework: A teaser

The conceptual framework for this study is a melting pot of various intersectional theories which, on their own, do not make sense in the context of this study. This bricolage of intersectional theories is dealt with fully in Chapter 3. However, it makes sense to start the exploration of the conceptual framework with the meaning of what a narrative is, as this, I believe, underpins this study as the vehicle that delivers the information presented to the reader. Without a full understanding of what a narrative is, everything will remain amiss and fall flat.

Narratives are structured accounts or stories that describe a series of events, experiences, or the unfolding of a particular situation, often featuring characters, a plot, and a specific point of view. Narratives further provide a framework for organising and interpreting information (Andrews, 2007; Herman, 2013). Once the notion of a narrative was understood, this bled into the exploration of multiperspectivity and the need for more than one explanation, that is, the narrative of more than one event.

Multiperspectivity, as noted by Stradling (2001, 2003), is a concept that involves considering and incorporating multiple perspectives or viewpoints when analysing a situation, issue, or historical event. It recognises that individuals may perceive and interpret things differently based on their experiences, backgrounds, and positions. This approach helps to overcome biases and provides a more inclusive and holistic perspective on complex matters (Lee & Ashby, 2004; Rüsen, 1988). The idea of multiple perspectives relating to a single event then leads to the need to clarify the concept of controversial or sensitive issues and how this links to dark historical events.

Sensitive or controversial issues refer to topics or subjects that spark intense disagreement, debate, or opposing viewpoints in society. These are matters that often elicit strong emotions, conflicting opinions, and varying perspectives among individuals or groups (Coates, 2015; Pinker, 2011; Wassermann, 2011). Thus, something that is controversial lends itself to dark history as dark historical events typically refer to historical occurrences marked by tragedy, violence, and often human suffering. These events are characterised by their impact on individuals, societies, and, sometimes, the broader course of history and how this relates to the collective memory of humanity (Applebaum, 2017; Snyder, 2010).

These controversial, dark historical events are, more often than not, interwoven with otherness. Chapter 3 concludes with the complex unpacking of otherness, “othering”, and “the other”, which is the crux of this study. Otherness is a concept that explores the ways in which individuals or groups are perceived as fundamentally different from the norm or dominant social group (Bennett, 2023; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1985). Otherness, othering, and the other are terms that are vital to the understanding of how power dynamics shape the experiences of individuals in different societal settings.

To make it simple, the narrative is like weaving threads of meaning, different perspectives, stories of dark history, and the idea of otherness. All of this sets the stage for us to really dig into our subject, not just to understand it but also to add something meaningful to the ongoing conversation about these ideas.

1.7 Methodological overview

This study employed qualitative research, a method focused on exploring and understanding specific details in different texts. When conducting qualitative research, researchers carefully examine information to discern its meaning. My study used qualitative research, aligning it with an interpretive approach. This method seeks to comprehend subjects by considering their political and ideological contexts. Additionally, my study falls under phenomenological research, which aims to investigate the essence of the subject under study, in my case,

examining and engaging with otherness in dark history events in African history textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda.

The ontological foundational idea of this study is that the world is experienced and shaped by the people living in it, as asserted by Wellington et al. (2005). This suggests that reality and truth are socially constructed. In my investigation, this notion proved accurate, especially concerning dark history, which could be interpreted differently by various individuals in different contexts. Regarding the basis of knowledge, my epistemological assumption aligns with the idea that knowledge construction is subjective and inherently political, as articulated by Hatch (2002). This perspective is evident in dark history.

The chosen research design allowed for an in-depth exploration of a phenomenon in a socially constructed world. The research methodology, explained below, details how I analysed the phenomenon of dark history and otherness through narrative inquiry, along with the proposed methods. The structure of the narrative drew inspiration from Chatman's model (1978).

The research methodology chosen for this study was narrative inquiry, defined by Polkinghorne (1988) as the fundamental scheme for connecting individual human actions and events into an understandable composite. A narrative, essentially a story reflecting people's experiences, can be conveyed through various mediums such as written text or visuals. The way a narrative unfolds depends on factors like characters, plot, and setting. Narrative inquiry was deemed suitable for this study as different textbooks (programmatic curriculum) each contributed their own perspective and focus on otherness and dark history events.

The first level of analysis was inspired by Chatman's model, looking at the features of what makes up a narrative. These included features such as characters, plot, setting, concepts, and the medium through which information was presented. During the second level of analysis, concepts were discussed such as narrative and historiography, multiperspectivity, light and dark history, and otherness using the shade continuum designed to determine to what degree a dark event could be considered light or dark. A third level of analysis was also included to theorise the primary and secondary levels of analysis through linkage to the literature so that I could cross-compare the emergence of otherness.

1.8 Overview of study

This thesis consists of eight chapters, of which this is the first. To represent the findings accurately, the chapters are arranged as in the following table.

Table 2: Overview of the study

Chapter 1	This chapter has provided the cornerstone of the study. It has highlighted the historiography of the case studies of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda and has clarified how the study has been rooted and framed. The concepts of multiperspectivity, otherness, and light and dark history have been conceptualised in terms of textbooks, history, and the three case studies. This chapter has set the scene and outlined how the rest of the thesis unfolds.
Chapter 2	Chapter 2 of the thesis is a literature review of first, the role of History textbooks in general (as part of the bigger body of knowledge on textbooks), and second, the importance of history in Africa and how these case studies have manifested themselves in history textbooks. Similarly, key theories, concepts, and ideas related to the literature associated with textbooks in general, education, and history textbooks are also examined.
Chapter 3	The theoretical framework is discussed in Chapter 3. The concepts which underpin the framework include the meaning of narratives, controversial issues and dark history, the theory of multiperspectivity, otherness, and revisionism.
Chapter 4	The research design and research methodology are fully explained in Chapter 4. Important features related to the methodology of case studies are discussed as well as the methods of narrative inquiry employed and the choices that were made. Such methods include the analysis tool. Features discussed include sampling, data collection, data generation methods, data analysis methods, and their respective strengths and limitations. Features such as validity or trustworthiness, reliability, and ethical considerations are also reflected on, ensuring that the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology and methods are thoroughly interrogated.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7	These chapters deal with the first and second levels of analysis of the findings. The narratives which emerged from the findings are explored. The findings from Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are linked to the literature from Chapter 2 to determine which findings were expected and which appeared to be new knowledge. The case study of each country is dealt with in its own chapter: Chapter 5 deals with Nigeria, Chapter 6 with Uganda, and Chapter 7 with Rwanda.
Chapter 8	Chapter 8 draws the study to a close and concludes by proposing answers to the research questions. The study is holistically reviewed and limitations to the study are considered. Furthermore, the contribution that this study offers to academia is contemplated.

1.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the background of the study was discussed in order to create the context from which the study stems. The purpose of the various chapters was explained, and thus the reader knows what to expect when reading this thesis. Engaging with the otherness of dark history events is crucial to the understanding and acknowledgement of reality. We need to be able to understand the realities and complexities of history. This acknowledgement is fundamental to fostering empathy and compassion in societies with conflict-ridden pasts as demonstrated in the cases of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. Not only do the injustices endured during these dark history events need to be examined but also who the historical injustices were inflicted upon, including the other. Within every narrative, an “other” exists, and, therefore, this study exists to examine what that looks like, attempts to theorise it, and determines how it can be addressed. By studying dark history events, such as the case studies of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda, societies can identify the root causes of conflicts, discrimination, and atrocities, work towards preventing their recurrence, but also promote social justice. This can, in turn, shape collective identities, preserving the stories, experiences, and resilience of those who have faced adversity. This cultural memory can be a source of strength and unity.

Chapter 2

Review of related literature

“Knowledge is like a baobab tree; no one can encompass it with their hands” –
Ghanaian proverb.

2.1 Introduction

A literature review can be seen as the fundamental cornerstone on which a study is built. It places a research study in the broader context of existing theories and knowledge. It should be noted that the literature that was consulted for my study incorporated not only scholarly and academic works but also grey literature. Grey literature includes non-peer-reviewed sources of information that are produced and circulated outside the traditional academic streams of publishing. It also provides timeous knowledge as it is often produced faster than traditional scholarly work. I chose to engage with grey literature in my study not only to become part of the conversation but also because it could fill gaps in the existing knowledge that might not have been covered extensively in academic journals but is crucial to the work in emerging fields. It provided me with diverse perspectives to consider in addition to the academic scholarly work I used for this thesis, such as policy statements, policy documents and government reports, theses and dissertations, and conference literature, to name a few.

This literature review demonstrates that I engaged with scholarly work in the field of study, and it showcases my ability to critically evaluate and synthesise the literature while identifying the gap in the available knowledge, which created a niche for this study. Moreover, the literature review enhances the trustworthiness of the study by grounding it in the existing literature and by ensuring that my study either adds new knowledge or approaches the textbook research from a different perspective or thought process. Therefore, this chapter explores and reviews some of the most pertinent and noteworthy publications surrounding the focus of this study, that is, the engagement with otherness in dark history events in selected textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda.

In this chapter, the purpose of my literature review is discussed, to establish the notion of what dark history entails and to explore dark history in textbooks as a programmatic curriculum. The purpose, use, and nature of textbooks, specifically history textbooks, are delved into, followed by the dark history events in the three cases of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda in terms of history education and history textbooks. Finally, the relationship between history textbooks, dark history, multiperspectivity, silences and inclusions, and otherness in history teaching is discussed.

However, before the above is discussed, it is necessary to briefly look at the nature, purpose, and uses of a literature review for a study such as mine.

2.2 The nature, purpose and uses of a literature review

The literature review frames a research study and places it in the context of previous research conducted in that particular field. It further indicates how the proposed research or study fits into that particular field and creates a niche for the study by indicating or projecting its value to the field of study going forward. According to Boote and Beile (2005), a literature review goes beyond the simple search for knowledge and is, rather, an appraisal of the literature relating to a specific study. In the case of my study, the literature related to dark history, textbooks in general, history textbooks, multiperspectivity, and to the other, othering, and otherness. Thus, the literature review provided the context for my research and illustrated where my research would fit into the existing body of knowledge. Boote and Beile (2005) further contend that without first understanding the literature in a particular field, a researcher cannot thoroughly engage in the research. This idea is upheld by Randolph (2009: 2) who notes that conducting a literature review is a researcher's opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge regarding a specific field of research or study. Therefore, it is important that a researcher illustrates that they have read widely and critically on the topic and are familiar with the key theories, concepts, and other studies that have previously been conducted in relation to their topic to gain a better understanding of what the key issues are (Hart, 1998). Scientifically speaking, a literature review assists in defining the research problem while aiding in seeking new avenues of inquiry and avoiding ineffective approaches. A literature review may also demonstrate methodological insights and provide support for grounded theory (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996).

Another purpose for writing a literature review is its importance in framing new research to be compared against existing or previous research (Randolph, 2009). Bearing this in mind, a well-written literature review might very well become a peer-reviewed scholarly piece of work (LeCompte et al., 2003: 124). Also, while many of the scholars who are cited for the value of the literature might seem a little dated, Randolph aptly states that "not only is there a lack of published information to guide writers of literature reviews but the labour-intensive process of writing one compounds the problem" (2009: 1). Thus, within a specific field, it might seem that the research available is dated but that could be due to numerous factors. Furthermore, the evergreen or thought leaders in a particular field remain groundbreakers. Thus, while their material may seem outdated it is necessary as a starting point.

This literature review is structured in a thematic manner as this is best suited to the needs of my research. Thematic literature reviews are organised around a topic, issue, or theme. Structuring a literature review in a thematic style is highly flexible as the work can be regarded in a systematic order while remaining authentic (McLeod, 2003: 19). Thus, a thematic literature review is considered comprehensive when it considers the most important tenets or thought leaders in a particular field pertaining to a particular topic. It could, therefore, be a complex and intense review. Furthermore, this type of literature review provides gravitas and is comprehensive. In addition to being comprehensive, this type of literature review could be considered part of a body of work instead of a stand-alone contribution. This might sound contradictory as this thesis is technically considered a stand-alone piece of work and, in the truest sense of the definition, this is the case. However, what I mean by being part of a larger body of work is that this literature review forms part of a larger field of study pertaining not only to textbook research in general but, also, more specifically, to textbook research in education. It can further be narrowed down to the field of study that deals with history education in school textbooks. Therefore, while this thesis is indeed a stand-alone piece of work, it still forms part of a larger body of research that exists surrounding this type of research.

2.3 Exploring dark history: Revelations from the Elephant Graveyard

As mentioned in Chapter 1, dark history refers to events that have to do with morbid elements such as death, destruction, violations of human rights, and great civilian suffering such as genocide. These kinds of historical events are seen as sinister and evoke some form of negative emotion. Thus, people may have a certain perspective or perception about these events, similar to the view that Simba from *The Lion King* carried about the Elephant Graveyard (as discussed in Chapter 1). To this end, this section of my literature review delves into the notion of dark history and what the literature reveals about its nature and use, hence the aptness of the title, “Revelations from the Elephant Graveyard”.

As the Ghanaian proverb at the beginning of this chapter notes, no one can hold knowledge in their hands. Rather, knowledge is like a tree with deep roots, always growing and changing. Thus, there is an importance in understanding the complexities of human history and why some of this history is deemed dark history.

2.3.1 The types of darkness lurking in the Elephant Graveyard

Dark history has emerged as a critical lens through which scholars can engage with dark historical events that have left indelible marks on the collective past of communities, societies, and even countries. Dark history events, as explained in Chapter 1, classically refer to

historical events that are marked by tragedy, brutality, or extreme suffering. This was the case in the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Uganda's Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. All three cases are characterised by a significant loss of life, human rights abuses, and/or other forms of violence.

The term dark history seems to have evolved to describe historical events or periods of time that have been marked with tragedy, violence, oppression, and moral quandaries. Not all scholars use this term universally, with some referring to this type of history as troubled (Assmann, 2011), difficult (Alessio, 2009; Rigney, 2012; Winter, 2006), traumatic (Dean, 2004; LaCapra, 2001; Lang, 2000), or filled with suffering (LaCapra, 1994; Lang, 2000). What is clear is that the above refers to and reflects on the same type of history – the kind that can be found in the Elephant Graveyard – that which has a negative and deeply emotional connotation. The choice of term can then be dependent on the context and nuance of the specific event under consideration. It must also be considered that dark history refers to different kinds of historical events that take place in varying contexts. For example, Snyder's *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (2010) focuses on exploring the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany during WWII, mainly against the Jewish population but also against other so-called undesirables by showcasing the historical event as dark history on a macro scale, in this case across the continents of Europe and Asia. It should be noted that for a historical event to be considered dark history, it does not need to have a large geopolitical footprint. The size of the historical event is inconsequential. In the case of my study, the selected dark history events occurred in three distinct countries, each with its own context and scope.

In addition, dark historical events can extend beyond geopolitical conflicts, as mentioned above. Dark history events, as noted in the work of Lindqvist (1992) and Applebaum (2003), also deal with multiple layers of suffering. These layers of suffering refer to various forms of discrimination, marginalisation, or power imbalances in society (that is, societal oppression). This kind of societal oppression can often be overlooked or obscured; however, it plays a significant role in shaping the broader historical landscape which informs a dark historical event. Lindqvist's (1992) *Exterminate All the Brutes* examines power dynamics in European colonialism while Applebaum's (2003) *Gulag: A History* reveals the suffering experienced in the Soviet labour camps and how there were multiple layers to the suffering, from political repression to the cost of human life.

In addition to multiple layers of suffering, dark historical events further highlight the inherent tensions between individuals, groups, or societies during times of transformation such as

revolutions. Figes' (1996) *A People's Tragedy* uses the Russian Revolution to illustrate the violence that inevitably comes from the idealistic ideas of revolutionaries and the societal upheaval it causes. Thus, more harm than good comes from revolutions.

The literature on dark history spanning the early 1990s to the present reflects a growing scholarly commitment to unravelling the complexities that lie beneath the surface of conventional historical narratives or master narratives to clearly understand dark history and deepen the understanding of its multifaceted nature. This literature spans a wide range of topics that deal with unsettling aspects of history, such as mass death, destruction, violation of rights, suffering, and/or power-related oppression, which can be viewed thematically. This can be applied to an individual, community, group, or nation. Dark history examples include (but are not limited to) indigenous histories, totalitarian regime histories, trauma and memory histories, conflict histories, colonialism and imperialism histories, human rights violation histories, mass atrocities and genocide histories, and slavery legacy histories. Discussed below are several brief examples of the various ways dark history can be discussed thematically.

The histories of indigenous people refer to the cultural heritage, experiences, and perspectives of the original inhabitants of a specific country, land, or country (Antonellos & Rantall, 2017), for example, Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970), which illustrates the violence and injustices committed against Native American tribes during the late 19th century by the US Army in South Dakota. The study of indigenous histories challenges the idea of colonisation and the depiction of victimhood by probing into resistance (Antonellos & Rantall, 2017).

The histories of totalitarian regimes refer to and identify governments that exert power over every sphere of public and private life and expose the dark history left in the wake of despotic leaders (Fritzsche, 2001). An example of the history of a totalitarian regime is the reign of Stalin and the treatment of the Gulags in the Soviet labour camps. Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973) portrays the dark history of the Soviet Union labour camps and the human suffering and brutality experienced first-hand.

Histories of trauma and memory refer to the collective and psychosomatic impact that traumatic events have on individuals and the communities they find themselves in (Lacapra, 2001). The memories that are formed on the basis of these traumas are foregrounded. An example of a trauma and memory history is that of the Holocaust and WWII when the Nazis ransacked and looted not only art but also artefacts of Jewish origin. Nicholas' *The Rape of*

Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War (1994) describes the severe cultural consequences of the destruction caused by the Nazis.

An example of histories of conflict is the dark history of the Nanking Massacre, which took place before WWII between Chinese citizens and the Japanese Imperial Army, also known as the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. It has become known as “the forgotten holocaust”. These histories focus on types of conflict such as political, social, and armed (Shen, 1998). *The Rape of Nanking* (Chang, 1997) depicts the horrifying events of the Nanking Massacre by shedding light on war crimes and the long-lasting impact they have on societies.

The histories of colonialism and imperialism examine periods during which powerful nations have extended their influence and control over other territories and peoples in every sphere of life. An example of a history of colonialism and imperialism is Williams’ (1971) *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race from 4500 B.C. to 2000 A.D.* In this work, the history of African civilisations that have faced colonisation and slavery are explored as well as the societal impact on Black communities. Another example of a history that took place during the colonial and imperial periods is *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Hochschild, 1998) in which the brutal exploitation committed by King Leopold II of Belgium during the era of European colonialism in the Congo is addressed. Similarly, the history of slavery and its legacies refers to the period during which individuals were forcibly held in servitude, deprived of their freedom, and treated as property (Kendi, 2016).

The histories of human rights violations refer to instances where individuals or groups have experienced discrimination, violence, and/or oppression by powerful entities whether individuals or groups (McCrudden, 2015). Examples of histories of human rights violations are prolific and are often seen from the perspective of those who were victimised. In *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, Power (2002) explores the response of the US to genocides of the 20th century in relation to the ethical challenges faced by policymakers that inevitably cause the genocides to occur. The histories of genocides and mass atrocities go hand in hand with those of human rights violations and are often referred to as “theatres of violence” (Dwyer & Ryan, 2012). These histories refer to deliberate acts of violence committed with the intent to eradicate specific groups of people. The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda is an example of a history of genocide and mass atrocities.

These examples of dark history represent a fraction of the literature on dark history. Scholars continually contribute to this field, providing nuanced perspectives, exploring lesser-known narratives, and encouraging a deeper understanding of the complexities inherent in the human

experience. Dark history can be seen as complex, centring around more than just one factor and existing from multiple perspectives. Dark history stems from tragedy and profound suffering, such as genocides or large-scale conflicts that result in untold loss of life in catastrophic circumstances. Ethical abstruseness is a hallmark feature of dark history as historical events may not be easily classified as either good or bad (light or dark), compelling further exploration of moral considerations. Furthermore, dark history can tend to reveal the intentionally obscured within a narrative (the other, othering, or otherness), something that may be silenced in the master narrative (the conventional, sanitised narrative), and thus the emergence of an unsettling narrative from the dark historical event is presented. Finally, dark history can have an impact on the collective memory of a group, society, or nation. This collective memory can, in turn, influence societal norms and attitudes as well as individual identities and the perception and perspective of the past.

Moreover, a distinction must be made between dark history and controversial issues. Although dark history events and controversial issues are related, they are not the same and thus cannot be treated as interchangeable. Controversial issues are topics or subjects that elicit strong and opposing opinions, debates, or disagreements in society (Shear, 2015). While some dark history events may overlap with controversial issues, not all controversial issues necessarily involve dark historical events. Controversial issues can encompass a wide range of topics, including social, political, ethical, and cultural issues, without necessarily being tied to a specific historical tragedy. For instance, abortion or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, or asexual plus (LGBTQIA+) rights could be considered controversial issues. However, they are not necessarily regarded as dark history events. The relationship between dark history events and controversial issues lies in the fact that some dark history events become subjects of controversy when differing interpretations and perspectives come into play.

Thus, when no singular narrative can be agreed upon, disagreement over what controversy means in history education emerges. As noted by Wassermann (2011: 133), “Controversial issues are complex, have no fixed point of view, and have competing interpretations which will challenge personal beliefs and values.” Thus, narratives can have a specific meaning for particular people based on their personal frame of reference and their socio-economic, contextual, and temporal positioning. What remains socially acceptable and palatable for one individual may not be so for someone else, who may find it highly offensive and controversial, particularly with regard to dark history events.

Hence, controversial issues can be briefly explained as issues that spark disagreement or debate among people, as can dark history events. However, if controversial issues are highly complex and mean different things to different people, how do we determine what is truly controversial or contentious? The simple answer, according to Versfeld (2005), is that everything is controversial. She contends that a topic becomes controversial when there is not one correct solution or answer; instead, there are multiple perspectives. Therefore, not only is dark history complex, but so too are controversial issues and both can be seen as esoteric.

The teaching of dark historical events may always remain controversial due to the fact that scholars cannot agree on the narratives pertaining to these events as a result of the scope they deal with and how people respond to these dark history events. This section has revealed some of the darkness that has been lurking in the Elephant Graveyard by dealing with dark history, what can be classified as types of dark history, and the link to controversial issues. The next section looks at how dark history features in textbooks as the programmatic curriculum.

2.3.2 Dark history and the production of history textbooks

In line with the above, which deals with the various external factors that inform curriculum design and the dissemination of knowledge via the programmatic curriculum, Bertram (2020) outlines how the South African curriculum was designed and implemented and how this construction has filtered down into the textbooks used in schools. In her article, Bertram makes use of Bernstein's pedagogic devices to illustrate her point about the construction of the curriculum. While Bertram's (2020) article deals with a specific South African curriculum, her thoughts can be applied more generally. Bernstein's concept of the pedagogic device explores how educational institutions organise and transmit knowledge, shaping students' experiences based on social class and cultural factors (Bernstein & Solomon, 1999). Bertram (2020) further discusses three fields of practice that assist in the creation of knowledge, which ultimately becomes part of the programmatic curriculum: "production, recontextualisation, and reproduction" (Bertram, 2020: 4).

The first field of practice using Bernstein's pedagogic device is production. This is where academic knowledge originates, often in specialised fields of research, scholarship, or scientific inquiry. The emphasis is on the creation of new ideas, theories, and findings.

The second field of practice using Bernstein's pedagogic device is recontextualisation. This is where knowledge is selected and sequenced into curriculum documents and textbooks. Once the knowledge is produced, the field of recontextualisation comes into play. Here, educators,

curriculum developers, and policymakers decide which aspects of the produced knowledge are valuable and relevant enough for inclusion in educational materials. The selected knowledge is then organised and presented in a way that aligns with educational goals and standards.

The third field of practice using Bernstein's pedagogic device is reproduction. This is where teachers transmit and evaluate selected knowledge in the classroom. Teachers play a central role in the field of reproduction. They take the knowledge that has been recontextualised in curriculum documents and textbooks and deliver it to students in the classroom. This involves instructional strategies, assessments, and evaluations. The goal is to ensure that students understand and internalise the prescribed knowledge that can be found in the textbooks or programmatic curriculum.

Thus, in sum, the relationship between academic history, policy, and the context of textbooks seems to be a tumultuous one which involves constant navigation, interaction, and negotiation. Despite academic historians endeavouring to maintain scholarly rigour in the histories, historians must be cognisant of the influence of educational policies, political considerations, and societal expectations to ensure that history education remains both accurate and relevant.

2.4 Textbooks in general: Their nature, use, and purpose

Having engaged with the literature related to dark history and academic history and how policy and the programmatic curriculum intersect, it is important to review the literature-related textbooks in general. Textbooks, their use, importance, and even relevance have been debated many times. The outcome? Many scholars, researchers, academics, and even teachers remain divided over textbooks themselves – their use, importance, and even their relevance.

Textbook research is a well-seasoned field with literature being readily available both locally and internationally. Furthermore, as the available literature on textbooks and textbook research is incredibly vast, it would be impossible to refer to or reference all the literature that exists. Thus, a demarcation had to take place with my topic in mind. To this end, this section serves as a snapshot of what I have come to understand textbooks to be, their nature, their role, and their purpose in general, before looking specifically at history textbooks in the context of this study, including the dark history events found in selected history textbooks from the three selected countries – Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda.

As rudimentary as it may sound, a starting point to this textbook discussion is the question, what is a textbook? I will start with a simple meaning of semantics. According to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, a textbook can be defined as “a book used in the study of a subject” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) while the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* notes that a textbook is a “manual of instruction, [a] standard book in a branch of study” (Oxford University Press, 2022: n.p.). I, therefore, surmise that a textbook essentially contains knowledge, resources, and sometimes activities and/or assessments within a specific subject matter. If, as the *Oxford Dictionary* suggests, the textbook is a “manual of instruction”, this indicates that a textbook is an official source of knowledge that was constructed for a specific purpose. In addition to the baseline dictionary definitions, Johnsen (1993: 33) aptly sums up the complexities of what textbooks are by noting:

A textbook is neither just subject content, nor pedagogy, nor literature, nor information, nor morals, nor politics. It is the freebooter of public information, operating in the grey zone between community and home, science and propaganda, special subject and general education, adult and child.

Thus, a textbook seems to be more than merely a vessel of knowledge available for public consumption. In addition to the knowledge gained, when using the textbook, the individual should ideally also create or construct their own meaning and understanding based on their own unique frame of reference (Morgan, 2011). However, the textbook conveys this knowledge without any form of real accountability. Johnsen refers to this as a grey zone – one that cannot be defined nor fixed in meaning but rather something more fluid that is different for every individual. In other words, textbooks are social constructs of meaning. Morgan (2011) further refers to the notion that this grey zone occupies a space that is culturally and socially predetermined and presented in such a way that it is aligned with the educational institution or purpose which it was designed for. To compound this, the grey zone of textbooks becomes challenging for users,² especially where the texts do not expose users to different viewpoints. The reason for this, as suggested by Lebrun (2002), could most likely be attributed to the fact that textbooks are influenced by factors which include culture, politics, and various ideologies.

To this end, the notion of a grey zone of textbooks can be linked to the two templates designed as part of this study to ascertain the varying degree of “greyness” in textbooks within the scope of dark historical events, the complexities of such events, and the narrative through which it

² The term “users” has been adopted for this study instead of the term “readers”. Using the term readers implies that those individuals accessing the textbooks are passively reading whilst the term user implies that the individual is both reading the knowledge presented but also applying it to classroom discussions, research, and activities listed in the texts.

presents itself. In Chapter 1, Figure 2 is the diagrammatic representation of light and dark events – a shaded continuum. To recap, relating it specifically to history, this representation depicts the scale of how events can be categorised as light or dark history based on either the straight-forwardness of the event – where there is little to no contention or lack of controversy surrounding it – or the intricacies of the event that made it controversial. Linked to this could be the complexities of the emotion that people attach to events based on their national or personal identities or even their religions, ethnicity, politics, or culture, to name a few. This can be seen as part of the greyness of textbooks. In addition, in Chapter 3, I discuss the idea of a swinging pendulum where dark history events in textbooks are represented by a single narrative at one end and multiple perspectives at the other. This pendulum could be placed on top of the light- and dark-shaded continuum of dark history events so that you, the user, can look through multiple lenses when analysing the event in question. This pendulum is fully discussed in Chapter 3.

How, then, can the shaded continuum and pendulum permeate what has already been written about textbooks? Evergreen theorists or thought leaders on textbook research, such as Apple and Christian-Smith (1991: 3) note that textbooks are “published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power”. Bertram and Wassermann (2015) concur and postulate that textbook production from its inception to the end user is a political activity that is also contentious. Meanwhile, Foster and Crawford (2006: xi) assert that “textbooks and other books of text have been both important and ubiquitous in schools across many hundreds of years [and] they continue to be central to school curricula ... in almost all countries”. Therefore, textbooks, in general, have power in the classroom. How do textbooks exert power in the classroom? Textbooks are educational artefacts of knowledge that present certain shades of history to the user, influenced by the political, socio-economic, and ideological circumstances of each country, and sometimes even provinces or county spaces. It must also be kept in mind that the large power base that textbooks possess does not stem from an objective space (Chisholm, 2015).

The function of textbooks is fundamentally to assist the teaching and learning process of certain subject matter and to supplement teachers’ knowledge deficits (Veriava, 2015). In addition, they provide teachers with a safety net of sorts, one that enables teachers to deliver content that has been vetted (to some extent and in some countries). In the three countries in which the case studies took place, the textbooks were vetted by the state for use and exercises or activities were available without having to pay to start the process from scratch. Foster and Crawford (2006) observe that textbooks are an imperative medium for shaping students’ understanding of the world. Liebenberg, who is the CEO of ITSI, an online learning platform

which uses e-books, emphasises the need for and importance of textbooks, despite the world and education becoming more digitised by the minute (Liebenberg, n.d.: n.p.). It should also be noted that textbooks cannot be seen as relics from the past that are static and unchanging. Textbooks exist in various forms and are thus accessed differently, in either hard copy or digital format, and the students and teachers who access them do so within their own frames of reference and backgrounds.

Furthermore, highlighting the complex nature of textbooks, Liebenberg (n.d.: n.p.) states that textbooks are a necessity in the classroom “to support teachers in delivering effective 21st-century learning provisions and give students the opportunity to delve deeper into subjects and develop the skills and knowledge needed in today’s age”. Therefore, textbooks are powerful tools for society (Bentrovato & van Nieuwenhuyse, 2019). They signify particular constructions of reality and reflect the values and aspirations of that society (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Textbooks further act as a sound knowledge base, a foundation, if you will, for users to use as a platform for basic understanding before they, in certain contexts, can construct meaning themselves (Banks, 2016; Gay, 2018; Nieto, 2016). This is, however, not always the case because they can also expect to absorb the context literally as the truth, the textbooks being their first (and possibly only) exposure to the knowledge (Barton, 2017; van Hover & Yeager, 2004). Therefore, textbooks are, in essence, constructs of reality told from a particular perspective and can be deemed a programmatic curriculum as they are changed to suit particular needs and ideologies, including those with a political agenda (Bertram & Wassermann, 2015; Chisholm, 2015; Fuchs, 2011).

The purpose of textbooks, then, is to “influence the knowledge and understanding that young people [students] have about their past and environment” (Bourdillon, 1992: 6). The power of textbooks is reinforced by the fact that they are often the most readily available resource at the teacher’s and students’ disposal. This notion was recapped by Husbands (1996) who noted that the primary tool used to spread awareness and understanding for students is textbooks. Therefore, textbooks are probably the first body of knowledge that students are introduced to and thus, as Paxton (1999) notes, the most common text that students are au fait with. As a result, textbooks can be seen as one of the most instrumental and functional educational inputs. According to Apple (1992), textbooks dominate what students learn whether it has a positive or negative influence. They are important vehicles of knowledge (Willingham, 2009). The power of textbooks is overwhelming and two-fold. As alluded to previously, for many users, textbooks are sometimes the only exposure they have to knowledge. However, they can also be viewed as “the commercial product it is, operating in a

market which is sometimes sensitive to quality, but implacable on price” (Wilkes, n.d.: 16). Thus, textbooks are also powerful as an economic commodity. This notion is supported by Lebrun (2002) who states that textbooks function as part of an economic process, which further illustrates their contentious nature.

The example below illustrates the influential nature of textbooks. In a court ruling in South Africa in 2014, Judge Neil Tuchten of the North Gauteng High Court ruled that in the province of Limpopo, the Department of Education (DoE) had violated the human right to basic education by not providing textbooks to as many as 39 schools in preparation for the first day of the academic school year. Tuchten ordered the DoE to increase textbook delivery to schools so that at the start of every academic year, every learner has a textbook for every subject. He noted the following regarding the use of textbooks:

Textbooks have been part of the stock in trade of the educator for centuries. There is something special about a book. It has a very long life, far longer than that of the individual reader. It is a low-tech [nology] device. It is accessible to anyone who can read the language in which it has been written. During the hours of daylight, it can be read (accessed) without any other supporting technology at all. It needs no maintenance except the occasional strip of adhesive tape (Veriava, 2015: n.p.).

Therefore, the necessity of textbooks can be seen as a low-cost yet effective tool to introduce the user to historical knowledge. Furthermore, the scope of textbooks is wider than that of pedagogics and includes culture, politics, and ideologies (Lebrun, 2002). In addition, textbook production has become a lucrative business. Revisions of these texts have become par for the course as there is a need for multiple perspectives to exist as dispensations change as a result of political and ideological demands. Pingel (2009), a leading history textbook scholar, outlines the need for multiperspectivity in textbooks in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights, and Democracy. Pingel (2009) notes that against a backdrop of national and cultural nuances, textbooks ought to offer multiple perspectives and, hence understanding of a given subject. There are many such instances that advocate for the use of textbooks and their value. On the other hand, the argument for multiperspectivity, as previously discussed in Chapter 1 (and will be further explored as a concept in Chapter 3 as part of my conceptual framework), is one that rings loudly in the textbook debate. To illustrate the contentiousness of the textbook debate and multiperspectivity, I use some grey literature examples below. Grey literature is important as things are constantly evolving and changing, and as such, discussions and debates cannot

wait for academia to come to grips with the issues in a conventional peer-reviewed fashion. These issues are contemporary and must be dealt with immediately.

In Florida, US, dozens of social studies textbooks dealing with issues such as the Black Lives Matter movement, socialism, and why some citizens “take the knee” during the national anthem were rejected and/or forced changes were made, according to a 2023 *New York Times* article (Mervosh & Goldstein, 2023). Florida is one of three states in the US (along with California and Texas) where textbooks are approved at a state-wide level, indicating that these three states are the largest market for textbook production (Vogel, 2002). Therefore, these states have a great influence over what users in other states learn as textbook publishers are producing textbooks based on their markets. To this end, Florida’s Educational Board rejected 82 of 101 social studies textbooks submitted for review outright, citing “inaccurate material, errors and other information that was not aligned with Florida law” (Mervosh & Goldstein, 2023: n.p.). Even after an extensive revision process, only 66 of the original 101 textbooks were approved. Despite these revisions, 35 textbooks were still rejected. The political dispensation requesting changes, however, stated that it was the textbook publishers who wanted to make the revisions due to the age inappropriateness of the content – a tactic used to appease parents and other stakeholders for the revisions in the textbooks. For example, passages on the Black Lives Matter movement and the murder of George Floyd and its impact on society were removed from a middle school textbook. The rationale given for the removal was that the topic was unsolicited, as sympathy for the Black Lives Matter movement was increasing, and the movement was seen as anti-police (Mervosh & Goldstein, 2023). This was due to what the governor of Florida described as “woke indoctrination” and a leftist agenda, especially after the Stop WOKE Act was passed in July 2022, which stated that race should be taught in an objective manner in history classrooms and not used to indoctrinate users or make them feel guilty about the actions of past people of the same race or origin. The drive behind the Act was that textbooks should “focus on historical facts [and be] free from inaccuracies or ideological rhetoric” (Mervosh & Goldstein, 2023: n.p.). Thus, the Florida example illustrates a lack of multiperspectivity in textbooks as a result of the direct influence and interference of political ideology and the ripple effect this had on the production of textbooks and the presentation of dark history events.

Similarly, in Texas, US, textbook production and revision are customised to suit the needs of policymakers and their differing priorities (Goldstein, 2020). This allows for the politically divided landscape to shape what the end user learns about with regard to the nation’s history. Both Goldstein (2020) and Hoque (2021) have reported that there were glaring omissions and differences in the content of history textbooks from the same publisher with the same authors,

showcasing that textbook publishers would custom-make textbooks to satisfy the political and ideological requirements per state. This deepened the divide in the nation as biased perspectives permeated the textbooks, and a lack of multiperspectivity became evident. Examples were given from history textbooks used in Texas and California (Hoque, 2021). In Texas, for instance, mention of LGBTQIA+ issues is restricted to recent events such as debates over marriage rights or the Stonewall uprising, while in California, revised textbook editions include passages on LGBTQIA+ and persons with disabilities (PWDs) under the FAIR Education Act that was introduced in 2011 (Goldstein, 2020).

Furthermore, DeMatthews (2021) of *UT News* highlights that, in Texas, critical race theory was misrepresented for political gain, while Lopez (2023: n.p.) from the *Texas Tribune* notes that the Texas State Board of Education felt that “more needed to be done to abolish critical race theory in Texas classrooms and lawmakers went to work to craft a more restrictive measure”. The restrictive measure in question was Senate Bill 3, which selectively removed historical events and documents highlighting the struggles and accomplishments of people of colour and women from the history textbooks (Lopez, 2023). For example, Martin Luther King Jr.’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” and his “I Have a Dream” speech were removed from some textbooks to ensure that the textbook revision process overwhelming reflected a conservative narrative, thereby rooting out any prominence of sex, race, gender as well as silencing narratives that marginalised people of colour and the LGBTQIA+ community (Hoque, 2021).

Along with the passing of Senate Bill 3, another proposed bill was tabled called House Bill 1804. The Texas State Board of Education planned to reject textbooks for users below the ninth grade if they included content on sexual orientation, gender identity, and/or sexual activity (Lopez, 2023). Furthermore, textbooks could be rejected if they fail to present US history in a positive light (Lopez, 2023, n.p.). For example, immigration and nativism are major themes in American history textbooks, as noted by Goldstein (2020). Two textbooks by the same authors and publisher treated the same theme very differently. In California, history textbooks included the perspective of a Dominican-American family to illustrate immigration in Texas, whereas the history textbooks included the perspective of a Border Patrol agent. Thus, the Texas example further illustrates a lack of multiperspectivity in textbooks as a result of the direct influence and interference of political ideology and the contentious ripple effect this has on the production of textbooks and the presentation of dark history events resulting in the misrepresentation of individuals or communities.

India is another example of a country facing history textbook controversy as a result of a lack of multiperspectivity and representation and where the government has seemingly turned education into a political-ideological weapon (Bhat, 2023). The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) has mandated all schools, both public and private, to use the newly prescribed versions of history textbooks where 30 per cent of the curriculum has been removed (Chakrabarty, 2023). This is not the first time that the NCERT has called for revisions in textbooks. It has been a systemic issue in India since 1977 (Chakrabarty, 2023). The latest revisions were announced in April 2022 and the burden of a content-heavy curriculum post-COVID-19 was used to rationalise the decision to remove not only Mughal history from the textbooks but there were also several deletions related to Mahatma Gandhi and the Gujarat Riots (among others) (Bhat, 2023; Chakrabarty, 2023; Mansoor, 2023). In terms of the removal of Mahatma Gandhi passages, *India Today* (Chakrabarty, 2023: n.p.) published the sections that were deleted together with the revised passage for comparison. One such deleted passage appeared as follows:

Gandhiji was shot dead by a young man. The assassin, who surrendered afterwards, was a Brahmin from Pune named Nathuram Godse, the editor of an extremist Hindu newspaper who had denounced Gandhi as an appeaser of Muslims.

While a revised inclusion appeared as follows:

At his daily prayer meeting on the evening of 30 January, Gandhiji was shot dead by a young man. The assassin, who surrendered afterwards, was Nathuram Godse.

The NCERT rationale was that the recent revisions were considered instrumental in shaping national identity and had a noteworthy influence on the narratives of the country. Home Affairs Minister Amit Shah noted in 2019 that it was paramount to rewrite the country's history and break away from the "slave mentality of colonial oppressors" (Ellis-Petersen, 2023: n.p.). From the lack of multiple perspectives above, Gandhi's killer can be seen to be venerated as Hindu nationalism resurges in India. The leading political party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), noted that they were "not rewriting history but instead [finding] a way to rebalance the biased approach of some historians" (Ellis-Petersen, 2023: n.p.). However, according to some historians interviewed by Jaswal (2023) for *Aljazeera News*, the current dispensation was assaulting the ethos of India by poisoning the school curriculum.

The study of history is limited to one-sided accounts which could lead to false histories (Bhat, 2023). Moreover, claims are being made that the government and the NCERT are attempting to "weaponise" and "erase" history to suit the government's political agenda (Ellis-Petersen,

2023: n.p.). This revision of history would seemingly suit the Hindu nationalist agenda as Gandhi's disapproval of Hindu nationalism has been stripped from the textbooks (Bhat, 2023). Furthermore, the BJP started renaming streets that were named after Muslim rulers in the national capital and other prominent cities in India, indicating a willingness and revealing efforts to remove Muslims from India's history (Bhat, 2023). Mansoor (2023) concurs that textbooks had become the latest theatre of war for Hindu nationalism in India as the NCERT was removing any evidence of Muslim rule from the history pages, thereby indicating the lack of perspectives available for these dark history events.

The example of India further illustrates the lack of multiperspectivity in textbooks as a result of the direct influence and interference of political ideology and the contentious ripple effect this has had on the production of textbooks and the presentation of dark history events resulting in the misrepresentation of individuals or communities. The controversy surrounding history textbooks in India seems deeply entrenched as a political agenda; the prime minister himself, Narendra Modi, was implicated in a religious riot which was also wiped from the history books (Ellis-Petersen, 2023).

Based on these examples, it can be argued that in certain instances, textbooks represent a singular narrative that has been specifically chosen and designed for an audience; a sanctioned master narrative which is decided upon by those in power (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). The nature of textbooks can be seen not only as contentious but also complex as they are constantly changing due to the political, economic, and political compromises that are made (Bertram & Wassermann, 2015; Crawford, 2004). This is true not only for textbooks in general but more specifically for history textbooks. The contested nature of history textbooks stems from the selection, presentation, and transmission phases of textbooks (Morgan, 2011). Evergreen thought leaders Foster and Crawford (2006) confirm that textbooks represent something. This representation can take many shapes and forms. Regardless of the subject matter or discipline, it can be represented and presented in a certain way and for a specific purpose. Herein, lies the contention and controversy. Textbooks are symbolic representations of the world (Sleeter & Grant, 1991) that are threefold and their representation confirms the status of a specific group of people in a society as dominant, thereby rendering one group and certain events and the way they are interpreted as more significant than any other in that narrative or specific event. Furthermore, textbooks are symbolic representations of the world and the way in which these representations are presented is often acknowledged as truth with all the associated issues that master narratives as singular truths bring. This could be due to the fact that this "truth" is the only form of official knowledge to which the textbook user has access.

Furthermore, who is the user to question the legitimacy of a textbook written by experts? The textbooks that users have access to are often regarded by them not only as the truth but as an official narrative. Within this framework, it should be remembered that what is deemed to be the truth is forever changing and is open to interpretation as political dispensations have the agency to push a specific ideology. Finally, textbooks are symbolic representations of the world as the text “screens in and screens out certain ideas and realms of knowledge” (Sleeter & Grant, 1991: 79-80). Students and teachers, as users, are guided to see the world through the lens of that particular textbook and thus cannot consider alternatives to that narrative. Textbooks can never be neutral as they cannot disguise their ideological and cultural potency and are, therefore, contentious not only in terms of content but also by design (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Furthermore, Morgan (2011) affirms that textbooks represent only a sample of a body of knowledge and are social constructs as mentioned previously in this chapter. These constructs present an educational epistemological position with the prevailing mindset in it (Morgan, 2011).

This review of the literature on textbooks, in general, has attempted to look at the intended nature, use, and purpose of textbooks, the subsequent power attached to textbooks, and the fact that textbooks are social constructs created within a certain context. In the next section of the literature review, I look specifically at the role of history textbooks in terms of their nature, use, and purpose.

2.5 History textbooks

While the literature reviewed above applies to the importance of textbooks in general, it also applies to history textbooks. Therefore, the following section of the literature review is done as an extension of the literature previously cited in textbooks but with a specific emphasis on history textbooks.

The role of history textbooks has become increasingly apparent in schools recently as teachers are becoming more and more reliant on history textbooks to aid their teaching, especially when dictated to by the state (as mentioned previously with regard to Florida, Texas, and India). According to Patrick and Hawke (1982) and Shug et al. (1997), history textbooks play an important role in the classroom as not only are they likely to be the only source of evidence available to students and teachers but they also provide instruction through narrative and exercises (Su, 1997). Thus, in cases such as the above, history textbooks act as a crutch to teachers – many of whom are not history specialists (Wilkes, n.d.) but have to navigate contentious and controversial topics. The importance of history textbooks in the classroom is supported by Santoli (1999) and Hattie (2008) who note that textbooks continue

to play a key role in shaping what students learn about their country's history as well as the histories of other countries. Pingel (2009) furthers this idea by asserting that history textbooks speak to the collective memory or national identity that students and teachers can relate to when presented with the knowledge in history textbooks. This idea of collective memory or national identity is presented by Ramoroka and Engelbrecht (2015) who note that historians such as White and Seixas have postulated the need for history textbooks to contain the collective memory or best stories of the nation. It can be surmised that these best stories pertain to a sensitised version of a country's events or one that is potentially whitewashed, as noted by Loewen (1995). However, someone like Seixas has also cautioned against the abuse of history to alienate one nationality or the other (Stearns et al., 2000). Thus, not only do history textbooks provide knowledge regarding historical knowledge, but they also influence the history curriculum and, similarly, the history curriculum influences what content is found in the history textbooks as the programmatic curriculum.

It can, therefore, be deduced that the role of history textbooks is primarily to convey knowledge that the political dispensation of a country wants users to know about historical events that might be considered dark history. Paxton (1999) explains that the history covered in classrooms does not necessarily delve into details but serves as an outline, which results in students not being able to grasp the complexities of the events they are studying, as a textbook cannot, because of issues of spaces, cover all aspects related to an event. A selection is made based on numerous factors such as political agency, buy-in from all stakeholders (from policymakers to parents), and financial gain. Thus, history textbooks, in general, are looked at from a particular power base. These politically charged history texts not only convey knowledge or provide a sound knowledge base, as previously mentioned but, as Schissler asserts, "textbooks [seek] to anchor the political and social norms of a [particular] society. Textbooks convey a global understanding of history and of the rules of society as well as norms of living with other people" (Schissler, 1989-1990: 81). This implies that history textbooks are geared for a specific purpose and will thus inherently convey a particular agenda of the dispensation that is in power in that country and how it chooses to view certain historical events.

Pingel (2009) further explains the political agenda above by stating that history textbooks that are used after a conflict by the opposing party or country continue to foster national prejudices and portray misleading stereotypes. Furthermore, the idea that history textbooks, like historians, are objective is highly questionable as all textbooks are written from a power base, which means that it is impossible for bias not to creep in. Ravitch (2004) concurs with this line of thinking, noting that textbooks have a point of view, despite a facade of neutrality. Beyond

names and dates, she explains, there is seldom, if ever, a single interpretation of events. This is the very idea that I am trying to convey in this literature review and, most likely, this study, that is, that while single master narratives might exist in history textbooks, these narratives are not the only ones that exist. The narratives do not necessarily concur regarding what has been written, yet they impact the lives and meaning created by the students who learn about these events at school and take this knowledge into adulthood.

What should also be considered is that most of the history taught on the continent of Africa comes from the perspective of outsiders, that is, Europe. The Eurocentric versus Afrocentric (Sesanti, 2019; van der Westhuizen, 2021) debate about perspectives in textbooks revolves around the question of whose perspective on history, culture, and contributions is emphasised and prioritised in the educational materials. Each perspective carries its own set of implications for shaping students' understanding of the world. Eurocentric-orientated textbooks tend to prioritise European history, often highlighting the achievements, events, and perspectives of European civilisations and nations. This perspective has historically dominated educational curricula in many Western countries, and the world. Bentrovato and Wassermann (2021) argue that Eurocentric textbooks can marginalise the history and contributions of other regions and cultures by reinforcing a Eurocentric worldview as the expert that downplays the diversity of human experience and foregrounds Western perspectives while often discounting cultural insiders. To this end, in recent years, a strong drive to right this wrong of perspectives has come to the fore with more scholars from Africa advocating for perspectives to be predominantly and authentically Afrocentric – Africa's history told by people from the continent of Africa. In summary, Bentrovato and Wassermann (2021: 5) note the following:

Critics and activists across the globe have brought to light and denounced the persistence of largely Eurocentric practices in teaching and research, whose contents, methodologies and languages remain ingrained in colonial and Western worldviews and traditions and embedded in institutional cultures that have demonstrated their resistance to change.

Striking a balance between Eurocentric and Afrocentric perspectives is crucial for providing a comprehensive and inclusive history education in an African context. Such a move towards decolonisation is necessary, as argued by Stojanovic (2001: 27):

History textbooks are among the most important means for shaping national identity and historical awareness. Owing to them, pupils [students] are at an early age imbued with images of their own nation, its place in history, its characteristics, as well as with images of other notable neighbouring people.

History textbooks are thus powerful cultural artefacts at the centre of political and ideological struggles (Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2021). This is because the official master narrative version of history is many a time the truth that the government or current dispensation of a particular country wants its people to learn about and understand. Therefore, those in power see fit to exclude and include chapters of history that agree with their political ideology and framework (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). This poses a challenge, as pointed out by Kennedy-Manzo (2004: 8), who argues that that “nations around the globe, particularly those with fresh memories of civil or regional conflicts or recent political strife have debated how to teach their history”, and how this history should be represented in history textbooks which I have already deduced are narratives sanctioned by the state. Kennedy-Manzo (2004) further asserts that, as a result, textbooks are often torn between roles and purposes that are at odds with each other. Thus, it can be seen that the power of the state to enforce narratives may be so overwhelming that history students and teachers often regard these textbooks as the only truth.

As a consequence, historical exclusions are rife in many history textbooks (Kennedy-Manzo, 2004; Nash, 2009). Noonoo (2020) advances a reason for this, noting that textbooks are shaped by state standards, approved by state legislatures, and reviewed by panels of educators who can request significant revisions from publishers. This notion refers to the idea that history textbooks are political constructions and economic commodities.

The role of history textbooks can never be neutral as they cannot disguise their ideological and cultural potency (Foster & Crawford, 2006). Thus, history textbooks, including the ones I have analysed, convey the ideas, values, and knowledge of a culture or dominant grouping of a particular country. The power of these textbooks cannot be underestimated. No matter how neutral history textbooks may appear to be, “they prove ideologically important because they seek to imbue in the young a shared set of values, a national ethos, and an incontrovertible sense of political orthodoxy” (Foster & Crawford, 2006: 1). Governments have an enormous say in what is consumed by students by means of the history textbooks. Embedded in history textbooks are the narratives that governments choose to have students learn about the state itself, its actions, and its relationships with other nations. This represents a core of cultural knowledge which governments expect future generations to both assimilate and support. Other stakeholders, such as textbook publishers and authors, most certainly contribute to the type of knowledge conveyed through textbooks. Textbook publishers often publish what is required by the state in order to sell their textbooks; hence, their economic agency is based on economic benefit, as mentioned previously. The same can be said for textbook authors. An author receives remuneration if their chapter or unit appears in a textbook; thus, they are

less likely to challenge the agenda of the state when compiling their material. According to Polokow-Suransky (2002), textbooks are not simply delivery systems of facts. They are the result of a myriad of convergent factors, including political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by people with real interests. Therefore, history textbooks can be seen not only as contentious in nature but also as playing a vitally important role in society, one which should undoubtedly be questioned and re-examined.

Yet, it should also be mentioned that history textbooks are not solely responsible for national stereotypes (Koulouri, 2001). Even if history textbooks were to be revised, they cannot be innovative if their production is state-centred or state-controlled, and similarly, if textbooks are not used by subject specialists, they cannot be used effectively. This sentiment was echoed by Steiner-Khamsi (1994) earlier in this review. The problem can be compounded even further when a teacher has to teach a contentious dark historical event such as the Nigerian-Biafran War, the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, or the political dictatorship of Idi Amin when they only have state-sanctioned textbooks to draw on.

The literature review has thus far dealt with history textbooks and dark history. The next section focuses on the relationship between history textbooks and dark history, a relationship that is complex and multifaceted. Dark history, as explained earlier in this chapter, refers to historical events that are marked by tragedy, violence, trauma, and moral complexity. These events often involve atrocities, genocides, wars, and other forms of collective suffering. The way that history textbooks address and present these dark histories can significantly impact how individuals perceive, understand, and remember the events.

History textbooks can play a crucial role in shaping the narrative, that is, how the dark historical events are represented (Lepore, 2018) and how users interpret and remember them (White, 1987). This is achieved through the selection of the events, the language used, and the overall framing of the dark history event. In addition to the influence that history textbooks have on the appearance of dark history, textbooks also contribute to the construction of a shared historical master narrative that can shape the identity of a nation or a community (Sturken, 2007), particularly in the context of traumatic events. Thus, history textbooks can be seen as the vehicle that delivers the knowledge of the dark historical event to the reader. History textbooks can allow for reflection to take place as they have the power to prompt the end user to raise questions about justice, responsibility, and the consequences of human actions, which, in turn, encourages the users to critically engage with the past (Appiah, 2018).

While history textbooks act as a vehicle to deliver the dark history event, they are not without their challenges. Wineburg (2001) notes that historical narratives can be biased and, therefore, lead to the inclusion and/or exclusion of aspects of dark history. The selection and depth to which an event is covered in the classroom can influence users' perceptions of the historical record and influence cultural sensitivity. Zinn's (1980) *A People's History of the United States* is an example of an alternate perspective of US history. It offers the user a chance to engage with the histories of those who were previously marginalised, such as Native Americans, African Americans, women, and labourers. This is a perspective other than that of the master narrative. Therefore, history textbooks should demonstrate cultural and other sensitivities when addressing dark history, considering that diverse perspectives and experiences of communities were affected by these events (Banks, 2004; Banks & Banks, 2015).

The British Historical Association (2007: 3) identifies issues that could be contentious and part of dark history, "where there is actual or perceived unfairness to people by another individual or group in the past". They further explain that there may be disparities between what is taught in the histories of schools, families, and/or communities. Thus, it is evident that tension exists between textbook versions of the same event (as illustrated earlier with the Texas and California textbooks).

Therefore, the goals of history education, as reflected in history textbooks, can influence the emphasis placed by a society on dark history events. While some teachers might avoid sections on dark history events in history textbooks, the teaching of dark history as it relates to controversial issues is important to our understanding of present-day moral complexities (Wassermann, 2011), and is advocated for by scholars (Cavet, 2007; Lesh, 2011). It is thus necessary for the acknowledgement of dark history events and, in turn, the examination of multiple perspectives to ensure that present-day conflicts can be understood and diffused. These sentiments are foregrounded by Stradling, Noctor, and Baines (1984) who claim that dark history events may be controversial but they need to be taught since they are topical, directly relevant to students' lives, and tend to interrogate major social, political, economic, and moral problems (Wassermann, 2011) which users ought to know about to make sense of the world they are living in. This is equally important as global perspectives foster a broad understanding of dark history events in history textbooks and their impact on a global scale, further driving home that events do not happen in isolation. They may have a knock-on, domino-theory effect which informs an educational legacy (McAdams, Josselson & Lieblich, 2006) as how dark history is presented in history textbooks shapes the knowledge and attitudes of future generations.

The relationship between history textbooks and dark history is significant in shaping historical consciousness, societal memory, and educational perspectives. The way educators and students navigate this relationship influences how they make sense of the darker aspects of the past, especially as it relates to multiperspectivity.

2.6 History textbooks and multiperspectivity

Multiperspectivity and history are closely intertwined and co-dependent. The relationship between history textbooks and multiperspectivity is pivotal in shaping an inclusive and comprehensive understanding of dark historical events. History textbooks serve as crucial vehicles for distributing knowledge and constructing narratives about the past (in most cases, a master narrative). When history textbooks embrace multiperspectivity, they offer users a nuanced and diverse interpretation of historical occurrences (Kukard, 2017; Stradling, 2003). Such an approach to multiperspectivity goes beyond a singular master narrative, acknowledging the complexity of dark historical events and incorporating the voices of various actors. The didactic approach of using multiperspectivity in history textbooks has been encouraged by scholars for several years. Loewen (1995) postulates that history textbooks often present a narrow and biased perspective and advocate for a more inclusive and accurate portrayal of history. In turn, Wineburg (2001) argues for the importance of developing students' historical thinking skills, including the ability to analyse and consider multiple perspectives. Stearns (2010) likewise emphasises the significance of incorporating global and multiple perspectives into history education to provide students with a more holistic view of the past. VanSledright (2011) also reiterates the significance of presenting multiple perspectives when teaching history. By presenting differing perspectives, as argued above, history textbooks can contribute to a historically accurate depiction of the past while at the same time fostering critical thinking skills (Barton & Levstik, 2004). This, in turn, encourages students to engage with the complexities of history. However, challenges may arise when textbooks exhibit biases or exclusions (omissions or silence), marginalising certain perspectives and hindering the multiperspectivity of understanding dark historical events.

Despite the fact that leading scholars have advocated for multiperspectivity in history textbooks for the teaching of dark history events, there are still international cases where this is lacking (Popp & Fellman, 2020). In these instances, a single, dominant master narrative excludes diverse perspectives and marginalises a specific group. Roberts (2014) emphasises the lack of diverse perspectives in textbooks, particularly regarding marginalised groups. He stresses the importance of creating criteria to ensure a balanced and inclusive representation of different cultures, communities, and historical viewpoints. This approach highlights the need for textbooks to cover a wide range of voices and experiences to reflect societal diversity. For

example, the Nanjing Massacre by Japan, which took place between 1937 and 1938 during WWII, can be seen as a contentious, dark historical event. Some history textbooks in Japan have been criticised for downplaying the extent of the violence, the number of victims, and the overall magnitude of the massacre by omitting details about the callousness of the Imperial Japanese Army against the Chinese. This playing down of the events subsequently led to diplomatic tensions developing between neighbouring countries, China and South Korea (Wakabayashi, 2007). From a Korean point of view, the diplomatic tension stemmed from the occurrence of comfort women. Comfort women were women and girls who were forced into sexual servitude by the Imperial Japanese Army troops during WWII (Gersen, 2021). Many of these comfort women were Korean, but others were from China, Indonesia, Taiwan, and the Philippines. These women were forcibly pressured into military brothels (Gersen, 2021). The diplomatic tension felt by South Korea was a result of Japan's slow acknowledgement of the atrocities committed against comfort women and the fact that this did indeed take place (Bush, 2007). Compensation has since been offered by the Japanese along with apologies, but disputes still persist over the sufficiency of these measures.

Another example of the lack of multiperspectivity is the Armenian genocide that occurred in 1915 in Turkey during World War I. The Armenian genocide is still a sensitive topic in Turkish history as it involved the mass killing of the Armenian populace by the forces of the Ottoman Empire. Some Turkish textbooks have been criticised for not acknowledging the events of 1915 by minimising the scale and intentional nature of the violence, as well as the presence of alternative narratives that downplayed the responsibility of the Ottoman government. The denial of the Armenian genocide in Turkish history textbooks has contributed to historical controversies and strained relations between Turkey, Armenia, and the global Armenian diaspora (Kévorkian, 2011).

A lack of multiperspectivity can also be seen in certain history textbooks in the US regarding Native American history. Native American history has often been portrayed from a Eurocentric perspective in history textbooks while, in many instances, the perspectives of Native American communities have been overlooked or overshadowed. This and other master narratives were challenged by Loewen (1995). In his dated but seminal work, he challenged and criticised the fact that the textbooks failed to highlight the contributions made by Native American communities of North America to agriculture, art, and governance, to name a few, thereby showing that stereotyping and misrepresentation in history textbooks was rife (Malone, Hultman, Anderson, & Romer, 2017).

The list of examples of a lack of multiperspectivity as it relates to dark history events is vast and I conclude with an example from Russia. In Russia, the Stalinist era has been a challenging subject. This time period in Russia was characterised by Joseph Stalin's reign from 1924 to 1953, often referred to as Stalinism. It was a dictatorship of subjugation. Some textbooks in Russia do not adequately address the atrocities and repression committed during this period, such as the Great Purge, which involved mass executions. Other textbooks do not mention the famine or forced labour that Russian citizens had to endure nor the censorship and propaganda, not to mention the gross human rights violations that occurred. Therefore, accounts of the Stalinist era in Russian textbooks differ from textbooks written elsewhere in the world, leading to differing interpretations (Figes, 2007).

From the above examples, it can be gleaned that despite academics pushing for the inclusion of multiperspectivity in history textbooks to foster critical and historical thinking, in many countries around the world, this is simply not yet the case (van Straaten, Wilschut & Oostdam, 2015). To understand the dark history in history textbooks, multiperspectivity is needed. The very nature of history teaching lends itself to multiperspectivity as different versions of the same event exist depending on the context in which the narrative is presented. To this end, the next section explores further exclusions and silences in history textbooks.

2.7 History textbooks, revisionism, inclusions, and silences

The revision of history textbooks is a global issue. Generally speaking, governments around the world have had a say as to what history is taught in schools, what is excluded, and what is changed, adapted, or revised. Furthermore, censorship in history textbooks has been a recurring phenomenon throughout history, often reflecting the political, cultural, and ideological priorities of those in power. The reasons for censorship vary, but they often include attempts to control a narrative, shape public opinion, and promote a particular worldview, as seen in the recent grey literature where history textbook revisions in Florida, Texas, and India were deeply influenced by political agency. Wade (1993) also addresses bias and underrepresentation but places particular focus on how historical events and social groups are often misrepresented or omitted. He suggests that textbooks should be evaluated rigorously to ensure that marginalised groups – such as racial minorities, women, and indigenous people – are not only represented but portrayed accurately. Both Roberts (2014) and Wade (1993) see the lack of representation as a key issue.

Consequently, history textbooks are seen as ideological tools aimed at shaping users to view the world through the lens of their government's ideology (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). Moreover, as alluded to earlier in this review, history textbooks are political in

nature and thus governments use them to propagate their political ideologies and agendas. This explains why, in many countries, the official knowledge in history textbooks is controlled by the government – to create a master narrative. Even in the previous century, Pingel (1999) observed that history textbooks had been manipulated to glorify and justify the existence of certain political parties or ideologies at the expense of others. For instance, in Russia, under Communist rule, history textbooks were deliberately distorted to portray the ideologies of Leninism. In Hungary, the government's view on migrants features prominently in history textbooks. In China, following Hong Kong's return to China in 1997, existing textbooks had to be revised to conform to Chinese principles (Lee, 2008). In Brazil, plans were made to revise history textbooks to deny the 1964 coup. Zimbabwe is another example of textbooks being sanctioned by the government to portray its work in a positive light. In the textbooks, no mention is made of land distributions; instead, international sanctions are blamed for the disasters that occurred in the country (Jobling, 2006).

Closer to home, in South Africa, history textbook writers were in a predicament as textbooks “should reflect the ‘best story’ of the [apartheid] struggle ... yet they are expected to reflect elements of historical thinking such as analysis of primary sources and other disciplinary skills” (Ramoroka & Engelbrecht, 2015: 100). Similarly, in the US, history textbooks have been subjected to significant changes over the past half century where, depending upon what state the textbooks are sold in, textbook titles have been changed to either “temper or amplify subjects like reconstruction, LGBTQ rights, and gun control in stark ways when compared side by side” (Noonoo, 2020: n.p.). Furthermore, recently, in June 2022, a group of educators made a proposal to the Texas State Education Board, wanting them to change the term “slavery” to “involuntary relocation” for second-grade learners. This was denied on 1 July 2022, with the chair of the State Board of Education noting that the board was committed to including accurate descriptions of historical events (Suliman, 2022). While it has become evident that the idea of revisionism is something that has been taking place for a long time, the above are a few examples of revisionism in history textbooks which inevitably takes place across the globe.

As with multiperspectivity, censorship undermines the importance of critical historical thinking in shaping a comprehensive understanding of history, hence the need for a study such as mine to examine and engage with the otherness in dark history events to ascertain the extent of this otherness and what can be done to redress it. Some contemporary global trends in textbook censorship can be based on either political, ideological, cultural, or social influences (Stearns, 2010). Political influences can, as mentioned previously, align with the government's master narrative. The annexation of Crimea and the interpretation of Soviet history, for

example, are among the contentious issues where the state sought to control the historical narratives to reinforce a nationalist perspective (Korostelina, 2010). Moreover, ideological influences can be seen when a government heavily censors textbooks to indoctrinate students with a particular ideology, glorifying one aspect of history and promoting a skewed version of history that aligns with the regime's narrative. Such an example is North Korea and the Kim family. Finally, cultural and/or social influences create debate over how certain historical figures and events are portrayed, reflecting the diversity and complexity of the country's history (Olick & Robbins, 1998). For instance, in India, textbook content often involves issues related to historical events, cultural narratives, and religious perspectives.

Censorship is thus a major concern within the historian fraternity but there are further challenges that need to be considered in this realm. The digital age has brought both opportunities and challenges to the issue of textbook censorship (Kocka, 2016). While digital platforms allow for more diverse and accessible knowledge, they also allow for misinformation and disinformation (more commonly known as fake news) as well as manipulation. Furthermore, the censorship of textbooks poses a threat to academic freedom and academic integrity as it limits critical thinking and hinders the development of a nuanced understanding of the past (Fellion & Inglis, 2009). Moreover, censorship in textbooks can contribute to societal divisions by presenting a one-sided view of history. This then further reinforces existing prejudices, hinders reconciliation efforts, and perpetuates historical grievances. Textbook content can become a diplomatic issue when countries have previously been involved in historical disputes, as the differences in the portrayal of the event in the textbooks may exacerbate tensions between nations and hinder efforts to build understanding and cooperation. It is evident that the issue remains complex and multifaceted. Governments, political ideologies, and cultural influences continue to shape the narrative presented in educational materials (Stearns, 2010). Striking a balance between the need for national cohesion, cultural preservation, and the pursuit of objective historical truth remains a significant challenge. Thus, there is a need to investigate these instances of dark history and otherness in an attempt to try and comprehend the extent of the issue. Addressing textbook censorship requires multiperspectivity and critical thinking, as well as the necessity for ongoing dialogue between educators, policymakers, and communities to ensure that educational materials foster a more comprehensive and unbiased understanding of history, even in the face of political pressures and ideological agendas.

Similarly, dark historical events like the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are contentious, controversial topics due to the many debates surrounding them. To recap, dark history typically refers to a collection of events

or aspects of the past that are characterised by suffering, tragedy, or morally reprehensible actions. These historical occurrences could include but are not limited to violence, oppression, war crimes, genocide, human rights abuses, and other forms of extreme hardship. While the above section has dealt with history textbooks, revisionism, inclusions, and silences, it is still pertinent that I look at history textbooks and the other, othering, and otherness, which is discussed below.

2.8 History textbooks and the other, othering, and otherness

The other, othering, and otherness are concepts that are dealt with extensively in Chapter 3 as part of the conceptual framework of my study. However, in this section of the literature review, it is necessary that a discussion be had about what history textbooks reveal about the other, othering, and otherness. The concepts of the other, othering, and otherness play a significant role in how individuals and/or groups are portrayed in history textbooks. These terms are rooted in social theory and highlight the dynamics of identity, difference, and power. The other in history textbooks refers to either an individual or group that is seen as different from the societal norm, creating a dichotomy of “us” versus “them”. Thus, in history textbooks, the portrayal of the other could contribute to the creation of a narrative that positions certain groups as outsiders or as different from the dominant historical master narrative. A simplistic example of the other would be an example of WWII propaganda in Europe in which the other would be the enemy nations, thereby creating the above-mentioned us versus them scenario.

Othering in history textbooks refers to the inferior treatment of either individuals or groups based on perceived differences that have been socially constructed. In history textbooks, this might involve othering certain groups by depicting them as less advanced, uncivilised, or even as threats to the prevailing order. Continuing the WWII example from above, othering in a textbook would be taking an enemy nation as the other and portraying it as inherently evil.

Otherness, on the other hand, refers to the state of being different or having qualities that are distinctly different from the perceived norm. In history textbooks, otherness manifests in the representation of individuals or cultures with distinct characteristics, practices, or beliefs. The framing of these differences can influence how users perceive and understand historical events. With regard to the WWII example, if the other is the enemy nation and othering is portraying the enemy nation as evil, then otherness highlights the cultural or racial differences between the warring nations to justify the hostility and tension.

Notably, groups that have been widely marginalised in historical narratives in the past are women, members of the LGBTQIA+ community, people of colour, and PWDs, to name a few.

By examining these marginalised groups as an exercise, I was able to identify a gap which existed in the knowledge relating specifically to my three dark history events (the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi).

The most striking example is the othering of women in history textbooks. Research reveals that women are often treated as secondary to men, and their experiences, achievements, and perspectives have sometimes been marginalised or overlooked (Bhattacharya, 2018). Traditional gender roles and stereotypes have been reinforced by casting women into limited roles such as caregivers or homemakers (Chiponda, 2014). Furthermore, women have historically been underrepresented in positions of power or authority thus reinforcing the traditional power structures that position men as the norm (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2011). If women succeed outside societal norms, this might be highlighted as different or unconventional, contributing to a sense of otherness. Examples of such otherness can be seen in the suffrage or feminist movements. Contemporary textbooks may challenge traditional roles, and thus, a shift in representation is evident; however, despite this shift, women are still underrepresented (David, 2014).

There has been an attempt at the intersectionality of race and gender (hooks, 2000) and how these factors shape the representation of women. This intersectionality challenges the simplistic one-dimensional view of women that has existed in textbooks thus far (Chiponda, 2011; Schoeman, 2009). However, the global perspectives that currently exist regarding the representation of women in history textbooks come predominantly from a Eurocentric bias, focusing largely on the experiences of women in Western societies, and thus contributing to the othering of non-Western women (Adichie, 2009).

Similarly, the representation of LGBTQIA+ individuals in history textbooks has historically been marked by silences, stereotyping, and marginalisation (Burnes & Stanley, 2017). Historically speaking, the LGBTQIA+ community has largely been either excluded or silenced and, therefore, omitted from history textbooks. These omissions reinforce the idea that LGBTQIA+ individuals are not integral to historical narratives (Faderman & Capó, 2018). The marginalisation of LGBTQIA+ individuals sometimes reduces them to stereotypical representations, reinforcing a sense of otherness and contributing to a lack of representation and understanding; almost creating a historical invisibility of the LGBTQIA+ community. History textbooks may (if at all) present limited perspectives of LGBTQIA+ history. This is due to a lack of diversity which further contributes to the othering process (Schulman, 2012). In terms of the intersectionality of LGBTQIA+ identities, including race, ethnicity, and gender, this

is sometimes overlooked, perpetuating a one-dimensional view that fails to capture the complexity of individual experience.

Contemporary history textbooks may challenge historical omissions of the LGBTQIA+ community and thus the other, othering, and otherness. Despite this challenge, the representation of the LGBTQIA+ community is still underrepresented (Faderman & Capó, 2018). Highlighting the achievements and resistance movements of LGBTQIA+ individuals or groups challenges historical othering and may include positive representations of LGBTQIA+ individuals and their contributions (Yoshino, 2006). Examples of this type of inclusion could be teaching milestones like the Stonewall riots or the LGBTQIA+ rights movement. From a South African point of view, the IEB, which underwrites private schools in South Africa, has made provision for a section about civil society protests about LGBTQIA+ rights in the 1950s and 1960s in the US to be included in the Grade 12 curriculum. However, while the LGBTQIA+ rights movement has been included for teaching purposes, it is still a non-examinable section, which invariably means that many teachers and schools do not include it in their teaching of the section. So, despite, the increase in social changes and awareness and the acknowledgement of LGBTQIA+ rights, representation is still limited. Therefore, education about inclusivity is prevalent but not yet all-encompassing (Bronski, 2011).

Another group which has been marginalised in historical narratives in terms of the other, othering, and otherness are Black people. Black individuals and communities have been depicted, framed, and treated as different or as outsiders to the perceived societal norm in history textbooks (Adeyelure & Roux, 2023). The concepts of the other, othering, and otherness involve the marginalisation, stereotyping, and exclusion of Black people (Udah, 2019).

As mentioned above, the construct of the other is where individuals are perceived differently from the societal norm. In the context of Black people in historical narratives, they have often been positioned as the other by having their differences from White people emphasised. This can usually be seen in terms of race and, as a result, a power dynamic emerges where White society is seen as more powerful than subordinate Black society (Glaude Jr., 2016). In terms of othering, where there is a juxtaposition of us versus them, Black individuals are reinforced in history textbooks through stereotypes, biases, and distorted representations that position them as exotic, inferior, or deviant (Coates, 2015).

Black people's otherness (as a result of social, political, or economic marginalisation) in history textbooks manifests through narratives that focus on the exclusion of diverse experiences. This contributes to a limited and biased portrayal (Ghanbarinajjar, 2013). To discuss every

aspect of the other, othering, and otherness in terms of Black people would be an entire study in itself. The other, othering, and otherness of Black people stem from colonial narratives, civil rights movements, segregation, and discrimination to name a few. In terms of colonial narratives, indigenous people and Black people have been regarded as inferior and exploited. The colonial narrative and the treatment of people have been justified as an apparent need for civilising indigenous peoples and Black people.

Efforts have been made to have more inclusivity in history textbooks in order to showcase the diverse contributions of Black individuals in various fields and challenge historical stereotypes. Modern textbooks often emphasise the Civil Rights Movement, key figures like Martin Luther King Jr., and the ongoing struggle for racial equality from an American perspective in an attempt to challenge the otherness that exists. Segregation and discrimination in the Deep South of the US institutionalised otherness by enforcing laws to deny Black Americans equal access to public amenities, education, and opportunities which, in turn, led to discrimination that affected people politically, economically, and socially.

Apartheid South Africa, where otherness was systemic and structural, took segregation and discrimination a step further (Powell & Menendian, 2016). During apartheid, the National Party government promoted racial segregation through textbooks which reflected the official ideology of apartheid, thereby othering Black South Africans (Soudien, 2011). I remember a university colleague once telling me that textbooks would have blank pages in certain chapters in the textbook where the government had sought to censor what White children would learn in school about Black people. In some instances, history textbooks portrayed Black African cultures in ways that reinforced stereotypes of inferiority and thus contributed to the othering of Black communities (Lichtenegger, 2017). Furthermore, textbooks excluded diverse voices and perspectives, reinforcing the notion that the experiences and histories of certain groups were not as valid or important as others (Chimakonam, 2019). Textbooks also marginalised the contribution of Black African people resulting in the perception that certain groups were outside the master narrative and thus less significant in the historical development of the nation. With the change in political dispensation in 1994, the first democratic elections, and the road to democracy, huge strides have been made to rectify the history textbooks in South Africa.

A further illustration of the other, othering, and otherness can be made in terms of the representation of PWDs. In history textbooks, PWDs have historically been marked by silences, stereotyping, and marginalisation (Gill, 2014). There was a historical stigma in earlier history textbooks which portrayed PWDs as burdens or focused on medical perspectives thus

leading to an under-representation of PWDs (Chiponda, 2021). These concepts encompass societal processes that create a sense of difference, often resulting in the exclusion or limited representation of PWDs. Furthermore, PWDs have often been positioned as the other, with an emphasis being placed on their perceived differences and deviation from the able-bodied norm.

Acknowledging history textbooks as mirrors of the society in which they are embedded, Chiponda (2021) refers to cultural factors that play an important role in this exclusion. Society is “afraid” of the unknown; hence the othering. In terms of history textbooks, PWDs and the stigma of othering have been reinforced by stereotypes, biases, and distorted representations that position them as abnormal or lesser than the accepted societal norm creating an us versus them scenario (Longmore, 2003). The otherness of PWDs in history textbooks manifests through narratives that may focus on their limitations rather than their diverse experiences, achievements, and/or contributions.

Thus, the biggest issue in the representation of PWDs in history textbooks is stereotyping, which oversimplifies their experiences and focuses solely on their impairments, thus neglecting their individuality and capabilities. The PWDs of some cultures are stigmatised and shunned from society. Negative language or framing in history textbooks may contribute to their stigmatisation, perpetuating biases and reinforcing societal attitudes that view disability through a deficit lens. This is particularly true in African contexts (Chiponda, 2021) and leads to severe under-representation. In more recent textbooks, the Disability Rights Movement is highlighted, and in the US, legislation like the Americans with Disabilities Act is a push for inclusivity.

The examination of history textbooks through the lens of the other, othering, and otherness reveals how historical narratives shape our understanding of diverse identities and experiences. The representation of marginalised groups, such as women, the LGBTQIA+ community, Black people, and those with disabilities in historical narratives is a crucial aspect of fostering inclusivity and challenging historical bias. While progress has been made in acknowledging and incorporating multiple perspectives, there remains a need for continued scrutiny and improvement in history education. The impact of history textbooks extends beyond the classroom, influencing collective memory, national identity, and societal attitudes.

2.9 Conclusion

This literature review has discussed dark history and how it is positioned in textbooks, the relationship between history textbooks and multiperspectivity, and otherness and inclusion.

What I have gleaned from the above is that history, by its very nature, is contentious and events in history can be deemed dark and controversial or simply controversial or purely as a dark history event. There are multiple perspectives that exist; however, depending on the context and country, often only one master narrative that suits a particular ideology is reflected in the history textbooks. Scholars advocate for the use of multiperspectivity in history teaching in order to foster critical thinking skills – one of the Big Six that all history students need. I have also learnt that in many instances, a master narrative exists in history textbooks that is underpinned by political, social, and economic ideologies and usually those in power are the ones in charge of the authoring of this narrative. It is usually in this master narrative that omissions, silences, and exclusions take place and the other, othering, and otherness becomes prominent. Despite the fact that there have been some steps towards the inclusion of those who were previously othered, in many instances, this is still not sufficient and underrepresentation is widely evident. It is on this murky and complex precipice that I stand, trying to find a gap in the “market” of textbook analysis and history education. I know that otherness exists and the focus of this study is to engage with it as well as to determine how it is represented in the selected dark history events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. I also wish to understand why the dark history events were engaged with in the manner that they were and why otherness has been represented in such a way. There are many moving parts and theories to consider.

This literature review has provided a comprehensive overview of the multifaceted landscape surrounding the topic at hand. The examined studies and scholarly works collectively contribute to a nuanced understanding of multiperspectivity and how it challenges the traditional, single-narrative approach to history education and promotes critical thinking, empathy, and a more subtle appreciation of historical complexities. In this chapter, the role of history textbooks in general (as part of the greater body of knowledge on textbooks) was explored to highlight that textbook use, production, and controversy were nothing new and that challenges have permeated the education sector for quite some time. History textbooks in terms of dark history, multiperspectivity, the other, othering, and otherness were explored as well as the silences of perspectives in dark history events. Equally, the notion of censorship in textbooks has plagued academic freedom. While the literature has advanced our understanding, certain gaps surrounding how otherness features in the selected dark history events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda exist.

The following chapter delves into the conceptual framework of this study and highlights how the concepts discussed underpin the framework through which the selected textbooks were analysed, and how otherness was engaged with.

Chapter 3

Conceptual framework

‘When you show the moon to a child, it sees only your finger’ –
Zambian proverb

3.1 Introduction

This is the second scholarly literature review of this study. This review focuses on exploring and comprehending the interplay of otherness, multiperspectivity, and contrasting aspects of light and darkness in specific dark historical events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda as engaged with in the selected textbooks. The focus is to bring attention to the experiences of marginalised communities and examine how these narratives have influenced cultural memory and identity.

To facilitate the focus and purpose of this study, this chapter focuses on understanding the conceptual framework that underpins the study. In Chapter 2, I dealt with the literature on textbooks as the programmatic curriculum and looked at how history education and dark history were portrayed in the scholarly and grey literature. In this chapter, I delve into how the scholarly literature related to conceptual frameworks in general and then specifically at what I needed to conceptualise my own framework in order to answer my research questions: “How are events of dark history and otherness engaged with in textbooks in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda?” and “Why are the dark history events and otherness engaged with in this manner in these countries?”

This conceptual framework chapter first looks at what a conceptual framework is and why it is important to have one. Secondly, I explain the concepts that underpin the study and form part of the layers of analysis. Thirdly, a visual representation of the “tools” and concepts that were used is presented. Through the lens of my conceptual framework, multiperspectivity, this chapter shows how the layers of meaning embedded in dark history events can be unravelled by recognising how diverse viewpoints can contribute to a more inclusive comprehension of the events and what their enduring impact on collective memory and societal narratives is, in order to apply the conceptual framework to dark history events and to engage with otherness.

3.2 Contextualising and explaining the conceptual framework

Grounding a study in a literature review to reflect the ideas of thought leaders and to highlight topical debates around a specific field of study is the first step to establishing and creating a plausible niche for a study. However, this is not sufficient on its own and the study requires a

conceptual framework to further ground it in theories that help to address the questions posed by the study. It is this conceptual framework on which the thesis is built. Lemprière (2019) uses a simple analogy to explain the function and essence of a conceptual framework. He refers to the literature review as revealing a problem that requires fixing and the conceptual framework as a “toolkit” of sorts that assists you, the researcher, in making sense of the problem by using the tools (the concepts) as part of the conceptual framework. This analogy was an “aha” moment, enabling me to understand the place of a conceptual framework in a thesis.

Previously, the waters were rather murky and I could not make the distinction between the literature review in Chapter 2 and the conceptual framework which was needed. In the literature review in Chapter 2, I reviewed the existing body of knowledge regarding history education, textbooks, and dark history, and how these are portrayed in the three case studies. I subsequently highlighted a niche that existed in terms of how otherness had been dealt with in these three dark history cases and the context surrounding them. However, the conceptual framework of Chapter 3 explains in detail concepts that could be used to explain why such a phenomenon was occurring – in the case of this study, the engagement with concepts such as otherness, a master narrative, multiperspectivity, dark history, and others, othering, and otherness, and how these concepts could be used to create a conceptual framework to answer my two research questions: “How are events of dark history and ‘otherness’ engaged with in textbooks in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda?” and “Why are the dark history events and ‘otherness’ engaged with in this manner in these countries?”

Kivunja (2018) likens a conceptual framework to a hypothetical coat hanger on which you hang your data analysis and the interpretation of your findings, providing theories expressed by experts in specific fields. He furthermore brightened my “aha” moment by commenting on the difference between a theoretical framework and that of a conceptual framework. While the theoretical framework embodies the work and views of well-established members of academia, the conceptual framework is the holistic thinking and ideas relating to your entire body of research. Thus, according to Kivunja (2018: 47):

the conceptual framework could be the product of your own thinking about your research study, the theoretical framework comprises other people’s theoretical perspectives that you interpret as relevant to your research, and in particular, helpful in your data analysis and interpretation.

Once I had this revelation, I was able to better understand *my* framework and that my own summations would ultimately make up the conceptual framework of this study. It also made it

clear that I did not need a theoretical framework. Instead, the conceptual framework, as embodied in this chapter, focused on exploring the following concepts:

- The meaning of a narrative and the master narrative
- Multiperspectivity
- Otherness and dark history

These were cast into a conceptual framework for use in my study.

Why is a conceptual framework needed, you may ask? Simply put, the study has no backbone without it. The conceptual framework is the foundation that underpins the entire study (Checkland, 1981; Morin, 1999). It is in this space, in this bricolage of intersectional concepts, where all the thinking takes place and where you measure your findings against it. This idea of interwovenness is not new. Morin (1999) encourages an interdisciplinary approach where the development of the conceptual frameworks considers the complexity and interconnectedness of phenomena. A conceptual framework provides a structured way to approach and understand a phenomenon, offering a theoretical and analytical foundation for investigating, interpreting, and explaining complex relationships and processes in a given field of study.

To help me make further sense of the need for a conceptual framework, I thought of the analogy of rose-tinted glasses. The world looks very normal when you have your “normal” rose-tinted glasses on. However, when you remove the rose-tinted glasses and replace them with a different hue, the view that you see of the world changes. Similarly, in this study, there are multiple concepts that make up this conceptual framework (my metaphorical new set of glasses), each with a particular purpose. When each layer is stacked on top of the next, the data that are extrapolated is richer and thicker. Hence, the conceptual framework for this study took the concepts of multiperspectivity, narratives, dark and light, and otherness and turned these into the lenses through which the dark history events (as engaged with in the selected history textbooks) were examined.

In order to come up with the conceptual framework for this study, I first had to clarify the key concepts relevant to the topic of study. These concepts helped to articulate the fundamental elements involved in understanding the phenomenon of this study, namely the engagement with otherness. The following are discussed to make sense of these concepts and to elicit what they had to offer:

- narratives and master narratives, relying on the works of Auerbach (2010) and Lopez, Carretero & Rodriguez-Moneo (2014) among others

- multiperspectivity, relying on von Borries (2001), Stradling (2001, 2003), and Seixas and Peck (2004)
- otherness, relying on Spivak (1985), Lacan (as cited in Gingrich, 2004), and Jensen (2009)
- dark history, relying on Stone (2006), Synder (2010), and Applebaum (2017), to name a few

A conceptual framework establishes relationships between concepts to explain how changes in one concept may affect another. In the eventual conceptual framework that I constructed, these key concepts (narratives, multiperspectivity, otherness, and dark history) were interconnected. To illustrate how they related to one another, I coined a term for the conceptual framework underpinning this study – a bricolage of intersectional concepts. The idea of interconnectedness between the concepts then led to the creation of the visual representation of my own conceptual framework for this study, as well as how I intended to use it to inform my research on the engagement with otherness in the dark historical events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. The use of this diagrammatic representation of the pendulum concept and how it works is explained towards the end of this chapter.

3.3 Dealing with the selected concepts

The conceptual framework conceptualises and clarifies key concepts used in the study by bringing them together in a usable framework. This ensures a shared understanding of concepts and promotes consistency in the research being conducted. Thus, as mentioned in Chapter 1, this study used a bricolage of intersectional concepts. The concepts of narrative and the master narrative, multiperspectivity, otherness, and dark history became the bricolage of intersectional ideas with me, as the researcher, being the bricoleur (Lévi-Strauss, 1962) or “quilt maker”. Just as a quilt maker combines different pieces of cloth to create an intricate quilt or bricolage, so a qualitative researcher puts together knowledge from various sources to create new knowledge or to find meaning in a phenomenon, in the case of this study, engagement with otherness. Each concept as a building block of knowledge is explained in detail below so that the individual concepts can be understood on their own merits before they are interwoven into the conceptual framework.

3.3.1 Concept 1 – A narrative and the master narrative

It makes sense to start the exploration of my conceptual framework with the meaning of a narrative, as this, I believe, is, in essence, the cornerstone of this thesis. As mentioned in Chapter 1, a narrative is one of the components that make up a story. For a story to be established, a plot, setting, and characters are required. In these case studies, the setting is

where the story played out geographically; the plot refers to the actual events that took place, and the characters are the key people involved in the events. This is further guided by the chronology in which the events are described in the textbooks and the manner in which this is done. It is this manner that culminates in what we know to be a narrative. Therefore, it can be asserted that a narrative is a story about events and how it is told and unfolds, which is what I was interested in. To this end, Auerbach (2010: 101) asserts that a “narrative has a dramatic plot that develops over time... [and can be] a story about events that took place in history or are taking place at present”. Thus, it can be seen that a narrative, in general terms, centres around a specific event.

Bermúdez Vélez and Martínez (2018: 94-95) further this explanation by noting that:

narratives compose coherent storylines that, arranging series of events, establish a diachronic sense of time and imply causal explanations. Characters with intentions, beliefs, and values enact the events described; and these descriptions highlight the role of individual and collective agency within the complex mechanisms of historical causation.

These narratives can be etched in people’s memory as a collective (in the form of a community or, perhaps, a nation) or as an individual (a schoolchild using textbooks). Much has been written about common collective memory and how this promotes a sense of identity and belonging (Assmann, 2011; Erll, 2011; Olick, 2007). When it is viewed as a common collective, this narrative can be seen as a “national” narrative (Lopez, Carretero & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014). National narratives are often more than simply historical accounts of events but are rather centred around a national hero or moment of extreme pride and thus could embody the ethos of the people (Auerbach, 2010), allowing them to stand together over a common understanding or feeling. It can, therefore, be deduced that this national narrative can provide a form of identity to a specific group, people, or nation. This type of narrative can also give citizens an acute awareness of things that are held in common regard or valued (Malone et al., 2017). They see themselves as a collective in a morally positive position in relation to foreign actions, each other, and characters within the narrative (Lopez, Carretero & Rodriguez-Moneo, 2014), and thus, the narrative is presented in an ethnocentric, biased manner. This, then, showcases a new dimension to the notion of a narrative – it can cause conflict. Not only is it about an event, but a national narrative can also influence the existence of people’s identities and their view of their national narrative for, as Auerbach (2010: 100) notes, it creates “conflict in which at least one side sees the national identity of the other side as a threat”. This is also the very nature of the field of history. No one nation can consistently agree on a single sequence of events, and instead, we find a “polyphony of voices, overlapping and

crisscrossing, contradictory and ambiguous, opposing, affirming and negotiating their views of the nation” (Duara, 1996: 162). Furthermore, scholars look at national narratives to understand how such conflicts occur and why they evolve and, in some cases, become fuelled by attempts to either build or un-build the nation (Brand, 2010, 2014).

Much has been written about the types of conflict that have occurred with the selected historical events (Cramer, 2006; Fearson & Laitin, 2003; Harff, 2003). What is seen as significant is included in the programmatic curriculum, and what is excluded is seen as insignificant, and possibly in this area, the voice of the other is strengthened and highlighted as it is obviously left out (Fru, 2017). However, the notion of how violence is perpetuated in textbooks and almost normalised as part of the master narrative can be seen as de-sensitising the reader to the idea of violence. In this regard,

violence [is] therefore a purposeful strategy to obtain desired goals through the domination or annihilation of others who are rendered as obstacles to one’s self-satisfaction ... that violence is only one way in which people relate to each other around situations of conflict (Bermúdez Vélez, 2019: 2).

To this end, it can be seen that the reader then gets a sense that violence is not the only way that individuals, communities, or nations can relate to each other when situations of conflict arise, as the idea of violence has been reduced in significance, omitted completely, or the reader has been de-sensitised.

It is clear that even before I look at any one of the specific dark history events or case studies, they are already shrouded in a complex web of considerations: what kind of narrative is it, and how does it impact the people who read or hear it? Does consideration need to be made for the type of narrative, and does the type of narrative impact the outcome of how the story will be perceived? What impact does the narrative have on the telling of the event?

Notwithstanding the national narrative, which is generally also a master narrative, as discussed above, Shenhav (2015) explains that a national narrative can be a type of social narrative and notes that this narrative tells us something about a group of people who share a common belief. It must also be understood that such a social narrative can change over time due to changes in the society itself in terms of a shift in demographics, involvement in globalisation, and the geographical placement of a society (Auerbach, 2010). Therefore, national narratives can be altered, adapted by reinterpretation and addition, or forgotten. In this regard, “beyond geographical, ethnic, and language commonalities, national narratives build nations by affirming agreed-upon experiences such as wars of independence, sacrifice,

and cultural value” (Malone et al., 2017: 2). Narratives, then, need not be trustworthy and may contain elements that simply distort the truth to unite individuals and create a sense of belonging. This type of social narrative would be something to investigate in the three dark history events selected for this study. All three contain conflict and war, sacrifice, and a challenge to cultural values.

To complicate matters further, the national and/or social narratives have a close relationship with the master narrative. According to Auerbach (2010), a master narrative functions as a grand overarching story, serving as a comprehensive umbrella that encompasses national narratives. National stories, in turn, support and add to the big master narrative. It is a two-way process; the master narrative shapes the national stories, and the national stories, in turn, feed into and support the master narrative. It is these national master narratives that deeply affect people (Lyotard, 1991) as they struggle to find their identity in an established society. A national narrative thus has a close affinity to a master narrative as it provides a group of people with a sense of pride as it “tell[s] the history of the nation through stories that become examples of the unique qualities of a nation” (Malone et al., 2017: 2). This master narrative, hypothetically speaking, is the overarching story that is told and believed by the majority of the people living in that society. This is, many a time, also carried into the history textbooks used in these societies.

How these narratives were viewed came to the fore in my study as I wanted to determine whether they were being viewed in a good or bad way (either positive or negative, light or dark). The narrative that is presented in textbooks is known as the programmatic curriculum or official history. It is taught and learnt as the official account of an event or happening, the fragmented story which is agreed on by everyone. The rest of the story or narrative, which never makes its way into the programmatic curriculum (textbooks) and hence is forgotten, is termed otherness for the purpose of this study (Appiah, 2018; Fru, 2017; Hunt, 2018; Trouillot, 1995). This master narrative can be likened to the programmatic curriculum used in education, which is often the first and last piece of official history that many learners encounter (Koekemoer, 2012).

Some master and national narratives that are learnt in textbooks are seen as problematic or dark. They are problematic when no one can agree on the accounts, so they become contentious and, in turn, controversial. Controversial narratives can be seen as dark matters or events. Chakrabarty (2000), for instance, critically engages with Eurocentric perspectives in historical studies and advocates for a more inclusive approach to understanding global histories, while Mbembe (2017) offers a critical examination of how certain stories have been constructed and perpetuated in a framework of race, colonialism, and historical narratives. It

is very rare to find a single national master narrative that every citizen aligns with. There is bound to be a constant ebb and flow of renegotiated truths of affirming and opposing views. Thus, more than one narrative will always exist, and it will always remain contentious and create tension between groups of people.

In history, it is important for multiple master narratives or perspectives to emerge and exist as opposed to a singular master narrative, as there are always at least two sides to every story or narrative. History, by its very nature, is contentious and controversial (Wassermann, 2011), and, as with most things in life, people (societies, ethnic groups, and scholars, to name a few) can never agree on anything, nor can they agree on versions of historical truth. Therefore, people need multiple narratives in order to come to their own conclusions regarding an event or happening. A singular master narrative compounds the problem as there will always be something left out of the narrative and importance placed on a certain area over another. Thus, this kind of history cannot be objective – it is very subjective. Further woven into this complex matter of narratives is the idea of multiperspectivity, which speaks to the aforementioned idea that multiple narratives need to exist. They stand against a singular or master narrative so that individuals can socially construct their own meaning around a specific historical event.

3.3.2 Concept 2 – Multiperspectivity

The second aspect which has underpinned the conceptual framework of this study is the idea of multiperspectivity. There are always multiple sides to a story or narrative, including historical events. As Robert Evans said in the documentary *The Kid Stays in the Picture*, “There are three sides to every story: Your side, my side, and the truth. And no one is lying. Memories shared serve each differently” (Burstein & Morgen, 2002). In a utopian state, this is true, but in cases of social conflict or war, it is inevitably the state that writes the history that is remembered, taught, and learnt. One version of the story is ultimately favoured and is portrayed as the only version of the story or master narrative. Before I continue the discussion on master narratives and how this affects school history and, by default, the existence of multiperspectivity, it is necessary to conceptualise what multiperspectivity is.

Multiperspectivity is a concept that can be traced back to the early 1970s when German historians were actively promoting its use (von Borries, 2001). However, in the school-based history education context, the term itself was only referred to from the 1990s (Stradling, 2003), and its use in academia started gaining momentum over the past 25 years (Wansink et al., 2018). To assist me in coming to terms with the complex nature of multiperspectivity, *The Living Handbook of Narratology* conceptualises it as “a basic aspect of narration or as a mode

of storytelling in which multiple and often discrepant viewpoints are employed for the presentation and evaluation of a story and its storyworld” (Hartner, 2012: n.p.).

Fritzsche goes as far as saying that multiperspectivity is a process, “a strategy of understanding” (Fritzsche, 2001: n.p.). This strategy of thinking is, therefore, underpinned by the idea that there are always two sides to a story or two parts to a whole where, in addition to our own, we take another perspective (or others’ perspectives) into account (Stradling, 2003). Therefore, the concept of multiperspectivity works on the premise that our own narrative has been shaped by who we are, the evidence we have, and the things we have experienced in our lives. In other words, our perspective has been filtered through our ethnic, cultural, economic, social, political, linguistic, and/or religious contexts. In addition, our personal narratives (master narratives work on a similar principle) take into account our own stance as well as how we have made sense of the world around us, what has happened and why, and it may also reflect prejudices. Stradling (2003: 14) argues, therefore, that multiperspectivity is more than “just a process or strategy; it is also a predisposition”. Low-Beer (1997: 54) explains this as “the means to be able and willing to regard a situation from different perspectives”. To further unpack this, Wansink et al. (2018: 496) explain the notion of multiperspectivity succinctly but powerfully by referring to it as the “epistemological idea that history is interpretational and subjective, with multiple coexisting narratives about particular historical events, rather than history being objectively represented by one ‘closed’ narrative”.

However, in many instances, a single powerful master narrative that is overbearing exists globally about various events in history. This single narrative is often what is deemed the official master narrative and is taught in schools through the programmatic curriculum. Koekemoer (2012: 15) asserts that “textbooks are an aid to instruction in schools and are often the dominant text used by teachers and students and thus a very powerful manifestation of official history”. It is this master narrative which is found in the programmatic curriculum. It is powerful and influential as it is often the first encounter that students have with official history, and it is this narrative that they will most likely subscribe to.

School history is, in many instances, regarded as official history (Low-Beer, 1997). In most countries, the programmatic curriculum is decided by the various government bodies. In terms of what is taught in schools, the available historiographic knowledge (Bermúdez Vélez, 2019: 3) is not the determining factor; rather, the various socio-political agendas and ideologies are. This sentiment is agreed upon by various researchers (Ferro, 2003; Foster & Nicholls, 2005; Taylor & Guyver, 2012) who, like Bermúdez Vélez (2019), note that historical conflicts rely on the dichotomy of us versus them (the proverbial other) resulting in the undeniable reality that there will always be more than one narrative whether officially or unofficially (Ahonen, 1997;

Terra, 2014; Wertsch & Rozin, 1998). Therefore, history, along with the rest of the curriculum, becomes part of legislation (Low-Beer, 1997). Teachers are required to teach the topics which may include or exclude the ethnic and/or national history of a particular country and it can be specified to a greater or lesser degree. In the end, however, the ideology of the current political dispensation in that particular country will, for the most part, have a stake in and claim to what is taught in schools and, ultimately, via the programmatic curriculum. To this end, the current political dispensation would need to ensure that a positive light is cast on the nation and its nationals (Bermúdez Vélez, 2019; Firer & Adwan, 2004; Taylor & Guyver, 2012). This master narrative as the “history narrative”, is used by historians to elicit and create meaning and understanding, as explained by Munslow (2016), who notes that a history narrative is not the same as the past and that a history narrative is “authored into existence”. It is then that this narrative becomes one-sided or from a particular perspective. As Worthington (2017, n.p.) notes, “History is a story. A wonderful, one-sided story.” But what about the other narratives or stories that exist? Where does the other side of the proverbial coin or story or narrative fit into the holistic understanding of a particular event? Imagine you have a continuum in front of you. At one end, you can understand history’s complexities embracing the other in terms of multiperspectivity. On the other, you can completely ignore the other, choosing to focus solely on the narrative of the victors or those in power – whether the attributes are favourable or unflattering.

Those who have power can impose a master narrative – but this is being challenged by multiperspectivity. Multiperspectivity aims for the winners’ and the losers’ stories to be told so that those learning about the events can make an informed decision. It lends itself to greater objectivity than the single master narrative of the victor. To understand the complexity surrounding multiperspectivity, one must acknowledge that there are very few countries in the world where a population shares a single culture, language, or religion (Stradling, 2001). Diversity exists among people along ethnic, cultural, economic, linguistic, and/or religious lines. In turn, the frame of reference and context of understanding are vastly different for people of different walks of life, and, as such, multiple perspectives will always exist. Yet this is often not recorded in school history (that is, as part of the programmatic curriculum), and the official narrative is from the perspective of the victor in a particular historical context, depicting the opponent in the most unflattering light or silencing them completely, and changing the narrative to justify questionable actions taken by the victors.

Sirolli (2012) promotes the idea of listening to diverse perspectives, especially in the context of community development. During a TED Talk titled “Want to Help Someone? Shut Up and Listen!” (Sirolli, 2012), he emphasised the importance of understanding local perspectives

before implementing interventions. While his talk may not have been aimed at education, the sentiment remains the same – if nation-building and cohesion are to be fostered, all perspectives need to be included and recorded, especially for dark history events.

Previously, I established that multiperspectivity aims to provide multiple and differing perspectives on a particular narrative, story, or event. In this regard, Wansink et al. (2018: 496) contend:

In the context of history education, the notion of multiperspectivity refers to the epistemological idea that history is interpretational and subjective, with multiple coexisting narratives about particular historical events, rather than history being objectively represented by one “closed” narrative.

Therefore, multiperspectivity lends itself to the teaching of history where historians aim to view events through multiple lenses using different sources of evidence to obtain the most unbiased account of what took place. The Stanford History Education Group (2018: n.p.) explains that good historians are not satisfied with “one perspective on a historical issue” – they piece together many (sometimes competing) versions of a story to construct an accurate interpretation. Low-Beer (1997: 54) concurs, stating, “Essentially, it stems from the basic discipline of history and the need to assess historical events from different perspectives. All historians do this.” However, not all scholars are convinced that every historian does this. Harkness (1994), for instance, acknowledges the association of multiperspectivity with historical methods but is not as convinced as Low-Beer (1997) that all historians usually do this. History is often taught from a singular narrative perspective, which can be monocultural, ethnocentric rather than pluralist, and inclusive (Stradling, 2003).

This approach of multiple perspectives may not be universal yet, but it has become widely accepted. Seixas and Peck (2004) have made multiperspectivity universal by including it as part of their Big Six historical thinking skills that are essential to history education. The Big Six (also referred to as the six independent, historical thinking concepts) are historical significance, evidence, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspectives, and ethical judgement. In short, the Big Six refer to Seixas and Peck’s (2004) contributions to historical thinking and the development of historical thinking concepts in the field of history education. They are part of a historical thinking framework developed to guide students to think critically about historical events and narratives. The Big Six also provide a structure for educators to guide students through these processes and foster a deeper appreciation for the complexities of history. To this end, multiperspectivity is embedded within

the broader concept of Seixas and Peck's (2004) historical perspectives, recognising that historical events and phenomena can be interpreted from multiple points of view.

Not only have Seixas and Peck (2004) provided multiple perspectives with a social impetus but there has been a big push for the use of multiple perspectives in history not only from the Council of Europe (Low-Beer, 1997; Stradling, 2001) but also from the National Council for the Social Studies in the US, which has recommended that students learn to “think critically, and make personal and civic decisions based on information from multiple perspectives” (National Council for the Social Studies, 2016: 180). This is aligned with what the Stanford History Education Group (2018: n.p.) asserts when they state that historians, scholars, and educators alike are questioning the “validity of the singular (one-sided) historical narratives”. The argument for this is that instead of focusing solely on the dominant community history or narrative, multiple perspectives of various community histories should be examined. This “stems from increasing diversity and cultural pluralism, since many groups – women, the poor, ethnic minorities, etc. – have been ignored in traditional historical narratives” (Stanford History Education Group, 2018: n.p.). It is clear, then, that the use of multiple perspectives in history teaching is not only inclusive but is used for disciplinary purposes as well. Seixas and Peck's (2004) model of the Big Six historical perspectives or multiperspectivity encourages a more nuanced and critical understanding of history. It prompts the reader to question whose stories are being told, whose perspectives are included or excluded, and how historical narratives can vary based on different viewpoints.

Stradling (2003) further suggests that the ideas behind multiperspectivity have been firmly rooted in three distinct developmental areas in school-based education and have a long pedigree. These areas are the “new history” approach, the recognition that history education is often taught from a monocultural, ethnocentric and exclusive perspective, and the growing concern that schools need to prepare students for life in a diverse world.

The first broad development area was the new history approach. Stradling (2003) notes that this new history, which is, by now, normative in many parts of the world, was developed in response to the dissatisfaction with the more traditional approach to history education in schools where the emphasis was on knowledge transmission, memory history, the construction of the curriculum around a content-rich chronological national history, but most importantly, “the assumption that the national historical narrative mainly coincided with the history of the largest national grouping and the dominant linguistic and cultural community” (Stradling, 2003: 9). As a result of the new history approach, history classrooms have seen educators attempting to balance the knowledge transmitted and how to think about it historically. There has been a greater emphasis on skills such as analysis, interpretation, and

the synthesis of evidence using a variety of sources. In this way, multiple perspectives come to the fore, and students are given the opportunity to view various narratives. This in itself assists students and teachers to shift the way in which they make sense of the world by being introduced to different perspectives, some of which might challenge their own views, something which is vital when it comes to the interpretation and reconstruction of the past. In terms of the dark history events in this study, multiple perspectives were missing, and a singular master narrative existed in the programmatic curriculum. The problem was compounded as the narratives presented were those of the dominant national groupings and did not include the views or narrative of the minority, that is, the other.

The second broad area of development was the recognition that history education is often taught from a monocultural, ethnocentric, and exclusive perspective. This was based on the assumption that the national or master narrative taught in schools using textbooks coincides with the history of the largest national grouping or community, including their language and culture.

To ensure that this issue was addressed, at least in the Global North, the Council of Europe and several non-governmental organisations such as the European Association of History Educators, with the support of the Council of Europe (EUROCLIO), the Georg Eckert Institute (which conducted applied multidisciplinary research into textbooks and educational media, informed primarily by history and cultural studies) and the Körber Stiftung Foundation (a German-based platform created to discuss current political topics and develop operational projects on social and political issues) arranged a variety of workshops, seminars, conferences, and in-service training specifically for history teachers around themes that had previously been ignored and the “position of minorities within the teaching of national history” (Stradling, 2003: 10). However, Stradling (2003: 10) notes that measures have been put in place to include social categories and groups that had previously been ignored such as “women, the poor, ethnic minorities, children, families, and migrants”.

Yet, it is clear that this problem where the national narrative is that of the dominant grouping in a community or country is still faced across the globe today. Tudor (2000) explains that introducing minority or other narratives into the programmatic curriculum can become contentious so the question remains how to do it. If a theme or topic of a previously ignored social category or grouping is light-heartedly introduced or brushed over purely for the sake of inclusion, this could marginalise the group even further. Attempting to fully integrate these “other” narratives in which it is acknowledged that each has a distinctive perspective on events in national history is sometimes referred to as “mainstreaming” (Stradling, 2003: 10). The problem with this kind of multi-perspective integration is that it can prove to be very challenging

as the curriculum might already be overcrowded with content that needs to be covered (Tudor, 2000). Thus, dark historical events that are taught from a national perspective of a dominant ethnic grouping tend to marginalise the others in the narrative. It is this marginalisation that this study wished to engage with in terms of what was portrayed in the textbooks, how it was portrayed, and why.

Finally, the third broad area of development that emerged in the 1970s across Europe was the growing concern that schools needed to do more to prepare students for life in a world characterised by diversities and where various countries, many with colonial pasts, were faced with more diverse populations. Thus, the programmatic curriculum had to change. Schools opted to teach indigenous languages and customs but later found that this created intercultural tension between the students (Craft, 1984). This led to newer educational approaches where cultural diversity was taught (Gay, 2018; Sleeter, 2005) as something to be celebrated by all students and not just those from the various minorities (be they cultural, linguistic, or ethnic) (Stradling, 2003). With this push towards inclusivity, catchphrases and terms such as “multiculturalism” and “intercultural education” were used more widely. Curriculum developers found new ways to adopt the notion of multiculturalism into different subjects to the extent that popular and well-established topics were being revised (Stradling, 2003). An example of such a revision was the European voyages of discovery, where students learnt not only about their country’s imperial conquests but also about the people who were “discovered” or colonised. This development had implications not only for the teaching of European history but also for the teaching of history in other parts of the world, such as the three countries in this study. Prior to this development, European history, for instance, was defined by Europe’s common history and shared cultural heritage with no regard for minorities or others. Additionally, it has been argued that most of the history about Africa was written from a Western perspective and not an Afrocentric one.

After 1994, the then Minister of Basic Education in South Africa, Angie Motshekga, appointed a task team to revise the History curriculum for South African schools. This Ministerial Task Team stressed the “need to ensure that the interpretation of historical events [was] projected from a multi-perspective approach” (Ndlovu et al., 2018: 99), thus emphasising the importance of the inclusion of multiperspectivity. Motshekga said that she believed that a “comprehensive, well-rounded, and accurate teaching” of history would help students to understand themselves better (Pijoo, 2018: n.p.), thereby cementing the place and use of multiple perspectives in the South African curriculum. The Task Team further concluded:

The main objective of History education is to produce a learner who knows the “story” of who we are in its many layers ... capable of handling multiple kinds of perspectives

and who is able to recognise his or her individual intellectual role in adjudicating knowledge (Ndlovu et al., 2018: 40-41).

While there is merit in attempting to revise or amend history curricula to reflect more diverse, multiple narratives while countering a master narrative, some scholars have pointed out that there are challenges with multiperspectivity. Stradling (2003) explains that those in power represent the dominant group in society, and they cannot impose a power-driven shared vision of national identity and loyalty onto the rest of society. This would mean that the imposed shared vision would become an evaluation of the existing programmatic curriculum, simply to see “whose history is being told and whose left out”. It does not mean, however, that he is opposed to the idea of multiperspectivity. On the contrary, he argues that the need to “fill the gaps and break silences in history textbooks by promoting a counter-narrative ... is important” (Stradling, 2003: 13).

Multiperspectivity in history and history teaching can, therefore, be summed up as challenging the status quo of a master narrative that we know of and may find in textbooks. Stradling (2003: 14) summates the concept of multiperspectivity by noting:

Broadly speaking, then, it would appear that the main defining characteristics of multiperspectivity in history and history teaching are that it is a way of viewing, and a predisposition to view, historical events, personalities, developments, cultures and societies from different perspectives through drawing on procedures and processes which are fundamental to history as a discipline.

Multiperspectivity and the discipline of history are, therefore, closely intertwined and co-dependent as part of a helix-like twining. To understand one, the other is needed, particularly in the case of history teaching and learning. This has been emphasised by the work of Seixas (2015) on the interwovenness of historical perspective-taking and the Big Six historical concepts. These Big Six concepts cannot be separated and seen in isolation; rather, their greatest impact and strength for historical thinking comes from using them together, as a “common pedagogical error comes from divorcing them” (Seixas, 2015: 9).

If one were truly to explore an objective and holistic understanding of a particular event or happening, it would be seen that the nature of the teaching of history lends itself to multiperspectivity. But multiperspectivity is intertwined with matters of controversy and contention as well as dark history and otherness. These concepts are discussed below to unravel and unpack this conceptual literature review.

3.3.3 Concept 3 – Otherness and dark history

The final concept under consideration for this study is the idea of otherness, othering, and the other. The term other was introduced by the French feminist Simone de Beauvoir in 1949. She explained the theory of self and other in relation to both gender and other hierarchical social differences (De Beauvoir, 1949). Simply put, she stated that this was about how individuals or groups constructed and understood their identity (self) in relation to those who were perceived as different or outside a normative standard (the other). The notion was heavily influenced by Hegel's work on phenomenology in 1807, known as *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, often translated as the *Phenomenology of Mind* (Hegel, 1807). Hegel's work was known for its complex exploration of human consciousness, self-awareness, and the development of knowledge (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1985).

Moreover, otherness, othering, and the other are concepts rooted in social theory and philosophy, which explore the dynamics of identity, difference, and power (Ahmed, 2000). It should be noted, as mentioned above, that these concepts are not always clear-cut. Jacques Derrida, whose ideas relate to deconstruction, engaged with the concept of the other, questioning how we label things (and consequently people), such as thinking that someone is a certain gender. While these may seem to be things that are simple to define, we have, in recent years, come to understand that gender is an increasingly complex and controversial topic. Derrida (1967) believed that the labels otherness, othering and the other are not as clear-cut as we would like to believe and can be understood in different ways in different contexts. These terms are explored below.

To explain the complex nature of otherness, othering, and the other, I explore one of post-colonial writer Spivak's essays. The essay centres around the story of the rani (queen) of Sirmur, a historical figure from colonial India. Spivak used this narrative to examine the ways in which colonial powers constructed and manipulated the identities of colonised women. Spivak's analysis went beyond a straightforward historical account and delved into the intricacies of representation, agency, and the challenges faced by women within colonial and patriarchal structures.

Spivak explains othering, a key concept in Spivak's essay, in terms of power relations. Othering refers to the process by which dominant groups construct and marginalise subaltern or colonised individuals or communities. Spivak identifies three forms of othering, which I refer to as three perspectives. The first perspective, the other, provides an awareness of who holds the power and who produces the subordinates. To illustrate her point, Spivak (1985) describes

a journey made on horseback by an English captain to tell the natives who their masters are. The captain writes in this letter:

I have undertaken this journey to acquaint the people [with] who they are subject to, for as I suspected they were not properly informed of it and seem only to have heard of our existence from conquering the Goorkah and from having seen a few Europeans passing through “the country” (Spivak, 1985: 254).

In this quote, the English captain is a powerful figure, and the subordinate other are the indigenous people (Jensen, 2009: 9-10). This anecdote demonstrates othering as “a discursive process of separating ‘we’ from ‘other’ as a means of constructing hierarchies of power” (Winslow & Winslow, 2014: 1). In turn, Vichiensing (2017: 127) notes, “In a broad sense, the concept of ‘othering’ means a mental distance is created between ‘us’ and ‘them’.”

The second perspective of othering, as identified by Spivak, portrays the other as morally inferior, uncivilised, and barbaric (Jensen, 2009: 10). In post-colonial theory, the other is referred to as “the colonised” peoples, marginalised by imperial discourse (or Eurocentric view) as illustrated in Spivak’s essay. Schwalbe (2000) aligns with this perspective, conceptualising othering as the process by which a dominant group creates the perception of an inferior group.

The third perspective of othering is referred to as “manipulative pedagogy”, which restricts the other from knowledge and technology to maintain the power dynamic (Jensen, 2009: 10; Spivak, 1985: 256). Thus, the one who wields knowledge and know-how wields the power and the one who is furthest from this centre of power is identified as the other.

Therefore, otherness refers to the quality or state of being different or distinct from the perceived norm, often leading to the construction of binary distinctions between us and them. Emmanuel Levinas is known for his exploration of ethics and philosophy of the other. Levinas (1961) emphasises the ethical responsibility that arises in encounters with the other, challenging traditional philosophical perspectives on identity. He argues that conventional views, often rooted in individualism and self-interest, fail to capture the profound ethical dimension present when facing the other. Levinas proposes the need to go beyond the theoretical considerations and engage in a lived ethic that acknowledges the encounters with the other.

Another useful perspective on otherness is that of Lacan (1966). His concept of othering revolves around the idea that language (such as that used in history textbooks) plays a fundamental role in shaping our sense of self and others. In simple terms, he highlights how

the language we use influences how we define and understand our identity and the identities of those around us. This led to Althusser (1971) coining the term “interpellation”, which is a process in which we encounter our culture's values and internalise them as our own. Thus, individuals take on specific roles or positions in society as these affirm their standing in the culture or group. This means that our ideas are not just personal preferences but have been presented to us for us to adopt. Ideologies, like our views on gender, class, and race, are better understood as social processes. Deciding whether to accept or reject a culture's attitudes places us in a relationship with power. Otherness, then, “reminds us of those who are different from us” (Udah, 2019: 3). Furthermore, Lacan, as cited in Gingrich, “stresses that identity is fundamentally gained in the gaze of the powerful” (Gingrich, 2004: 11). Hence, we only really understand who we are by how powerful people see us. Reading explains that otherness can be understood “as that which is outside of ourselves ... who are culturally different and the otherness of the future” (Reading, 2011: 7).

It is clear from the above that otherness, othering, and the other are part of a master narrative that covers many unfair actions and attitudes, such as “tribalism, segregation, marginalisation, racism, and differences based on ethnicity, gender, sexuality, language, name, dress, religion, or any other differential characteristics” (Seroto, 2020: 14). This includes things like favouring one group over another, keeping people apart, treating some as less important, and having prejudices based on where someone is from, their gender, how they dress, or their religion.

The programmatic curriculum includes, or is, a dominant and official state-sanctioned master narrative about a dark historical event which tells the story of a nation that gleans part of its collective identity from that narrative. The narrative that is predicted is the one that is favoured and seen as the us version of the story rather than the them version, which is either silenced or less prominent, and therefore, the other comes into existence. This is echoed by Ahonen (2007: 7), who notes that “the construction of the identities of people takes place through differentiation between them and ‘others’”. Thus, the notion of the other can be seen in relation to the current perspective of an individual. As time changes and various things influence the personal frame of reference of an individual, so the image of the other changes too (Boesch, 2007: 6). Furthermore, Bilderberger states that “the more civilized a society seems to be, the more susceptible it is to its buried atavism” (Bilderberger, 2016: n.p.). Even in highly advanced societies, there's a vulnerability to instinctual behaviours that are deeply rooted in our past. It implies that beneath the surface of apparent advancement, there can be a revival of more primitive tendencies. In other words, notwithstanding the progress and sophistication of a society, there is a potential for underlying, instinctual, or less refined aspects of human nature

to resurface when tension between human behaviour and civilisation might allow for division to occur despite the striving and push towards nation-building and collective memory.

The concepts of otherness, othering, and the other are often used to describe processes through which individuals or groups are perceived and treated as fundamentally different, frequently leading to marginalisation or discrimination. In the context of dark history events, where a group of people or individuals are marginalised, dehumanised, or treated as outsiders by another group, the concepts of otherness, othering, and the other can contribute to discrimination, prejudice, and/or violence. For instance, during the Holocaust, Jews were othered by the Nazi regime, leading to widespread persecution and genocide (Koekemoer, 2012). Therefore, dark history features the concepts of otherness, othering, and the other.

3.4 My conceptual framework

In order to understand how to construct the conceptual framework for my study, I needed to clarify the different concepts that I would draw on. First, my conceptual framework was based on dark history (see the literature review in Chapter 2). It also drew on three concepts – master narratives, multiperspectivity, and otherness. These concepts form my bricolage of intersectional concepts.

Figure 6 is a diagrammatic representation of a continuum outlining my conceptual framework which explains the relationship between master narratives, multiperspectivity, otherness, othering, and the other, and light and dark history as I understand it. It is this conceptual framework through which I applied my analysis of the selected textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda in my search to engage with and challenge the concept of otherness. The diagram shows a multiperspectivity pendulum to explain dark history events. It was conceptualised using Kukard's (2017) historical orientations.

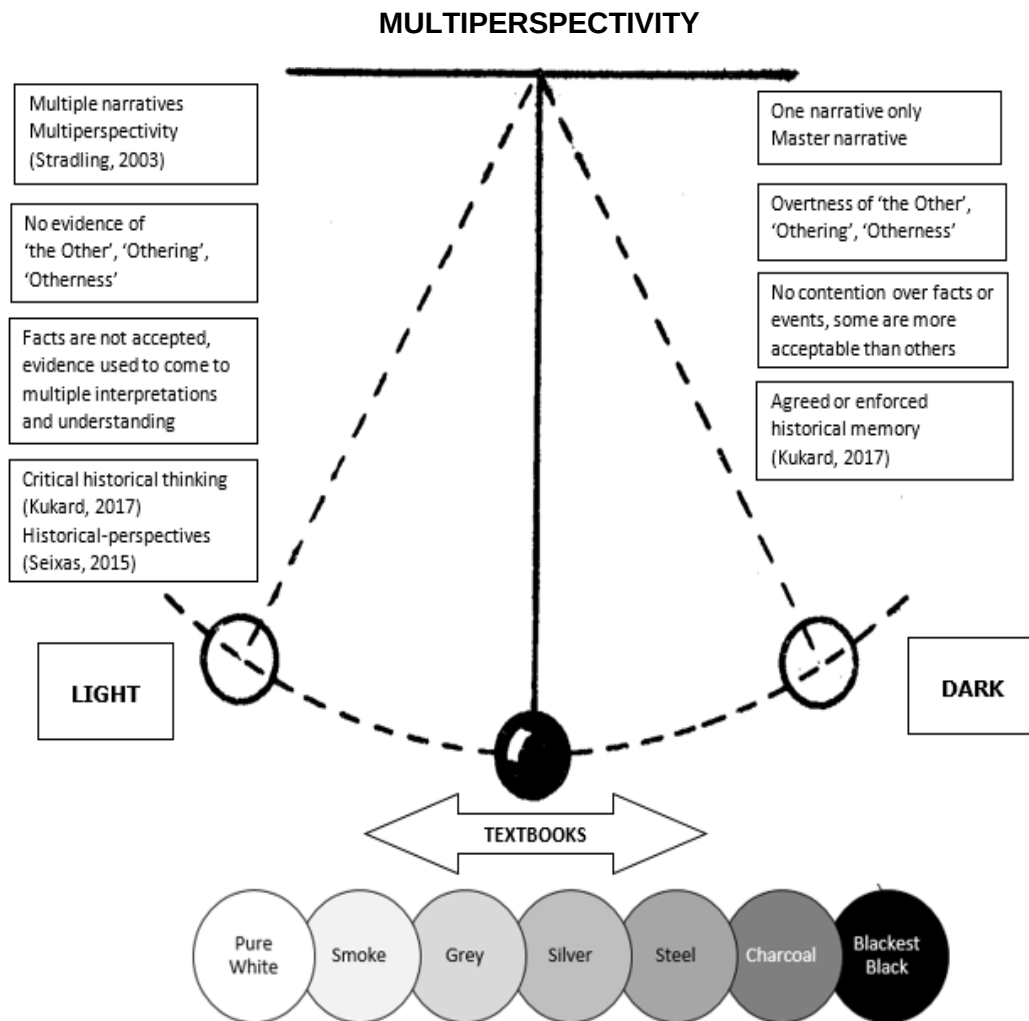


Figure 6: A diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework of my study

Dark history can be dealt with in a light or dark manner on the multiperspectivity continuum. A single dark history event can be positioned at more than one place on the shade continuum through the movement of the textbook pendulum during the narration of the event as the various aspects of the conceptual framework are applied. This is because different textbooks contain different perspectives. But also, in terms of hermeneutics, different perspectives are present in the same textbook. In the study, the continuum acted as a lens through which the selected textbooks for the three case studies were analysed.

Dark historical events and the way in which they are portrayed or represented in history school textbooks further underpinned the conceptual framework for this study. The histories dealt with in this study are, without a doubt, controversial as people have been unable to agree on a single narrative to correctly and accurately represent the past events of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. It has been established that the selected historical events of the three countries in the case studies of this study dealt with the macabre, human rights violations, and great civilian

suffering. Thus, I used my conceptual framework and applied it to the dark story events to engage with otherness.

The engagement with the other, othering, and otherness was done by first looking at the dark history event from a narrative point of view to establish the plot, characters, setting, and concepts dealt with in the text – a deconstruction. This deconstruction led to some understanding that there was no multiperspectivity present in the textbook. This then orientated the textbook further along the pendulum towards the darker side of the shade continuum. Darker shades of dark history can be found on the continuum as the pendulum swings in that direction. The dark side of the continuum contains a single master narrative, and the facts of these historical events are often not questioned or disputed as they are enforced by way of the programmatic curriculum. Therefore, the dark side of the continuum has what appears to be a master narrative relating to the dark history event that is inclusive of, for example, nation-building thinking that does not leave room for the other, othering, or otherness to be included, thus bringing the idea of an agreed or enforced memory to the fore.

These dark historical events are mostly taught using the programmatic curriculum, which, as discussed previously, is the only official source of information that many students might ever encounter, and anything that is not included in this narrative is discarded. It is these discarded parts of the narrative that make up the other, othering, and otherness with which this study engaged.

On the light side of the continuum, dark history events are those that are presented in textbooks with multiple perspectives (Stradling, 2003). The number of narratives proportionally increases as you move from the dark side of the continuum towards the light side. There is also room for evidence to be used to come to multiple interpretations and understanding, leading to an increase in critical historical thinking (Kukard, 2017) and showcasing the interconnectedness of concepts to foster understanding (Seixas, 2015). This understanding, in turn, allows the reader to come to a deeper meaning not only of individuals but also of the world around them, ensuring that the other, othering, and otherness is engaged with. The threads of meaning of different perspectives, stories of dark history, and the idea of otherness are interwoven to understand the context of the chosen historical events of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Nigeria, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin in Uganda, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. This prepared me to delve deeply into this topic, not just for comprehension but also to contribute something valuable to the ongoing discussion about these concepts.

3.5 Conclusion

The journey of unravelling the conceptual framework for this study has been both enlightening and transformative. The pivotal moment of realisation was when I recognised that my own insights and interpretations would shape the conceptual framework. This marked a turning point in the research process and empowered me to comprehend the significance of the conceptual lens through which I viewed the subject matter.

In constructing the conceptual framework, I systematically delved into the essential theories and concepts that formed the intellectual foundation of this study. First and foremost, I explored the profound meaning embedded in the (master) narratives, recognising them as powerful vehicles that carried the essence of human experiences and collective memory. By examining multiperspectivity, the framework would navigate the intricate web of diverse viewpoints woven into narratives, acknowledging the dynamic nature of storytelling. Furthermore, this exploration extended to the realm of controversial and contentious events and into the depths of what defines them as dark history. By dissecting the layers of these events, I aimed to shed light on the complexities that contributed to their classification and understanding.

A critical dimension of the study was the exploration of otherness, othering, and the other. This involved an analysis of the mechanisms by which societies construct and delineate boundaries, thereby defining individuals or groups as othered and, in turn, contributing to the creation of narratives that perpetuated the power imbalances and hierarchical structures to foster a profound comprehension of the intricate interplay between the narratives and the theories that underpinned them. By weaving together the threads of the meanings of multiperspectivity, dark history, and otherness, the framework set the stage for an exploration of the subject matter, laying the groundwork for a study that sought not only to understand but also to contribute to the evolving discourse in these conceptual domains.

In the next chapter, the research design and methodology of my study are unpacked, showcasing how the conceptual design informed the approaches, paradigms, and methods chosen to engage with otherness in selected dark history events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda in selected African textbooks.

Chapter 4

Research design and research methodology

“If you are building a house and a nail breaks, do you stop building or do you change the nail?” – Rwandan proverb

4.1 Introduction

This research study delves into the dynamic interactions of otherness alongside multiple perspectives, and the juxtaposition of light and darkness in particular dark historical events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. As a reminder, in the previous chapter, the conceptual framework as the foundation of the study was discussed, and it was determined that a bricolage of intersectional concepts – a pieced-together set of representations fitted to the specifics of a complex situation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018) – would be used as the lens through which to engage with otherness in the dark history events selected for this study.

The Rwandan proverb at the start of this chapter conveys a message of resilience, adaptability, and determination in the face of challenges. This sums up my journey with the research design and research methodology of this study. There seemed to be a fine line between writing too academically and mechanically and juxtaposing me and my experience in the framework. Thus, the proverb encouraged a pragmatic and solution-orientated approach. It implied that the natural response should be to address the problem, fix or replace what is broken, and then continue with the task at hand instead of abandoning the entire project when faced with a minor issue. Therefore, in this chapter, I first explain what the research design and research methodology were for this study and then how they were used to elicit answers to my research questions. I then clarified the important features related to the methodology and methods that I employed and reiterated the choices and decisions I made (partly through some trial and error, as noted in the proverb). The choices and subsequent decisions were made after much deliberation based not only on the literature review conducted in Chapter 2 but also on the conceptual framework explored in Chapter 3. This chapter further serves to unpack the methods of data collection, data analysis, writing-up, and sampling of this study, as well as their respective strengths and limitations. I also contemplate the notion of trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

4.2 What are the research design and research methodology?

While the following pages may come across as “robotic” or like a research manual, this was a necessary part of my research process to show the reader from a general academic

perspective what research, research design, and research methodology meant to me before I personalised and internalised it for myself.

Generally, research is a term that is used loosely by many people and, as such, can mean different things to different people. Whether it is spending time reading the reviews of that new coffee shop or reading articles for a school or university assignment, one thing is clear: research is, in essence, the quest for knowledge and the endgame is to know more about something than you did at the beginning. However, in academia, it has a more distinct meaning; research is about “the manipulation of things, concepts or symbols for the purposes of generalising to extend, correct or verify knowledge, whether that knowledge aids in the construction of theory or in the practice of an art” (Slesinger & Stephenson, 1930: 49).

Therefore, the research design and research methodology chapter in a study is one of the core pillars of any thesis, and it needs to be grounded for a study to be a success (Creswell, 2017; Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Moreover, according to Kothari (2004: 1), research can be seen as “an original contribution to the existing stock of knowledge making for its advancement” and, therefore, can possibly bring new understanding to current problems (within the education sector, in this instance).

Before delving into the research design and methodology I selected for this study and why I did so, it is important to note that each study has its own research purpose and focus and, as such, lends itself to a particular style. This study gravitated towards an exploratory, descriptive research undertaking. It is exploratory in the sense of coming to grips with the phenomenon (Maxwell, 2012) of otherness and dark history and gaining new insights into it, and it is descriptive in the sense of looking at the narratives that are portrayed for and by a particular individual, situation, or a group (Kothari, 2004).

It is necessary to conceptualise both the research design and research methodology. According to Mouton (2001) and Creswell and Poth (2018), research designs and research methodologies are two very distinct and different aspects of a study, which are often confused and the terms are used interchangeably. Similarly, Wellington et al. (2005: 95) note that understanding the difference between research designs and methodologies is one of the challenges that social science researchers have to come to terms with, as there is a “plethora of methodologies and methods” that could be used. Therefore, choosing the appropriate one is paramount, as is understanding the difference between them.

The challenge for researchers is, however, far more complex than simply selecting a methodology or method (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). It involves establishing the “values, beliefs

about the world, and understanding the positioning of the researcher that contributes to using a particular methodology” (Wellington et al., 2005: 95). Therefore, conceptualising the difference between a research design and a research methodology seemed a good place to start.

Sileyew (2019) notes that a research design is intended to provide an appropriate framework for a study. In turn, Kothari (2004) argues that a research design is a conceptual and theoretical structure in which research is conducted. It is, thus, essentially a plan or blueprint of how the researcher intends to propose answers to the research questions. This golden thread that holds the study together has no set template or format, as each research design is unique and tailored to each specific study, especially considering, as mentioned previously, that there is a plethora of methodologies and methods to choose from. To this end, Terreblanche and Durrheim (2002) and Kothari (2004) both use the analogy that the research design is like the schematics (architectural blueprints) used to construct a house. It is the holistic plan that considers what each smaller department or crew needs to do to finish the project as a whole. Without these, a house would never be built. The manner in which the house is built, and the tools that are used would then be the research methodology and methods. In sum, the research design deals with the theoretical aspects of a study and the research methodology with the practical part. To this end, without either the research design or the research methodology, there would be a shaky study as there would be no proper foundation to build on. Thus, the importance of the research design and research methodology cannot be underestimated (Creswell, 2017; Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Maxwell, 2012).

The research design can be seen as a route map that fundamentally steers the research in a particular direction. The research methodology, on the other hand, can be seen as a collection of tools to execute the route map. Therefore, the research design outlines what was envisioned for a study and provides a demonstration of how the research was executed in order to answer the research questions.

4.3 Research design

In keeping with my Rwandan proverb at the start of the chapter, imagine you are planning to build a house. The research design is your blueprint for getting the house built. It includes details such as where you need to start, the building materials, the step-by-step building process, and the methods you will use to build the house of your dreams. The design ensures that the build is organised and reliable and leads you to a successfully built home. Thus, the research design for this study outlined the systematic approach I took in getting the answers

to my two research questions, namely how and why otherness was engaged with in the dark history events in the textbooks of selected African countries.

The next part of the conceptualisation of the research design shows how I went about choosing the approach, that is, the paradigm, ontological and epistemological assumptions, and theorisation of the design. To do so, I devised a holistic diagrammatical representation of what the research design looked like for my study (see Figure 7). This diagrammatical representation highlights the elements of the research design of the study and how it underpinned the research methodology. Each aspect can be seen as a layer of research which has been merged to produce the study as a whole and consequently, the research design for this study is unique, having been adapted and created for its enhancement. Figure 7 is followed by an in-depth explanation of each element of the research design and why it was chosen for my study.

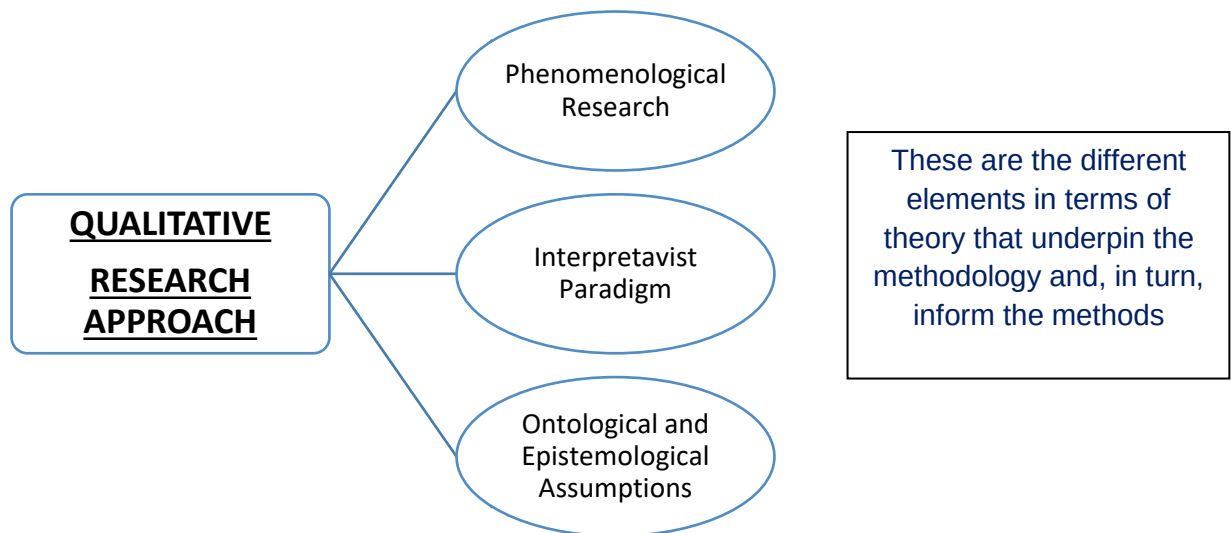


Figure 7: Diagrammatic representation of the research design

4.3.1 Interpretive, qualitative approach

My study adopted an interpretivist, qualitative research approach rooted in phenomenology. At first, I kept trying to explain each element individually (interpretivist, qualitative, and phenomenological) in a neat, compartmentalised box as that was what made sense to me, but it kept overlapping and becoming messier. This caused me endless frustration until (as in Chapter 3) I had an “ah-ha”, light-bulb moment. Why was I trying to explain it separately when it was all layered and interconnected, tangled, and messy? Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 43) note, “We got messy texts, texts with multiple voices, and interrogations of terms like truth, validity, voice, and data. Suddenly, qualitative research is carrying the weight of the interpretive tradition on its shoulders”, thus proving that it is difficult to provide a clear-cut

image of where one begins and another ends. According to Cresswell (2007), and Torrance (2016), conceptualising qualitative inquiry and qualitative research can be tricky and constantly changing. So, my struggle of not being able to conceptualise my research design was not something to be frustrated about but rather to be celebrated as there were different ways to use existing research approaches, methods, and designs.

Therefore, I decided to collapse the approach and paradigm as, to me, they were inseparable in terms of my study. A qualitative approach lends itself to understanding perceptions and behaviours thus feeding into an interpretivist paradigm which, in layman's terms, analyses the beliefs and values of the culture of the society in which it takes place. Furthermore, interpretivism can be linked to studying a phenomenon as part of phenomenological research, which is an approach that seeks to understand the everyday experiences of people. Creswell and Maietta (2002: 4) note that they became more aware of variations of research approaches as a result of readers and fellow researchers bringing new ideas to their attention and seeing the "increasing fragmentation and diversity that now exists in qualitative research". Furthermore, research is forever changing, and thus, new editions of evergreen thought leaders in research design and methodology are updated (Creswell & Poth, 2017). As noted by Yin (2018: 15), "both awareness and practice have changed". Therefore, attempting to peg down concrete definitions is counterproductive as there are a plethora of possibilities. It is not one-size-fits-all but can take on many forms. This is agreed upon by Fouché (2005), Mann and Stewart (2000), Tredoux (1999), and Waller (2010). Therefore, I hope it can be seen why the qualitative approach, interpretivist paradigm, and phenomenological research were so difficult for me to separate in my study, and for this reason, I collapsed the paradigm. The idea of blending or collapsing paradigms is something that scholars are discussing, with Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 231) postulating whether "it [is] possible to blend elements of one paradigm into another so that one is engaging in research that represents the best of both worldviews ... [the answer] from our perspective, has to be a cautious yes."

Thus, for this study, I chose a qualitative approach to research how otherness in dark history events was engaged with in selected African History textbooks. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 2), qualitative research can be viewed as the "humanistic virtues of [a] subjective, interpretative approach", and such research is often associated with exploring and understanding a particular phenomenon, which was exactly what I had in mind when choosing the interpretive, qualitative approach rooted in phenomenology for this study. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2007) argue that qualitative research is concerned with an in-depth, complex, and detailed understanding of, amongst other things, behaviour, meanings, phenomena, actions, attitudes, and intentions, thus emphasising the intricacies of qualitative research.

Patton (2014) further adds that qualitative research centres on understanding the meaning that people construct from their experiences.

My purpose for this study was to understand how the programmatic curricula in three different countries engaged with otherness in dark history events. This meant understanding the phenomenon of engagement with otherness through interpretation. It was this interpretation of meaning for the sake of understanding that further located the study within the interpretivist paradigm. The central aim of interpretivism, in the case of my study, was thus to understand the phenomenon of otherness and its engagement in history textbooks, which are constructions in political and ideological contexts. In this regard, interpretivism is steered by a set of views, beliefs, and opinions about the world and how it should be interpreted and studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

In all of this, the interpretivist paradigm was underpinned by three assumptions. The first was that the purpose of educational research is to understand the “what” that informs human behaviour. Why do people behave in the manner that they do? This assumption further highlights the focus on exploring why people behave in certain ways from their own perspectives (Atkinson & Delamont, 2011) and understanding the subjective, which is shaped by individual people’s perspectives, their experiences, and the cultural context in which the experience takes place. This thesis speaks to the perspectives that were presented in the programmatic curriculum (the master narrative) and were being showcased and to what end this affected people’s behaviour.

The second assumption was that a single reality or truth does not exist, but, rather, there is a set of realities or truths which can be rooted either historically, locally, or specifically (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Habermas, 1985). This means that in terms of this study, the engagement with otherness from multiple perspectives acknowledged the diversity of human experience and emphasised the importance of understanding phenomena in their unique cultural and historical settings.

The third assumption was that findings are not waiting to be unearthed or discovered but are created through an analytical interpretation of the data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This means that the role of the researcher is vital in shaping and co-creating knowledge during the research process through active analytical interpretation of the collected data (Saldaña, 2016), in this case, the selected history textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda.

A qualitative, interpretivist approach to research is, however, not without its challenges, and the role of the researcher has never been more prominent. I, as the researcher, did the

interpretation and the analysis and drew the findings together. As noted by Cresswell (2007: 3), “the focus on the self-reflective nature of how qualitative research is conducted, read, and advanced, has become much more dominant in the qualitative discourse, and has, in many ways, been integrated into the core of qualitative inquiry”. Thus, a possible limitation of this approach was my unconscious biases, assumptions, and perspectives as the researcher in my interpretation of the textual passages, visual representations, and assessments of the dark history events in the textbooks analysed for this study. However, this was mitigated as I located this study outside the borders of my own country, South Africa, and focused on other African countries to which I have no connection or allegiance. Furthermore, the purpose of this study was not to change society but rather to acquire an in-depth understanding of the engagement with otherness in dark history events and the factors responsible for the way in which it is manifested. I embraced the interpretivist paradigm in my research as I sought to understand how the otherness in different dark history case studies was engaged with in the various textbooks.

In addition to being qualitative in nature and lending itself to the interpretative paradigm, this study also fell under phenomenological research (Hatch, 2002; Randolph, 2009). Phenomenological research engages with lived experiences and how researchers can approach the interpretation and representation of these experiences (van Manen, 2014). The phenomenon in this study was the engagement with otherness in the narratives found in the dark history events of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. In sum, by using an interpretive, qualitative approach, I tried to uncover patterns in the data. These patterns would emerge from studying the phenomenon which was the engagement with otherness in specific dark history events in multiperspectivity. Rehman and Alharthi (2016: 56) note that these patterns in the data “are collapsed under broad themes to understand a phenomenon and generate theory”. These patterns included examining how otherness was engaged with, if it was engaged with at all, whether the otherness was obscured or villainised, or whether the otherness was othered or even silenced. Once this was identified, I had to theorise why these patterns were established in this manner.

Welman and Kruger (2001: 81) state that “what researchers observe is not a reality as such but an interpreted reality”. This means that I, as an interpretivist, made meaning with the data that I analysed and engaged with. Thus, I worked from the premise that “the reality, the truth, the rightness of anything said to constitute the world is suspended” (Schostak, 2002: 39) so that the subject could be explored for what it was. Hence, I worked from the paradigmatic position that knowledge, as found in the textbooks that I analysed, is subjective and constructed (LeCompte et al., 2003) and could be applied to the master narratives of the dark

history events of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi found in the textbooks. As per the interpretive, qualitative research approach that I followed, this study lent itself to both case study research and narrative inquiry, both of which informed not only the merged methodology of this study but the methods as well.

4.3.2 *Ontological and epistemological assumptions*

Before the merged research methodology of narrative inquiry and case studies could be explored, the ontological and epistemological aspects of the study needed to be reviewed. These assumptions were based on my use of an interpretive, qualitative approach. Rehman and Alharthi (2016: 51) note that “it is the ontological question that leads a researcher to inquire what kind of reality exists”. Thus, what I thought about dark history, how I understood it to exist, and what I came to know about it formed my engagement with otherness in the dark history events in the multiple perspectives that existed. My study lent on the ontological assumption that the “world is experienced and constructed by the people who live in it” (Wellington et al., 2005: 100), that reality is socially constructed, and that multiple truths exist. Denzin and Lincoln (2018) ask, what is the nature of reality? How do we derive meaning and understand what is real? The truth comes from our understanding of how the world works and the relevant contexts (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; LeCompte et al., 2003). Therefore, my understanding of reality is that it is not passive but rather an active process and my experiences, interactions, and interpretations contribute to shaping the world that I live in, assisting me to make sense of it. Moreover, in terms of my study, there were then multiple ways of perceiving things and making sense of the world and these were influenced by my perspective and cultural context.

The ontological assumption of my study was based on the premise that the narratives of these dark historical events were socially constructed via the curricula and textbooks as the programmatic curricula. In terms of the three case studies that I analysed and engaged with, the dark historical events can be interpreted differently by different people in different contexts, and thus, the master narrative of these texts could mean different things to different people (for instance, students, teachers, scholars, and the general public) depending on their context, lived experience, positionality, and prior knowledge. There are, therefore, various interpreters of the master narrative of a research text, with the reader of a master narrative being the last interpreter of the research text (Gouws, 2017).

As noted by Rehman and Alharthi (2016: 52), “An ontological belief system (explicitly or implicitly) guides one to certain epistemological assumptions.” Therefore, if the ontological

assumption of my study had been based on the premise that the narratives of these dark historical events were socially constructed, the epistemological assumption for this study would have concerned the foundations of knowledge. Denzin and Lincoln (2018) raise the question, what is the relationship between the researcher and what is known about the subject matter? Thus, the epistemological assumptions related to how I, as the researcher, understood and attained knowledge. To this end, for this study, the epistemological assumption was that knowledge is constructed and is “subjective and inherently political” (Hatch, 2002: 16). Furthermore, the notion of knowledge “is an inevitable consequence of interpretive ontology” (Rehman & Alharthi, 2016: 55). I believe, from an ontological point of view, that multiple realities exist and are socially constructed. However, although these multiple realities (multiple perspectives in my case) could be perceived differently by different people depending on their frame of reference, lived experiences, and political, cultural, social, and economic affiliations, to name a few, my study referred to master narratives about dark historical events that were formed as part of a particular base of knowledge that was political in nature, which inevitably promoted certain ideologies from the history textbooks I analysed as constructs.

Therefore, the research design for my study embraced an interpretive, qualitative approach rooted in phenomenology. This, I believe, was the best fit for my study as it helped me to answer my research questions about how otherness was engaged with in the dark history events in the African textbooks and why they were dealt with in a particular manner. This is in line with the ontological and epistemological assumptions of this study, which were crucial because they were shaped by my worldview and influenced by how I conceptualised reality and knowledge and how I approached the research process. These assumptions were fundamental to the entire research process, guiding me through the framing of my research questions, the selection of my methods, the interpretation of the data, and finally, the drawing of my conclusions.

The research methodology discussed next draws on the research design laid out above, in which I explained how the interpretive, qualitative approach, the ontological assumption that the world is socially constructed by each individual, and the epistemological assumption are the bases of knowledge. These concepts informed the merged research methodology of case studies and narrative inquiry.

4.4 Research methodology of case study and narrative inquiry

The research methodology that was adopted for my study was that of case study research and narrative inquiry – a merged methodology. In other words, instead of using either case

study research or narrative inquiry, I opted to use both in a blended manner. I collapsed the structure of my research methodology as I had done previously with the research design. For the purpose of my thesis, this just made sense – I was looking at three historical events, which were dark history cases from three different countries (hence the case study) and wanting to engage with something in each case, otherness. It was here that I realised I needed more than a case study to assist in proposing answers to my research questions of how otherness was engaged with and why. Narrative inquiry was the methodology I needed to assist me in proposing answers to these questions. Thus, narrative inquiry became an “embedded methodology” (Sonday, Ramugondo & Kathard, 2020: 5) within the case study research, and I termed this “merged methodology”. Before the merged methodology can be further laid out, it is important to understand the key components of case study research and narrative inquiry as they applied to my study. Therefore, each is explored below as two parts of the research methodology. I also explain the role of the merged methodology and why I chose this for my research.

I devised a holistic diagrammatic representation of the research methodology for my study (see Figure 8). This diagrammatic representation highlights the elements of the merged research methodology of case study and narrative inquiry. Each aspect can be seen as a layer of research which has been melded to produce the study as a whole and consequently, the research methodology for this study is unique and has been adapted and created for its enhancement. Below is an in-depth explanation of each element of the research methodology and why it was chosen for this study.

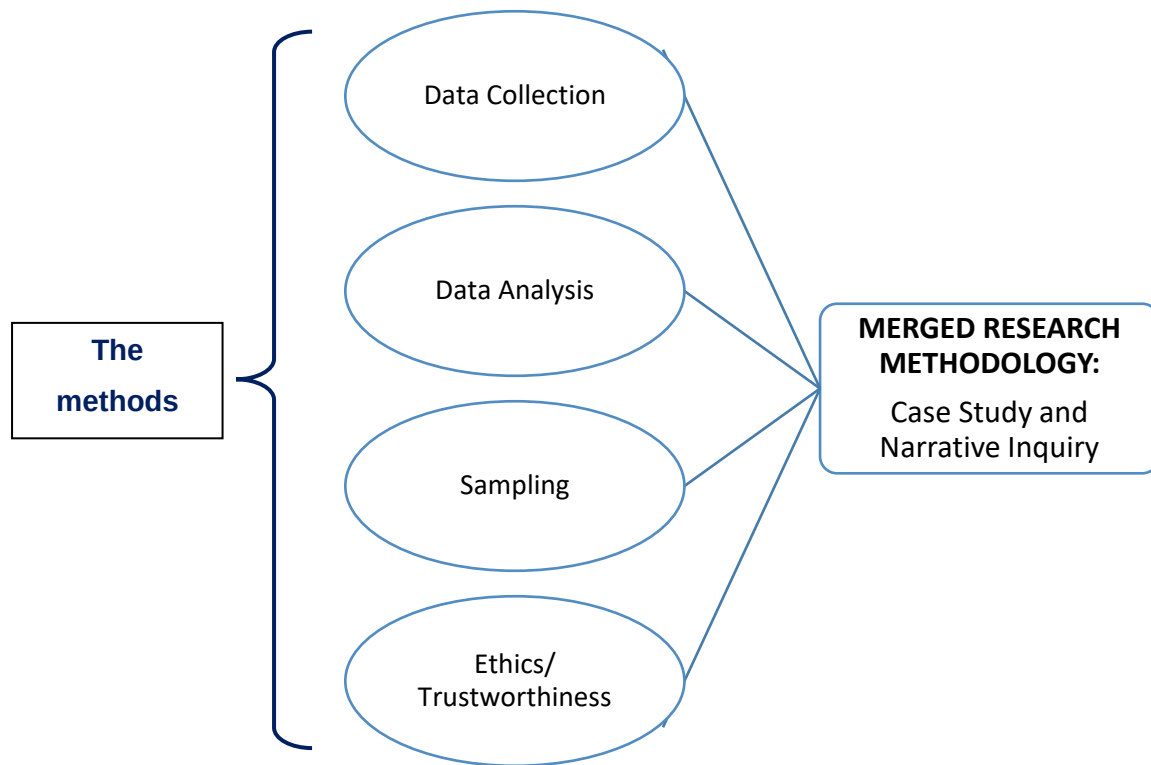


Figure 8: Diagrammatic representation of the research methodology

4.4.1 Case study research as part of the research methodology

Case study research, and more specifically, explanatory multiple-case study research, seemed an appropriate fit for my study. As explained by Yin (2018: 351-352), the “purpose [of an explanatory case study] is to explain how and why some condition came to be”, while a multiple-case study is “organised around two or more case studies”. Instead of referring to a multiple-case study, Stake (2006) refers to a collective case approach where more than one case is analysed in terms of specific criteria. Moreover, Gustafsson (2017) states that a multiple-case study is needed when the study in question contains more than a single case. Therefore, in terms of my study, I examined three cases of dark history, namely, the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. These three separate historical events became the cases for my case study, but I was analysing each case against a specific set of criteria as well as having a comparative moment when the three cases were compared against each other; thus, a multiple-case study seemed more fitting. This multiple-case study design allowed me to explore patterns, variations, and similarities across the cases of dark history in multiple textbooks from the respective countries, as well as cross-reference the three countries. It should be noted that this study was not a comparative study, and although there were comparative moments, this was not the focus of the study (more on this in the concluding chapter, Chapter 8).

Multiple-case study research was, therefore, suitable for this study as my intention was to clearly identify cases with specific parameters, such as being located in Africa and containing a dark history that could be seen as contentious and controversial. I sought to provide an in-depth understanding of the individual cases by comparing the cases for their similarities and differences in the programmatic curricula across the three settings and different historical eras in post-independence Africa (Chilisa, 2012). The challenge with case study research is that it is open to interpretation, and it was, therefore, up to me to set the parameters (as explained above) and make key decisions about the way in which the case study research would proceed. The choice of countries for the case study also came down to the type of dark historical event that I wanted to research, and which was based on otherness, when people were silenced, villainised, obscured, and victimised. The dark history events chosen were contentious in nature in accordance with two of my areas of interest, namely genocides and despots.

Furthermore, these cases were engaged with in terms of otherness and in relation to multiperspectivity, which became the “condition” mentioned by Yin (2018) above, which made the case study explanatory in nature. Each of the three cases happened to have a dark history due to their gruesome nature; hence, there was some commonality between the cases despite the fact that each case dealt with a different event. The commonalities between these three cases were that they all took place on the continent of Africa, and they all had events in their history that could be considered dark history as they dealt with human rights abuses, civilian suffering, despotic rule, and the deaths of innocent people. It should be noted that a case can either deal with an event or an individual (Yin, 2018). Two of the cases for my study dealt with an event while the third dealt with the leadership of an individual.

Another commonality between the cases was that they all had textbooks at school level that dealt with these events. These textbooks were all produced and sanctioned by the state and thus were part of the programmatic curriculum and master narrative, as discussed in Chapter 2. The cases of these countries were chosen because they had histories that contained dark history and ones that I was interested in academically as contentious and controversial issues. (This is further discussed in the sample section of this chapter).

Cresswell (2007: 73) proposes case study research as that which involves the exploration of an issue through “one or more cases within a bounded system (that is, a setting or context)”, while Yin (2018: 350) outlines case study research as “a social science research method, generally used to investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and in its real-world context”. The geopolitical constructions of the three chosen cases, the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, took place in

Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda, respectively. These cases of dark history were further situated in the context of history education and textbooks. The cases in the case study were bound together by the mere fact that they were all events of dark history and were found in the programmatic curriculum. Furthermore, all the cases were treated as contentious issues. There was no common time frame, as each case had its own scope in terms of time, geographical location, and participants. The focus of each of the case studies was the engagement of otherness in dark history events. A bounded case study system can assist in narrowing the focus of the study and also acknowledging that the case study findings of each case might not be easily generalisable to other contexts. The research objectives or questions aimed to answer the “how” and “why” questions which, noted by Yin (2018), are the types of questions that case study research can assist in answering. To this end, my intellectual puzzle in this bounded system was the engagement of otherness as it related to multiperspectivity in the dark history events of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) see case study research as a strategy of inquiry. Moreover, they contend that “case study researchers from phenomenological and interpretive traditions may particularly be interested in systems thinking ... and learning that embraces multiple perspectives, worldviews, and values” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018: 619). Meanwhile, Merriam (1998) supports a general approach to qualitative case studies in educational research and Schwandt and Gates (2018: 600) note that “a case is an instance, incident, or unit of something and can be anything – a person, an organisation, an event, a decision, an action, a location like a neighbourhood, or a nation-state”. Conversely, Stake (2006) views case study research as a choice of what is being studied or researched rather than a methodology. Personally, I see case study research as a methodology, as a way to inquire about otherness in dark history, which could refer to either an event or individual and how it relates to multiperspectivity.

Thus, there were various methodological means to tackle my research as different scholars see it differently; therefore, for the purpose of this study, I viewed case study research as part of the methodological approach tied together with narrative inquiry – a merged methodology. I looked at my three cases of dark history in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda as multiple bounded systems and how they engaged with otherness in relation to multiperspectivity and the programmatic curricula of these countries, each with multiple sources of knowledge, that is, multiple textbooks. These sources of knowledge included history textbooks that were available in and from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda.

Thus, case study research as a methodology has been explained as an in-depth exploration of a bounded system where the data collection takes place in the form of textbook analysis

from multiple sources. The purpose of case study research is to create a holistic understanding of each case and to engage with the complex phenomenon of otherness and how it relates to multiperspectivity. What case study research entails and why it cannot be clarified simply (Schwandt & Gates, 2018) was explored, as well as what kind of case study research worked best for my study, what the multiple cases were, and why they were chosen. However, case study research forms only part of the entire methodology of my study and, as such, the second half must now be explained – narrative inquiry.

4.4.2 Narrative inquiry as part of the research methodology

Narrative inquiry, as in case study research, seemed to be a suitable fit for my study as it is about the relationship between experience and story (Craig, Curtis & Kelley, 2016). As my thesis revolved around perspectives of specific dark history events, which in essence are stories, narrative inquiry was apt. According to Clandinin and Huber (in press: 1), narrative inquiry is the study of “experience understood narratively”, while Kovach (2018: 403) notes that “we are representing a story. We are re-storying through our own lens, gaze, and perspective” as researchers. Therefore, narrative inquiry is, in essence, about experience and stories. Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 898) concur, noting, “We know the world through the stories that are told about it.” Given the views of the above scholars, I interpreted narrative inquiry as a methodology to understand human experience through studying stories; in the case of this thesis, the stories of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in their respective history textbooks. These stories can be unpacked in various ways, with some focusing on representing reality, some questioning fixed truths, and others highlighting how stories are socially constructed. Given this innovative take on narrative inquiry, it was vital to unpack this further by first taking a step back from narrative inquiry and looking at what narrative is.

Chase (2018) states that narratives are used to make meaning by shaping or sequencing experiences, while Denzin and Lincoln (2018: 898) see narratives as “socially constrained forms of action, socially situated performances, ways of acting in and making sense of the world”. Dewey, as cited in Connelly and Clandinin (2006: 2), reiterates, “People are individuals and need to be understood as such, but they cannot be understood only as individuals. They are always in relation, always in a social context.” Therefore, to understand people and their actions, they need to be understood in the context of the society or community in which they find themselves. In my study and the three cases of dark history, the assumption was that in order to make sense of the dark history event, one needed to see oneself in the event and be represented.

A narrative can, therefore, be seen as a story that reflects the experiences of people and can be told through different mediums, such as passages of text (written) or by visual means (Chase, 2018). Also, in the case of the textbooks analysed, the narration included activities or assessments that were either text-based, visually-based or a combination of both. The way the narrative is told is also dependent on several factors, which can include the characters, the plot, and the setting. But more importantly, regardless of how the story is narrated, it is always open to interpretation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

Polkinghorne (1995: 5) further explains what narrative entails:

Narrative is the type of discourse composition that draws together diverse events, happenings, and actions of human lives into thematically unified goal-directed processes ... employs a thematic thread to lay out happenings as parts of an unfolding movement that culminates in an outcome. The thematic thread is called the plot, and the plot's integrating operation is called emplotment. When happenings are configured or emplotted, they take on narrative meaning. That is, they are understood from the perspective of their contribution and influence on a specified outcome.

Narrative, then, is seen as thematic and thus imparts stories based on the characters, setting, plot, and perspective of the person whose story is being told. The plot is the storyline that connects the events, and the emplotment is the process of arranging these events to make the story meaningful, thereby helping the reader to understand the events in relation to the overall goal or outcome of the story or narrative. As part of my study, the master narrative imparted the story of each event, and the way in which the event was arranged was part of the emplotment to make the story more meaningful to the reader and to help it to fall in line with the socially and politically constructed goal of the master narrative.

Moreover, in conjunction with Polkinghorne's view of narrative, Chatman (1978) identifies the narrative elements needed to create a narrative or story which include the characters, setting, events, symbols, and concepts. All these elements are part of the story, and when combined, they become part of a whole, the master narrative.

While Chatman's (1978) work focuses primarily on narrative structure in fiction and film, adapting these concepts to narrative inquiry offered a structured and systematic way to analyse the master narratives of the three cases of dark history events that were part of my study. The adaption of Chatman's narrative structure for my study provided a lens to examine the formal elements of narratives as well as the interpretative processes involved in storytelling. It is important to adapt these concepts to the qualitative and interpretive nature of

narrative inquiry, recognising the unique characteristics of the real-life stories in the dark history events in the textbooks.

Based on the above, the following data analysis tool was adapted for this study. Each element is explained in Table 3:

Table 3: Data analysis tool

Analysis tool	Explanation of tool
Title of narrative	What has this section in the textbook been called?
Elements of a narrative 1. Characters 2. Setting: 2.1 Political 2.2 Social 3. Plot 4. Events	Aspects contributing to a narrative: 1. Characters refer to the key people portrayed in the narrative. The choice of characters included in the study is an indicator of whose perspective is being conveyed. 2. The setting includes geographical details of the narrative. In the study, this is based on the ethical and cultural tensions prevalent in the three selected dark historical events, which had an impact on the way in which the narrative is presented in as it was. 3. The plot speaks to the thematic organisation of the narrative – how has the narrative been told or emplotted (Chatman, 1978). 4. The events in the study refer to the historical happenings that occurred during a specific time and place either before and/or during the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the genocide against the Tutsi.
Concepts	Historical concepts can be divided into two categories: first and second-order concepts. First-order concepts help students to “understand historical trends and patterns as well as specific events” for example, genocide, war, dictatorship, while second-order concepts help students to understand, “how historical knowledge and understanding is constructed and created” (Calleja, 2004: 3) and thus include cause and effect, chronology, empathic understanding, continuity, change, and use of evidence.
Medium of knowledge 1. Visual 2. Activity 3. Textual	The medium of knowledge refers to how the narrative is presented whether visually, textually, or through activities in textbooks. It is important to include this in the instrument as the way in which the narrative is represented plays a major role in the way in which the narrative manifests itself in the text.

The individual elements need to be explored to understand the whole, that is, the master narrative. Narrative inquiry is, thus, “the way we make sense of the world through story” (Piscayanti, Mujiyanto & Astuti, 2023: n.p.) and as researchers are reflecting more, narrative research can be seen as “flourishing, it is everywhere” (Chase, 2005: 651). To this end, my study inquired into the master narratives found in the history textbooks in the three cases related to dark history events. More specifically, narrative inquiry was an appropriate part of the methodology for this study as the narratives of the different dark historical events were viewed as forming part of a national or master narrative, each with its own perspective and focus on each of the African cases. Each highlighted a narrative to suit a particular ideology, and thus, a clear sense of otherness emerged based on what was left out of the narrative.

Connelly and Clandinin’s (2006: 141) approach to narrative inquiry is to “find a form to represent... storied lives in storied ways, not to represent storied lives as exemplars of formal categories”. Polkinghorne (1995: 19), on the other hand, approaches narrative inquiry by creating a singular story (a master narrative) as a representation that might depict “how and why a particular outcome came about”. Furthermore, Saldaña (2016: 151) surmises, “Narrative inquiry and analysis have also discerned particular types or genres of stories that may each include their own unique motifs.” Thus, it is clear that narrative inquiry can take many forms.

For my understanding of narrative inquiry, I leaned into Polkinghorne’s theory as I found it to be “the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite” (1988: 13). I also followed Saldaña who stated that every master narrative is created for a specific purpose and that there are themes running through these narratives within the parameters of dark history. For example, narratives of chaos with multiple setbacks in a narrative lead to an unresolved ending (Saldaña, 2016). This is further clarified by Rugwiji, who explains the position of Connelly and Clandinin as “[the] umbrella term that captures personal and human dimensions of experience over time and takes account of the relationship between individual experience and cultural context” (Rugwiji, 2018: 366). This circles back to my research questions of how the dark history events and otherness are engaged with in textbooks in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda and why dark history events and otherness are engaged with in this manner.

Narrative inquiry as a methodology has been explained above as focusing on the narratives or stories of individuals or groups to understand how they make sense of their experiences and construct meaning around them. Narrative inquiry also emphasises the interpretation of the meaning within narratives, often focusing on the structure and content of stories as highlighted by Chatman’s (1978) elements of a narrative and Polkinghorne’s (1995)

explanation of narrative. Thus, a narrative inquiry must look deeply at the various elements within each narrative before the narrative can be understood holistically.

Both case study research and narrative inquiry have been discussed. Next, I explore the merged methodology of case study and narrative inquiry and why this was best suited for my study.

4.4.3 Merged methodology of case study and narrative inquiry

The merged methodology of case study research and narrative inquiry worked for my study as each methodology on its own had merit and strengths; however, when merged, they became even more useful. Yin (2018) notes that among qualitative research scholars hierarchical views of different approaches to research reinforce the notion that case study research is only a preliminary mode of inquiry and cannot be used to explore a phenomenon. However, this is not the case. As part of the merged methodology in my study, it provided a greater holistic understanding as the case study provided a broad context of the dark history events, while narrative inquiry offered a deep exploration of the individual elements that made up the master narrative, thus giving way to engaging with the otherness related to multiperspectivity. Furthermore, the narrative data enriched the understanding of the cultural and social context in each case by embedding narrative inquiry within the broader context of case study research (Sonday, Ramugondo & Kathard, 2020).

Combining case study and narrative inquiry methodologies in history education is not something that has been done many times before. In most cases, the term mixed methods refers to the fusion of qualitative and quantitative approaches (Yin, 2018). One such study that did, in fact, merge case study research and narrative inquiry was that of Sonday, Ramugondo, and Kathard (2020: 1). They noted that such a methodological framework could make a “vital contribution that seeks to understand processes that may explain current realities within professions and broader society”. It should be noted, however, that their study was not undertaken in the field of history education but rather in the field of occupational therapy and professions. Similarly, O'Reilly, Kiyimba and Drewett (2021) noted in their study on inpatient care that mixing two qualitative methods beyond the traditional mixed methods of qualitative and quantitative research yielded far greater depth to their study.

This begs the question, why do case study research and narrative inquiry work well together? Laurel and Associates (2014: n.p.) states that a case study which is done well is a form of a story and that “a narrative case study is a story of a real-life problem or situation that provides sufficient background data so that the problem can be analysed and solved”. Furthermore, Yin (2018) notes that “case study research comprises an all-encompassing mode of inquiry”

thereby highlighting how these two methodologies could be used to work together. In the case of this thesis, case study research was used to discuss the three selected cases of dark history but it could not elicit what I needed to answer my research questions as a stand-alone methodology. Another methodology was needed to relate to dark history and otherness. Therefore, in the cases and by using narrative inquiry, I was able to relate the inquiry to dark history and otherness in multiple perspectives by deconstructing the narrative to find meaning. This sentiment was shared by Sondag, Ramugondo and Kathard (2020: 3), who stated that “case study on its own did not provide the tools needed to describe the experiences of individuals within the process”. The need to adopt both methodologies was necessary to make sense of the historical realities portrayed in the master narratives of my cases.

4.5 Peeling back the layers: Seven steps of data analysis

Now that I have explained the methodology behind the study, it is time to look at how the underpinnings of case study research and narrative inquiry were used to inform and analyse the data. This study delved into three levels of analysis by peeling back the layers, namely descriptive analysis, analytical analysis, and the theorisation of what had been analysed. These were earmarked and signposted according to the seven steps explained below.

The first step of the analysis was to become familiar with the data. This could only be done by reading and re-reading the identified sections in the textbooks that I was able to obtain from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. This was to get a sense of what I was dealing with and where the knowledge about the selected dark history event was positioned in the textbook. I will explain the sampling process later in this chapter.

In the second step of the analysis, I generated the initial codes that I was going to use as part of the data analysis instrument. The data analysis instrument (see Table 3) was, thus, textual and visual analysis. These were relevant to narrative inquiry, as noted above. “Textual” refers to the print that was found in the textbooks, from the narratives to the activities that had been set, whereas “visual” refers to the graphic aspects in the textbooks, such as images, photographs, cartoons, and sketches. Every aspect of the narrative was looked at to gain a complete understanding of what the master narrative of each case study was. By simply looking at the textual aspect and not the visual, and vice versa, part of the narrative would have been ignored, whereas the point of this study was to engage with otherness in the programmatic curriculum, whether it was textual or visual. The data analysis instrument accommodated the method of narrative inquiry as I was able to apply it to both visual and textual data.

The third step of the analysis was to search for themes in the data that related to the second step of analysis in order to understand the engagement with otherness in each case study. This was done on a case-by-case basis for each country as well as textbook by textbook. I first applied the data analysis tool using Chatman's (1978) requirements for a narrative. I then looked at the case of Nigeria, textbook by textbook. I must mention here that I did not complete step three for each textbook of Nigeria first before moving on to the next step of analysis. It may seem counter-intuitive, but I completed six of the seven steps of analysis for each textbook before moving on to the next one. I did this for Nigeria first, then Uganda, and I left Rwanda for last. It just made sense to me to complete it this way before moving on to a cross-country comparison.

After completing a table with the initial codes for Textbook 1 of Nigeria, for instance (as part of the first step of analysis), I then looked at what themes emerged from that text and wrote it up as part of the descriptive analysis (step three of the data analysis). I then moved on to step four for Textbook 1 which was reviewing the themes that had emerged in step three by conceptualising these themes and writing them up. The examples of themes included (but were not limited to) power and oppression, trauma and resilience, memory and forgetting, moral ambiguity, humanisation and/or dehumanisation, resistance, legacy and impact, and interconnectedness. Steps two to four of the data analysis were considered the first level of analysis as they were descriptive in nature and proposed answers to the research question "how".

I considered steps five and six to be part of the second level of analysis. Here, I was analytical and proposed answers to the research question "why". Step five of the data analysis examined "the story behind the story", which included the historiographical story, whether multiple perspectives existed, and what was fore- or backgrounded. Thereafter, I took what I had found thus far and brought the findings in line with the literature which had been consulted in Chapter 2. I then took what was known in the literature about textbooks and dark history and applied that to the "unknown" which had emerged from the textbooks I had analysed.

In step six of the data analysis, I took the bricolage of intersectional concepts that I had explored in the conceptual framework in Chapter 3 and applied that to the findings. The data analysis instruments also accommodated the conceptual framework of narrative, multiperspectivity, dark history, and otherness. Here I passed a verdict in terms of multiperspectivity on, for instance, Textbook 1 from Nigeria and placed it on the shade continuum.

I completed steps two to six of the data analysis for each textbook before I attempted to start step seven, which was to draw conclusions. Once each textbook had been analysed individually, for example, Nigeria, I compared all the textbooks from Nigeria to each other to draw collective conclusions for the case study that related to the Nigerian-Biafran War.

After this was completed, I started steps two (initial coding) to six (applying the conceptual framework to the findings and placing the textbook on the shaded continuum) for each textbook of Uganda. Then, I drew the conclusions collectively for Uganda before repeating the process for the Rwandan textbooks. Once the textbooks from all three cases had been analysed, I moved on to the final part of step seven, where I comparatively drew conclusions across the three countries and made some theorisations. This was the third and final level of analysis.

4.6 Data collection and sampling

The data that was collected for this study was secondary existing data that was written in selected history textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. The sample size was difficult to predict as I had no idea how or where I was going to get hold of the textbooks, be they student textbooks and/or teacher guides. I was purely at the mercy of whatever I could get my hands on, and I relied on other people to get them for me. The sample of textbooks stretched across all forms of schooling, and the primary criterion was accessibility and availability. The sections on the three dark historical events in the case of each country were examined. The selected history textbooks that were used in my study had already been written; therefore, I had no control over how the data were represented (Mouton, 2001). Furthermore, as the data were pre-generated, I had no influence over the authors nor when the texts were written (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). I also chose to look at all the textbooks available in each of the three countries on the subject matter relating to my study, regardless of the age of the students at which the textbooks were aimed, and thus, a single country's textbook sample could have been upwards of 30 textbooks. For instance, when I first set out to find the required textbooks, several Rwandan high school (secondary-level) textbooks were available online, so there was a total of 12 textbooks, including the teacher guides. This did not take account of the primary school textbooks that I was still trying to source at the time. Further discussion on the selected textbooks takes place when the sample is discussed later in the chapter.

The sampling of the selected textbooks, as alluded to previously in this chapter, was three levels deep. First, the countries were chosen because their histories contained dark history events. Secondly, the textbooks selected for this study were, to an extent, purposive and convenient. The sampling was purposive (Creswell & Poth, 2017) because I looked at specific

countries and specific dark history events. Purposive sampling is concerned with detailed analysis, focuses on small samples, and the data collected is rich (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). While this type of sampling seeks in-depth data from a small, selected group, it is also problematic. Purposive sampling cannot represent the wider population and is thus “deliberately and unashamedly selective and biased” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007: 115). While it may appear that this type of sampling can be complex, and it may not be representational or generalisable, purposive sampling provides in-depth knowledge, as previously mentioned, which is what this study required. Purposive sampling is often used alongside convenience sampling.

In terms of convenience sampling, I chose selected history textbooks that were readily accessible and used in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. Furthermore, the sampling lent itself to being convenient as whichever textbooks were available were the ones that were used for this study across all grades and phases. Obtaining my sample was challenging, as mentioned previously, as I had to rely on other people to assist me in this endeavour. My supervisor put me in contact with several of his contacts from various academic institutions in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. I was able to reach out and ask them for assistance in terms of locating and accessing relevant history textbooks. I was also able to gain some insight into how the education system worked in each of the countries in the case studies by asking questions. Where they were unable to assist me, the contacts provided me with the details of others who might potentially have assisted me.

In terms of the Nigerian textbooks that formed part of my sample, I was placed in contact with a teacher in Nigeria who was able to source the textbooks for me. He sent me photographs of the material I required via WhatsApp and researched other digital avenues for me to access material, which, unfortunately, did not pan out. This was done to save time and money, as during the COVID-19 pandemic, I was unsure how reliable the postal service would be across borders. I also reached out to friends who, during casual conversations about my study, told me that they either knew of someone or they had family living or working in countries in Africa and they would try to be of assistance. In one such instance, a family friend’s uncle worked in Nigeria. He sent me a few textbooks via courier, and for that, I was most grateful. Without the assistance I obtained through these avenues, my sample for Nigeria would not have been possible. In addition, my supervisor happened to have some textbooks from the three countries of the case study in his possession from his own work. Where he did not have them at hand, he referred me to former colleagues to whom he had lent the books. This helped my study immensely.

In terms of the Ugandan textbook sample, this was, by far, the most challenging, as there was very little that I could find despite reaching out to various people and institutions. Consequently, the sample for Uganda was very small and, perhaps, speaks volumes to what might have been found and what was missing. A former colleague was able to give me one book on Uganda and a lead to obtain another in digital format, which I was able to purchase on Amazon. However, the textbook that I desperately wanted to get my hands on was, unfortunately, not within my reach. There was no digital footprint of this book and while there were hard copies available, none could be shipped to South Africa. Therefore, whatever textbooks were available from the three countries of this case study, regardless of publication date or school phase, were used in the sample.

With regard to the Rwandan textbook sample, I was luckier in terms of digital access. This was made possible by the Rwanda Education Board, which had PDFs of certain textbooks readily available on their website. I was also able to meet with my former colleague from an academic institution who had several hard copy Rwandan textbooks at his disposal, which assisted in the data collection for the Rwandan case study.

The third level of sampling for this study was the specific sections in the selected textbooks that I wanted to analyse. This was by no means a one-size-fits-all scenario. I knew that my dark history events were the Nigerian-Biafran War for Nigeria, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin for Uganda, and the 1994 genocide of the Tutsi for Rwanda. Thus, the demarcation for the sample sections was adhered to as follows:

- Nigeria: The Nigerian-Biafran War spanned the period 1967 to 1970. While I acknowledge that there was a “run up” or build-up to the civil war and its aftermath, the focus of the sample was only the timeframe 1967 to 1970.
- Uganda: The political dictatorship of Idi Amin spanned his reign from 1971 to 1979. While I acknowledge that there were political leaders both before and after Amin, the focus for the sample was only his political reign of Uganda from 1971 to 1979.
- Rwanda: The genocide against the Tutsi spanned 100 days from 7 April to 15 July 1994. While I acknowledge that there was a “run up” or build-up to the genocide as well as many perspectives, the focus of the sample is only on the 100 days of the genocide.

The sample size, including sections, chapters, and page numbers of the selected textbooks from the three case studies of the three countries, is shown in Table 4. The selected textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda for this study are listed in the order in which they were analysed.

Table 4: Table showing the selected textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda

Textbook Country	Textbook Author/s	Date of Publication	Textbook Title	Textbook Publisher	Chapter/Subsection	Page numbers
Nigeria	Abiola, E. Ola	1984	A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day	Omolayo Standard Press	Chapter 19 – Nigeria since the Civil War	205-206
Nigeria	Eluwa, G. I. C. et al.	2011	A History of Nigeria. For Schools and Colleges	Africana First Publishers	Chapter 15 – Nigeria Since Independence up to 1970. Subheadings: The Biafran Secession/The Civil War 1967–1970/The End of the War and the Peace	267-271
Nigeria	Oyovbaire, S. et al.	2019	Countdown Government. Revised Edition	Evans Countdown Series – Evans Brothers Publishers	Chapter 26 – subsection 26.7: The Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970	271-273
Uganda	Wambuzi, G. et al.	2006	MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book	MK Publishers	Single Entry – Amin Dada Idi	8
Uganda	Were, G. & Wilson, D.	1968	East Africa through a Thousand Years: A.D. 1000 to Present Day	Were Ventures	Chapter 15 – Nation-Building Subheading: Constitutional changes Subheading: The Uganda Crisis, 1971 Chapter 15 Revision Notes	330, 333-334
Rwanda	Aime, N.	2017	History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Learner's Book. Senior 3	Fountain Publishers	2 – Consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi	29-32

Rwanda	Myres, T. et al.	2016	History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Senior One. Student's Book	Longhorn Publishers	Topic Area 2: History of Rwanda Subtopic 2: History of Genocide Unit 5: Genocide and its features	53-60
Rwanda	Myres, T. et al.	2017 Reprint 2018	History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Senior Two. Student's Book	Longhorn Publishers	Unit 3: Causes and course of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi 3.1: Causes of genocide against Tutsi 3.2: Planning and execution of genocide against the Tutsi 3.3: Role played by RPF/RPA to stop genocide Against Tutsi	55-62
Rwanda	Nturo, C.	2017	History for Rwanda Schools. Learner's Book. Senior 5	Fountain Publishers	2 – Genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and abroad	31-50
Rwanda	Rwanda Education Board	2019	History. S6. Student Book	Rwanda Education Board	Unit 2 – Genocide prevention	50-70
Rwanda	Sebazungu, T. et al.	2016	Achievers History for Rwandan Schools. Senior 4. Student's Book	East African Educational Publishers	Topic Area – History of Rwanda Subtopic area: History of Genocide Unit 2: Comparison of Genocide	21-23

There were some limitations in this study as I had no real knowledge of the intricacies of the curriculum in the three countries chosen for this study. One of the reasons that these countries were chosen was that they are Anglophone, and their textbooks are, therefore, published in English. Since I am not conversant in any of the other languages spoken in various African countries, I chose these three.

4.7 Issues of trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in research refers to the credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability of the study's findings (Laher, Fynn & Kramer, 2019). It is an integral part of the research process to ensure and maintain academic integrity. Fellow researchers and academics are not only interested in the final outcome of my study but also in the process of collecting and analysing the data and findings (Pillay, 2013). Thus, the diligence procedures of credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability as part of qualitative research were followed to establish trustworthiness in my study.

Credibility is about making sure that the research is believable and trustworthy. It involves using reliable methods to collect data while spending enough time in the research setting (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). How, then, did I ensure my study was credible? Patton (2014) places an emphasis on integrating theory and practice; hence, the study required a detailed research design. The theory and the practical application of the research methodology followed. In my study, I used Chatman's (1978) theories to generate the analysis, which brought multiperspectivity into conversation with the conceptual framework. I also constantly referred back to the data itself and to the textbooks to cross-check the notes that I had made in my journal versus what I entered electronically. Furthermore, I made use of member checks, which confirmed my findings against the documents studied (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010; Merriam, 2009). In addition, I made use of my supervisor and my copy editor as part of my member-checking process. Through a constant stream of triangulation between the three of us, I ensured that every chapter spoke to the next, that terms and concepts were used consistently, and that a general alignment was present for a cohesive study to emerge.

Dependability means the study is consistent and dependable. It involves keeping clear and detailed records of all the research steps so someone else can follow the same process and achieve similar results. Saldaña (2016) notes that trustworthiness entails initially keeping codes as you transcribe the data, maintaining a reflective journal on the research project with copious analytic memos, and checking the interpretations you have developed thus far to ensure that a fellow researcher could replicate the study. To this end, as mentioned above, I kept a research journal throughout the study and noted the analysis as well as supervisory

meeting notes throughout the duration of the study. Truthfully, there were several journals and many loose pages of paper which ended up in a box under the desk in my study that I used to keep track of everything and keep it all together so that I could always refer to them. Towards the end of my study, I started using electronic Post-Its as I was always on my laptop.

Confirmability refers to whether independent readers of a study would come to the same conclusions on the basis of the evidence presented (Laher, Fynn & Kramer, 2019). My study did not deal with human participants, and no interviews were conducted; rather, it made use of textbook analysis. To ensure that my own subconscious bias did not interfere with my research process, I joined a PhD cohort and had a “study buddy”. We met often to discuss what we were working on and to brainstorm problem areas. These meetings were held in person and then later online. I also attended online cohort sessions offered by the University of Pretoria for master’s and doctoral students. The “ah-ha” moment for me was when I finally sat down to write down the steps of the study in Chapter 4.5 – this phase really made me reflect on my practice, thus enhancing the trustworthiness of the study.

Transferability is about making sure the findings can be applied or transferred to other situations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). To achieve this, researchers provide detailed descriptions of the study context, participants, and methods. It must be noted, however, that the transferability of the findings to other contexts lies with the end user and not the researcher. It was my responsibility to provide as much detail as possible for the end user to apply my findings to another context. I tried to enhance the transferability of the study by producing three levels of analysis: thick descriptions, analytical analysis, and theorisation. This was logically done in Chapter 5 for Nigeria, Chapter 6 for Uganda, and Chapter 7 for Rwanda.

This study attempted to uphold academic rigour and integrity by ensuring that issues of trustworthiness were upheld through credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability.

4.8 Ethical considerations

This research adhered to the University of Pretoria’s policy on ethical issues, and an ethical clearance application was made and approved by the Faculty of Education Ethics Research Committee on 27 June 2019 (Reference no. HU 19/05/01). History textbooks were used as the data, which was pre-generated, and therefore, there was no need to involve participants in this study. The data were treated in accordance with the regulations of the University of Pretoria. As the data dealt with text that was accessible in the public domain as they had been written for public consumption, the titles of the textbooks that were analysed were not censored. The textbooks were named according to their titles but were also referred to as

Textbooks 1, 2, 3, and so on for each case, Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda, respectively (for ease of analysis, reporting, and discussion). The research was conducted with me as the only researcher, and I stayed in line with the professional and academic standards expected by the University of Pretoria. Plagiarism was avoided. The thesis, in its entirety, was vetted for plagiarism using Turnitin to validate its authenticity.

4.9 Limitations

The first limitation of this study was the data analysis instrument. Owing to the many theories of narrative inquiry and the fact that narrative means different things to different scholars, the instrument may seem inadequate to address every aspect of narrative inquiry. The intention of this study was to engage with otherness while analysing the narratives of the dark historical events in the selected African History textbooks.

The second limitation was the sample size. It could have ended up being just three textbooks, one from each country, taking into consideration the curriculum of that country and whether multiple textbooks existed. Furthermore, the vetting procedure for textbook production might have been different in each of these respective countries. In addition to the above limitation, the fact that I am a complete outsider to all three of these countries might have posed a potential limitation.

The accessibility of the textbooks was a limitation, as was my need to rely on people whom I had never met to get me the samples I needed. I was at the mercy and kindness of complete strangers in obtaining my textbook samples. COVID-19 further limited the study in terms of travel and accessibility of textbooks from countries outside South Africa's borders.

The lack of using the interrater reliability process could also be seen as a limitation. Without assessing or ensuring interrater reliability, there's no way to confirm that different raters are consistently interpreting or evaluating the data in the same way. This can lead to inconsistencies in the findings, as the results may vary based on who is doing the assessment rather than the data itself. The absence of this process could weaken the credibility of the study, as it raises concerns about the validity and objectivity of the conclusions.

Finally, the fact that this research cannot be generalised is a limitation. Mouton (2001: 168) argues, "Given that most discursive practices are context-dependent or context-bound, such studies are limited in their generalizability." Therefore, as this study is context-based and a phenomenon in African history textbooks was studied, the findings may not be transferable to other contexts.

4.10 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, the research design and research methodology used in this study have been outlined and explained. A qualitative research approach was chosen, and together with this approach, phenomenological research was employed as the study of a phenomenon which was engaging otherness in dark historical events. This phenomenon was ever-present in this study. It was also underpinned by the interpretivist paradigm, which was best suited to this research. A convenience sample of African History textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda was selected, and the data were collected from a particular chapter in each textbook that fell under the dark history event of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi respectively. The analysis was carried out using one instrument, which was adapted from Chatman (1978) and underpinned by the merged methodology of case study research and narrative inquiry. Criticisms of the research approach and paradigm and the limitations of this study were duly recognised.

In the chapters that follow, the research findings are discussed and explored. These findings are intended to answer one of the research questions of this study, namely, how was otherness engaged with in the dark history narratives in the case studies of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda?

Chapter 5

Textbook data analysis: Nigerian-Biafran War

“The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete” –

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the depiction and explanation of the Nigerian-Biafran War in each of the selected textbooks that formed part of the purposive and convenience sample. Focusing on how this pivotal dark history event was presented in these educational resources, I explore the narratives, biases, and historical interpretations that shaped users' understanding of this complex and emotionally charged chapter in Nigeria's history.

Three levels of analysis are included in this chapter: descriptive, analytical, and theoretical. The first level of the analysis was done in terms of a “big picture”, holistic overview of the selected textbooks, including framing the number of pages the textbooks contained and how many of these pages dealt with the Nigerian-Biafran War. In addition, the first level of analysis included the analysis of narrative elements where the characters, setting, plot, events, and medium of knowledge were examined. The second level of analysis was completed by looking at “the story behind the story”. This meant incorporating aspects such as the master narrative, multiperspectivity, and the concepts discussed in Chapter 3. It also entailed looking at the bricolage of intersectional theories, such as the historiographical story portrayed in each textbook, whether multiple perspectives existed in the text, what was foregrounded and/or backgrounded and silenced, and whether any otherness, othering, or others emerged. For the third level of analysis, the findings from the descriptive and analytical levels of analysis were brought together and contrasted with the selected Nigerian textbook sample, and my conclusions were theorised. Through rigorous data analysis, I aimed to uncover the nuances in how the Nigerian-Biafran War was portrayed as a dark history event, as well as the otherness that emerged from the master narrative, thereby shedding light on the role that the textbooks played in shaping historical memory and perspectives on one of Africa's most transformative conflicts.

In the previous chapter, I clarified the research design and methodology and explained how it was devised to answer my research questions. I elucidated the important features related to the methodology and methods I employed in this study and rationalised my choices and decisions. In this chapter, the research design and research methodology come to life as the

research instrument that was adapted from Chatman (1978) was discussed, as explained in Chapter 4, and implemented to analyse the selected textbooks. Each of the textbooks was dealt with individually, and at the end of the chapter, they were compared and contrasted to ascertain what trends and patterns existed, if any. Furthermore, one of my key research questions, “How are events of dark history and otherness engaged with in textbooks in Nigeria?” was addressed in this chapter.

In this section of the data analysis, four Nigerian textbooks were analysed. These four textbooks, as mentioned in Chapter 4, were part of the purposive convenience sample. Thus, there was no uniformity in these textbooks nor were there specific sections which were similar in terms of the Nigerian-Biafran War, Biafran War, or Nigerian Civil War. Furthermore, the textbooks selected were not grade-specific but were based purely on their availability at the time of selection. Each section was described in terms of what was contained in the unit or topic, whether in the body of the text, a visual reference, or an activity. This was then interpreted, and finally, an explanation for what was found was offered.

This and subsequent chapters have been laid out as follows: each textbook unit or topic was analysed separately by means of the research instrument. After the analysis, a conclusion was drawn in terms of the narratives concerning each event. Once all the textbooks were analysed, they were compared and contrasted in an attempt to ascertain what master narrative existed across the four textbooks and what silences emerged linking to the otherness in each of the textbooks but also collectively across the textbooks.

5.2 Overview and analysis of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 1

Textbook 1, *A History of Nigeria. For Schools and Colleges* was first published in 1988. Subsequently, this textbook was reprinted in 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2011. The textbook is printed on environmentally friendly paper that has a glossy feel to it. It consists of 360 pages, of which five pages refer to the Biafran War (pp. 267-271).³ These five pages are contained in Chapter 15 of the textbook titled *Nigeria since Independence up to 1970*. In Chapter 15 of Textbook 1, a subsection deals with the Biafran War titled “The Biafran Secession” and “The Civil War – 1967-1970” (p. 267). A clear distinction is made between these two subheadings, that is, the Biafran secession and the civil war, which were either two separate things or not

³ In the analysis of Textbook 1, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as they were written in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading, I will simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

related as the war itself is never referred to as the Biafran War but always to the Nigerian Civil War or simply the Civil War.

In the preface of the book, the authors note that the textbook is suitable for high school students:

A History of Nigeria. For Schools and Colleges is a carefully researched and carefully written textbook by a team of experienced historians for students studying for the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examinations in History. The book comprehensively covers the requirements of the new National Curriculum for Senior Secondary Schools on History. The book covers such principal areas of the Senior Secondary School syllabus as (1) Nigeria up to 1800 ... (2) Nigeria in the 19th Century ... (3) Nigeria in the 20th Century.

In addition to being suitable for high school students, the authors further indicate that the textbook is also suitable for university students studying either the history of Nigeria as part of a course or for students studying to be teachers of history. They note:

A History of Nigeria. For Schools and Colleges is so detailed and comprehensive that it is also suitable for the Teachers Grade Two Certificate, General Certificate of Education, and Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) examinations. The book will serve as a good introduction to the history of Nigeria... for University and College of Education students (p. iv).

Towards the end of the preface, the authors point out that the textbook is “amply illustrated with photographs, maps, and diagrams. Questions and exercises have been provided at the end of each chapter” (p. iv), indicating that everything that is presented in Textbook 1 has been done for a specific purpose.

The section on the Nigerian-Biafran War was first analysed by descriptive means as per Polkinghorne’s (1995) narrative configuration and Chatman’s (1978) distinction between story (the events or content) and narrative (the way the story is presented). In the first level of analysis, the various narrative elements are described, and the themes that emerge from the text are identified and analysed. The narrative elements gleaned from Textbook 1 are presented in Table 5. It should be noted that the number seen in the square bracket in the table is used to quantify the number of times each name, place, event, concept and anything related to the Nigerian-Biafran War was mentioned.

5.2.1 Textbook 1 Level 1: Descriptive analysis

The data depicted in Table 5 is discussed as part of the descriptive analysis of the narrative elements found in Textbook 1.

Table 5: Nigeria – Textbook 1: *A History of Nigeria. For Schools and Colleges*

NIGERIA: Textbook 1 <i>A History of Nigeria. For Schools and Colleges</i>	
Title of narrative	Chapter 15: Nigeria Since Independence up to 1970. Subheadings: The Biafran Secession The Civil War – 1967-1970 The End of the War and the Peace
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent characters:</u> Biafran army [1] Biafran Christians [1] Biafran forces [4] Biafran officers [1] Biafran regime [1] Biafrans [9] Federal armed forces [1] Federal army [4] Federal Government [6] Federal Government forces [2] Federal troops [1] Igbo [6] Nigerian forces [1] Nigerian nation [1] Northern Muslims [1] Secessionists [2] Secessionist forces [1] <u>International organisations:</u> Caritas [1] The Red Cross [1] The World Council of Churches [1] <u>Individual:</u> Gowon [2] Lt. Colonel Philip Effiong [1] Odumegwu Ojukwu [2]

Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Cities/Towns:</u> Benin (Mid-West) Bonny (the River State) Lagos Nsukka Ogoja Ore (in Western State) Port Harcourt <u>Regions/States:</u> Biafra Biafran State Eastern Region Mid-West Republic of Biafran South Eastern State The East The North The Rivers State The West Western State <u>Countries:</u> Britain France Gabon Germany Ivory Coast Nigeria Portugal South Africa Tanzania The United States Zambia <u>Continent:</u> Africa
Events	Civil War 1967-1970 The Biafran Secession

Concepts	Genocide Massacre Propaganda War
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	2 [photographs] 1 [questions and exercise] Paragraphs of text

5.2.1.1 Characters

I categorised the characters in this section of Textbook 1 into prominent characters, organisations, and individuals. These characters play an important role in the master narrative that is presented. It should be noted that while I was specifically interrogating the Nigerian-Biafran War and its surrounds, there were other parts and chapters of this textbook that I did not analyse. In the subsection of Chapter 15 that I analysed, the characters that appeared were mentioned in passing as the story unfolded. At no point were the characters placed in historical context in this section.

The most prominent characters appeared to be the Igbo and the Federal Government of Nigeria. These two sides were referred to by many names, and this could potentially have caused confusion for the users studying this master narrative.

In the master narrative, the Igbo are referred to as “Igbo” (p. 267), “Biafran” (p. 270), and “secessionists” (pp. 268-269). No descriptions were offered for these terms and it was only on analysis of the section and reading the master narrative multiple times that I understood that these various terms were meant for one group of people. Thus, the group could be seen as a faceless collective and not as individuals. The Igbo or Biafran government is referred to as a “regime” (p. 267). While a dictionary definition of the word literally means to rule, the word itself has a negative connotation in historical terms and is mostly used to refer to authoritarian or dictatorial leadership. Thus, in this master narrative, the Igbo or Biafrans are seen in an unfavourable light. Further to this, the terms “officers” (p. 270) and “forces” (pp. 268-270) are also used to describe the Biafrans, indicating a narrative of violence and aggression.

The other role players in this story are the Federal Government of Nigeria, which is also referred to by various terms: “Federal army” (pp. 268-269), “Federal troops” (p. 270), “Federal Government forces” (p. 268), “Federal armed forces” (p. 268), and “Nigerian forces” (p. 270).

Again, the Igbo are referred to as a faceless collective instead of as individuals. The fact that multiple terms are used to mean the same thing can be confusing and hinder the process of constructing meaning for users. The term “Nigerian forces” (p. 270) indicates that these forces represented the country as a whole against the breakaway group of the Igbo or Biafra. A breakaway group is always seen as consisting of troublemakers who are generally dissatisfied with the running of the country as a whole and want change.

In the master narrative, the “Northern Muslims” (p. 269) and “Biafran Christians” (p. 269) are also seen as characters. While both role players are mentioned only once, the idea permeates that the religious difference between the two groups was not only the cause of a “war” (p. 270) but was furthered for the international community by “Biafran propaganda” (p. 269). This notion is furthered by the way in which the master narrative is written – that the Biafrans sought “sympathy and support” (p. 269) from the international community by using tactics such as propaganda, thus painting the Igbo or Biafrans not only as the victims but also as the instigators of the perceived conflict. This idea is taken further as the narrative of victimisation emerges due to the earlier massacres in The North, where the Igbo were persecuted by the Northerners. This “fear” (p. 269) fed the idea and propaganda machine that “the Federal army was bent on wiping out the Igbo people” (p. 269).

The narrative that the Igbo or Biafrans were to blame for the conflict is perpetuated further under the subsection “The End of the War and the Peace” (p. 270), where the text states that the “Biafran surrender was followed not by genocide but by general amnesty and a massive relief programme mounted by the Federal Government” (p. 270). Thus, the idea that the Igbo or Biafrans were being persecuted is nonsensical, as the propaganda was made up by the Igbo themselves in order to sustain the secession from Nigeria. The Nigerian Federal Government met the surrender with compassion instead of violence by administering a relief programme, and “only a few Biafran Officers were imprisoned” (p. 270). However, they were later released and “many Igbo were reabsorbed” (p. 270) into society as if nothing had happened. Thereafter, all was seemingly forgiven and forgotten as the people of Nigeria are now collectively referred to as the “Nigerian nation” (p. 270).

Yakubu Gowon (President of Nigeria at the time), Odumegwu Ojukwu (leader of the Biafra Republic), and Lt. Colonel Philip Effiong (an army commander who became the Second President of Biafra) are portrayed in this subsection of Chapter 15 as individual historical characters. While only mentioned fleetingly in passing, there is no real depth to their involvement in the Biafran War. Gowon’s action of dividing Nigeria into 12 states is depicted as a “calculated attempt to rob them [the Igbo] of their due place in Nigeria” (p. 267); he was thus the clear aggressor or persecutor of the start of the conflict. On the other hand, the first

mention of Ojukwu and his actions in the text appears to be in direct response to Gowon's actions: "Three days later, Ojukwu ... proclaimed the independent Republic of Biafra" (p. 267), almost as if he was a hero or saviour of the Igbo people, standing up for their rights. However, towards the end of the subsection, Gowon is mentioned a second time, this time as a hero of sorts and as one who is concerned with the reconciliation and unification of Nigeria and all her people: "Gowon's policy of reconciling the defeated secessionists with the rest of the nation was one of his greatest achievements" (p. 270). Ojukwu, in this instance, is now seen as absconding from his post to "make a last-minute escape to Ivory Coast" (p. 270), leaving his army commander, Lt. Colonel Philip Effiong, to announce the surrender of Biafra when it seemed that there was no other option. Thus, in the second mention, Ojukwu is vilified.

In terms of reinforcing any narrative, consistency is key in terms of character development. In this textbook, the portrayal of the characters is problematic as there is a lack of consistency in the naming of the characters. As explained above, multiple terms are used to describe the same groups, and thus, the user is not able to see the progression of one character throughout the entire master narrative. It feels disjointed. The plot seems to jump constantly from one name to another.

5.2.1.2 Setting (political and social)

The focus of the geographical setting for the Biafran War in Textbook 1 is Nigeria as a geographical and political unit. While other countries are mentioned, namely "Tanzania" (p. 269), "Zambia" (p. 269), "Gabon" (p. 269), "Ivory Coast" (p. 269), "France" (p. 269), "Britain" (p. 269), "Germany" (p. 269), "The United States" (p. 269), "South Africa" (p. 269), and "Portugal", they are named in relation to and for their support of Nigeria or the Republic of Biafra. It should be mentioned that international organisations such as "Caritas, The World Council of Churches, [and] The Red Cross" (p. 267) were noted to have aided the Biafran people, while other countries such as France provided aid but not recognition of the state. No further explanation was given – these places and organisations were merely mentioned.

The role of the international community during the Nigerian-Biafran War could have been used to justify the actions of the Nigerian Federal Government using such force against Biafra, as there was outside interference in a matter that should have stayed well within the confines of Nigeria's borders. However, the fact that so much of the limited narrative revolves around the geographical aspect of support given by the various regions in Nigeria for the two sides in the conflict in Textbook 1, the geographical narrative is given more prominence than the event itself. What makes the geographical setting complex is that many regions in Nigeria are mentioned – "The East" (p. 268), "The West" (p. 268), "Mid-West" (p. 268), "Eastern Region"

(p. 267), “The Rivers State” (p. 268), “South Eastern State” (p. 268), “Western State” (p. 267), and “The North” (p. 268), but even though the places are named they are not explained or elaborated on. Moreover, a map found in the textbook depicting the twelve-state structure does not aid in explaining the historical event. The master narrative is littered with regions, states, and countries, which detracts from the actual historical event. Several cities and towns are also mentioned, furthering the geographical narrative over the historical narrative of the Biafran War. These include “Port Harcourt” (p. 267), “Ogoja” (p. 268), “Nsukka” (p. 268), “Bonny” (p. 268), “Benin” (p. 268), “Ore” (p. 268), and “Lagos” (p. 268). Thus, the setting includes the geographical details of the narrative based on the ethical and cultural tensions prevalent in Nigeria and this has an impact on why the narrative is presented in the way it is. In other words, the geographical location is prefaced over the historical narrative which furthers the ethical and cultural over the historical narrative as well.

Lastly, from a geographical point of view, the continent of Africa is mentioned in this section. This is featured in the section explaining why the war lasted so long. One of the reasons provided and discussed later in this analysis was that Biafra received support and sympathy from other countries globally, including South Africa and Portugal. “Help came also from states like South Africa and Portugal, which merely wanted to stir up trouble in Black Africa” (p. 269). No further explanation or exploration of this loaded statement was given.

5.2.1.3 Plot

A generally accepted working definition of a plot is that it is a sequence of events that are interrelated and work on the premise of cause and effect. What is telling is how the master narrative has been told and in what way. Thus, in Textbook 1, a non-linear narrative emerges. The basic plot of Textbook 1 can be simplistically summed up as a narrative that contains two opponents, one being the underdog due to its smaller size. The larger opponent underestimates the smaller one and is surprised at the smaller opponent’s tenacity and willpower to win the conflict. The larger opponent is then forced to rethink its strategy to overcome the smaller opponent, which it manages to do in the end. This narrative is unpacked in more detail below.

According to Textbook 1, the start of the Nigerian-Biafran War was Gowon’s act of dividing Nigeria into a twelve-state structure. From the Igbo point of view, Ojukwu was purely responding to the first action of Gowon. Outsiders perceived that their actions were justified as they were simply seeking “self-determination” (p. 267) from a place from which they had been excluded. Similarly, Nigeria had support from outsiders when it was perceived that Nigeria “was fighting to preserve its territorial integrity” (p. 267); thus, the master narrative is

constructed in such a way that it seems that both sides – Nigeria and Biafra – are trying to preserve themselves from change that the other wants to enforce. This master narrative appears to be non-linear as it is disjointed, the historical events are not clarified or explored, and the content is not clear. The master narrative merely skims the surface of the actual historical event, with the user being left to make inferences such as the Igbo fearing for their lives after many were slaughtered by the Northern Hausa-Fulani and when Gowon decided to divide Nigeria into a twelve-state country. This made the Igbo feel isolated and in need of preserving themselves. On the other hand, the Northern Hausa-Fulani and the Yoruba were suspicious of the Igbo due to the preferential treatment they received from the British before Nigeria gained its independence. They were also unhappy with the Igbo being in control of the country as they would need to find ways to preserve themselves.

Thus, not all the regions were on board with Gowon's plan of a twelve-state structure. Despite dissatisfaction and "serious divisions" (p. 267), the Eastern regions "naturally [did] not support ... the new Biafran State [but] ... could not be so outspoken about it ... On the other hand, they had strong reasons to be grateful to the Federal Government" (p. 267). These "strong reasons" are not explored, and one can only infer that the Federal Government instilled some form of fear in them or that the Eastern regions observed what was happening to the Igbo. Thus, to preserve themselves, they preferred to remain silent but felt that they had to support Nigeria "in any conflict that might arise between it [Nigeria] and Biafra" (p. 267).

As explained above, all the sides depicted in this master narrative seek to preserve themselves, and hence, a narrative of self-preservation or self-determination emerges. Another example of this is that the Federal Government, at first, reacted to Biafra's secession, but when the West responded that they too would secede if there were no repercussions for the East, the Federal Government had no choice but to preserve their stance and take action against the East. At first, it was seen as "a mere police operation" (p. 268) to keep the Igbo in line and to quell the secession of Biafra because the Federal Government did not see the secession as a major thorn in its side. It did not really see Biafra as a major threat and thought it would be able to bring them quickly into line. The justification for their actions was primarily to ensure that the West would not follow suit. However, the Federal Government underestimated Biafra, as they were able to "carry out a surprise invasion of the Mid-West" (p. 268), and thus, their operation was no longer "a mere police operation" (p. 268) and "much more than a police operation was needed to subdue the secessionists" (p. 268). Thus, a massive recruitment campaign was launched to increase the forces of the Federal army to defeat the Biafrans. What was meant to be a short insurgency ended up being a "bitter struggle" (p. 268) between the Federal Government and the Biafrans.

5.2.1.4 Master narrative

The master narrative then moves to an explanation of why the war lasted so long. Three reasons are offered in Textbook 1 as to why Biafra was able to resist the Federal Government for so long. These read as if they are a justification for why the Federal Government was not able to quell the insurgency by Biafra sooner. First, the insurgency lasted as the Biafrans had “a well-trained leadership” (p. 269), many of whom had once belonged to the Federal army. Secondly, the massacres in the North that had preceded the secession provided a motive for the Biafrans to pursue the conflict and were used to fuel propaganda both in and outside Biafra. Thirdly, and linked to this, was the fact that this propaganda was garnering support for the Biafrans globally, with some countries providing Biafra with resources such as food, medicine, clothing, and arms to enable them to continue their stand for self-determination. Finally, the war lasted so long that other African states, such as the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Tanzania, and Zambia, recognised the sovereignty of the Republic of Biafra, giving the Biafrans hope that they could win the war against the Federal Government and preserve themselves in the ultimate kind of self-determination in terms of reclaiming their identity.

The master narrative of Textbook 1 is not only non-linear but also dualistic. It represents both sides and concludes with how peace was reached. Despite Biafra being able to hold on to their secessionist plans for so long, they were ultimately, as suggested by the text, no match for the Federal armies. The victory of the Federal Government is attributed to a variety of reasons, but primarily to the fact that Nigeria had the support of “most of the great powers” (p. 270) and that their best interests would be better served by a “united [rather] than by a dismembered Nigeria” (p. 270). This is in stark contrast to what was stated previously that the Biafran War lasted so long because Biafra had many top officers from the Federal army, Nigeria overpowered Biafra as “[their] forces had much greater advantages than the Biafran forces ... and that all things considered Nigeria was bound to win the struggle” (p. 270).

Another reason provided for the Nigerian victory was that due to the naval blockade imposed on Biafra, they were unable to get “so much vital material” (p. 270); however, this was noted as an inconsequential issue for Biafra a page earlier in the master narrative as Biafra had the support of several countries such as France, Britain, and Germany as “sympathisers [which] supplied arms and medicine, food and clothing” (p. 269). Thus, by trying to be dualistic, confusion creeps into the master narrative.

The end of the Biafran War is noted in such a way that the master narrative gives Biafra credit for their valiant effort in pursuing the war, but ultimately, they were no match for the Nigerian

forces: “But the odds were increasingly against them ... when courage, determination and even despair could fight no longer, the Biafran forces surrendered” (p. 270).

The idea of a narrative of duality comes to the fore in the last paragraph of Chapter 15, in which both sides are seen to have redeeming qualities: “Just as the Biafrans won the admiration of Nigeria and the world for their courage in war, Nigeria won the admiration of the secessionists and the world for her generosity in victory.” (p. 270). The way in which this is written can be likened to the ending of every fairy tale ever written – they lived happily ever after. Both sides admired each other for how they had handled the conflict and thus moved on with their lives as a united Nigeria. Historically, though, this is not the case, as more than one million people died. As much as assimilation and reconciliation would have been the ultimate end game, it could simply not have happened.

5.2.1.5 Events

The Biafran Secession and the Civil War (1967–1970) are the only events discussed in this section, with the subheadings being named after them. The Biafran secession is not explored in terms of a historical time frame nor placed into a significant historical context with regard to other events. In terms of the Civil War (1967–1970), the term is only used for the subheading of the section. Throughout the section, it is referred to as a “war”. There are a few dates mentioned, including 26 July 1967 (p. 268), 9 August 1967 (p. 268), 21 August 1967 (p. 268), 20 October 1967 (p. 268), mid-1969 (p. 270), and January 1970 (p. 270), but these are not used to elucidate the timelines surrounding the Civil War or to put it into historical context. A disjointed narrative consequently emerges, as previously mentioned.

5.2.1.6 Concepts

In Textbook 1, first-order concepts such as “genocide” (p. 270), “war” (p. 268-270), “massacre” (p. 271), and “propaganda” (p. 269) are used. These concepts are, however, merely stated and are not used to help the user understand either what these concepts mean or how they impact the event being written about. Such concepts refer to the idea of victimisation and violence. In terms of second-order concepts, the idea of cause and effect is inferred as the master narrative looks at something Gowon did and then the response of Ojukwu. However, chronology, empathic understanding, continuity and change, and the use of evidence are not explored.

In the subsection dealing with the Biafran War, there are two photographic images which are poorly printed and almost faded to the point that the contents of the photograph cannot be made out. Both are captioned. One is “A destroyed military convoy in one of the areas of

battle” (p. 268), and the other is “A war casualty being evacuated from the war front” (p. 269). However, even with the caption, you cannot see what the caption is describing in the image. The photographs are not referred to in the main body of the text of the chapter, nor do the visual and textual elements correlate or link together in any way.

5.2.1.7 Medium of knowledge

In terms of activities, there is a set of 11 questions at the end of the chapter, two of which have sub-questions. Of the 11 questions, four deal directly with the Biafran secession and the civil war. Questions 6 to 10 are the following:

6. Outline the causes and events leading to the Nigerian Civil War.
7. Account for Biafra’s attempt to secede from Nigeria.
8. Explain why the Nigerian Civil War lasted so long.
9. Do you think the peace settlement after the Nigerian Civil War deserves to be commended? Give reasons for your answer.
10. Write short notes on the following: vi) The Proclamation of the Independent Republic of Biafra.

The questions have been designed in such a way that the user of the textbook is summarising what is written in the text and not engaging with it. Interestingly, it is only in the activity that Textbook 1 refers to the “Nigerian Civil War” (p. 271). Previously in the text, the Nigerian-Biafran War was referred to as “the war” and “the civil war” in the heading only. Furthermore, it was not referred to as the “Biafran War”, possibly hinting at some kind of neutrality and not laying blame for the conflict on either side.

5.2.1.7 Themes

To conclude the descriptive level of analysis, I discuss the themes that emerged from Textbook 1. A theme of power and resistance reverberates intensely in Textbook 1 as the Nigerian Federal Government took control of the secessionist Biafrans and dealt with the problem swiftly to end the civil war. The power exuded by the Federal Government was explained as a result of the Biafrans being the aggressor. Thus, the master narrative showcases Nigeria as simply defending itself against Biafra. The acts of resistance against the Nigerian Federal Government by the Igbo and Biafra indicate the challenge of authority or the fight against injustice. However, the Biafrans or Igbo became subjected to oppression when the Federal forces exerted control and by dint of the power held over them through political, social, and economic power structures.

A theme of trauma and resilience also emerges. This was the trauma experienced as a result of the Nigerian-Biafran War and all who suffered (although the suffering is inferred in Textbook 1, this is not a focal point of the master narrative). Yet through the trauma, resilience emerges as the nation of Nigeria overcomes the adversity of secession to recreate a “united” Nigeria, hence highlighting their ability to endure and recover and, as Textbook 1 suggests, through national unity and despite diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, such a recurrence of conflict should be avoided. From the idea of nation-building, a theme of memory and forgetting emerges. The master narrative of Textbook 1 explores certain aspects of the Nigerian-Biafran War and not others, thus impacting the collective memory and historical amnesia of the dark history event and shaping the selective nature of remembering specific aspects of the past. In line with the theme of nation-building and reconciliation, outright blame is not laid at the door of either side, leaving room for moral ambiguity.

5.2.2 Textbook 1 Level 2: Analytical analysis

The second level of analysis for Textbook 1 delves into the story behind the story. This involves examining the historiography, investigating the presence of multiple perspectives, determining what aspects have been emphasised or marginalised, and exploring the treatment of otherness and the manner in which it was addressed. Additionally, this stage incorporates insights from existing literature on textbooks, history textbooks, and dark history, applying this knowledge to aspects that were previously undisclosed but surfaced during the analysis.

In terms of the historiography of Textbook 1, the choice of characters included in the master narrative is Nigeria and the Biafran War. They were also indicators of whose perspective was being conveyed. In an attempt to be dualistic, the master narrative is unclear. The position or point of view shifts from the perceived perspective of Biafra to that of the Nigerian Federal Government. This constant shift leaves a gap in the historical understanding of the historical event from an objective stance, thus ignoring the broader historiography, and a one-dimensional slant emerges. Despite the fact that dualism exists in the text, the inference of blame for the Biafran War seems to lie with the Igbos as the text constantly refers to their “propaganda” (p. 269) as a reason for them not only receiving support from other countries in their battle against the Nigerians but also for the support of the Igbo people in uniting them against the threat to their self-determination. Similarly, there is the notion that the Igbo were a threat to preserving the regional integrity of Nigeria’s plans for prosperity.

Furthermore, the reasoning provided for the actions of Biafra and repeated by the Nigerian Federal Government were in stark contradiction. Under the subsection “The End of the War and the Peace” (p. 270), reference is made to “Nigerian forces” (p. 270), “Nigeria was bound

to win” (p. 270), and “the Nigerian nation” (p. 270). This is the first time in the section that reference is made to Nigeria in this way. Prior to this, Nigeria was referenced in terms of the Federal Government, army, troops, and forces. This reference was only made in the master narrative after Biafra was defeated, almost supplying a narrative of dominance. This muddies the waters of understanding and allows the historiography of the Biafran War to sit in that grey zone where moral ambiguity is foregrounded.

Rather than presenting multiple perspectives of the historical event that is the Biafran War, what appears is a disjointed master narrative that switches direction throughout the section. Perhaps this is in an attempt to convey the narrative objectively and take into account that both sides were to blame for the conflict and made decisions which contributed to the response of their opponent’s next move. The perspective presented skims the surface of the complexities of the Biafran secession and, consequently, the civil conflict between the two sides. In the eyes of the Igbo, the secession is foregrounded as a direct response to Gowon’s declaration of the twelve-state structure and is justified as that. At first, the Federal Government was not going to pursue the issue, but after the possibility of another region following Biafra’s suit, in the eyes of the Nigerians, they were “forced” (p. 270) to intervene. Thus, there is a constant shift in terms of foregrounding and backgrounding that Nigeria’s involvement was purely reactionary to that of Biafra. Only certain parts of the historical narrative have been highlighted, and the rest are backgrounded or not mentioned at all in the master narrative.

The fact that so many different terms are used for the various role players also made it increasingly difficult to truly establish who had been foregrounded and included and who had been backgrounded and silenced. Were the terms used purposefully to create the illusion that everyone has been included in the narrative, or was it a genuine oversight? Using multiple terms for one group of people is counterproductive in creating meaning when teaching historical events. Users need consistency for the master narrative to make sense. This can be likened to constantly changing the name of the main character in a major novel.

In terms of the theory of silences and otherness, there is no acknowledgement of the lives lost during the Igbo massacres before the secession in the North, nor any mention of the lives lost on both sides during the civil war. Thus, the victims of the massacres, as well as the Biafran War, can be seen as the others and silenced. During the Nigerian-Biafran War, the primary division was along ethnic and regional lines and, as such, the conflict emerged as a result of tensions between the Igbo people, who felt marginalised and disadvantaged in the political and economic structure of Nigeria and the Federal Government led by General Gowon. In the master narrative of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the Igbo could be seen as the other from the

perspective of the Nigerian government and other ethnic groups, particularly the Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani. The Igbo were often perceived as the other during the conflict, and, as such, the perception was rooted in the secessionist move by the Igbo to create the Republic of Biafra, challenging the unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. This is a classic us versus them scenario in terms of ethnic and regional divisions as perpetuated by the Nigerian government in the master narrative.

Due to the fact that the historiography of the Nigerian-Biafran War is not depicted in the same way in each textbook and the accounts of the historical event could not be agreed upon, by dint of collective memory and acknowledgement, it becomes controversial. For something to be considered non-controversial, complete transparency is needed, and, in the case of Textbook 1 and the Biafran War, this was not the case. Statements are made that seem out of place and most certainly out of historical context. These were alluded to previously in this analysis, which begs the question, what have we learnt about the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 1?

The historiography does not blame the colonial rule of Britain, nor does it lay blame at the feet of Igbo leader Ojukwu, although it does depict him as a coward as he runs off before having to surrender Biafra to the Nigerian Federal Government. What is telling is the fact that Gowon's twelve-state structure cut the Igbo off from regions that were rich in producing oil as well as the port city of Harcourt, which was a major factor in Ojukwu's secessionist plan. Similarly, later in the section, the oil-rich areas are mentioned again when the Federal troops seize "the vital oil terminal" (p. 268) from the secessionists. Was it then not part of the plan by the Federal Government to gain control of areas that would preserve the "envisaged economic and other advantages accruing from it [twelve-state structure]" (p. 267)?

Dark history refers to events in the past that deal (to varying degrees) with the macabre and sinister, which can often be viewed in a negative light. The question we then need to ask is whether Textbook 1 deals with the Biafran War in a macabre and sinister way. The simple answer is no. Instead, Textbook 1 almost romanticises the conflict by stating what both sides did well but fails to mention the hundreds of deaths that were a direct result of the Biafran War. Thus, this historical event, while a dark period in history, cannot be deemed a dark historical event within the framework of Textbook 1.

The third level of analysis is the theorisation aspect of all the selected Nigerian textbooks, which is discussed at the end of the chapter.

5.3 Overview and analysis of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 2

Textbook 2, *A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*, was first published in May 1974. It was reprinted twice in 1975, reprinted in 1976 and March 1978, revised in 1981, and “revised and enlarged” in 1984. The textbook is printed on paper that has a translucent appearance and a slightly glossy feel to it. It consists of 263 pages and 23 chapters. Of the 263 pages, the last five pages are noted as “some guiding questions”, with 101 questions that span the 23 chapters of content. Chapter 19 deals with political developments in Nigeria from 1900 to 1979. In this chapter, there are subheadings, although none specifically refer to the Nigerian-Biafran War from 1967 to 1970 directly. Thus, the chapter was read in its entirety (pp.198-215).⁴ Two pages in Chapter 19, titled “Nigeria since the Civil War” (pp.205-206), mention civil war but do not actually discuss or explain it. Chapter 20 deals with economic developments in Nigeria. There are two pages in Chapter 20 titled “Economic developments in post-war Nigeria” (pp.216-217) that refer to “post-war Nigeria”. However, there is no mention of Biafra, although it is alluded to as “civil war”.

In the foreword to *A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*, a former editor notes that the textbook is suitable for high school students preparing for school certificate as well as the General Certificate of Education examinations:

One of the indispensable needs of students reading any particular book for examination purposes is a language simple enough to transmit what the author is saying to the user. Here then, the author has chosen his words in such a wonderful way to make the reading highly appealing ... A lot of textbooks hardly expatiate on the political aspect of Wests Africa History (Omoju in Abiola, 1984: foreword).

Not only can this textbook be used by students to assist them in examination preparation, but Omoju goes on to say that even “for lazy students, this is a book that is bound to make all history students fall in love with the subject” (foreword). Hence, by simply reading Textbook 2, the assumption is that it is easy to understand, and users will have a full grasp of the content and gain great enjoyment from the subject.

⁴ In the analysis of Textbook 2, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as was written in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading, I will simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

In the preface to Textbook 2, the author notes that the purpose of this textbook is to ensure that history from the continent of Africa is written from an Afrocentric perspective to dispel earlier Eurocentric writing about Nigeria and Africa in general:

The aim of dispelling the erroneous belief of certain authors, particularly from other continents, that Africa, of which West Africa forms an integral part and which was described as a “dark continent”, had no past. Efforts have been made to explain that the Africans, like other races, had their own tradition, cultures, customs, civilisation and mode of life which were, very unfortunately, disturbed by the European’s activities in the continent (Abiola, 1984: n.p.).

Therefore, Textbook 2 lays out that part of its purpose is to enlighten scholars and users alike about the history of Western Africa from an Afrocentric perspective.

Before delving into the descriptive analysis of Textbook 2, it should be mentioned that I undertook a cursory reading to pinpoint where the textbook spoke of civil war or the Biafran War, as there was no signposting in the form of subheadings to specify the period of the Biafran War, namely 1967–1970. On a cursory reading, I discovered several pages that spanned Chapters 19, 20, and beyond (pp. 205-206, 216-217, and 223).

5.3.1 Textbook 2 Level 1: Descriptive analysis

The section on the Nigerian-Biafran War was first analysed through descriptive means as per Polkinghorne’s (1995) narrative configuration and Chatman’s (1978) distinction between story (the events or content) and narrative (the way the story is presented). During the first level of analysis, the various narrative elements were described, and the themes that emerged from the text were identified and analysed. The narrative elements gleaned from Textbook 2 are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Nigeria – Textbook 2: *A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*

NIGERIA: Textbook 2 <i>A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day</i>	
Title of narrative	Chapter 19 – Nigeria since the Civil War Chapter 20 – Economic developments in post-war Nigeria Specific pages (p. 223)
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent groups:</u> Federal Military Government [1] Nigerian Army [1] Nigerians [2] <u>Individual:</u> Lt. Col. Phillip Effiong [1] Ojukwu [1]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Cities/Towns/Regions:</u> Lagos <u>Countries:</u> Nigeria Republic of Biafra
Events	10 January 1970 12 October 1970 Nigeria since the civil war
Concepts	Coup d'état Nigeria Civil strife War
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	None Questions at the end of the textbook Passages of text only

The data depicted in Table 6 is discussed in the next section as part of the descriptive analysis of the narrative elements found in Textbook 2.

5.3.1.1 Characters

The characters involved in the Nigerian-Biafran War in Chapter 19 (pp. 205-206), Chapter 20 (pp. 216-217), and page 223 of Textbook 2 can be categorised into prominent groups and

individuals. While I looked specifically at the Nigerian-Biafran War, there were other parts in these chapters, as well as other chapters of this textbook, that I did not analyse. To this end, in the subsections of Chapters 19 and 20 of Textbook 2, the characters who appear are mentioned in passing as the story unfolds. The prominent groups that emerge from the master narrative about the Nigerian-Biafran War are the “Nigerian army” (p. 205), the “Federal Military Government” (p. 205), and “Nigerians” (p. 217).

These characters play an important role in the master narrative that is presented, showcasing a very pro-Nigerian stance. It should be noted that the Biafran and Igbo sides were not signposted outright; mere inferences were made using pronouns such as “their ill-fated Empire” (p. 205) and “all those who took up arms against her [Nigeria]” (p. 205) thus reinforcing that the master narrative is clearly biased towards Nigeria and against Biafra. The groups in Textbook 2 are referred to as a faceless collective instead of individuals, with Nigeria simply reacting to its advances. This reinforces a narrative of violence and aggression from Biafra. At no point are these prominent groups placed in historical context in this section. From early on in the master narrative, the scene is set for Nigeria to be viewed as the side of the conflict that should be supported while Biafra is seen as the underdog, that is, as “ill-fated” (p. 205).

Thus, Biafra is viewed as inferior to Nigeria. Semantics indicate that Nigeria demonstrated generosity by forgiving the Igbo and other people of Biafra by “allow[ing] them to get back all their properties and jobs after the war” (p. 205). This elicits a narrative of power and oppression in which the Nigerians have the upper hand against the Igbo and laud the victory over them. A breakaway group is always seen as the troublemakers. Thus, the Igbo are seen as “the rebels [that] lost the war, [and] they [the Nigerians] won the peace” (p. 205). The dissatisfied Igbo wanted change in terms of how the country was run but as the aggressors and the agitators of the civil war, Nigeria responded to the troublemakers in order to restore law and order. The narrative implies that the Nigerians were quick to respond to the aggression but slow to punish and rather extended peace towards the Igbo after the Nigerian-Biafran War.

The only individual characters that are referred to in Chapter 19 of *A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day* are “Ojukwu” (p. 205) and “Lt. Col. Phillip Effiong” (p. 205). Ojukwu was the leader and president of Biafra from 1967 to 1970. Textbook 2 refers to him in a negative manner, stating that he is cowardly “as a result of Ojukwu’s sudden disappearance from the country, leaving his arch-Lieutenant, Lt. Col. Phillip Effiong ... to surrender their ill-fated Empire (Republic of Biafra) to the Federal Military Government” (p. 205). Once again, no historical context is provided, nor are the characters explained. What is interesting to note is that Ojukwu’s decision to hand over power to Effiong was calculated and not simply done on a whim. Ojukwu realised that Biafra was in a dire situation and that defeat

in the civil war was inevitable; thus, facing military pressure, he handed over power to his deputy as part of an attempt to seek a negotiated settlement and bring an end to the conflict. For his safety and to avoid possible persecution from the Nigerian government, Ojukwu went into exile after handing over his responsibilities. Hence, his exile was a strategic move. However, Textbook 2 makes out that Ojukwu absconded from his responsibilities and acted in a cowardly manner. Effiong is, in fact, the only role player who is addressed by his military rank, thereby denoting his importance. This rank was, however, bestowed on him when he served in the Nigerian army, so the word choice is telling. Was this rank noted out of respect for him or ridicule? He was only able to lead a group to victory under the Nigerian army, but now, as part of the secessionist group, he could and had to surrender to Nigeria.

The narrative that the Igbo or Biafrans were to blame for the conflict is perpetuated further in the subsection titled “Economic development in post-war Nigeria” (p. 216), with the text stating multiple times that the civil war was “unfortunate”. The narrative is very pro-Nigerian, as it was in the previous chapter. Chapter 20 also showcases that it was Nigeria that rebuilt and reconstructed the country after the damage and destruction caused by the “unfortunate war”, and it was only after the spirit of reconciliation emerged that the country was placed on a firm footing again (p. 206). While only mentioned fleetingly in passing, there is no real depth to the involvement of the Igbo in the Biafran War.

5.3.1.2 Setting (political and social)

The geographical setting for the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 2 is that of Nigeria as a geographical, political unit and Biafra as the breakaway state. Most of the plot takes place in Nigeria, which is forefronted in the master narrative, while Biafra is merely alluded to as an “ill-fated Empire” (p. 205). No further explanation is given; the places are merely mentioned in the narrative. The city of Lagos is also mentioned as the place where the surrender of the Republic of Biafra took place, showing the power of the Nigerian Federal Government.

5.3.1.3 Plot

The basic plot of Textbook 2 can be simplistically summed up as a narrative that contains two opponents: one is clearly the underdog not only due to its size but also due to the name reference. The master narrative of Textbook 2 forefronts Nigeria prominently, thus signifying that it meant more than Biafra. The master narrative does not even skim the surface of the actual historical event and looks predominantly at the aftermath; hence, the user is left to make inferences. The focus is more economically driven, showcasing how Nigeria rebuilt and repaired the damage caused by the Nigerian-Biafran War.

5.3.1.4 Master narrative

The master narrative of Textbook 2 is non-linear, as it does not follow a chronological order in terms of events, time, or sequence. Instead of exploring the Nigerian-Biafran War, Textbook 2's master narrative involves flashbacks where civil war is alluded to but not delved into. The focus is the aftermath thereof, thus lending itself to an unconventional storytelling technique.

The master narrative espouses a hero complex for Nigeria in terms of their generosity and amnesty towards Biafra despite all the destruction that led to the near crippling of its economy. Nigeria is denoted as "the bigger person" by brushing off the destruction, extending an olive branch to Biafra, and then focusing on reconciliation and reconstruction. There is no mention of the deaths of Biafrans and Nigerians alike.

5.3.1.5 Events

Nigeria after the civil war and the surrender of Biafra are the only events discussed in this section of Chapter 19. As previously mentioned, the Nigerian-Biafran War is not explored in terms of a historical time frame nor placed into a significant historical context with regard to other events. However, the focus is on the period after the conflict and what Nigeria did to repair the country. Emphasis is placed on two dates: 10 January 1970 as the date the "civil strife" (p. 205) came to an end due to Ojukwu's retreat and 12 October 1970 as the date on which the official surrender ceremony took place in Lagos. A disjointed narrative consequently emerges, as mentioned previously.

5.3.1.6 Concepts

In Textbook 2, first-order concepts such as "Nigeria civil strife" (p. 205), "war" (pp. 205, 216, 223), and "coup d'état" (p. 257) are used. However, these concepts are merely stated and are not used to help the user understand either what these concepts mean or how they impact the event being written about. Such concepts refer to the idea of violence, conflict, and war. In terms of second-order concepts, the idea of cause and effect is inferred, as the master narrative looks at what the Republic of Biafra did by trying to secede, to which Nigeria only responded. However, chronology, empathic understanding, continuity and change, and the use of evidence are not explored.

5.3.1.7 Medium of knowledge

In Chapters 19 and 20, in terms of the medium of knowledge, there are no visuals. The textual elements are simply passages of text. In terms of the activities, there is a set of questions at the end of the textbook titled “Some guiding questions” (pp. 259-263). There are 101 questions related to the contents of Textbook 2. Of the 101 questions, one question can be loosely linked to the Nigerian-Biafran War. However, the question does not focus solely on the civil war. Question 74 asks users of Textbook 2 to “trace the political developments in Nigeria between 1960 and 1973” (p. 262). Bearing in mind that the Nigerian-Biafran War took place between 1967 and 1970, the user could include the civil war as part of their answer. There is also no memorandum or guidelines to answer these 101 questions.

5.3.1.8 Themes

To conclude the descriptive level of analysis, I discuss themes that emerged from Textbook 2. A theme of power explores the dynamics of leadership, governance, and the pursuit of authority that can lead to conflict and instability. Nigeria and the Federal Military Government are shown to be in a position of power and control over the weaker Biafra. This idea of the power held over the Biafrans can also be seen in the master narrative, where Nigeria extends grace to those who “went against” it in the conflict by offering them their jobs and properties that were held before the conflict broke out, leading to a theme of post-war reconstruction. The process of rebuilding and reconstructing Nigeria as a geopolitical unit is a central theme, particularly in Chapter 20 of Textbook 2, which focuses heavily on the economic development of Nigeria post-war. This involves not only physical reconstruction but also addressing political, social, and economic issues to prevent the recurrence of conflict. Nation-building and reconciliation are part of the theme of post-war reconstruction. What should be noted is that there is no mention of any international involvement or external forces of assistance in Textbook 2. Neither is there any mention of any form of human suffering.

5.3.2 Textbook 2 Level 2: Analytical analysis

The second level of analysis of Textbook 2, *A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*, delves into the story behind the story. This involves examining the historiographical story, investigating the presence of multiple perspectives, determining what aspects have been emphasised or marginalised, and exploring the treatment of otherness and the manner in which it is addressed. Additionally, this stage incorporates insights from existing literature on textbooks, history textbooks, and dark history and applies this knowledge to aspects that were previously undisclosed but surfaced during the analysis.

In terms of the historiography of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 2, the choice of characters included in the master narrative is indicative of whose perspective is being conveyed. The master narrative is clear – the Nigerian Federal Government acted in the best interests of the Nigerian people by responding to the aggression of the Igbo and Biafra. Further to this one-dimensional slant, Nigeria was placed in a position of power and dominance once Biafra's attempt to maintain its secession failed. Instead of reacting punitively towards the Igbo and Biafra, Nigeria is portrayed as graciously allowing the inference of blame for the Nigerian-Biafran War to lie with the Igbos as the text constantly refers to the “unfortunate war” (p. 206) being started by the Igbos. The historiography also promotes the Nigerians as firm advocates for nation-building and unity by forgiving the Igbo and reintegrating them into society rather than punishing them. Therefore, Nigeria and the Nigerian Military Government are forefronted, and Biafra and the Igbo are backgrounded. The experiences of the Igbo are silenced and marginalised.

It should be mentioned that the Nigerian-Biafran War was not covered outright or discussed in any detail in Textbook 2. The subsection being dealt with is that of “Nigeria since the civil war” (p. 205). Interestingly, the subsection starts with, “As stated earlier, the Nigeria civil strife came to an end on January 10” (p. 205); however, I combed through the textbook and could find no earlier reference to the Nigerian-Biafran War. Thus, the actual historical event is not discussed; it is simply alluded to, with the focus being on what happened afterwards. As mentioned previously, the dominant position of Nigeria is at the forefront, while Biafra is silenced and only mentioned in terms of pronouns, for example, “those who took up arms against her [Nigeria]” (p. 205), showcasing the inferiority of the Biafrans. To this end, the Igbo themselves were silenced in their entirety as an ethnic group in Nigeria as they are not mentioned once outright. The power and dominance of Nigeria are forefronted, and there is no ambiguity in the master narrative.

Similar to Textbook 1, Textbook 2, *A Textbook of West African History. A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*, does not present multiple perspectives of the historical event that is the Nigerian-Biafran War. Instead, a disjointed master narrative appears that switches direction throughout the section. The perspective presented skims the surface of the complexities of the civil war by not addressing the historical event outright but rather focusing on the after-effects and the rebuilding of the nation of Nigeria and laying the blame on Biafra for causing the civil war in the first place. Interestingly, the end of the civil war is alluded to. Biafra's Ojukwu's disappearance and handing over of power to Effiong was the beginning of the end for Biafra, signalling to the Federal Military Government that Biafra would be ready to surrender. To this end, Nigeria is always referred to in terms of positions of power, “Federal Military Government”

(p. 205), and “Nigerian Army” (p. 205) when the civil war is mentioned. However, when the notion of nation-building and forgiving “those who took up arms against her [Nigeria]” (p. 205) is brought to the fore, Nigeria and Nigerians are referred to as “Nigerians” (p. 205) in a more nuanced and non-threatening manner. Therefore, from a multi-perspective point of view, the Nigerians are presented from more than one perspective – fierce and loyal protectors but also level-headed and forgiving nation-builders, as Nigeria’s involvement was purely reactionary to that of Biafra. Further in Chapter 19 and subsequently, in Chapter 20, the master narrative has a strong shift towards “reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction” (p. 205), although it mainly focuses on reconstruction, showcasing the hard work the Nigerians have had to endure to reposition Nigeria back to her former glory as a result of the “tragic ... unfortunate war” (pp. 205-206) and the “civil war hindered the pace of development” (p. 223) and “left behind untold ravage” (p. 216).

The fact that different terms are used for Nigeria in Textbook 2 also makes it difficult to truly establish who has been foregrounded and included and who has been backgrounded and silenced. Were the terms used purposefully to create the illusion that everyone has been included in the narrative, or was it a genuine oversight? Using multiple terms for one group of people is counterproductive when creating meaning in the teaching of historical events. Users need consistency for the master narrative to make sense.

In terms of the theory of silences and otherness, there is no acknowledgement of the Igbo nor the lives lost during the Igbo massacres before the secession in the North, nor is any mention made of the lives lost on both sides during the Nigerian-Biafran War. Thus, the Igbo, who were the victims of the massacres and the Nigerian-Biafran War, can be seen as the others and silenced. Other ethnic groups in Nigeria are also not mentioned in Textbook 2, and the entirety of the master narrative revolves around Nigeria and Biafra in a very abstract manner. A classic us versus them scenario is perpetuated by the Nigerian government in the master narrative. Despite the fact that Textbook 2 claims to have discussed the “Nigeria civil strife” (p. 205) earlier in the textbook, this was not the case. The focal point (as the chapter is named was “Nigeria since the civil war”) is thus not the civil war itself, which was not seen to be of any great importance; rather, the reunification process and rebuilding, which was forefronted (Achebe, 1983; Campbell, 2013; Falola, 1999).

Due to the fact that the historiography of the Nigerian-Biafran War cannot possibly be depicted the same way in each textbook, it becomes controversial as the accounts of the historical event cannot be agreed upon by dint of collective memory and acknowledgement. For something to be considered non-controversial, complete transparency is needed, and in the case of Textbook 2 and the Nigerian-Biafran War, this was not the case, as the user is left

with many questions surrounding the social, economic, and political impact of the civil strife. Statements are made that seem out of place and most certainly out of historical context, with a distinct bias towards Nigeria. These have already been alluded to previously in this analysis.

This begs the question, what have we learnt about the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 2? The historiography blames Biafra for the Nigerian-Biafran War, labelling it as an “unfortunate war” (p. 216). Textbook 2 notes that the disappearance and cowardice of Igbo leader Ojukwu led to the surrender of Biafra as Effiong was not powerful enough (despite having previously been part of the Nigerian army) to keep the Nigerian Military Government at bay.

In terms of dark history and the Nigerian-Biafran War, as presented in Textbook 2, the historical event is not dealt with in a macabre and sinister manner. Instead, the approach to Textbook 2 is rather nuanced and muted. There are minimal facts presented, and the historical event is skirted around. Thus, this historical event, while a dark period in history, cannot be deemed a dark historical event within the framework of Textbook 2.

The third level of analysis is the theorisation. Here, I draw my conclusions about the texts analysed and discuss their place on the shaded continuum of dark history and the pendulum. In addition to this, I also attempt to answer my research question: Why was the Nigerian-Biafran War a dark history event, and why was otherness engaged with in this manner? The summations and theorisations for all the selected Nigerian textbooks are discussed at the end of the chapter once both the textbooks have been analysed descriptively and analytically.

5.4 Overview and analysis of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 3

Textbook 3, *Countdown Government. Revised Edition* was first published in 1991. Subsequently, this textbook was also reprinted in 1997, 1998, and 2000 before it was revised in 2004. Since the revision, Textbook 3 was reprinted in 2007 and 2010 before being revised yet again in 2013. It has been reprinted once since the last revision in 2019. The textbook consists of 346 pages and 29 chapters. Each chapter ends with a short section on “Objective Questions”, “Essay Questions”, and “Answers to Objective Questions” (p. ix). In addition to having revision questions at the end of each chapter, the appendix of Textbook 3 features a mock examination of both Papers 1 and 2 of the West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE).

In terms of the Nigerian-Biafran War, Chapter 26 of Textbook 3 is titled “Major Political Crises in Nigeria” (p. ix), and one of the subsections in this chapter, Chapter 26.7, is titled “The Nigerian Civil War 1967–1970” (p. ix) of which one-and-a-half pages refer to the Nigerian-

Biafran War (pp. 271-273).⁵ Chapter 27 is titled “Military Rule in Nigeria” (p. 282), and subsection 27.2 is titled “The period of 1966–1975” (p. 282). A subheading in this subsection is titled “Events during Gowon’s Military Rule” (p. 283), and points c) and d) deal with the Nigerian-Biafran War. Point c) is titled “The secession attempt by Biafra” (p.284), while point d) is titled “The Civil War and the Surrender of Biafra” (p. 284). The two entries that form part of Chapter 27 are reduced to bullet point entries. A clear distinction is made between these two subheadings that the Biafran secession and the civil war were either two separate things or were not related.

Countdown Government is written almost in bullet point form with simplistic language aimed at being “excellent value as a rapid revisions machine” (back cover). There are no visual media in the entire textbook. Textbook 3 has been designed to be an “integrated and coordinated text/revision package that is designed for students’ resounding success in WASSCE, SSCE [Senior School Certificate Examination], NECO [National Examinations Council] and UTME [Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination]” (back cover). Hence, the authors note the suitability of Textbook 3 for high school students. In addition to being suitable for high school students, the authors further indicate that the textbook is a “condensation of all important facts in each subject in a simple and easily understood manner” (back cover) and that Textbook 3 would be “of tremendous value as an advance preparatory tool” (back cover) as there are numerous practice exercises, questions and essay topics for users to revise.

5.4.1 Textbook 3 Level 1: Descriptive analysis

The first level of analysis conducted for the section on the Nigerian-Biafran War is descriptive as per Polkinghorne’s (1995) narrative configuration and Chatman’s (1978) distinction between story (the events or content) and narrative (the way the story is presented). In the first level of analysis, the various narrative elements are described, and the themes that emerge from the text are surmised. The narrative elements gleaned from Textbook 3 are presented in Table 7.

⁵ In the analysis of Textbook 3, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as is in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading I will simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

Table 7: Nigeria – Textbook 3: *Countdown Government. Revised Edition*

NIGERIA: Textbook 3 <i>Countdown Government. Revised Edition</i>	
Title of narrative	Chapter 26: Major Political Crises in Nigeria 26.7 – The Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 Chapter 27: Military Rule in Nigeria 27.2 – The Period 1966-1975 c) The Secession Attempt by Biafra d) The Civil War and the Surrender of Biafra
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent:</u> Biafran forces [2] Federal Military Government [3] Igbos [3] Nigerian forces [1] Nigerians [2] Northerners [1] Secessionists [1] Southerners [1] <u>Individual:</u> Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu [7] General Aguiyi-Ironsi [2] Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon [6]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Cities/Towns:</u> Addis Ababa Kampala London Monrovia Niamey The North <u>Region/State:</u> Eastern Nigeria Eastern Region <u>Countries:</u> Biafra Nigeria

	Ghana
Events	Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 The Civil War and the Surrender of Biafra The Secession Attempt by Biafra
Concepts	Civil war Decree No. 8 Mass killings Secession State of emergency Unitary state War
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	None 1 [Multiple Choice Questions (MCQ)] Paragraphs of text and some bullet points

5.4.1.1 Characters

The characters involved in the Nigerian-Biafran War in Chapter 26.7–The Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970 (pp. 271-272) and Chapter 27–Military Rule in Nigeria (p. 284) of Textbook 3 can be categorised into prominent groups and individuals. While I looked specifically at the Nigerian-Biafran War, there were other parts in these chapters, as well as other whole chapters of this textbook, that I did not analyse. To this end, in the subsections of Chapters 26 and 27, respectively, that I analysed, the characters that appear are mentioned in passing as the story unfolds. However, unlike Textbooks 1 and 2, Textbook 3, *Countdown Government*, does attempt to place the characters in a historical context in this section.

The prominent groups that emerge from the master narrative about the Nigerian-Biafran War are those encamped on two distinct sides: the North and the South. These prominent groups play an important role in the master narrative that is presented, showcasing a very pro-Nigeria stance. No descriptions are offered for these terms, and it is only upon analysis of the section and reading the master narrative multiple times that I understood that these various terms were meant for one group of people. Thus, these prominent groups can be seen as faceless collectives rather than individuals.

The North, in Textbook 2, refers to Nigeria and, as such, is labelled as the “Federal Military Government” (p. 284), “Nigerian forces” (p. 272), “Nigerians” (p. 272), and “Northerners” (p. 271). The fact that multiple terms are used to mean the same thing is confusing and hinders the process of constructing meaning for users. The Nigerian side is portrayed as reactionary to the advancements of the Biafrans as the Federal Military Government “decided to crush the secession by force” (p. 284) after the peaceful attempts failed. A breakaway group is always seen as troublemakers as they are generally dissatisfied with the running of the country as a whole and want change. On the other hand, the South denotes Biafra and the Igbo, and as such, are labelled as the “Biafran forces” (p. 272), “Igbos” (p. 271), “secessionists” (p. 272), and “Southerners” (p. 271). The Igbo or Biafran forces are clearly denoted as the aggressors in the context of the civil war as “all efforts to settle the problems peacefully failed” (p. 284) despite Nigeria noting the secession as “illegal” (p. 284).

Thus, within this master narrative, the Igbo or Biafra are seen in an unfavourable light. Further to this, the terms “secessionists” (p. 272) and “forces” (pp. 271-272, 284) are also used to describe Biafra, indicating a narrative of aggression. Despite being portrayed as aggressors and agitators of war, it is also acknowledged that one of the “remote causes” (p. 271) of the Nigerian-Biafran War was the “massive killings of the Igbos in the North” (p. 271) showcasing a narrative of victimisation. However, the victimisation is somewhat justified by noting the “fear of a possible domination” (p. 271) of the Northerners, which led them to defend themselves against the Igbo, thus painting the Igbo or Biafrans as the victims but also as the instigators of the perceived conflict. The portrayal of the characters is problematic as there is a lack of consistency in terms of naming the characters. As explained above, multiple terms are used to describe the same groups, and thus, the user is not able to see the progression of one character throughout the entire master narrative, which makes it feel disjointed. The plot seems to jump constantly from one name to another. In terms of reinforcing a narrative, consistency is key in terms of character development.

The narrative that the Igbo or Biafrans were to blame for the conflict is perpetuated further under the subsections “Attempts made to prevent the conflict” (p. 272) and “The secession attempt by Biafra” (p. 284) where the text states that the Nigerians had tried endlessly to avoid conflict and the civil war was the result of a “serious long-standing constitutional crisis” (p. 272). It was such a constitutional crisis that despite calling for multiple meetings around the world, “Ghana, ... London, Kampala, Niamey, Addis Ababa, and Monrovia” (p. 272), the Igbo refused to “settle the problem peacefully” (p. 284). Ultimately, the Nigerian Military Government met the Igbo surrender with compassion instead of violence as this was in “the

supreme interest of the nation [and they] cared for all Nigerians” (p. 284), highlighting a narrative of nation-building and reconciliation.

Individual characters appear in Textbook 3 under the subsection “Principal actors” (p. 272). These individual characters include Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, General Aguiyi-Ironsi, and Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon. These historical characters are the only ones mentioned by name; the rest of the groups or people involved in the Nigerian-Biafran War remain nameless and faceless. What is interesting to note is that all three men are listed by their military rank in Textbook 3. Furthermore, Ojukwu and Gowon are also listed as “Generals” (p. 272) later in the passage. This goes to show that from a perspective of military rank, the men are evenly matched and equally respected. Ironsi and Gowon were both leaders of Nigeria at one point, and Ojukwu was the leader of Biafra when the rebellion started in 1966. Only being mentioned fleetingly, there is no real depth to their involvement in the Nigerian-Biafran War. In some instances, Ojukwu is referred to as the “Eastern Nigeria governor” (pp. 271-272, 284). This creates ambiguity when trying to place the various characters into context as his political title rather than his name is used. From this point on in the text, the characters are mentioned collectively as either Biafra or the Federal Military Government.

5.4.1.2 Setting (political and social)

The focus of the geographical setting for the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 3 is Nigeria as a geographical and political unit. While there are other countries mentioned on page 272, as stated previously, this was purely to illustrate that Nigeria attempted multiple peacekeeping meetings but to no avail, reinforcing Biafra as the aggressor. The fact that so much of the limited narrative revolves around the geographical aspect in terms of the various regions of Nigeria makes the master narrative difficult to follow, as various names and regions are used to describe the two sides of the conflict instead of the uniformity of a singular name for each side. Areas such as “the South” (p. 271) and “the North” (p. 271) denote the two sides of the conflict. In addition, Textbook 3 describes “Eastern Nigeria” (pp. 271-272, 284) and the “Eastern Region” (p. 284) as well as “Nigeria” (pp. 271-272, 284) and “Republic of Biafra” (p. 284). What makes the geographical setting complex is that many regions in Nigeria are mentioned but not explained or elaborated on. The master narrative is simply littered with regions, states, and countries, which detracts from the actual historical event.

5.4.1.3 Plot

The basic plot of Textbook 3, *Countdown Government*, can be simplistically summed up as a narrative that contains two opponents: one is the clear aggressor and the other the attempter at peace and then the retaliator. The larger opponent is then forced to rethink its strategy to

overcome the smaller opponent, which it manages to do in the end, after which it focuses on nation-building and reabsorption. This is unpacked in more detail below.

According to Textbook 3, the start of the Nigerian-Biafran War was a result of a long-standing constitutional crisis, which describes the “nature of the war” (p. 272). Predating the nature of the war were “remote causes” (p.271), which are listed in bullet-point form, starting with Ironsi’s “declaration of a unitary state” in 1966 and the fear by the Northerners of the Igbo taking control, leading to the massacre of the Igbos in September and October of 1966. In addition, the remote causes also point to the counter-coup and seizure of power by Gowon over Ironsi, which “Ojukwu refused to recognise” (p. 271). Therefore, these remote causes can be seen as the situational circumstances that Nigeria found itself in before Ojukwu seceded from Nigeria and proclaimed Biafra a republic. In addition to the remote causes, Textbook 3 also contains a subsection titled “Immediate causes” (p. 272), a catalyst of bullet points, which act as triggers of the Nigerian-Biafran War. These catalysts include Gowon’s “Decree No. 8” (p. 272), which gave the Nigerian government more autonomy to make decisions from a federal perspective and contravened the agreement made previously in Ghana between the two warring sides. Biafra’s declaration as a “Sovereign State” (p. 272) by Ojukwu, Nigeria’s declaration of a “state of emergency” (p. 272) and finally, the declaration of “total war” (p. 272) on Nigeria by Ojukwu. The causes, both remote and immediate, seem to suggest that everything Nigeria put in place was a safeguard against the advances of Biafra, and though they (Nigeria) tried to steer clear of a warring path, Biafra was dead set against peace and wanted war. The declaration of “total war” (p. 272) by Ojukwu almost vilifies him.

5.4.1.4 Master narrative

The reason that this master narrative appears to be non-linear is that it is disjointed, and the historical events are not clarified nor explored. The content is not clear but rather bullet-pointed using Roman numerals under each separate subsection heading. The master narrative merely skims the surface of the actual historical event, and the user is left to draw their own inferences. The master narrative then moves to an explanation of the consequences of the Nigerian-Biafran War, predominantly through economic and social means. Again, these points are presented in the form of bullet points. The human loss of life is merely summed up as “material and human wastage” (p. 272). Nothing is humanised but rather stated that “one million lives on both sides” (p. 272). The biggest emphasis is placed on monetary loss, with the daily cost of war listed as “\$158,000” for a war that “many thought could not last one year finally lasted thirty months” (p. 272), as well as the cost of reconstruction to the war-ravaged areas of Nigeria.

The master narrative of Textbook 3 is not only non-linear but also dualistic. It represents both sides and concludes with how peace was reached. Despite Biafra being able to hold on for so long to their secessionist plans, they were ultimately, as suggested by the text, no match for the Federal Military Government. Nigeria had the best interest of the people at heart, so much so that a subsection titled “Way of preventing future occurrence” (pp. 272-273) lists four ways to avoid civil war from occurring again. First, in order to hinder civil war, the domination of a specific tribe should be avoided. Secondly, recognition should be given to tribal groups regardless of their status in society. Thirdly, national unity should be encouraged rather than solely focusing on tribal lines. Finally, the avoidance of religious conflict could ensure that civil war does not break out in Nigeria again.

The end of the Nigerian-Biafran War is noted in such a way that the master narrative gives Nigeria credit for “crush[ing] the secession by force” (p. 284) and validates their response as reactionary to the aggressive advances of Biafra. However, an inference can be made that instead of punishing the aggressors, a form of assimilation takes place as the victory of the Federal Military Government is made clear as well as noting that in the supreme interest of the nation, the Federal Military Government cared for all Nigerians who were involved in the bitter experience of war [and since the war] there has been peace in the country and free movement” (p. 284). Thus, since the focus of Nigeria has been to promote unity, the damage of the war cannot live on in the collective memory of the people. Therefore, the ending of Textbook 3, which is similar to that of Textbook 1, is written in such a way that the historical ending is romanticised.

5.4.1.5 Events

There is one event discussed in the subsection analysed in Textbook 3, *Countdown Government*, the Nigerian-Biafran War, although it has three different names: the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970, the Civil War and surrender of Biafra, and the secession attempt by Biafra. These are not explored in terms of a historical time frame nor placed into a significant historical context with regard to other events. Throughout the section, the Nigerian-Biafran War is referred to as a “civil war”. A disjointed narrative consequently emerges, as mentioned previously.

5.4.1.6 Concepts

In Textbook 3, first-order concepts such as “civil war” (pp. 271-272, 284), “mass killings” (p. 272), “secession” (p. 284), “state of emergency” (p. 272), “unitary state” (p. 271), and “war” (pp. 271-272, 284) are used. These concepts are, however, merely stated and are not used

to help the user understand either what these concepts mean or how they impact the event being written about. Such concepts refer to the idea of victimisation and violence. In terms of second-order concepts, the idea of cause and effect is inferred as the master narrative looks at something Gowon did and then at the response of Ojukwu. However, chronology, empathic understanding, continuity and change, and the use of evidence are not explored.

5.4.1.7 Medium of knowledge

In the subsection dealing with the Nigerian-Biafran War, there are no visual images. The knowledge is presented as text only and is mainly summarised in the form of bullet points. In terms of the activities, there is an activity at the end of every chapter of Textbook 3, which is comprised of MCQs and essay questions to act as revision and consolidation for users. Of the 10 MCQs, one question related directly to the Nigerian-Biafran War:

The Nigerian Civil War which followed was caused by one of the following:

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">A. Biafra was ripe for independence.B. Eastern Region was no part of Nigeria.C. Britain supported the Igbos.D. Killing of Igbos in the North between May and September 1966. |
|---|

In terms of the essay questions, of the six essay questions, one essay dealt with the Nigerian-Biafran War:

Discuss any five major crises that led to the Nigerian Civil War. What were the consequences of the Civil War?

The questions are designed in such a way that the user is summarising what is written in the text and is not engaging with it. The answer key is only provided for the MCQs and not for the essay questions; thus, the users would not be able to obtain any guidance.

5.4.1.8 Themes

To conclude the descriptive level of analysis, I discuss the themes that emerged from Textbook 3. A theme of power and resistance reverberates intensely within *Countdown Government* as the Nigerian Federal Military Government took control of the secessionist Biafrans and dealt with the problem swiftly to end the civil war. The power exuded by the Federal Government was only brought forward as a result of the Biafrans being the aggressor. Thus, the master narrative showcases Nigeria as simply defending itself against Biafra. The acts of resistance against the Nigerian Federal Government by the Igbo and Biafra indicate

the challenge of authority or the fight against injustice. This idea of power held over the Biafrans can also be seen in the master narrative where Nigeria extends grace to those who “went against” her in the conflict by offering them their jobs and properties back that were held before the conflict broke out, leading to a theme of post-war reconstruction. Lessons are also learnt from the civil war to avoid such conflict in the future. Through the trauma emerges resilience as the nation of Nigeria overcomes the adversity of secession to recreate a “united” Nigeria, as Textbook 3 suggests, highlighting their ability to endure and recover. Through national unity and despite diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, such a recurrence of conflict should be avoided. The master narrative of Textbook 3 explored certain aspects of the Nigerian-Biafran War and not others, thus impacting the collective memory and historical amnesia of the dark history event and shaping the selective nature of remembering specific aspects of the past. In line with the theme of nation-building and reconciliation, outright blame is not laid on either side, thus leaving room for moral ambiguity.

5.4.2 Textbook 3 Level 2: Analytical analysis

The second level of analysis for Textbook 3 delves into the story behind the story. This involves examining the historiographical story, investigating the presence of multiple perspectives, determining what aspects have been emphasised or marginalised, and exploring the treatment of otherness and the manner in which it is addressed. Additionally, this stage incorporates insights from the existing literature on textbooks, history textbooks, and dark history, applying this knowledge to aspects that were previously undisclosed but surfaced during the analysis.

The historiography of Textbook 3 and the Nigerian-Biafran War takes the form of classic historiography that tends to prioritise political and military history by presenting a narrative that emphasises the actions of prominent individuals and institutions. The choice of characters included in the master narrative is also an indicator of whose perspective was being conveyed. In an attempt to be dualistic, the master narrative is unclear. The position or point of view shifts from the perceived perspective of Biafra and the reasoning for wanting the secession to that of the Nigerian Federal Military Government. This constant shift leaves a gap in the historical understanding of the historical event from an objective stance, thus ignoring the broader historiography, and a one-dimensional slant emerges – that of Biafra being the aggressor and Nigeria pleading for peace to no avail, and then having to defend itself by force. Further to this, the reasoning provided for the actions of Biafra and the Igbo appears to be in stark contrast to the reasoning for the actions of the Nigerian Federal Military Government. While acknowledgement is given to the lives lost in terms of the Igbo massacre, the reasoning for the massacre is almost written as a justification. Similarly, the total cost of human lives was

“close to one million on both sides” (p. 272), indicating that while there was violence on both ends, it was rationalised for the Nigerians as Biafra was regarded as the initiator. After Biafra surrendered, the people of Nigeria were addressed collectively as “all Nigerians” (p. 284). This reference was only made in the master narrative after Biafra was defeated, almost implying a narrative of dominance inserted by Nigeria. Only then was the Nigerian government worried about reconciliation and nation-building. This muddies the waters of understanding and allows the historiography of the Biafran War to sit in the grey zone, with moral ambiguity being forefronted.

Rather than presenting multiple perspectives of the historical event of the Nigerian-Biafran War, Textbook 3 attempts to present one perspective with different facets. The narrative is that of Nigeria and what happens to it while adding in facts that show glimpses of understanding for the Igbo and Biafra. However, the master narrative, as reiterated throughout this analysis, is that of a power-hungry region wanting to secede but attempting and being unable to hold onto that position of power for too long. The perspective presented skims the surface of the complexities of the Biafran secession and, consequently, the civil conflict between the two sides. The secession is foregrounded as is the response of Nigeria. The actual consequences are listed simplistically and thus backgrounded. The Federal Government is “forced” (p. 284) to intervene – in the eyes of the Nigerians. Thus, there is a constant shift in terms of foregrounding and backgrounding where Nigeria’s involvement was purely reactionary to that of Biafra. Only certain parts of the historical narrative have been highlighted, and the rest are backgrounded or not mentioned at all within the master narrative. The fact that so many different terms are used for the various role players also makes it difficult to truly establish who has been foregrounded and included and who has been backgrounded and silenced. Were the terms used purposefully to create the illusion that everyone has been included in the narrative, or was it a genuine oversight? Using multiple terms for one group of people is counterproductive in creating meaning when teaching historical events. Users need consistency in order for the master narrative to make sense.

In terms of the theory of silences and otherness, while there is an acknowledgement of the lives lost during the Igbo massacres before the secession in the North and the lives lost on both sides during the Nigerian-Biafran War, the loss is not fully quantified. To merely state a million on both sides seems insincere and inhumane. Was this an attempt to be objective? Thus, the victims of the massacres and the Biafran War itself can be seen as othered. During the Nigerian-Biafran War, the primary division was along ethnic and regional lines and, as such, the conflict emerged as a result of tensions between the Igbo people, who felt marginalised and disadvantaged in the political and economic structure of Nigeria, and the

Federal Government led first by Ironsi and then Gowon. In the master narrative of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the Igbo can be seen as the other from the perspective of the Nigerian government as well as other ethnic groups (who do not feature in this narrative at all), making it seem that the classic us versus them showdown was only between the two groups in Nigeria – the Igbo and everyone else. The Igbo were perceived as the other during the conflict, and as such, the perception was rooted in the secessionist move by the Igbo to create the Republic of Biafra and challenge the unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. To this end, Textbook 3 highlights the efforts made by the Nigerian government to remind people how to avoid something such as civil war from recurring in an effort to learn from the past and to allow people to reconcile their differences and rebuild the nation for the sake of progress and development.

In terms of dark history and the Nigerian-Biafran War, as presented in Textbook 3, the historical event is not dealt with in a macabre and sinister manner. Instead, Textbook 3's approach is rather nuanced and muted. There are bullet-pointed facts presented, and the historical event is skirted around in terms of fully explained details. Thus, this historical event, while a dark period in history, cannot be deemed a dark historical event within the framework of Textbook 3.

5.5 Level 3 analysis: Theorisation of Textbooks 1-3

The third level of analysis involves theorisation, in which I formulate conclusions about the analysed texts about the Nigerian-Biafran War. This includes assessing their position on the shaded continuum of dark history and the pendulum. Additionally, I address my research questions, exploring how textbooks in Nigeria engage with events of dark history, such as the Nigerian-Biafran War and the concept of otherness. I, therefore, aimed to understand the reasons behind the manner in which the Nigerian-Biafran War, considered a dark historical event, and the theme of otherness was approached in these textbooks. The chapter concludes with a comprehensive discussion of the summations and theorisations pertaining to the three selected Nigerian textbooks, following their descriptive and analytical analyses.

According to the South African Ministerial Task Team (Ndlovu et al., 2018), history in Nigeria is considered an optional subject. This is because, in the late 1960s, Nigeria made a bold decision to remove history as a subject from the school curriculum. History as a subject was then “expunged from primary, and then the senior level” (Ndlovu et al., 2018: 10), supposedly under the guise of economic constraints, but ultimately the reasoning was political. Some of the official reasons given for the decline in interest in history were that users were shunning the subject, as well as the fact that there was a shortage of history teachers, thereby

necessitating the need for the removal of history as a subject. Later, the 1969 National Curriculum Conference, which was convened in Lagos under the sponsorship of the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, set the standard for African countries in its multi-stakeholder approach to educational reform (Modupe, 2013). This conference was meant to reform education but instead marked the beginning of the decline of history teaching in Nigerian schools. According to Alice Jekayinfa, President of the History of Education Society of Nigeria, “History as a discipline has been relegated in Nigeria whereas the discipline is the bedrock of any nation” (Omelewa, 2015: n.p.). She further added, “History instils patriotism and nationalism in the minds of citizens of any nation.” It, therefore, does not make sense why the Federal Government of Nigeria decided to remove history from the school curriculum.

Most laymen did not respond to the change in the school curriculum as people had become accustomed to constant changes in the country. However, others were more outspoken about the removal of history from the curriculum. Nigerian playwright Wole Soyinka stated:

I feel like strangling the Minister who removed history from the curriculum [...] a crime has been done to our children and our advancement. It's questionable that these things happen, and we allow them to go on for so long that our children grow up intellectually stunted. A huge part of their brain is unused because certain facts are not available to them. They do not even know where the existence begins (Jonathan, 2020: n.p.).

In addition to Soyinka's sentiments, several journalists also expressed their concern. Innocent Chizaram Ilo, whose father lived through the Biafran War, recalled how

the government began to craft its own story; one echoed in school textbooks. In school, I learned no details of what happened in Biafra. The reality was tactfully erased from the curriculum, while those responsible were depicted as national heroes who had fought to preserve Nigeria's unity (Jonathan, 2020: n.p.).

Further to this, another Nigerian, Festus Adedayo, argued that since History had been removed from the curriculum, crime had increased, and the spirit of nationalism was absent from the culture of the young in Nigeria (GIN, 2019).

The result of the removal of the subject of History and the impact that this had on the new generation of Nigerians could not be ignored. Chizaram (2020) highlighted how the current generation of Nigerians were ignorantly unaware of the country's true past and how this influenced their daily interactions with others. For instance, a recent Twitter fracas saw Bello, the son of Kaduna State Governor Nasir Ahmed El-Rufai, threaten a fellow Twitter user. This

provocation came as a result of Bello perceiving the other user to be Igbo. Bello stated that he would pass the Twitter user's mother around to his friends. To make matters worse, Bello's mother appeared to defend her son, declaring that all was "fair in love and war". While Twitter and online scuffles are fairly common, the issue with this particular brawl was the social, political, and historical impact that Bello's ignorance of Nigeria's past had. For Biafrans, it was not so easy to delink his words from history. Almost 50 years previously, Igbo women were being passed around in the military camps as their children and husbands were made to watch, which showed Bello's ignorance and insensitivity to his country's history and the suffering of fellow Nigerians.

After almost 19 years, History as a subject was reintroduced into the Nigerian school curriculum. The then Minister of Education, Adamu Adamu, in 2015, fought for history to be reinstated. He spoke of the importance of history to nation-building, national identity, patriotism, and overall human development, stating that this could not be overemphasised. According to Adamu, one of the cardinal principles behind this importance was social and behavioural change, and history was the key to its realisation. Many felt that the decision to reintroduce history was a step in the right direction for national unity in Nigeria. Awolowo Alao, while reacting to the pronouncement, noted:

It is a welcome development which should be applauded. A country without a sense of history is a soulless country. It could safely be said that many of the challenges facing state and nation-building efforts in Nigeria are as a result of the neglect of history (Lwal, 2019: n.p.).

Alao's comment about nation-building is crucial as the paucity thereof in Textbooks 1-3 reveals. While all three texts refer to nation-building, none actually accomplishes this.

The most pressing question I had after analysing Textbooks 1-3 was, "What do we do with the Nigerian-Biafran War now?" In these three textbooks, the role of each party – Nigeria and Biafra – is present, but the narrative is not always clear. Both parties are present, whether named outright or alluded to, but what remains unclear are the questions of responsibility and accountability in terms of death and the gross human rights violations of thousands of people. In terms of the silences and otherness, where does the Nigerian-Biafran War fit in?

My conclusion is that Biafra and the Igbo are both villainised and vilified. In all three textbooks, the Republic of Biafra and the Igbo are regarded as the perpetrators and aggressors, and Nigeria is seen as simply reacting to the perceived threat with great force. The blame for the suffering experienced varies from textbook to textbook. Thus, the degree of villainy differs from

textbook to textbook, too. Textbook 1 goes into great detail about the motives of the Igbo and the justification given for the secession to take place in the first place. However, despite the portrayal of the causes and consequences in both Nigeria and Biafra in Textbook 1, the blame still falls on the Igbo and Biafra with no mention of the human cost of life. In Textbook 2, the Igbo and Biafra are not even mentioned by name but rather by pronouns, placing great emphasis on the strength and power of Nigeria to thwart the perceived threat. What is made clear is the economic destruction and stunted development that the “unfortunate war” caused Nigeria as a result of Biafra’s actions. Similarly, in Textbook 3, the blame for the Nigerian-Biafran War is placed on the Igbo and Biafra as Nigeria’s part is labelled as reactionary to the advances of the aggressor. The literal economic cost is laid out in dollars per day of the war effort, as well as an acknowledgement of the number of lives lost on both sides of the war – but this is not explored further. Therefore, in all three textbooks, a distinct bias against the Igbo surfaces in these historical narratives, which affects the identity, power, and representation in shaping historical memory.

Achebe (2012) criticises what he perceives as biases against the Igbo people in Nigerian historical narratives, including textbooks, highlighting the challenges faced by the Igbo in post-war Nigeria, while Falola (1999) emphasises the need for a balanced and inclusive approach to historical representation. Oduah (2018) has critiqued the portrayal of the Igbo people in Nigerian textbooks, arguing that they are often depicted negatively or marginalised in the narrative of the Nigerian-Biafran War, while Nwakanma (2008) and Kukard (2017) have raised the issues of representation and historical memory. It is easy to see why users accept the master narrative that portrays Biafra as the aggressor. It is far simpler to understand the uprising of the Igbo and Biafra than to understand their motives or marginalisation experienced prior to the outbreak of the Nigerian-Biafran War.

History textbooks are perceived as reflections of sanctioned historical accounts, serving as a comprehensive narrative that shapes individuals' understanding of nation-building and ethical principles (Morgan, 2011). Boyce and Chunnu (2019) observe that the reinforcement and spread of fear towards different groups often stem from political motives aimed at securing advantages. What, then, would the political gain of the Nigerian-Biafran War be? I conclude that it is to foster a strong sense of unification and nation-building, something that had been missing in Nigeria even prior to the civil war and had been causing great tension among the various ethnic groups. Perhaps the political gain is two-fold: first, to justify the force used by the Nigerian government to “crush” secessionists and send a strong message to other ethnic groups wishing to secede themselves, and second, to gain support from the wider Nigerian population that unification was possible after bloodshed by reabsorbing or assimilating the

Igbo back into society as if nothing had happened, therefore, changing the association of fear of the current dispensation to that of compassion for the betterment of the people. Chigumadzi (2019: n.p.) argues:

For many Nigerians, their first consciousness might be as Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa or any of the other ethnic groups. In the end, the tensions between the many Nigerian national consciousnesses are the reason behind conflicts most tragically exemplified in the Biafran War.

Thus, the Nigerian government's goal in the textbooks was to unify the nation and to avoid the notion of otherness as "Nigerians are more likely to define themselves in terms of their ethnic affinities than any other identity" (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005: 8). This master narrative is used for both political and ideological gain.

As noted in all three textbooks, pejorative language was used when describing the other side of the conflict – Biafrans and Igbo, whether overtly or covertly. Textbook 2 was far more overt than Textbooks 1 and 3 and only referred to Biafra by pronouns but also made it clear that there was no doubt that they were solely responsible for the civil war. Luepke (2017) argues that the media's interest in publishing Biafra's suffering also contributes to the reputation that the Igbo have received. The mass media focused on the plight of the Igbo, and perhaps that is why Nigerian textbooks have taken a line to showcase that they were not without blame but rather the perpetrators of the start of the Nigerian-Biafran War, to absolve themselves of the monster reputation they had received in the past. The framing of Nigeria and Biafra plays an important role in the master narrative told. When Nigeria's force is referred to, it is regarded as justified, to compensate for the backlash they have received in the past with regard to their mistreatment of the Igbo.

Kobo (2020: n.p.) notes that Gowon's famous description of the war, "no victor and no vanquished", was an attempt to heal the wounds of the past. Nigeria succeeded in avoiding a reoccurrence of war (as alluded to in Textbook 3 by looking at ways to stop future occurrences). However, scars have remained in public memory. The constant reference to the Nigerian-Biafran War as the source of Nigeria's lack of unity and periodic instability suggests that the Federal Government won the war but lost the peace, and it has tried ever since to reclaim that.

What does this all mean in terms of otherness, multiperspectivity, and the Nigerian-Biafran War? During the Nigerian-Biafran War, the conflict exacerbated the divisions between the ethnic groups, particularly the Igbo and other ethnic groups in Nigeria. The portrayal of the

Igbo as other or enemies in history textbooks and master narratives can perpetuate stereotypes and contribute to social divisions and tensions. In the case of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the multiperspectivity involves incorporating the perspectives of different ethnic groups and stakeholders involved in the conflict. This approach challenges the master narrative and encourages critical thinking and empathy among users. However, it was evident in all three textbooks that there was a lack of multiperspectivity as the roles of the characters – whether prominent groups or individuals – were the same. Thus, history textbooks may present a singular narrative that vilifies or marginalises certain groups, such as the Igbo, while overlooking the perspectives and experiences of others. This can reinforce stereotypes, deepen divisions, and hinder reconciliation efforts.

5.6 Conclusion: Case of the Nigerian-Biafran War

Despite the efforts of publishers to promote nation-building and unification after the conflict, the opposite was achieved, and the divisions among the Igbo and Nigerians were deepened. The otherness of Biafra and the Igbo was achieved through various interconnected layers of meaning. Having analysed the language used in the history textbooks and the characterisation through the analysis tool adapted by Chatman (1978) to describe the Biafran and Igbo, I deduce that they are revealed as the other, the ones that are different from the rest of society outside the confines of societal norms. Textbooks 1, 2, and 3 contain a master narrative with only one perspective, that is, Nigeria was reacting to the aggression of the Igbo and later treated them with kindness after the conflict was over in order to promote nation-building. Therefore, in terms of the shaded continuum of dark history (Figure 2 in Chapter 1) and the multiperspectivity pendulum (Figure 7 in Chapter 3), Textbook 1 is considered grey on the shade-grading scale of the continuum as, while dealing with secession and oppression, Textbook 1 only tells the tale of one narrative of this dark history. This master narrative does not refer to the victims of the Biafran War who are, perhaps, silenced as this may hinder nation-building and reconciliation. As discussed in Chapter 1, the dark historical events are taught using the programmatic curriculum and anything that is not included in this narrative is discarded. The event of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Textbook 1, thus, remains ambiguous and a singular critical narrative that includes everyone and is agreed to by everyone does not exist. While it is a macabre history event with one official narrative presented, it is not inclusive of all those living in Nigeria; therefore, there is a grey, murky middle ground.

This is also the case with Textbook 2 in which Gowon was seen as the villain who shirked his responsibilities and left Ojukwu in charge, which made room for Nigeria to overrun Biafra. Furthermore, the blame for the Nigerian-Biafran War is made explicit in Textbook 2; that is, this unfortunate war was a direct result of the actions of the Igbo.

Textbook 3, similar to Textbook 1, romanticises the end of the Nigerian-Biafran War by showcasing the mercy that the Nigerians extended to the Biafrans by not treating them harshly but rather offering them jobs. Both Textbooks 1 and 3 delve into the challenges the Nigerian government had to overcome after the conflict and had to essentially “clean up the messes” that the Biafrans made as a result of the secession from a socio-economic perspective. Each of the three textbooks has an incomplete narrative which only focuses on one side of the story. Therefore, each of the textbooks falls on the grey scale of the textbook continuum as they run the risk of “emerging,” as Fru (2017: 2) notes, “to the point of endangering social cohesion” and, in turn, elicit a potential insensitive narrative of ambivalence towards the other.

Chapter 6

Uganda and the political dictatorship of Idi Amin

“No one can hear a broken drum” –
Ugandan proverb

6.1 Introduction

A deep dive into each of the selected textbooks that formed part of the sample for my study was completed as per my research design and methodology. In this chapter, I critically examine the portrayal of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin of Uganda in Ugandan textbooks with a focus on how this president and the military official's regime were presented in the programmatic curriculum as part of the dark history I intended to pursue. Amin became notoriously known for the sheer scale of the brutality of his regime. Against this backdrop, I explored the narratives, biases, and historical interpretations of this complex and emotionally charged chapter in Uganda's history in the textbooks, which shaped the users' understanding.

Each chapter is laid out according to the method of my analysis. Each textbook unit or topic was analysed separately by means of the research instrument adapted from Chatman (1978). After that, a conclusion was drawn in terms of the narratives that were found or not found concerning the political dictatorship of Idi Amin. Once all the Uganda textbooks in the sample were analysed, they were compared and contrasted to ascertain what master narrative existed regarding Idi Amin and what silences emerged linking to the otherness in each of the textbooks but also collectively across the textbooks.

As mentioned previously, three levels of analysis took place: descriptive, analytical, and theoretical, and these are described in this chapter. In the first level of the analysis, the “big picture” overview of the textbooks included the framing of the number of pages the textbooks contained and how many of these pages dealt with Amin. The first level of analysis included the analysis of the narrative elements, that is, the characters, setting, plot, events, and medium of knowledge. The second level of analysis, what I call “the story behind the story”, was completed by examining the master narratives, multiperspectivity, and concepts discussed in Chapter 3. The first and second levels of analysis were necessary to establish how dark the dark history event of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin on the shaded continuum was, how many perspectives existed in the master narrative, what themes emerged, and for me to engage with the otherness that emerged. In the third level of analysis, the findings from the descriptive and analytical levels of analysis were brought together and contrasted with the selected Ugandan textbooks. This was followed by a theorisation of what was found in an

attempt to answer my research questions of how otherness was engaged with in dark history and why it was engaged with in such a manner. Through rigorous data analysis, I aimed to uncover the nuances in how the political dictatorship of Idi Amin was portrayed, shedding light on the role that the textbooks play in shaping historical memory and perspectives on the “Butcher of Uganda” (Kyemba, 1977: n.p.).

6.2 Overview and analysis of Idi Amin in Textbook 1

Textbook 1, *MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book*, was published in 2006. It consists of 323 pages and has a unique structure. There is no foreword or preface. There is not a contents page or index. The textbook has been written like an encyclopaedia where users can alphabetically look up knowledge regarding historical content in general, ranging from pre-colonial times to WWI, as well as diseases suffered from malnutrition. In these 323 pages, nestled between “altitude” and “anemometer”, I found half a page on Idi Amin under the heading “Amin Dada Idi” (p. 8).⁶ The knowledge presented, which deals very succinctly with Amin’s political career, reads like a dictionary entry. There is also a grainy greyscale photograph of Amin on the page, which is not referenced in terms of time or place but rather simply titled “Amin Dada Idi” (p. 8).

On the back cover of Textbook 1, it is signposted that this book is a “new approach in Social Studies which allows a teacher and pupil to easily access knowledge from one source” (Wambuzi, Kisaakye & Ssekujumwa, 2006: back cover). Thus, the textbook is presented as a “one-stop shop” for all the historical content that users might need to prepare themselves for assessments and examinations. The authors further note that this textbook is distinctive. It features the “new primary school syllabus and is thoroughly integrated” with the content having been written by educators who have been in the field of education for a long period of time. There are also illustrations, maps, and photographs in this textbook, as well as self-testing exercises at the end of each alphabetised collection of entries (that is, at the end of each alphabetical section, there are questions about some of the entries found in that section before it moves on to the entries of the next section).

6.2.1 Textbook 1 Level 1: Descriptive analysis

The section on Amin was first analysed through descriptive means as per Polkinghorne’s (1995) narrative configuration and Chatman’s (1978) distinction between story (the events or

⁶ In the analysis of Textbook 1, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as is in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading I will simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

content) and narrative (the way the story is presented). In the first level of analysis, the various narrative elements were described, and the themes that emerged from the text were identified.

The narrative elements gleaned from Textbook 1 are presented in Table 8. It should be noted that the number seen in the square bracket in the table is used to quantify the number of times each name, place, event, concept and anything related to Amin was mentioned.

Table 8: Uganda – Textbook 1: *MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book*

UGANDA: Textbook 1 <i>MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book</i>	
Title of narrative	Amin Dada Idi
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent individuals:</u> Dr Apollo Milton Obote [1] Idi Amin Dada [3]/Amin [3] President Nyerere [2] <u>Groups:</u> Amin and his men [1] Asians [2] Exiled Ugandans [1] Innocent Ugandans [1] Kings Armed Rifles [1] Uganda Army [1] Ugandans (natives) [1]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Cities/Towns/Regions:</u> Koboko <u>Region/State:</u> North Western Uganda <u>Places:</u> Bukoba Mwanza <u>Countries:</u> Saudi Arabia Singapore Tanzania Uganda
Events	Common Wealth [sic] Conference

	International Conference centre Kagera operation Overthrow of Amin Overthrow of Obote's government State Research Bureau
Concepts	Attacks Full-scale war Independence Overthrowing Regime
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	1 [photograph] None Paragraphs of text and some bullet points

The data depicted in Table 8 is discussed below as part of the descriptive analysis of the narrative elements found in Textbook 1.

6.2.1.1 Characters

In this textbook, the analysis of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin refers to an individual and his actions as the ruler of Uganda. Hence, Amin and his rule are a dark history event. The historical characters examined in the entry of Textbook 1 can be categorised into prominent individuals and groups or organisations that either had interactions with Idi Amin or his ruling decisions had a direct impact on these characters. The characters play an important role in the master narrative that is presented. To this end, in the dictionary-like entry in the textbook *MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book*, the characters that appear are mentioned in passing as the story unfolds. They are, at no point, placed in historical context in this entry. As a brief master narrative revolves around Idi Amin, I examined his presence first.

In the textbook, Amin is referred to in two ways. First, the page header is merely titled "Amin Dada Idi" (p. 8.) The entry itself is then renamed "Amin Dada Idi" (p. 8) as a signpost that the entry that follows is about him. Lastly, the caption below the greyscale headshot of Amin is also titled "Amin Dada Idi" (p. 8). Thereafter, in the entry, he is simply referred to as either "Amin" (p. 8) or the pronouns "he" or "his" (p. 8). It is important to note that at no point is Amin referred to by a title or recognised as a leader of Uganda. Other prominent individual characters referred to in this entry are those seen in conflict with Amin, namely Dr Apollo Milton Obote, who was part of the opposition government, and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

Both these characters are referred to by their full rank, signifying not only their importance but their legitimacy as leaders of their respective organisations or countries. In terms of the opposition between Amin and Obote, the entry simply notes that Amin “overthrew ... Obote’s government while he was attending a Common Wealth [sic] Conference in Singapore” (p. 8), which illustrates that Amin saw an opportunity and decided to take swift action while Obote was away on state business. In terms of the opposition between Amin and Tanzania’s Nyerere, the entry notes that due to Amin’s actions of “occasionally attack[ing] Tanzania and bomb[ing] Mwanza and Bukoba”, Nyerere had “ground to revenge” (p. 8) and “waged a full-scale war” (p. 8) against Amin and was successful in defeating him in 1979. To this end, the narrative suggests that Amin was on the offensive and initiated the conflict each time.

The other characters who appear in this entry are groups of people who were directly affected by Amin’s rule, the first group being the “Kings Armed Rifles” (p. 8), which Amin joined in 1946 under British colonial rule. This group formed part of the British Colonial Auxiliary Force, which was responsible for the internal safety of the British colonies (Moyse-Bartlett, 2012). It was in this military unit that Amin rose in the army ranks, which assisted him in gaining political clout and traction. From the King’s Armed Rifles, Amin turned his attention to the “Uganda Army” (p. 8), where he served until he overthrew the government of Obote. The entry did not mention his rank or his position. Thus, the master narrative serves to convey that Amin used the King’s Armed Rifles as well as the Uganda Army for the sole purpose of “assum[ing] the presidency ... by using force” (p. 8). Thus, according to the textbook, Amin was biding his time for the opportune moment to take over the country. Furthermore, Amin’s actions while he was in power were divided into two categories – negative attributes that fed into the reputation Amin had garnered over the years and, surprisingly, some positive attributes for which he is endeared. These actions, both positive and negative, also showed the interaction between Amin and the groups still to be discussed.

The textbook signals that Amin treated “Asians” (p. 8) harshly and banished them from Uganda in 1972, forcing the country into economic hardship. However, later in the entry it is indicated that “some people” (p. 8) remember Amin for assisting “Ugandans (natives)” (p. 8) to pursue business opportunities made available by the forced departure of the Asians. This shifts the cold, heartless view that so many people have of Amin as a ruthless killer to a perspective where his harsh actions towards an outsider group were considered to be for the betterment of the Ugandan people and what could be seen as a redistribution of wealth.

This notion of betterment was short-lived, though, as, through the “notorious State Research Bureau” (p. 8), which was Uganda’s military intelligence agency in charge of surveillance with a wide network of informants, Amin murdered the very people he wanted to assist (Monitor,

2021). The textbook entry notes that he “killed many innocent Ugandans” (p. 8). The narrative thus portrays Amin and his intelligence agency in an unfavourable light, providing an account of the victimisation that occurred when ordinary Ugandans were executed following Amin’s decree that the State Research Bureau should have absolute power in executing his orders. However, the master narrative did not explain any of the above, merely stating factually that the intelligence agency was notorious, although linguistically speaking, this is synonymous with ominous actions. In addition to the removal of Asians from Uganda and murdering and torturing ordinary prominent Ugandans, Amin was also responsible for antagonising neighbouring Tanzania with occasional attacks and bombings, which eventually led to a “full-scale attack ... the infamous Kagera operation” (p. 8). The narrative portrays Amin as the aggressor. Again, no historical context is provided; thus, the user is left with a version of memory history. Amin’s leadership is also characterised in a demeaning way as “amateur” (p. 8) and “ill-prepared” (p. 8), which is used as an excuse for his behaviour and actions, underplaying them as “blunders” (p. 8). It was only as a result of Amin’s mistakes and aggression that “Nyerere together with some exiled Ugandans” (p. 8) launched an extensive war effort against Amin and “his men” (p. 8). Amin may not have been seen as an experienced or worthy leader by the textbook, but his military prowess seems to be acknowledged as the entry focuses on his military actions against Tanzania.

6.2.1.2 Master narrative

In the master narrative, two sides emerge: Amin and his actions and how this affects other individuals and groups. The semantics are rather Orwellian in nature. Role players are mentioned but not placed in context, which leaves much space for the user to interpret and “read between the lines” to create meaning or accept the account as a fact to be memorised. But what is clear is the jumble of knowledge where, in one instance, Amin is portrayed as inherently evil and in the next, his questionable actions are balanced with a reference to positive aspects of his rule. This notion of goodness for the greater good is furthered in the narrative when it is explained that Amin “contained robbery when he summarily executed robbers” (p. 8). While the propensity exists to praise Amin for addressing criminal activities, a distinct lack of adherence to legal, due diligence and process must be remembered, as well as the fact that this was the same man who allowed thousands of innocents to be murdered, tortured, and mutilated. This obfuscation makes it difficult to decipher between reality and any ambiguity or contradiction. The cannibalistic justice is seen as a certain celebration and creates ambiguity. Amin’s character is rather feared, and thus, as an individual, he is not celebrated. Linguistically, Amin’s villainy is masked, but not historically, as no evidence is provided to corroborate it.

The portrayal of the characters in the *MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book* is problematic as no one is placed in historical context, and neither their roles in the narrative nor their affiliations are clear. The entry seemingly reads like a list of emotive facts – almost a thumbnail sketch of Amin's life from his birth in 1925 to rising through the ranks of the army until the coup in 1971 and his ousting in 1979. This is how the plot of Textbook 1 can be simplistically summed up. The reason that this narrative appears to be non-linear is that it is disjointed, and the historical events are neither clarified nor explored. The narrative merely skims the surface of the actual historical event.

6.2.1.3 *Setting (political and social) and plot*

Uganda is the geographical setting for the political dictatorship of Idi Amin in Textbook 1 as a geopolitical unit; however, the setting is not at the forefront of the narrative. In mentioning Uganda regionally, Koboko is acknowledged as Amin's place of birth. This has, however, been an area of contention as not much is known about Amin's birthplace or birthdate and there have been conflicting reports in this regard (Leopold, 2020). There are other countries mentioned in the entry in relation to the actions of Amin, notably Tanzania, Singapore, and Saudi Arabia. Singapore is mentioned as that was where Obote was when Amin decided to stage the coup in 1971, but no further explanation is offered. The focus on Tanzania is mainly on two cities, Mwanza and Bukoba, as well as the region of Kagera, rather than on the mention of the country. The tension between the neighbouring country and Uganda can be gleaned as the focus of the entry, as about one-third of the entry describes the conflict. This tension is a direct result of Amin's actions against Tanzania with the annexation of Kagera, which prompted Nyerere to take swift action with a counterstrike. This counterstrike is mentioned but not explained in the entry. As a result of Amin's instigation of conflict with Tanzania, Saudi Arabia is noted as a safe haven to which Amin fled once he was ousted from power in 1979.

6.2.1.4 *Events*

The Commonwealth Conference in 1971 (spelt Common Wealth in the *MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book*), the overthrow of Obote's government in the same year, the Kagera operation in 1978, and the ousting of Amin in 1979 are the only events referred to in Textbook 1. None of these events are explored in terms of a historical timeframe, nor are they placed in significant historical context with regard to other events. Throughout the section, two "full-scale war[s]" are mentioned. The first is when Amin attacked Tanzania during the annexation of Kagera, and the second is when Nyerere countered Amin. A disjointed narrative consequently emerges.

6.2.1.5 Concepts

First- and second-order concepts refer to the different levels of conceptual thinking or analysis. First-order concepts are ideas that can be defined and used as the building blocks of understanding, while second-order concepts are more abstract in nature and build on from the first-order concepts related to substantive matters in history. Textbook 1's first-order concepts include "overthrowing" (implied coup d'état) (p. 8), "independence" (p. 8), "full-scale war", and "regime" (p. 8). These concepts are merely stated and are not used to help the user understand either what these concepts mean or how they impact the political dictatorship of Idi Amin. Concepts about Amin's reign, such as "infamous" (p. 8) and "notorious" (p. 8), have a very negative and sinister connotation and refer to the ideas of victimisation, perpetration, and violence, which are found in Textbook 1.

In terms of second-order concepts related to historical thinking, the idea of cause and effect is inferred when the narrative looks at the actions of Amin, both favourable and unfavourable, with the latter being more prominent. However, second-order concepts such as empathic understanding, continuity, change, and the use of evidence are not explored. Users can infer historical significance as Amin's rule is always linked to negativity and strife. It should be noted that in terms of chronology, the events listed above are in chronological order.

6.2.1.6 Medium of knowledge

In the entry about Idi Amin Dada, there is only one image, a greyscale headshot of Amin staring off to the right. Donning his military attire with lapels, army dress blue, and field-grade cap, Amin can be seen looking stern and professional as the self-dubbed Field Marshall of Uganda, which, in army ranks, is the highest-ranking officer (Monitor, 2021). The photograph is captioned "Amin Dada Idi" (p. 8). While Amin's rank is alluded to in the photograph, there is no mention of his rank or title in the caption. The photograph is not referred to in the main body of the text of the entry. The user can thus draw the inference that Amin was a military man as the text describes how he climbed the ranks of the military until he peaked as president and then further details his conflict with Tanzania. Other than this limited part of his political career, not much else is learnt about Amin if this text is the only narrative that users are exposed to.

6.2.1.7 Themes

To conclude the first level of analysis, I discuss the themes that emerged from the entry. A theme of power and oppression resonates strongly in Textbook 1. The power exuded by Amin is shown by how he rose through the ranks of the military to the highest one possible, but which was only obtained through self-proclamation. By expelling more than 80 000 Asians

from Uganda, instating the State Research Bureau and allowing them free rein to execute Ugandans, Amin's dictatorial power can be seen. It is reinforced through the military style photograph of Amin. By the same token, the oppression of Asian, Ugandan, and Tanzanian people can be seen when Amin bombed and attacked cities. Furthermore, themes of trauma and resilience emerge. Trauma is shown through the dehumanisation and victimisation of the Ugandan people, as instilled by Amin and his State Research Bureau. Despite the trauma, the theme of resilience also emerges as Nyerere, along with the exiled Ugandans, stood up against Amin and his men. The response of Nyerere to Amin's actions is also foregrounded. Amin's notoriety makes it difficult to decipher fact from fiction. Moreover, Amin's reputation is by his own design – he created a character to be feared (Leopold, 2020). The most significant theme that emerged from Textbook 1 during my analysis was the theme of legacy and impact. Despite only being in power for eight years, Idi Amin's legacy and impact on Uganda is immensely profound, although there is moral ambiguity in the history of his political dictatorship in Textbook 1. What is the truth surrounding Amin? Why did his actions lead to so much death and destruction?

6.2.2 Textbook 1 Level 2: Analytical analysis

The second level of analysis of Textbook 1 looked specifically at the story behind the story in terms of the historiography, that is, whether multiple perspectives exist, what was foregrounded, backgrounded, or silenced, whether otherness was engaged with, and if so, in what manner.

The historiography of Amin, as engaged with in Chapter 1, revealed a multifaceted and complex narrative; thus, the way in which Textbook 1 was examined was “not in terms of what ought to have [been] said, but instead to examine why [what it said] appear[ed] strange” (Burrow, 2007). History writing is often guided by nationalism, racial prejudice, chauvinism, and religious sensibility; therefore, choices were made when this entry from Textbook 1 was produced. Unlike the analysis of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Chapter 5, which dealt with an event, role players, and moving parts, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin deals with an individual, decisions made by him, and their impact on him, as well as on other people, groups, and countries. The choice of characters included in the narrative is also an indicator of whose perspective was being conveyed. It is clear that there are different perspectives in the textbook (Amin and Obote, Amin and Nyerere, Amin and the Asians, and Amin and the Ugandans), but there is no perspective from Amin himself, which brings what Leopold (2020: n.p.) notes to the fore: “Notoriety is the enemy of historical analysis.”

When it comes to looking at Idi Amin's life and what has been written about him, it is always from someone else's perspective. So much of the public perception about Amin is myth and supposition, but this was created by Amin himself and the media. The film *The Last King of Scotland* (Macdonald, 2006) captures the essence of Amin's rule, depicting his charisma, unpredictability, and the atrocities committed under his leadership. This film is an example of the mainstream media, which is often the first exposure that many users have to historical figures who are popularised for public consumption. Thus, the consumption of the historical knowledge from the textbook about Amin cannot be regarded as the truth, nor can it be supported by empirical evidence about his nature and actions. For example, in Textbook 1, it is noted that "Amin was born in 1925 in Koboko" (p. 8). However, this seemingly innocent fact is by its very nature contentious as this date cannot be verified. It is widely accepted that Amin was born in Koboko, yet his birth year ranges between 1925 and 1928 (Aljazeera, 2003; Leopold, 2020) and, as often stated by Amin himself, he was born both near and in Kampala (Kiwanuka, 1979; Mutibwa, 1992). This view of his birthplace being near the capital city of Kampala is also held by Amin's sons, Hussein and Jaffar (Amin & Akulia, 2010; Leopold, 2020).

Furthermore, many people – those not in favour of Amin – believe and report that Amin was not even Ugandan as he was born into the Kakwa tribe in North West Uganda on the border of south-west South Sudan and north-east DRC. As the Kakwa tribe's homeland is not solely found in the geographical confines of Uganda itself, Amin's nationality has been brought into question, with many considering that he was not born in Uganda at all (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Smith, 1980).

What must also be inferred here is that the master narrative of Amin in Textbook 1 paints the picture that due to situational factors, he was conditioned to behave in a certain way, and his actions are seemingly justified as a result. Leopold (2020) explains at length that the Kakwa tribe were seen as warriors and preferred violence. It is here that Amin became susceptible and desensitised to violence. Furthermore, Amin was uneducated as a result of the poor choices that were made when he took over the leadership role in Uganda. The reason for his lack of education is further explored in *Idi Amin: The Story of Africa's Icon of Evil* (Leopold, 2020). As a result of British colonialism, the schools were Christian missions; therefore, education was not regarded as a priority for Muslims.

Furthermore, the reasoning provided for the actions of Amin during his political dictatorship was that he was an "amateur and an ill-prepared leader" (p. 8), which led to "his regime [being] characterised by many blunders" (p. 8). Importantly, the textbook language underplays the reality. The language used in *MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book* is the language of dark

history, but it is not underpinned by sound historical knowledge or evidence. In reality, the “mistakes” that Amin made were gross human rights violations, mass killings, and torture. This muddies the waters of understanding and allows the historiography of Amin to sit in a grey zone in the analysed textbook. Rather than presenting multiple perspectives of Amin’s leadership, what appears is a disjointed master narrative that switches between the mistakes that Amin made and what people remember while foregrounding his military prowess in an ambiguous manner. The perspective presented showcases Obote as a victim and Amin as snatching the presidency from him. However, Obote himself was complicit in violence against the Ugandan people, using Amin in his military capacity to get him into power in 1966 (Nayenga, 1979). Moreover, some academics claim that the number of fatalities under Obote’s rule was more than that of Amin’s (Marshall, 2005; Nayenga, 1979). Two perspectives are thus presented in Textbook 1: Amin’s atrocities are foregrounded while the roles of others are backgrounded or silenced and are only reactionary to those of Amin.

In terms of the theory of silences and otherness, there is the acknowledgement that the lives of “innocent Ugandans” (p. 8) were lost through the actions of Amin’s secret police. The manner in which the killings took place was not discussed nor mentioned; they were thus silenced. Semantics are mostly pejorative towards Amin and his actions. “Full-scale war” is noted twice, but nothing related to these conflicts is unpacked further. Silences are rife in the entry in Textbook 1, and the master narrative presented is one with many faceless victims and one perpetrator who is presented in a contradictory and ambiguous manner. The victims of Amin’s actions included the Asian populace, who were driven from Uganda; native Ugandans; Obote, for being overthrown by Amin; Obote’s supporters; and Tanzanians who were caught in the crossfire of the Ugandan-Tanzanian War (also known as the Kagera War).

Owing to the fact that the historiography of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin cannot be depicted the same in each textbook, it is contentious in the classroom as accounts of Amin cannot be agreed upon by dint of collective memory and acknowledgement. For something to be considered uncontroversial, complete transparency is needed, and, in the case of Textbook 1 and the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, this was not the case. Statements are made that seem out of place and most certainly out of historical context.

The third level of analysis, the theorisation, is where I make my summations about the analysed texts, their place on the shaded continuum of dark history (see Figure 2 in Chapter 1), and the pendulum (see Figure 8 in Chapter 3). In addition, I also attempt to answer my research questions: How are events of dark history, such as the political dictatorship of Idi Amin and otherness engaged with in textbooks in Uganda? And why is the political dictatorship of Idi Amin a dark history event engaged with in this manner? The summations and

theorisations for both selected Ugandan textbooks are discussed at the end of the chapter once both the textbooks in the sample have been analysed descriptively and analytically to ascertain why the narrative is presented in such a manner in relation to dark history events. Dark history is captured through language but not through the substantive concepts related to historical content knowledge. There is nothing beyond words. There is no quantification of the number of deaths, which is underplayed to produce faceless masses.

6.3 Overview and analysis of Idi Amin in Textbook 2

Textbook 2, *East Africa through a Thousand Years: A.D. 1000 to Present Day*, was first published in 1968 and reprinted in 1972 and 1987. A revised edition was made available as a Kindle eBook by Amazon in 2019. The digital textbook consists of 403 pages, of which four pages refer to Idi Amin (pp. 330, 333-334, 397).⁷ Amin is mentioned ten times in this textbook. The various pages are contained in Chapter 15 of the textbook titled “Nation building”. Using the search function, “Idi Amin” was found twice; however, “Amin” was found ten times. Breaking this down quantitatively, two of the ten mentions of Idi Amin were found under the subheading “Constitutional changes” (p. 330), while the majority of the mentions of Idi Amin occurred under the subheading “The Uganda Crisis, 1971” (pp. 333-334). The last two mentions of Idi Amin appeared in Chapter 15 under Revision Notes. A clear distinction is made between these two subheadings: the constitutional changes experienced in Uganda were different from the crisis that was experienced in Uganda in 1971.

In the preface to the book, the authors note that the textbook is suitable for students preparing for examinations, an indication of a memory history slant, and a simplification of history:

We revised several chapters to incorporate some of the helpful advice ... to take account of advances in historical research and the events of recent years. ... [with] the increase in student numbers, we have felt the need for a third edition in which the language would be simpler and more concise. The whole text has been rewritten in a style that makes it easier to comprehend ... [as] there have been important decisions affecting the Certificate of Education. This new edition incorporates these changes and students will find it as relevant to the new examinations as its predecessors (Were & Wilson, 2019: 8).

⁷ In the analysis, I quote extensively from Textbook 2, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as is in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading, I simply reference the page number where the word, phrase, or sentence occurs in the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is fully referenced in accordance with the Harvard referencing style guide.

The Ugandan Certificate of Education is received by students who have completed four years of lower secondary school. This is comparable to the United Kingdom's O-Levels. Therefore, Textbook 2 is seemingly suitable for high school students to prepare for such examinations. The authors further indicate that the structure of the textbook remains the same as the "historical narrative and the presentation and interpretation of events. We have, however, taken note of the new research of the past ten years" (Were & Wilson, 2019: 8). Thus, everything that is presented in Textbook 2 has been done for a specific purpose but also speaks to a certain continuity.

6.3.1 Textbook 2 Level 1: Descriptive analysis

The first level of analysis conducted was descriptive as per Polkinghorne's (1995) narrative configuration and Chatman's (1978) distinction between story (the events or content) and narrative (the way the story is presented). In the first level of analysis, the various narrative elements are described and the themes that emerged from the text are analysed. The narrative elements gleaned from Textbook 2 are presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Uganda – Textbook 2: *East Africa through a thousand years: A.D. 1000 to Present Day*

UGANDA: Textbook 2 <i>East Africa through a thousand years: A.D. 1000 to present day</i>	
Title of narrative	Chapter 15: Nation Building Subheadings: Constitutional changes The Uganda Crisis, 1971 Chapter 15 Revision Notes Subheadings: Uganda
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent individual:</u> Sir Edward Mutesa [1]/Kabaka Mutesa [6] Dr Milton Obote [12] Major General Idi Amin [3]/President Amin [2]/Amin [5] Dr Julius Nyerere [9] <u>Prominent groups:</u> Amin's forces Ugandan army Libyan soldiers Tanzanian army

Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Countries:</u> Uganda Tanzania Libya Saudi Arabia
Events	Uganda Crisis, 1971 Ugandan-Tanzanian War, 1978
Concepts	coup d'état/military coup regime constitution independence
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	None None Paragraphs of text

The data depicted in Table 9 is discussed below as part of the descriptive analysis of the narrative elements found in Textbook 2. The first and second levels of analysis are necessary to establish how dark the dark history event of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin is on the shaded continuum, how many and which perspectives exist in the narrative, what themes emerged, and for me to then engage with the otherness that emerged related to the dictatorship of Idi Amin.

6.3.1.1 Characters

The characters examined in Textbook 2 can be categorised into prominent individuals, political parties, groups, and international organisations that either had interactions with Idi Amin or his ruling decisions, which had a direct impact on these characters. It must be noted that there is a great deal of knowledge that has been included about other leaders and countries in Chapter 15 of Textbook 2. To provide some context, this chapter focuses on four East African states as they underwent various political and constitutional changes since independence, namely Zanzibar (which was part of Tanganyika before independence), Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. However, as per the demarcation discussion in Chapter 4, I will not be focusing on those countries or their leaders unless there is a direct link to Idi Amin, his actions, and/or Uganda. To this end, and as mentioned previously, the characters or role players are crucial to the master narrative. Without them, there is no historical event. The political dictatorship of Idi Amin revolves around the interaction between these characters.

The characters in the Ugandan narrative of Chapter 15 begin with a “nominal president” (p. 330), Sir Edward Mutesa, and Executive Prime Minister, Dr Milton Obote, who together ruled independent Uganda until Idi Amin seized control in a military coup in 1971. The initial characters who appeared are mentioned in passing as the story unfolds, but at no point are they placed in historical context in this chapter or the entire textbook. A digital search of the entire textbook revealed that page 330 of the last chapter of the book was the first page on which Idi Amin was mentioned, while Obote was referenced in the previous chapter. Surprisingly, Mutesa is the historical figure who is featured most prominently in the textbook, first appearing on page 111 and mentioned numerous times thereafter.

As the dark history event I am analysing was that of Idi Amin and his political dictatorship, I examined his presence first. Owing to the fact Amin and his actions cannot be separated from cause and consequence, the narrative description cannot follow the conformity of a discussion on characters, then setting, events, and so forth. Rather, an interconnectedness emerged, possibly as part of the narrative and the description as presented in *East Africa through a thousand years: A.D.1000 to the present day*. Everything Amin did influenced either someone or something else. Amin is referred to in three different ways in Textbook 2 – as “Major General Idi Amin” (pp. 330, 333, 397), as “President Amin” (pp. 330, 397), and simply as “Amin” (pp. 330, 333-334, 397). It is worth noting that Amin is referred to by his military and political ranks, which indicate a respectful tone and that he carried great military strength. Furthermore, Amin is shown with titles in Textbook 2, which indicates official recognition as the leader of Uganda, unlike Textbook 1, which only referred to him by name as Amin and through the use of pronouns. This notion of great military and political strength is reiterated in the subsection “Constitutional changes” (p. 330), in which Amin is referred to for the first time in relation to the “military coup detat [sic]” he orchestrated in 1971. Furthermore, Amin’s rule is summarised by his rise to power, his allowing war to break out between Uganda and Tanzania in 1978, and finally, Amin fleeing in 1979 and Obote being re-elected in 1980 (p. 330). Therefore, the narrative that emerged from Textbook 2 was one of Amin’s military prowess and his success and failure, which is measured against his political leadership. Therefore, silences occurred as only one aspect is foregrounded. It should be reiterated that history textbooks might play a dual role in transmitting acceptable historical narratives from the past to the present and also in altering the past to suit contemporary needs (Fru & Wassermann, 2021). Thus, in the case of Amin, the suitable narrative that reflects the view of the populace is him as the ruthless “Ugandan Butcher”.

Under the subsection “The Uganda Crisis, 1971” (p. 333), while Obote was away and “out of the country” (p. 333) at a Commonwealth conference, the army took control, and Amin took

on the role of president. This description illustrates that Amin was an opportunist who waited for Obote to be out of the country before he took action. Furthermore, Amin used his clout in military circles to garner support for this effort of ousting Obote. Amin's reign was then characterised by "shocking cruelty" and "ruthlessness" (p. 333) as a result of which the people of Uganda "suffered terribly" (p. 333).

This perspective of Amin indicates that under his military style of rule, the people of Uganda lived under exceptionally harsh conditions. Textbook 2 does not refer directly to the gross human rights violations nor the killings that took place under Amin's rule, but rather, this is inferred by the choice of pejorative language, which gives the user of the textbook the impression that he was power-hungry and not working for the betterment of the people of Uganda. Amin's bellicose behaviour is further demonstrated when it is noted in Textbook 2 that "in October 1978, Amin's forces invaded Tanzania" (p. 333). The inference can be made that this attack was unprovoked and as a result of the continued militarised style of leadership that Amin had become accustomed to. In response to Amin's decision to attack, another prominent individual referred to in this subsection, President Nyerere of Tanzania, defended Tanzania against Amin's advances. This reinforces the notion that Amin was the aggressor, whether nationally or internationally. When Tanzania countered Amin's advances, Libya sent "several thousand soldiers to help Amin" (p. 334) but to no avail as Amin's army was defeated and, according to the textbook, he fled to Libya. The course of the conflict between Tanzania and Uganda is not explained further nor is the reason why Libya became involved. The user would thus not know that Libya under the rule of Muammar Gaddafi was a Muslim ally of Amin, making the conflict between Tanzania and Uganda one based on religion as well as political tension as Obote was Nyerere's ally before Amin's coup. In fact, a search of Textbook 2 indicated that Libya was only mentioned in reference to Amin, but the connection was never explained.

Amin's political rule was overthrown in 1979 and he fled first to Libya and then Saudi Arabia. As fellow Muslims, both Libya and Saudi Arabia overlooked Amin's megalomania. The rest of the world, however, welcomed the news that Amin was ousted from his "notorious and lawless regime" (p. 334), indicating that the master narrative passes judgement on Amin's rule, portraying him dubiously and characterising him as an individual who went against the norms of society. The master narrative, therefore, others him. Amin is seen as the aggressor or perpetrator in Textbook 2, and a narrative of victimisation emerges due to the treatment of the Ugandan people. Furthermore, a narrative of power and oppression features prominently in this textbook.

Collective groups are also referred to as part of the historical characters of Textbook 2. Such collective groups include “Amin’s forces” (p. 334), “the army” in reference to the Ugandan army (p. 334), “[Liberian] soldiers” (p. 334), and the Tanzanian “army” (p. 334). Similar to Textbook 1, Textbook 2 has a master narrative that is binary, that is, Amin and his actions and how this affects other individuals and groups. The semantics are rather dystopian in nature. For instance, he has a “notorious and lawless regime” (p. 334).

The semantics used in textbooks might reflect ongoing historiographical debates (Barton & Levstik, 2004) and the choice of words, tone, and framing can contribute to the overall interpretation and understanding of dark historical events. Different scholars may employ varying types of language to interpret historical events, leading to discussions about how certain periods or figures are remembered (Ben-Ghiat, 2020). Amin’s reign is remembered as displaying “ruthlessness” (p. 333) and “shocking cruelty” (p. 333) to the people of Uganda, which meant that they “suffered terribly” (p. 333). Thus, the language of dark history was present even though no historical evidence was provided. Role players are mentioned but are not placed in context, which leaves much space for the user to interpret the melange of knowledge presented. Thus, there was no uniformity in these textbooks nor specific sections which were similar in terms of their mention of Idi Amin. Furthermore, the textbooks selected were not grade-specific but were based purely on their availability at the time of selection.

6.3.1.2 Setting (political and social) and plot

The geographical setting for the political dictatorship of Idi Amin in Textbook 2 is Uganda as a geopolitical unit, however, just as in Textbook 1, the setting is not at the forefront of the narrative. The setting seems to be placed incidentally – the coup takes place in Uganda, the tension with Tanzania is in Tanzania, and after Nyerere retaliates, Amin withdraws to Libya and then Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the master narrative does not place any importance on the geographical setting of the historical event but rather solely on the main character, Amin, and his actions.

6.3.1.3 Events

The Ugandan Crisis of 1971 and the conflict between Tanzania and Uganda are the only historical events referred to in Textbook 2. None of these events are explored in terms of a historical timeframe nor are they placed in significant historical context with regard to other events. A fragmented narrative, therefore, emerges as Amin’s political dictatorship only encompasses these two events as per the master narrative.

6.3.1.4 Concepts

In the section about Amin, the first-order concepts of *East Africa through a Thousand Years: A.D. 1000 to Present Day* include “military coup d’état” (p. 334) and “regime” (p. 334). These concepts are merely stated and are not used to help the user understand either what these concepts mean or how they impact the political dictatorship of Idi Amin. What the concepts do accomplish, though, is to signpost Amin’s militarist nature to the user. Furthermore, concepts such as “constitution” (p. 330) and “independence” (p. 330) are in juxtaposition to the militarist ideas above. These substantive concepts are often synonymous with freedom and democracy, which are a stark comparison to that of Amin’s political rule in Uganda. The concept of dark history is captured only through language and words but not through any substantive historical content knowledge.

In terms of second-order historical thinking concepts, the idea of cause and effect is referred to in the programmatic curriculum examining the actions under Amin, as well as the reactionary actions of Nyerere to Amin. Moreover, Amin’s reputation is espoused in the master narrative of Textbook 2 as one that is despotic and tyrannical by looking at the semantics employed, which have a negative connotation. It should be noted that in terms of chronology, the historical events listed above are presented in chronological order.

In Chapter 15, the subsection about Idi Amin has no images of him, his actions, or the wars he was involved in. Neither are there any activities or questions to ponder. This also applies to subsection “Chapter 15 Revision Notes” (p. 397), which does not depict any visual media regarding Idi Amin. Also, the facts stated in the revision notes simply reiterate a form of memory history in which the coup staged by Amin and the invasion of Tanzania were noted.

6.3.1.5 Themes

To conclude the first level of analysis, I discuss themes that emerged from *East Africa through a Thousand Years: A.D. 1000 to Present Day*. A theme of power and oppression resonates strongly in the master narrative. Amin, being a “Major General” in the text, shows his military status and stature as he was appointed to this position by the army right before the coup of 1971 took place. This knowledge is not mentioned in the text but must be inferred by the user. Once the coup was heralded a success, Amin, with his new-found power, self-appointed himself as Field Marshall and President. By the same token, the oppression of the Ugandan people can be seen in Textbook 2, as Amin’s actions were presented as both cruel and ruthless. Therefore, the capacity of human cruelty and how one man could inflict immeasurable harm on so many innocent people comes into question. Once defeated by

Tanzania, the world “welcomed the overthrow of Amin’s notorious and lawless regime” (p. 333). It is clear that the world had no moral ambivalence as the blame was solely placed upon Amin, who was hailed as a dictator and one of the world’s worst (Leopold, 2020). However, collective guilt as a theme does not exist. Despite Amin not directly killing thousands of people himself but rather providing the authority to others to do so, he is still blamed for the dehumanisation and victimisation.

The most significant theme that emerged from Textbook 2 is the theme of legacy and impact. Without a doubt, Amin’s legacy is one that is tainted and tarred as evil and despotic (Leopold, 2020; Southall, 1975; Special Correspondent, 1973) with no redeeming qualities.

6.3.2 Textbook 2 Level 2: Analytical analysis

The second level of analysis for Textbook 2 delves into the story behind the story with reference to the historiographical story, whether multiple perspectives exist, what has been foregrounded, backgrounded or silenced, and whether otherness has been engaged with and in what manner. Furthermore, the analysis takes what is known in the literature about textbooks, history textbooks, and dark history and applies that to the “unknown” which emerged from the analysis.

Idi Amin as an individual and his actions are at the forefront of the knowledge presented. The choice of characters included in the master narrative, all big men, is also an indicator of whose perspective was being conveyed and who the wrongdoer was. Again, a perspective of Amin was being conveyed but not Amin’s perspective. Southall (1975: 85) notes that Amin was “not a bizarre or maverick intrusion upon the Uganda political scene” but was rather placed there through various situational factors beyond his control. However, public perception was that Amin was power-hungry and wanted to depose Obote by any means possible. It was, though, the power of the army, and not Amin, that put him in the position of president. Southall (1975) suggests that Amin can be seen as a prisoner of his army cohorts, someone doing the bidding of the army themselves. Not much is known or written from Amin’s perspective in attempting to understand the man behind the reputation (Leopold, 2020). This left me wondering, though, whether users of the textbook would want to understand the man behind the reputation or simply be content to judge his actions as so many had done before. Hence, deeming the historical knowledge presented in the textbook about Amin to be unquestionable truth is not possible, as it lacks empirical evidence to support claims regarding his nature and actions.

Furthermore, the master narrative does not consider situational factors that influenced the coup of 1971 to take place in the first place or the actions of Amin himself. While there is no question about whether the atrocities committed during Amin’s reign really took place and

about his role in ordering such actions, I need to question why the blame is laid squarely on Amin. The master narrative notes that “the army seized control” (p. 333), and then, after Obote was ousted, Amin took control. It was then the army that gave Amin the position of power. Yet no collective blame has been apportioned, and Amin is regarded as the one who “behaved with shocking cruelty and ruthlessness” (p. 333), thus being solely blamed; his followers in the army were not implicated. Idi Amin was the face of the regime and held significant executive authority; however, the master narrative does not consider situational factors such as political, economic, and social forces during that time and the interplay between them, nor does the master narrative create a balanced narrative presenting a holistic understanding of Amin’s leadership. For example, while the master narrative mentioned Libya and the soldiers sent to Uganda to assist Amin, it does not mention that it was Gaddafi who sought out the alliance with Amin and not vice versa (Meredith, 2006). This muddies the waters of understanding and allows the historiography of Amin to sit in a grey zone. In terms of multiperspectivity, the master narrative appears to be incoherent as it brushes over the complexities of those involved, and, at the core of the narrative, is a power-hungry madman who callously made the people of Uganda suffer so immensely that the world not only disapproved of Amin but rejoiced once he was removed from power.

The two sides of the narrative are then presented as such – Amin’s atrocities are foregrounded while the roles of the others are backgrounded or silenced and only reactionary to those of Amin. The master narrative does not disclose that Obote’s undoing was partly a result of his own doing as he, as the prime minister, recommended that Amin only be reprimanded after a rogue operation by the army, whereas the British demanded a court martial or dismissal (Meredith, 2006). By protecting Amin as one of only two African officers in the Ugandan army, he was setting himself up to be ousted from power in the coup. Thus, the narrative silences anything that might point to other factors that led to or influenced Amin’s political dictatorship.

Silences are rife in the entry in Textbook 2, and the presented master narrative is one with many victims and a single perpetrator. There is, in addition to the silences, also otherness. The otherness can be explained in two ways: the minimisation of the stories of the victims being the Ugandan people, both ordinary people and leaders, and the restricted or partial story of Amin himself.

As mentioned in the analysis of Textbook 1, the historiography presented in both textbooks differs. Therefore, the representations of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin become contentious. For something to be considered uncontroversial, complete transparency is needed, and, in the case of Textbook 2, this was not the case. Statements are made that seem out of place and most certainly out of historical context. These have already been alluded to

previously in this analysis. The question then arises: Where does that leave Amin in terms of his narrative?

6.4 Level 3 analysis: Theorisation of Textbook 1 and Textbook 2

The third level of analysis involves the theorisation aspect of this study, where I formulate conclusions about the analysed texts about the political dictatorship of Idi Amin. This includes assessing their position on the shaded continuum of dark history and the pendulum. Additionally, I address my research questions, exploring how the textbooks in Uganda engaged with events of dark history, such as the political dictatorship of Idi Amin and the concept of otherness intertwined with the nature of textbooks. I aim to understand the reasons behind the manner in which the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, considered a dark historical event, and the theme of otherness were approached in these textbooks. The chapter concludes with a comprehensive discussion of the summations and theorisations pertaining to both selected Ugandan textbooks, following their descriptive and analytical analyses.

Uganda was not one of the case countries researched for the Ministerial Task Team report in South Africa (Ndlovu et al., 2018: 17). It was mentioned to illustrate that there are variations in how national history is covered and that subsequent silences are found. Furthermore, the MTT clearly notes that Uganda is one of the countries in Africa where there is “very obvious silence[s]” but also a “fear that dealing with the recent past in the schools could open up wounds that would then fester” (Ndlovu et al., 2018: 17).

During Amin's regime, educational materials were heavily censored to align with the government's propaganda and ideology. The Amin regime sought to control the narrative presented to users, shaping a version of history that supported its political agenda. This censorship extended to various subjects, including History, where events and facts were manipulated or omitted to serve the regime's narrative (Helgason, 2020). The impact of censorship in textbooks during Amin's rule had long-lasting consequences on Uganda's education system and the collective memory of its people (Ndlovu et al., 2018). It should be noted, however, that in the Ministry of Education and Sport and in conjunction with the National Curriculum Development Centre for the History and Political Education syllabus at a senior level 3, they proposed discussing the topic the “Leadership of Idi Amin Dada in Uganda” and planned to spend 14 lessons on this subject. The section was subdivided into two topics: “Amin's Early Life and Rise to Power” and “Achievements and Weaknesses of Amin's Regime”. This senior level 3 textbook, which approximates a South African Grade 10 level or part of the UK's O-levels, was unfortunately not available to me – neither digitally nor as a hard copy, as explained in the sampling section of the methodology chapter (Chapter 3).

The most pressing question I had after analysing Textbooks 1 and 2 was, “What do we do with Amin now?” In these two textbooks, his role was present, and the narrative was clear. He was a political dictator responsible for the torture, death, and gross human rights violations of thousands of people. So, in terms of the silences and otherness, where does Amin fit in? My conclusion is that Amin was both villainised and vilified. In both textbooks, Amin was the villain and the perpetrator. The blame for the suffering experienced lies squarely at his feet, with only the degree of villainy differing from textbook to textbook. In Textbook 1, a primary school textbook, Amin was the villain but had, according to the producers of the book, some redeeming qualities as he executed some robbers and expelled the Asian populace for the betterment of the Ugandan people. In Textbook 2, a high school textbook, Amin was represented purely as the villain, and once he had been deposed, the rest of the world was content that he was no longer in power. It is easy to see why users accept the master narrative that portrays Amin as a villain. It is far simpler to understand Amin as a villain than it is to understand him as a person who was complex, as “villains embody damnable motives, traits, and ideologies” (Morgan, 2011: 88). Society seems to enjoy more of the macabre – as hinted at by dark tourism – and thus users are drawn to the dark and sinister making it easier to “sell” a narrative that presents Amin as evil. History textbooks are seen as representations of official history, a master narrative which forms the knowledge base of the user in terms of nation-building and morality (Morgan, 2011). Hence, when someone is represented in a warped sense, it reveals more about the entity doing the vilification than the person that is being vilified, and as such, there are hidden intentions and motives. Boyce and Chunnu (2019) note that when fear of the other is bolstered and disseminated, the reason for it is political gain.

What, then, would the political gain be? If Amin is represented in a multi-perspective way in history textbooks, does it send the message to the user that leaders who do despicable things can have their actions justified and explained away if they have redeeming qualities? Or does it mean that if Amin is interrogated further in terms of what led to his behaviour and actions, other role players would also be held accountable and, therefore, the master narrative of Amin as a ruthless dictator would need to shift as other situational factors also contributed to the way in which Uganda was ruled from 1971 to 1979? Multiperspectivity cannot take place as there are no sources or evidence to support the dark history language used. Furthermore, by design, these textbooks can only be binary as Amin is presented in relation to another: Amin and Obote, Amin and Nyerere, and Amin and the Ugandans, to name a few. Different perspectives are presented in terms of the other key players, but the perspective on Amin remains the same.

Amin represents and reflects the dialectic of forces and dynamics of his nation and the era in which he lived. Southall (1975: 104) notes of Amin:

He dominates by mere physical size and energy, coupled with extrovert charm and simplicity, shrewdness, courage, and ruthlessness ... He is always on the spot at the right time, for he creates the occasion himself ... He has an infinite capacity to say one thing with utter conviction and to do another with firm determination ... He initiates the most devastating courses of action on the basis of dreams and insists that he fears only God. He has been taken for an unschooled simpleton, a bull in a china shop, a brutal bumped-up sergeant, and this is the measure of his achievement.

Therefore, what can be seen as his worst attributes can also be seen as the reasons for his rise to power. Former Deputy Chief of Mission for the US Embassy in Uganda, Robert Keeley, stated that “Amin’s takeover was not seen as that horrendous at the beginning” (ADST, 2016: n.p.). This was due to the fact that many Western countries were losing faith in Obote, who was becoming more leftist, and Amin’s portrayal of himself was not as mercurial as it became in the latter days of his regime. Thus, could it be that the master narrative of Idi Amin cannot be changed from the accepted version of the truth since it is being used as a propaganda tool? Boyce and Chunnu (2019: 3) further argue that “examining fear and othering in the framework of contemporary political events is an important and significant issue in history” as fear is historicised for a specific political purpose or agenda. In the case of Idi Amin, he could have been used as the scapegoat to remove the accountability of international organisations, Western countries, and/or other Ugandans for their role in Amin coming to power in the first place and then turning a blind eye to his political dictatorship. Or he was a master manipulator in terms of getting what he wanted. Oteíza and Pinto (2008) note that when history textbooks assign responsibility (or blame), the master narrative ensures that extremist groups are socially stigmatised or stereotyped. Morgan (2011) places emphasis on covert stereotyping as part of the master narrative that is used for political and ideological gain. This type of stereotyping manifests through the use of specific language.

As noted, in both Textbook 1 and Textbook 2, pejorative language (such as ruthlessness, shocking cruelty, and notoriety) was used when describing Amin and his actions in Uganda. The framing of Amin as an individual was that of a heartless, ruthless monster. Linguistically, his full villainy was revealed but it was masked historically as no evidence was presented. Leopold (2020) reiterates that because so much knowledge is available to users about Amin and his abhorrent ways, acknowledging him in any other light would seem almost impossible. This “subtle yet powerful manipulation of language, as well as ... selectively critical tone” espouses a negative connotation associated with the political dictatorship of Idi Amin (Morgan,

2011: 87). Further confirming a tone of condemnation, something that can be seen in both Textbook 1 and Textbook 2, Amin was made out to be the sole aggressor and perpetrator while everyone else (regardless of whether they were politicians or civilians) was seen as a victim. Furthermore, Morgan (2011) affirms that covert stereotypes are promulgated when users seek justification for the mistreatment of others. Thus, in the case of Amin, when users try to find reasons as to why he was a despot, the stereotype of him being evil is reinforced.

Amin's erratic behaviour, self-aggrandisement, and complete disregard for human rights are typically emphasised in historical narratives. As such, these master narratives tend to highlight the darker aspects of Amin's leadership, especially his actions of expelling the Ugandan Asians, his political purges, and the crackdowns on dissent. In addition, many view Amin as responsible for the political repression, suffering, and death of thousands of Ugandans (Eden, Daalmans & Johnson, 2017; Kjeldgaard-Christiansen, 2019). Thus, the darker the portrayal of his leadership, the higher the degree of his vilification and villainisation. Furthermore, Holmberg (2016) postulates that the portrayal of Idi Amin as the other could be influenced by lingering colonial legacies as the abuses experienced by the Ugandan people at the hands of the British colonialists and Idi Amin are seen as tantamount to each other.

My précis regarding the political dictatorship of Idi Amin is that he is presented as the other in both Textbook 1 and Textbook 2, as his representation is categorised by negative connotations which separate him from the acceptable societal norms and values. The otherness of Amin is achieved through various interconnected layers of meaning.

Having analysed the language used in the history textbooks and the characterisation used to describe Amin through the analysis tool adapted by Chatman (1978), I deduce that he is othered. He is the one who is different from the rest of society, and he is outside the confines of societal norms. He is constructed as a deviant figure in a cultural and historical context. He is seen as semi-educated, hailing from the outskirts of Uganda, living on the periphery, Muslim, and a poor leader. This construct of character or polarisation can be done, as explained previously, to serve political or social agendas. Furthermore, and in line with Kukard's (2017) historical memory, portraying Amin's memory or legacy as the other reflects the broader societal attitude and collective memory in an attempt to nation-build after such a dark history event. Emphasising Amin's otherness could serve to define a national Ugandan us versus a deviant other that is Amin. The portrayal of Amin as the other can further influence the users' perception of the historical representation of dark historical figures. As noted by Holmberg (2016), internationally, Ugandan history is synonymous with Idi Amin and his reign of terror.

Consequently, both Textbooks 1 and 2 contain a master narrative with only one broad perspective for the most part – Amin was a villain, and his actions caused pain and suffering to many (exiling the Asians and murdering innocent Ugandans). Amin was othered in both texts and treated as the “them” in terms of collective memory and nation-building. Therefore, in terms of the shaded continuum of dark history (Figure 2 in Chapter 1) and the multiperspectivity pendulum (Figure 7 in Chapter 3), Textbook 1 and Textbook 2 would be considered a shade of grey on the shaded continuum of dark history. A single perspective emerges that is entrenched in historical memory and overt otherness, namely a form of sloganeering which indicates uncertainty and ambiguity surrounding Amin. Textbook 1 attempts to show a glimpse of a “humanised” side of Amin, as shown in the justification of his actions for the betterment of Ugandans. Idi Amin could have been presented more darkly, especially considering the complex legacy of the atrocities he committed and the state in which Uganda was left (Reid, 2017).

When examining the dark history of Idi Amin in history textbooks, various sources contribute to our understanding of the events during his regime in Uganda (1971–1979). Idi Amin, a military officer, came to power through a coup in 1971 and ruled with brutality, leading to widespread human rights abuses, violence, and a deteriorating economy (Reid, 2017). Thus, in terms of the multiperspectivity pendulum and the narrative about Amin, the conclusions drawn from Figure 2 line up with that of Figure 7, as there is no contention over the fact that Amin was a brutal dictator, and this is seen as an acceptable master narrative. Fru and Wassermann (2021: 89) contend that “in most societies, school history textbooks play a central role in the transmission of national values by presenting an ‘official’ story that highlights particular narratives and shapes contemporary patriotism”. Therefore, the national value that is transmitted about Amin is that of a monster (Kyemba, 1977; Reid, 2017) who left Uganda enveloped in darkness.

Textbook design needs to be brought into the fray, especially considering that textbooks cannot cover every aspect of a historical event. In Textbooks 1 and 2, there is evidence of dark history. However, the horrors of Amin’s actions are silenced to a certain extent, as textbooks cannot cover everything. Thus, the kinds of atrocities, the number of fatalities, and the targets of prejudice and discrimination are dealt with superficially, if at all. To this end, the targeted Acholi and Lango ethnic group was silenced by Amin and a faceless collective suffering is noted. These silences can be seen as manipulative (Huckin, 2002), though, due to the fact that both Textbook 1 and Textbook 2 are revision examination notes or memory history (Kukard, 2017) and not analytical historical thinking (Seixas, 2015). Conversely, incorporating multiperspectivity and challenging master narratives can contribute to a more

nuanced understanding of historical figures like Idi Amin in Ugandan history textbooks. But this did not and possibly could not happen. Multiperspectivity could not take place in Textbooks 1 and 2 as, by design, the history textbooks could not allow for it. The limitations and challenges of debate indicate that, on the one hand, textbooks run the risk of oversimplifying content (Wineburg, 2001), while issues related to scope, perspective, and cultural bias must also be taken into consideration (Stearns, 2020). The above notion, in terms of the limitations of the design and the nature of textbooks, leads me to ask how a balance can be struck between dark history language and the evidence of dark history. Gaddis (2002) notes that the role of the historian can be seen as either a liberator or oppressor of the past in an attempt to construct meaning of a dark history event. Furthermore, the authors of the history textbooks might be influenced by their own personal biases, cultural beliefs, or other factors that could have significant effects on the master narrative presented.

6.5 Conclusion: Case of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin

To conclude this chapter about Idi Amin and his political dictatorship, I need to provide answers to my research questions. First, how was the event of Idi Amin's political dictatorship as dark history and otherness engaged with in textbooks in Uganda? Textbook 1, *MK Social Studies Student's Hand Book*, was a primary school textbook with a binary representation of Amin. The atrocities committed by Amin were inferred by the description of the great suffering of Ugandans, but the extent to which they suffered was silenced. Furthermore, Amin was momentarily celebrated but still feared when criminals were executed. Textbook 1 was a dictionary-entry-type textbook with rapid-fire points rather than substantive matter and the purpose behind this was the recall of historical memory (Kurkard, 2017). Textbook 2, *East Africa through a Thousand Years: A.D. 1000 to Present Day*, was written primarily for examination revision and preparation and not to generate critical historical thinking. Amin was referred to linearly – as an ill-prepared ruler who had no idea what he was doing, and the text was, therefore, pejorative in nature.

Both textbooks contained silences as well as a lack of multiperspectivity. Different perspectives from different stakeholders and their interactions with Amin were fore fronted but the portrayal of Amin largely remained the same. Thus, in terms of otherness, Amin was othered, and his story was discounted and pushed to the side to foreground his actions, as previously mentioned in this chapter. But there was also otherness in terms of the marginalised faceless victims of Amin's reign.

Because of the polarised view of Amin in the mainstream media, it is difficult for users to move beyond the “violent buffoon, a murderous joke [and] an African stereotype” (Reid, 2017: 63).

Such representation, as in the film *The Last King of Scotland*, profoundly shapes the narratives that exist in textbooks about Amin and his regime and could provide some clarity as to why the dark history event of Idi Amin's political dictatorship was dealt with in this manner in Uganda. In both Textbooks 1 and 2, the victims were othered and silenced. This could be from a preservation approach, that is, shielding the self from harm or the trauma of reliving the narrative of being a victim in detail by rather focusing on the tyrannical regime of Amin, thus projecting the dark history outward instead of internalising it. There were so many "others" who were affected by his rule that perhaps Ugandans do not wish to remember him specifically for what he did to people but rather wish to remember him in a vague manner.

The examination of the dark history of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin brought to light a significant concern regarding the representation of this historical figure in history textbooks. The prevailing lack of multiple perspectives contributed to a one-sided narrative that tended to depict Amin solely through the lens of a malevolent dictator. This oversimplified portrayal not only neglects the complexity of the historical events and characters but also perpetuates a singular master narrative that may hinder a comprehensive understanding and encourage a lack of critical thinking. Furthermore, the tendency to label Idi Amin as the other in history textbooks raises questions about the potential impact on fostering empathy, critical thinking, and a nuanced historical analysis among users and it might limit users' ability to engage critically with the complexities of Uganda's history during his rule.

Chapter 7

Textbook data analysis: Rwanda and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi

“The sharpness of the tongue defeats the sharpness of the warrior”

– Rwandan proverb

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine how the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, also known as the Rwandan genocide, has been presented in each of the selected textbooks that formed part of the purposive, convenience sample of this case study. With a focus on how this pivotal dark history event is presented in these educational resources, I explore the narratives, biases, and historical interpretations that shape the users’ understanding of this complex and emotionally charged chapter in Rwanda’s history.

It should be borne in mind that my presentation of the findings of this case study differs from the case studies in the previous two chapters, namely Nigeria and Uganda. The presentation of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwandan History textbooks is sanctioned according to the following: “The Rwandan government ... propagated formal education that promotes national unity and decreases division amongst students” (Fried, 2017: 6). To this end, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it is a criminal act to teach against the genocide or deviate from what and how the Rwanda Education Board deems appropriate to include and teach regarding the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi; historical negationism is not tolerated.

I analysed six Rwandan textbooks. They were selected based on availability rather than grade specificity. Each textbook unit or topic was described, interpreted, and explained separately using the research instrument adapted from Chatman (1978). As in the previous two cases, the analysis in this chapter occurs on three levels: descriptive, analytical, and theoretical. First, I provide an overview of the selected textbooks, including their length and coverage of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. This was done for each of the six textbooks consecutively. Thereafter, I delve into the narrative elements, such as characters, setting, and plot of all six textbooks, comparably. Next, I explore the deeper layers of the story, considering the overarching narrative, multiple perspectives, and concepts discussed in Chapter 3 across all six textbooks. This involves examining how different theories intersect and how various perspectives are portrayed in each textbook. Lastly, having compared and contrasted the descriptive and analytical levels, conclusions are drawn from these analyses in the theorisation level of the analysis.

7.2 Overview of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Textbooks 1-6

The section on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was first analysed by descriptive means as per Polkinghorne's (1995) narrative configuration and Chatman's (1978) distinction between story (the events or content) and narrative (the way the story is presented). In the first level of analysis, the various narrative elements were described, and the themes that emerged from the text were identified and analysed. The narrative elements gleaned from all six textbooks are presented in Table 10. As previously discussed, the number in the square brackets in each table is used to quantify the number of times each name, place, event, concept and anything related to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was mentioned.

7.2.1 *Textbook 1: History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools, Senior One, Student Book*

Textbook 1, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior One* was first published in 2016 by Longhorn Publishers. The textbook is also available digitally on various online platforms. It consists of 150 pages and five topics. Each topic contains subtopics and within these subtopics, there are units. There are 16 units in Textbook 1, with eight pages that refer specifically to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi under topic 2, titled "History of Rwanda" (p. iii).⁸ Under this topic, there are two subtopics, one discussing the history of Rwanda in terms of ancient, colonial, and post-colonial history, and the other referring to a "History of Genocide" (p. iii). The latter subtopic contains Unit 5, which is the focal point of the analysis for Textbook 1, titled "Genocide and its features" (p. iii), on pages 53 to 60.

Textbook 1 does not contain a preface or a back cover to provide any sort of context for the use and purpose of this book. It simply starts with the contents page and ends with a glossary containing selected words that the users ought to know. Three words which have a bearing on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are "massacre" (p. 150), "prejudices" (p. 150), and "perpetrators" (p. 150). These are unpacked later in the chapter.

⁸ In the analysis of Textbook 1, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as they are in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading, I simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

Table 10: Rwanda – Textbook 1: *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Senior One. Student's Book*

RWANDA: Textbook 1 <i>History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Senior One. Student's Book</i>	
Title of narrative	Unit 5: Genocide and its features
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent:</u> Government soldiers [1] Hutu [2] Hutu extremists [2] Hutu militia [1] Hutu politicians [1] Local administration [1] Public media [1] Public services [1] Security forces [1] Tutsi [30] Tutsi children [1] Tutsi elderly [1] Tutsi men [1] Tutsi women [1] <u>International organisations:</u> UN Security Council [1] UN troops [1] United Nations (UN) [2] <u>Individual:</u> Emmanuel Nyirinbuga [1] Munezero [2] Nshimiye [2] President Clinton [1]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Places:</u> Marumbi Memorial Museum Paris <u>Countries:</u> Bosnia Democratic Republic of Congo

	France Germany Nigeria Rwanda Sudan United States
Events	1948 UN Convention 1994 genocide against the Tutsi Gacaca courts Genocide against the Jews
Concepts	Genocide Homicide Infanticide Mass crimes Massacre Patricide Propaganda Suicide War crimes
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	1 [photograph] 8 activities [research-based] Passages of text [bullet-pointed]

7.2.2 Textbook 2: History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools, Senior Two, Student's Book

Textbook 2, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior Two*, was first published in 2017 by Longhorn Publishers. These are the same publishers as Textbook 1. Textbook 2 was reprinted in 2018. The textbook is also readily available digitally on various online platforms. It consists of 231 pages and six topics. Each topic contains subtopics, within which are units. There are there are 18 units in Textbook 2. Eight pages refer specifically to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi under topic 2, "History of Rwanda" (p. iii).⁹ Under this topic, there are two

⁹ In the analysis of Textbook 2, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as they are in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading I will simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the

subtopics: one discusses Rwanda in terms of ancient, colonial, and post-colonial history in a unit titled “German and Belgian Colonisation” (p. 13), and the other discusses the history of genocide. The latter, titled “Causes and course of the genocide against the Tutsi” (p. 13), contains Unit 3 on pages 55-62, which is the focal point of the analysis for Textbook 2.

Similar to Textbook 1, Textbook 2 does not contain a preface or a back cover to provide any sort of context for the use and purpose of this book. It simply starts with the contents page and ends with a glossary of selected words that the users ought to know, as well as a reference list. Two words from the glossary which have relevance to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are “genocidaires” (p. 228) and “massacres” (p. 229). These are unpacked later in the chapter.

Table 11: Rwanda – Textbook 2: *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Senior Two.*

RWANDA: Textbook 2 <i>History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Senior Two</i>	
Title of narrative	Unit 3: Causes and course of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent:</u> Belgians [2] French forces [1] Germans [2] Hutu [10] Hutu Majority [1] Rwandan army [1] Rwandans [3] Tutsi [58] Tutsi Minority [1] Twa [1] <u>Organisations:</u> Akazu (informal organisation of Hutu extremists) [3] Civilian militias: - <i>Garde Présidentielle</i> [2] - <i>Impuzamugambi</i> [2] - <i>Interahamwe</i> [3]

textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

	FAR (Rwandan Armed Forces – original name for the Rwanda Defence Force) [3] Genocidal forces (FAR and Militias) [1] MRND local representatives (The National Revolutionary Movement for Development – ruling political party under Habyarimana) [1] RPA (renamed Rwanda Patriotic Army as the Rwanda Defence Force) [5] RPF/RPF forces/RPF-Inkotanyi (Rwandan Patriotic Front) [11] <u>Individual:</u> Agathe Kanziga (Habyarimana's wife) [1] Dr Sindikubwabo Theodore [1] General Paul Kagame [2] Kambanda Jean [1] President Cyprian Ntaryamira [1] President Habyarimana/Juvénal Habyarimana [5]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Cities/Towns/Regions:</u> Dar-es-Salaam Kanombe Kigali <u>Region/State:</u> Butare Gitarama Zone Turquoise (Gikongoro, Cyangugu and Kibuye) <u>Places:</u> Mulindi (Village) <u>Countries:</u> Burundi Rwanda Zaire/DRC
Events	1994 genocide against the Tutsi
Concepts	Extremist, genocidal ideology False ideology Genocide Indoctrination

	Massacre National unity Racism
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	None 6 activities [research-based] Passages of text [bullet-pointed]

7.2.3 *Textbook 3: History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools, Senior 3, Learner's Book*

Textbook 3, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior 3*, was first published in 2017 by Fountain Publishers in Kigali, Rwanda. This publisher is different from that of Textbooks 1 and 2. This textbook is also readily available digitally on various online platforms. It consists of 277 pages and 16 units. Each unit contains activities throughout as well as a unit summary, a glossary, and revision questions at the end of each unit. Three pages refer specifically to the 100 days of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Unit 2, titled “Consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi” (p. iii).¹⁰ This unit contains 31 pages (pages 29-50), although, as mentioned previously in this chapter, I only analysed parts of the textbook that featured the 100 days of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. As this unit focused on the consequences of the genocide, the bulk of the unit looked at how Rwanda was going to rebuild and reconcile after the dark historical event rather than at the event itself. In my analysis, I also looked at the unit summary on pages 49-50.

Unlike Textbooks 1 and 2, Textbook 3 contains an introduction titled “Introduction” (pp. vi-vii). The introduction explains the change in the school curriculum and, thus, the need to change the textbooks accordingly. It notes, “In the past, the main matter in schooling was to learn knowledge ... Now, the main aim is that you should be able to use the knowledge you learn by developing skills and competencies” (p. vi). Therefore, Textbook 3 has a strong focus on activity-based learning that incorporates group work (including discussions) and further research to be completed by the user, with the teacher’s role being that of facilitator.

¹⁰ In the analysis of Textbook 3, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly they are in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading I will simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

Table 12: Rwanda – Textbook 3: *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Learner’s Book. Senior 3*

RWANDA: Textbook 3 <i>History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools. Learner’s Book. Senior 3</i>	
Title of narrative	Unit 2: Consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent:</u> Hutu [1] Rwandans [5] Tutsi [28] <u>Individual:</u> Henchmen of Juvénal Habyarimana [1]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Region/State:</u> Great Lakes <u>Countries:</u> DRC Rwanda Tanzania
Events	1994 genocide against Tutsi
Concepts	Cause and effect Genocide Genocide ideology
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	1 [photograph] 3 activities [research-based] Passages of text

7.2.4 Textbook 4: *Achievers History for Rwandan Schools, Senior 4, Student’s Book*

Textbook 4, *Achievers History for Rwandan Schools Senior 4*, was first published and printed in 2016 in Nairobi, Kenya. The publishing house for Textbook 4, East African Publishers, differs from Textbooks 1-3. The textbook is readily available digitally on various online platforms. It consists of 349 pages and five topics. Each topic also contains subtopics and within these subtopics are units. The first topic in Textbook 4 is titled “History of Rwanda” (p.

iii.).¹¹ In this topic, there are two subtopics: one discusses Rwanda in terms of ancient, colonial, and post-colonial history with a unit titled “History of ancient, colonial, and post-colonial Rwanda” (p. 2), while the other discusses the history of genocide and is titled “History of genocide” (p. 17). The unit in this subtopic is called “Comparison of genocides” (p. 17) and appears in Textbook 4 on pages 17-24. In Unit 2, there are four activities, a unit summary at the end of the unit, and revision questions. It should be mentioned that in Unit 2, there are aspects that I did not analyse as they do not deal directly with the dark historical event of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, which lasted from 7 April 1994 to 15 July 1994, but rather with genocide in general and with other examples of genocide such as the Holocaust in Germany and the genocide against the Herero in Namibia. These sections were not analysed.

Similar to Textbooks 1 and 2, Textbook 4 does not contain a preface or a back cover to provide any sort of context for the use and purpose of this book. It simply starts with the contents page and ends with a glossary and a reference list. In the glossary, two words bear relevance to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi: “exterminate” (p.347), and “genocide” (p. 347). These are unpacked later in the chapter.

Table 13: Rwanda – Textbook 4: *History for Rwandan Schools, Senior 4*

RWANDA: Textbook 4	
<i>Achievers History for Rwandan Schools. Senior 4. Student’s Book</i>	
Title of narrative	Topic Area: History of Rwanda Subtopic area: History of genocide Unit 2: Comparison of genocides
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent:</u> Genocidal forces [1] Hutu [7] Hutu-controlled government [1] Hutu extremists [1] Rwandan government [3] Rwandans [3] Tutsi [39] Twa [1]

¹¹ In the analysis of Textbook 4, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and are spelt exactly as they are written in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading, I simply reference the page number where the word, phrase, or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

	<u>Organisations:</u> Armed forces: - Republican Guards (Garde Présidentielle) [1] - Police (Gendarmes) [1] - Militias Interahamwe (MRND) [1] - Impuzamugambi (CDR militias) [1] Commune Burgomasters [1] Prefects of Prefectures [1] Rwandan Patriotic Front (RDF) [5] UNO (United Nations Organisation) [1] <u>Group:</u> International community [1] <u>Individual:</u> President Juvénal Habyarimana [2] President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi [1] Political officials in the opposition: - Minister Frederick Ndamurambaho [1] - Faustin Rucogoza [1] - Agathe Uwiringiyimana [1] - Landouald Ndasingwa [1] - Joseph Kavaruganda [1] State officials of newly formed “government”: - Theodore Sindikubwabo [1] - Jean Kambanda [1]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Cities/Towns/Regions:</u> Kigali <u>Countries:</u> Rwanda
Events	1994 genocide against the Tutsi Holocaust (1939-1945) Genocide against the Herero (1907)
Concepts	Genocidaires Genocide Massacre
Medium of Knowledge - Visual	None

- Activity	4 activities [research-based]
- Textual	Passages of text (some bulleted lists)

7.2.5 Textbook 5: *History for Rwanda Schools, Senior 5, Learner's Book*

Textbook 5, *History for Rwanda Schools Senior 5*, was first published in 2017 by Fountain Publishers in Kigali, Rwanda. This is the same publisher as Textbook 3. The textbook is also readily available digitally on various online platforms. It consists of 222 pages and nine units. Reference is made to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Unit 2, titled “Genocide Denial and Ideology in Rwanda and Abroad” (p. iii),¹² on pages 31-50.¹³ This unit appears to be written in an academic fashion. It refers to scholars and academic articles more than a school textbook usually would since the focal point of the unit lies broadly in genocide denial and ideology rather than the historical event of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Thus, in this unit, there are glimpses of reference to the actual event, and thus, only these inferences were analysed.

Similar to Textbook 3, Textbook 5 contains an introduction titled “Introduction” (pp. vi-vii), which outlines the need for textbooks to change as the curriculum has changed. Textbook 5 has a strong focus on activity-based learning that incorporates group work (including discussions) and further research to be completed by the user. The teacher’s role is as facilitator. Similar to Textbook 3, each unit in Textbook 5 contains activities throughout the unit, as well as a unit summary, a glossary, and revision questions at the end of each unit. The glossary contains two words that bear relevance to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi: “indoctrinating” (p. 50), and “pogrom” (p. 50). These are unpacked later in the chapter.

Table 14: Rwanda – Textbook 5: *History for Rwanda Schools Senior 5*

RWANDA: Textbook 5

¹² In the analysis of Textbook 5, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as they are in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading, I simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

¹³ Unit 2 of Textbook 5 deals in depth with the idea of genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda. The unit spans pages 31-50. There are nine activities in the unit that are research-based, which makes it very learner-centred and driven. The unit looks at the various forms of denial and defines the concepts. It further explains how genocide denial manifested in Rwanda and what the Rwandan government did to combat this. Amongst the forms of denial (literal genocide denial, banal denial, literal denial, interpretative denial, implication denial, as well as the kinds of discourse this espouses, the dark historical event of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi emerges in a few instances. It is these instances that were analysed as part of this study.

History for Rwanda Schools. Learner's Book. Senior 5	
Title of narrative	Unit 2: Genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and Abroad.
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent:</u> Government of Rwanda [1] Hutu [1] Hutu extremists [1] Tutsi [8] <u>Group:</u> International community [1] <u>Individual:</u> President's (plane) [1]
Setting: - Political - Social	<u>Countries:</u> Congo (DRC) Rwanda
Events	1994 genocide against the Tutsi
Concepts	
Medium of Knowledge - Visual - Activity - Textual	None 9 activities [research-based] Passages of text

7.2.6 Textbook 6: History, Senior 6, Student Book

Textbook 6, *History S6*, was first published in 2019 by the Rwanda Education Board in Kigali, Rwanda. The textbook is readily available digitally on various online platforms. It consists of 449 pages and 11 units. Each unit contains subunits. Unit 1 of Textbook 6 is titled "Post-colonial Rwanda" (p. ix).¹⁴ In this unit, subunit 1.4 is titled "The challenges faced by Rwanda after the genocide against the Tutsi" (p. 26). However, this unit did not speak directly to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi but rather to the aftermath and how the Rwandan government was going to address the issues. Unit 2 of Textbook 5, titled "Genocide Prevention" (p.50), made inferences about the dark historical event of the genocide while trying to showcase how genocide could have been prevented but was not. It also highlighted issues that could exacerbate genocide. Other examples of genocide were mentioned, such as Cambodia,

¹⁴ In the analysis of Textbook 6, I quote extensively from this textbook, whether single words, phrases, or sentences. These quotes are direct and spelt exactly as they are written in the textbook. Thus, for ease of reading, I simply reference the page number where the word, phrase or sentence comes from the textbook in question. Any other reference from any other source is done fully in accordance with the Harvard referencing style.

Bosnia, Sudan, and Germany. This unit spanned pages 50-62. Each unit contained activities, an end-of-unit assessment, and a glossary. Approximately two-and-a-half pages referred directly to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi if this content was put together. Therefore, the rest of the sections in Unit 2 were not analysed as they did not specifically relate to the 100 days of genocide experienced in Rwanda in 1994.

Unlike the other textbooks in the Rwanda sample, Textbook 6 contained a foreword, an acknowledgement, an extensive acronym list at the beginning of the textbook, and an extensive reference list at the end of the textbook. In the foreword, it was noted that the government of Rwanda placed great importance on “competence-based teaching and learning ... [and that] special attention was paid to the activities that facilitate the learning process” (p. ii), thus reinforcing the idea that this textbook was meant to be learner-driven and -centred.

Table 15: Rwanda – Textbook 6: *History S6. Student Book*

RWANDA: Textbook 6: History S6	
Title of narrative	Unit 2: Genocide Prevention
Characters - Prominent - Individual	<u>Prominent:</u> Tutsi [11] Hutu [3] Twa [1] <u>Organisations:</u> Civil society organisations (churches included) [1] Interahamwe [1] Interim government local administration [1] Media [1] Milita [2] RDF [1] Security forces [1] The population [1] <u>Groups:</u> International community [3] Rwandans [1] UN peacekeepers [1]
Setting: - Political	<u>Countries:</u> Rwanda

- Social	
Events	1994 genocide against the Tutsi
Concepts	Extermination Genocide Human rights violations Massacre
Medium of Knowledge	
- Visual	4 [photographs, and illustrations]
- Activity	4 activities [research-based]
- Textual	Passages of text

7.3 Level 1: Descriptive analysis – across all six textbooks

The six textbooks were analysed above in terms of what was extracted from the textbooks regarding the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Below, a descriptive discussion follows per Polkinghorne's (1995) narrative configuration and Chatman's (1978) distinction between story (the events or content) and narrative (the way the story is presented). In this first level of analysis, the various narrative elements are described, and the themes that emerge from the text are identified and analysed.

7.3.1 Characters

The characters in all the textbooks can be categorised into prominent characters, organisations, groups, and individuals. These characters play an important role in the master narrative that is presented. To this end, within the six textbooks analysed, the characters that appeared were mentioned in passing as the story unfolded. They were, at no point, placed into historical context within the respective units. In other words, a definition of who was a Tutsi or a Hutu was not offered, and the user would need to infer that. Textbook 2, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior Two*, is the only textbook that attempted to define Hutu and Tutsi by mentioning that prior to colonial influence, Rwandans were identified by their clan and that being Hutu, Twa, or Tutsi was merely a social categorisation designated by the class and wealth status of an individual. Those Rwandans who owned ten or more cows were considered Tutsi, and those with fewer than ten cows were considered Hutu. The Twa were regarded as the lowest on the social hierarchy as they did not own any cows but rather survived on pottery activities. Unit 2 of Textbook 2, then, seems to suggest that colonial interference exacerbated the class differences between the Hutu and the Tutsi.

Notably, the most prominent character group that appeared across the six textbooks was the Tutsi. In every textbook, the Tutsi were overwhelmingly referred to as the majority. Thus, a

strong narrative of victimisation emerges where the Tutsi are at the forefront. The victims, however, are referred to as a collective and not as individuals. At one point in the narrative of Textbook 1, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior One*, reference is made to “Tutsi elderly, men, women, youth and children” (p. 55). While these are a little more specific than just referring to “Tutsi” (p. 55), these characters are still seen as a collective and not individuals. Similarly, Textbook 2, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior Two*, refers to the Tutsi as the “Tutsi minority” (p. 55).

On the other hand, the other main character of the master narrative of these textbooks was the Hutu. While not mentioned nearly as many times as the Tutsi, the Hutu appear as a character in opposition to that of the Tutsi. Similar to that of the Tutsi, the Hutu were also not described as an ethnic group, instead being referred to as a faceless collective and not as individuals. There are also multiple terms used to describe the Hutu, which could make it difficult to follow the narrative. In addition to being referred to simply as “Hutu” in all the textbooks, terms such as Hutu extremists were used in Textbooks 1, 4, and 5, while Hutu militia appeared in Textbooks 1, 2, 4, and 6. Textbook 1 also referred to “Hutu politicians” (p. 55), while Textbook 4 noted the “Hutu-controlled government” (p. 20). Textbook 2 described the Hutu as the “majority”, while Textbook 3 referred to the Hutu as the “henchmen of Juvénal Habyarimana” (p. 49). Thus, the blame for the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is placed collectively on the Hutu, and no perpetrator is singled out. Furthermore, the terms “extremists” and “militia” used to describe the Hutu indicate a narrative of violence and aggression.

Apart from the two prominent characters in this narrative, a third emerged as well – the Rwandan government. Despite knowing that historically the government of Rwanda at the time was Hutu, a distinction is made between the Hutu and the government. This distinction can be seen in five out of the six textbooks. In Textbook 1, under the subheading “Role of state machinery” (p. 55), a description is provided of how the “government soldiers, local administration, public media, public services and security forces” (p. 55) were involved and “encouraged” (p. 55) the Hutu to continue the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Again, the group is referred to as a faceless collective instead of individuals. Furthermore, the use of the terms “soldiers” (p. 55) and “security forces” (p. 55) indicates that these groups were used in addition to the Hutu and were a second force that the Tutsi had to stand against; therefore, no one would help the Tutsi during the genocide of 1994 against them. Similarly, in Textbook 4, the Rwandan government did not use its power to stop the killings but rather “provided funds to make the killings possible” (p. 21). This then funded the “armed forces starting with the Republican Guards (Garde Présidentielle), Gendarmes (Police), Militias Interahamwe (MRND), Impuzamugambi (CDR militias) and military commanders at the local level and the

Communal police” (p. 21) indicating that the government of Rwanda was, perhaps, a third force aiding the Hutu in the genocide. A similar narrative is derived from Textbook 6 about the government’s involvement over and above that of the Hutu as the “interim government local administration, security forces, militia, the media, civil society organisations (churches included), the population and the international community” (p. 57) were involved.

In terms of organisations, reference is made to the “United Nations”, “UN troops”, and “UN Security Council” (pp. 55, 57-59) in Textbook 1. It contains heavy international blame for the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi as the world stood idly by while the Tutsi were attacked “with the intention of completely wiping them out” (p. 53) despite the fact that they “knew about it but did not want to get involved” (p. 58). Rather than shifting the full blame to the Hutu who carried out the genocide, Rwanda was “isolated by other countries and peacekeeping agencies” (p. 55), and the UN Security Council “ignored” (p.55) warnings of a genocide occurring. The UN “failed” (p. 55) to stop and “prevent” (p. 56) the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, despite being “present in Rwanda” (p. 56) during the genocide. Thus, the narrative of victimisation is emphasised by the failure of the international community to assist the Rwandans.

The narrative that the international community was to blame for the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is further perpetuated in Textbooks 1, 4, 5, and 6. In Textbook 1, an individual president is named and shamed. President Bill Clinton of the United States is specifically mentioned under a subheading titled “Terms of the 1948 Convention” (p. 58). Thus far in the narrative of Textbook 1, the blame has remained collective, but at this point, an individual from another country is specifically blamed: “The United States refused to send help, something that President Clinton regretted later” (p. 58). Thus, the blame for the genocide seems to be predominantly placed on the international community for not learning from the mistakes of the past with the Holocaust.

By contrast, Textbook 4 places collective blame on the international community by making reference to the lack of assistance from the international community as they “did not intervene to stop the genocide in Rwanda” (p. 22) and the Rwandans had to fend for themselves. “It came to an end when the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) defeated the genocidal forces in July 1994” (p. 22). This seems to condemn the international community but also praises the Rwandans for being able to stand up for themselves. Likewise, Textbook 5 indicates that the international community “hesitated to consider the massive killing of the Tutsi as genocide” (p. 31), thus failing to assist the Rwandans. Textbook 6 unequivocally states that the international community failed the people of Rwanda:

With the presence of UN peace keepers [sic], it was possible to stop the genocide against the Tutsi, but because of various politico-diplomatic reasons, these peace keepers were obliged to go back to their countries and let [the] Tutsi die in the hands of the perpetrators (p. 60).

While Textbook 2, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior Two*, does not mention any international organisations, it draws heavily on regional organisations in the attempt to end the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. These organisations include the RPF-Inkotanyi and RPA. In essence, RPA refers specifically to the military arm of the RPF, which played a crucial role in the Rwandan Civil War and the aftermath of the genocide. RPF, on the other hand, encompasses both the political organisation and the broader movement that included the military wing (RPA) during the conflict and its transformation into the ruling party post-genocide. Textbook 2 outlines the role played by both the RPF and the RPA to stop the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Textbook 4 repeatedly mentioned the Rwandan Patriotic Front and reinforced that it was the RPF that defeated the genocidal forces and ended the genocide as “Tutsi refugees regrouped again into a strong force ... which they used to force the Rwanda Government into a political negotiation” (p. 20). Their role in ending the genocide and establishing stability in Rwanda is highlighted, with emphasis on their contribution to defending the rights and safety of the Tutsi population. Similarly, Textbook 6, *History S6*, refers to the “rebels of the RPF” (p. 57). RPF is depicted as a defensive force fighting to protect Tutsis in Rwanda from persecution and violence perpetrated by the Hutu-dominated regime. Their actions are often framed as a response to years of discrimination and oppression against the Tutsis.

In terms of individual characters, the master narrative of Textbook 1, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools*, refers to three individuals, two fictional and one real person. The two fictional characters appear in an activity which is discussed later, but the characters are named “Munezero” (p. 54) and “Nshimiye” (p. 54). From the activity (Activity 5.4), the user can infer that the two friends were from the two ethnic tribes, Hutu and Tutsi. The activity is discussed in detail later in the descriptive analysis. The third individual character referred to in the narrative is a Hutu militia leader, “Emmanuel Nyirinbuga” (p. 57). His name is also mentioned in an activity (Activity 5.6). Nyirinbuga is referred to as “one of the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi” (p. 57). Nowhere in the text does it refer to him as a Hutu or as a militia leader. I had to conduct research to find out who he was and why he was specifically mentioned by name. The extent of the Hutu activity and what it entailed is also discussed later when the medium of knowledge is discussed. What is interesting is that throughout the narrative, the blame is laid first on a faceless collective, the Hutu, and then on the international

community. Only President Clinton and Nyirinbuga are called out as individuals for blame. Does this make them scapegoats? The two individuals and the global community are made out to be villains, thus detracting from the role the Hutu played in orchestrating the genocide in the first place.

In Textbook 2, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior Two*, six individuals are referred to. The first is President Habyarimana, who is also referred to by his first name, Juvénal Habyarimana, later in the unit. The reference to him was only made with regard to the crashing of his plane, which is often seen as the trigger or catalyst of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. President Cyprian Ntaryamira of Burundi is also mentioned in Textbook 2, being directly linked to Habyarimana and the plane that was shot down as he, too, was in the aircraft. The third individual referred to is Agathe Kanziga (Habyarimana's wife), who was a close friend of people within an "inner circle of government [and] members of the Akazu ... who wanted to keep on the rule over the country" (p. 57). The Akazu was an informal organisation of Hutu extremists. This creates the inference that Habyarimana's wife and the Akazu, as part of the inner circle, were preparing to eliminate the Tutsi whether Habyarimana was part of the plan or not. This was not alluded to or inferred. Dr Sindikubwabo Theodore was another individual referred to in Textbook 2. After the death of Habyarimana, Dr Sindikubwabo Theodore, who was a Hutu extremist and a member of the MRND (National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development) party, served as the interim President of Rwanda during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Kambanda Jean (also referred to in the text) was made the Prime Minister of Rwanda at the same time that Theodore was made interim president. Their government was "composed of ministers, most of whom belonged to extremist wing of political parties that had accepted to be part of the coalition" (p. 59), which indicates that there was a specific agenda that they wished to follow and execute. The final individual referred to in Textbook 2 is General Paul Kagame (a key leader in the RPF). He is mentioned twice as the face of the rebel opposition to "defeat the genocidal forces" (p. 61) and "[give] orders to stop the genocide... and rescue genocide survivors" (p. 61). This gives rise to the narrative that while the Tutsi were victims, there was also a resistance movement.

In Textbook 3, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior 3*, and Textbook 5, *History for Rwanda Schools Senior 5*, only one individual is referred to – the Hutu president, Juvénal Habyarimana. In the selected section of Textbook 3 that was analysed, Habyarimana only appeared once, right at the end of the unit summary: "But after the chaotic situation created by the henchmen of Juvénal Habyarimana, the Government of National Unity did what was necessary to rectify the situation" (p. 49). What is interesting to note is that Habyarimana was

not actually referred to directly here, it was rather to the men who worked for him. However, the inference is clear that Habyarimana was at fault or to blame. Similarly, in Textbook 5, Habyarimana is again not directly referred to but rather mentioned in passing when it is noted that the trigger of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was a result of the “shooting down of the president’s plane” (p. 41).

Several individuals are discussed in Textbook 4, *Achievers History for Rwandan Schools Senior 4*. Similar to Textbook 2, President Juvénal Habyarimana and President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi are mentioned in relation to the shooting down of the presidential plane. This is shortly followed by a list of names of political officials who were in opposition to the then Hutu government, those who had “long planned [the] genocide against the Tutsi” (p. 20). These individuals included Minister Frederick Nzumurambaho (a prominent figure in Rwandan politics), Faustin Rucogoza (a prominent figure in Rwandan politics), Agathe Uwiringiyimana (Rwanda's first female prime minister and a member of the moderate opposition MDR), Landouald Ndasingwa (an intellectual and former Vice-President of the Constitutional Court of Rwanda), and Joseph Kavaruganda (a member of the Supreme Court). The rationale provided for these killings was that it was “a strategic method used to freely commit the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda” (p. 20) and that those who opposed it were removed. Some individuals, such as state officials of the newly formed “government”, such as Theodore Sindikubwabo and Jean Kambanda, “sensitised people to kill the Tutsi” (p. 20). Textbook 2 also mentioned Theodore Sindikubwabo and Jean Kambanda, although their names were provided in reverse, Sindikubwabo Theodore and Kambansa Jean.

The portrayal of the characters across the six textbooks can be seen as problematic as there are multiple terms used for the characters, indicating a lack of consistency in naming the characters. As explained above, multiple terms are used to describe the same groups, and thus, the user is not able to see the progression of one character throughout the entire master narrative, so it feels disjointed. The plot seems to jump constantly from one name to another. Individual characters are simply named without any historical content being provided. The historiography is also inconsistent (this is discussed later).

7.3.2 *Setting (political and social)*

In terms of setting, Chatman (1978) focuses on its role in structuring narratives and influencing storytelling, while Polkinghorne (1995) highlights how settings are used in personal narratives to shape meaning and identity. Their perspectives enrich our understanding of how settings contribute to the richness and depth of narratives across different contexts and disciplines. To this end, the setting for each textbook is discussed next.

The focus for the geographical setting of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Textbook 1 is not that of Rwanda, as one would anticipate. “Rwanda” (pp. 53, 55, 57, 60) as a geographical setting is only mentioned seven times scattered throughout the unit. These mentions are in passing about the country as a whole and have nothing specifically to do with the genocide. Instead, as the title of Unit 5, “Genocide and its features” (p. 53) suggests, multiple countries where genocide has occurred are mentioned, such as “Bosnia” (p. 57), “Democratic Republic of Congo” (p. 54), “Germany” (pp. 53, 56), “Nigeria” (p. 57), and “Sudan” (pp. 54, 56). The genocides that occurred in the DRC and Sudan are dealt with in more detail than in Nigeria and Bosnia, which are only mentioned in passing. The DRC and Sudan are part of an activity (Activity 5.3) which provides context in terms of the period of the genocide, the perpetrators, victims, deaths, and atrocities that occurred. The Holocaust perpetrated by the Nazis is, however, one genocide that is referred to repeatedly and compared to that of Rwanda. More reference is given to the Holocaust than the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. No further explanation is given in relation to Rwanda or the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The places are merely mentioned in the narrative. The master narrative is simply littered with countries which detracts from the actual dark historical event.

Similarly, the setting of Textbook 22, while seemingly rooted in Rwanda, jumps from city to region, state to place, and even country to country without placing anything in context. The plane carrying Habyarimana of Rwanda and Ntaryamira of Burundi crashed near “Kanombe” (pp. 55, 58) when they were on their way back from “Dar-es-Salaam” (p. 55). Furthermore, regions such as “Gitarama” (p. 59), “Butare” (p. 59), and “Zone Turquoise (Gikongoro, Cyangugu and Kibuye)” (p. 61) are mentioned in passing, but one does not fully understand how this relates to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. In addition to Rwanda and Burundi being mentioned as countries, so too is “Zaire/DRC” (p. 59). Without detailed descriptions or even maps being provided, it becomes difficult to navigate the narrative without understanding the setting.

In terms of setting, Textbooks 3, 4, 5, and 6 mention Rwanda as the backdrop of the dark historical event. However, as can be seen in Textbooks 1 and 2, no context or maps were provided to set the scene for the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi to unfold. On the contrary, even fewer locations are mentioned in total in the remaining textbooks. Regions such as the “Great Lakes” (p. 32) are noted once in Textbook 3 with no bearing on how this is connected to the genocide.¹⁵ Similarly, in this textbook, reference is made to “Tanzania” (p. 31) and the

¹⁵ Textbook 3, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior 3*, has a unit towards the end of the textbook titled “*Understanding Rwandans in Reference to Regional Groupings*” (p. 219) which delves specifically into the location of Rwanda as a landlocked country with geographical co-ordinates

“DRC” (p. 32). In addition to referring to Rwanda, Textbook 4 also refers to “Kigali” (p. 20) as part of the setting for the dark historical event. Those are the only two scene settings provided. Apart from Rwanda and Burundi being mentioned, 5 mentions the “Congo (DRC)” (p. 48), while Textbook 6 only focuses on Rwanda and makes no mention of other countries.

7.3.3 *Events*

Events are seen as the building blocks of the plot by Chatman (1978), while Polkinghorne (1995) sees events as meaningful occurrences that individuals interpret and integrate into their personal narratives to construct identity and make sense of their experiences. Therefore, the events found across the six textbooks speak to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. All six textbooks contain part of the building blocks of the historical event, some more than others. These meaningful occurrences are often intertwined with other events to try and make sense of the world.

An example of this can be seen in Textbook 1, in which multiple events are discussed, and in Unit 5 that relate to genocide and mass crimes. These include the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the genocide against the Jews, and crimes and massacres in the DRC, Sudan, Nigeria, and Bosnia. The 1948 UN Convention is also discussed. As mentioned previously, the events are not explored in terms of a historical time frame nor placed into significant historical context with regard to other events. The only commonality between the events is the fact that they all have to do with genocide and crimes against humanity.

Likewise, Textbook 4 compares genocides in order to understand and explain the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Multiple events, such as the genocide against the Herero in Namibia by the German colonialists in 1907 and the Holocaust that targeted the Jews and those Hitler termed undesirables, are mentioned as is the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 9 December 1948.

Textbook 5, while dealing specifically with the denial ideology of genocides and, in particular, that of Rwanda (and the various forms and manifestations that denial can have), other genocides and crimes against humanity are also referenced as events. These events include Europe’s pogroms, genocides, the 1948 Genocide Convention (also discussed in Textbook 6), mass killings in the former Yugoslavia, and the experiences of Darfur, Liberia, Sierra Leone, DRC, and Somalia.

etc. This knowledge should have been integrated into the units dealing with specific dark historical events to ensure a broader understanding.

Textbook 2 also includes events such as division ideology from the colonial era when Belgium colonised Rwanda and leadership during the First and Second Republics while trying to convey the causes of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

What is clear is that crimes against humanity and human rights violations cannot be discussed in isolation. There is a necessity to compare one experience of genocide or war crime against another to ascertain its severity and, perhaps, ranking on the scale of dark history events.

7.3.4 *Concepts*

Historical concepts are necessary for users to fully comprehend the subject matter they are dealing with. To this end, first-order concepts found in Textbook 1, such as “genocide” (p. 270), “homicide” (p. 53), “infanticide” (p. 53), “mass crimes” (p. 53), “massacre” (p. 56), “patricide” (p. 53), “propaganda” (p. 55), “suicide” (p. 53), and “war crimes” (p. 56) were found. Textbook 2 also contained first-order concepts, which overlap with Textbook 1, with concepts such as “genocide” (p. 59) and “massacre” (p. 57). Other concepts included “racism” (p. 55), “indoctrination” (p. 56), “extremist, genocidal ideology” (p. 56), and “false ideology” (p. 57), indicating a nuanced nod to pseudo-scientific racism and propaganda. In the same vein, Textbook 3 and Textbook 5 used first-order concepts such as “genocide” (p. 29, p. 31) and “genocide ideology” (p. 31, p. 32). Textbook 4 made use of “massacre” (p. 19), “genocide” (p. 17), and “genocidaires” (p. 20), while Textbook 6 used “human rights violations” (p. 54), “genocide” (p. 58), “massacre” (p. 54), and “extermination” (p. 56). These concepts are, however, merely stated, and it is left up to the user to research and define these terms as set out in one of the activities (discussed below). Such concepts refer to the idea of victimisation, death, and violence.

In terms of the second-order concepts of change, continuity, causation, consequence, change and continuity, similarity, difference, and historical significance, the six textbooks seem to be scaffolded upon one another, and thus, they were all different in terms of the second-order concepts that they subscribed to.

7.3.5 *Master narrative and plot*

The master narrative of Textbook 1 explores certain aspects of genocide in general in a way that mutes the severity of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. By this, I mean that the focal point of Unit 5 seems to centre on the generality of genocide and its features rather than specifically on the atrocity that occurred in Rwanda in 1994. The knowledge conveyed is that mass murder comes in various forms and that what happened in Rwanda was nothing unique. Thus, by impacting the collective memory and historical amnesia of this dark history event and

subsequently shaping the nature of remembering specific aspects of the past, and by allowing users to find their own answers to the questions they may have that are not moderated, it creates room for possible ambiguity. Similarly, the narrative of Textbook 4 focuses on the history of genocide and a comparison of genocides. As mentioned previously, the genocides that occurred in Namibia, Germany, and Rwanda were compared and contrasted, “similarities and differences between the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and other genocides” (p. 21). Furthermore, the theme of nation-building is alluded to by discussing the subtopic, “Measures that have been taken to reconstruct the Rwandan society after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi” (p. 22).

The narrative of Textbook 2, on the other hand, describes the causes and the course of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, which includes the planning, execution, and how the genocide was stopped. This narrative takes a direct look at the dark historical event, suggesting (and possibly re-enforcing) that the main or root cause of the genocide stems from the colonial interference in Rwanda, deepening the division. Interestingly, other causes are also offered, and the text looks inward and admits internal blame as well. Such causes include division ideology exacerbated by colonial influence, bad leadership during the First and Second Republics, which “tore the national unity among the masses” (p. 56), the culture of impunity where those who committed crimes remained unpunished, the role of the local media and by association the role of propaganda, and the greed for power by the members of the Akazu. The narrative of Textbook 2 is systematic and outlines the plan to eliminate Rwanda of the Tutsi. Thus, the collective memory is clear; regardless of the multitude of causes, the Tutsi were targeted. Textbook 4 also discusses the causes of the genocide and notes:

The cause of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi was the history of a long process of violence, hatred, injustice and ethnic divisions in the First and Second Republics of Rwanda ... manipulated ethnic rivalries between the Hutu and the Tutsi (p. 19).

This implies that an existing tension was exploited – the inference seems to be pointing to external interference, such as colonial activities within Rwanda.

The narrative of Textbook 3 focuses on the “Consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi” (p. 29) and how Rwandan society has been rebuilt after the genocide. Therefore, the focal collective memory of this narrative is on rebuilding the nation and the unity of the Rwandans after the trauma of the genocide. Scattered within this are a few facts about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

The narrative of Textbook 5 focuses on explaining measures to prevent genocide from happening again in Rwanda and elsewhere. The focal point of the unit was the three forms of the denial of genocide against the Tutsi: literal, interpretative, and implicatory. Against this backdrop, glimpses of the facts of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi appeared. From a collective memory point of view, it is made abundantly clear that the “government of Rwanda set up different strategies to combat it [genocide denial and ideology] including law n°18/2008 of 23/07/2008 relating to the punishment of the crime of genocide ideology” (pp. 31-32). This is reinforced multiple times throughout the narrative, including ways in which each form of denial (mentioned above) has been manifested and the consequences for those who dabbled in genocide denial and denial ideology. It is clearly reiterated why the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi can only be seen and taught from the perspective that the genocide was deliberately planned and the Tutsi were targeted in order to be eliminated.

Similar to that of Textbook 5, the narrative of Textbook 6 focuses on explaining concepts, factors, and practices related to genocide prevention. For the most part, this is portrayed generally, so a glimpse of facts about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi emerges as well as a critique of international organisations and the community at large for standing back and not assisting Rwanda.

What is clear about the narratives of all six textbooks is that they seem to follow a scaffolding pattern. Each one highlights a different element of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. However, there are certain nuances (as mentioned above) that are repeated to reinforce ideas to the users.

7.3.6 *Medium of knowledge*

The medium of knowledge is categorised into three parts: first, the visuals that appear in each textbook related to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi; second, the activities in each textbook that users can engage with that are related to the 100 days of genocide; and third, how the text is presented.

In Textbook 1, Unit 5 of *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools*, there is one visual, a photograph, that directly relates to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. It is poorly printed and very dark in terms of colour density, which made it difficult to really see the contents. The photograph is captioned “Figure 5.1: Human skulls and bones at Murambi Memorial Site of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi” (p. 53). The imagery is shocking and confronting, as rows of human skulls are lined on a shelf while below the shelf of skulls lies a row of bones, presumably femurs, as they are all the same size and length. This is a very powerful image and shows the impact of the genocide. The photograph is not integrated into the knowledge

from the passage but is treated separately, and the Murambi Genocide Memorial site is not explained. Today, the Murambi Genocide Memorial is one of the six National Genocide Memorial Sites in Rwanda (Genocide Archive of Rwanda, n.d.). It is where what was once a classroom of a technical school now displays exhibits 848 preserved corpses.

In Textbook 3, *History and Citizenship for Rwandan Schools Senior 3*, there is one visual, a photograph. The photograph is a headshot of Paul Kagame and is captioned “Paul Kagame, the President of Rwanda” (p. 37). He was involved in ending the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The photograph is not integrated into the knowledge from the passage but treated separately, perhaps as a filler.

Textbook 6, *History S6*, contains five visuals which directly relate to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. These visuals are photographs, illustrations, and book covers. The first visual is a photograph titled “Figure 2.1”. It shows a wall of remembrance with a sign, “Genocide never again. The light will eventually overcome the darkness of genocide” (p. 20). The wall appears to have a list of names, presumably those of the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. There are Strelitzia (Bird of Paradise flowers) planted in front of the wall. The photograph is not integrated into the knowledge from the passage but is treated separately.

The second visual relates to the genocide and is an illustration captioned “Figure 2.3: Victims abandoned during the genocide” (p. 57). The illustration is of Rwandan civilians (Tutsi) begging UN peacekeeping troops to save them from the Hutu, who are pictured running towards the Tutsi with an assortment of weapons. In the background, UN trucks are being loaded with people. There are two speech bubbles in the illustration. The first is one of the Tutsi shouting, “Please! Help us! Please save us from the killers,” and the response from the UN peacekeeper is, “Please! It is not our mandate to rescue Rwandese” (p. 57). The illustration is not integrated into the knowledge from the passage but treated separately; however, the message it conveys is very clear – the international community, especially the UN, did not protect the Rwandan people.

This message is reiterated in the third visual, a book cover titled “Figure 2.3: A people betrayed. The role of the West in Rwanda’s Genocide” (p. 60). On the front cover of the book is also a map of Rwanda and bold capital letters stating, “A PEOPLE BETRAYED” (p. 60).

The final visual pertaining to the genocide shows two images side by side of a memorial site and genocide commemoration posters. It is captioned, “Figure 2.6: Bisesero memorial sites and genocide commemoration are one of the ways to prevent genocide” (p. 66). The photograph shows the entrance to the Bisesero Genocide Memorial Centre, while the

background image of the poster is that of a soldier's helmet filled with bullet casings, a magazine of bullets, and a machete. The poster contains the hashtag, "#GenocideVictimsDay", which appears to be 9 December. The photograph is integrated into the knowledge from the passage and is not treated separately.

7.3.7 Themes

To conclude the descriptive level of analysis, I discuss the themes that emerged from the six textbooks. As an observer attempting to remain objective, for me, an overwhelming theme that echoes in Textbooks 1 through 6 is that we are fully aware that the narrative about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi must be presented in a specific manner due to the legality surrounding the history. The genocide can only be presented as the Tutsi being murdered through a systematic plan and those responsible being the Hutu. The facts that are presented are done so rather clinically, and I am aware of bias.

As part of the prescriptive approach to conveying the knowledge surrounding the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, each textbook intentionally and deliberately uses specific phrasing to out the Hutu as the perpetrators and infer that the Tutsi are the victims and the genocide did not occur on a whim. Textbook 1 notes that "The government initiated, executed and coordinated the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi" (p. 55), while Textbook 2 states, "The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was a long-planned campaign of mass murder in Rwanda" (p. 55). Similarly, Textbook 3 notes, "The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was a carefully planned and executed project to completely destroy the Tutsi population and moderate Hutu who did not agree with the prevailing extremist politics of the time" (p. 29). Textbook 4 states, "The long-planned genocide against the Tutsi started in Kigali City" (p.20). Conversely, Textbook 5 indicates that "in 1994, the Hutu extremists in Rwanda's government then in power, planned, organised for and guided through public institutions genocide against the Tutsi and Hutu opposed to the genocide plan" (p. 35). Finally, Textbook 6 also states that "the genocide [was] planned by those in power" (p. 61). What is clear from the narrative are the facts that the victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi were the Tutsi and the perpetrators, the Hutu, their militia, and the Hutu-headed government that thoroughly and carefully planned the genocide. The victimisation of the Tutsi and what that entails is clinically described and to the point, with no elaboration given.

For the most part, all six textbooks discuss the collective perpetrators as the Hutu, while Textbook 1 contains one militia leader's confession, singled out and asking for forgiveness, but in such a way that does not have empathetic leanings. Textbook 2 includes Habyarimana's wife as well as the "Akazu" (p. 57), who were clearly part of the inner circle of planning and

“took the responsibility of eliminating the Tutsi of whom they considered as an obstacle to their intentions” (p. 57). In addition, Textbook 3 notes that those doing Habyarimana’s bidding were his “henchmen” (p. 49), implying that he, along with his wife, may have been involved in the planning of the end of the Tutsi. Textbook 4 further shows that the Hutu were not afraid to turn on their own if those individuals did not conform to the plan and follow through with the execution thereof. This can be seen by Hutu members being executed in the early days of the genocide, “It was started on the political officials in the opposition” (p. 20).

Each textbook also alludes to the idea of nation-building, hinting at a theme of reconciliation and attempts at nation-building by getting users to research more about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the prevention of future genocides by, for example, talking to elders in Cells¹⁶ and visiting memorials and museums in Textbook 1. Also, the entire unit of Textbook 6 is dedicated to understanding and preventing future genocides, as it is titled “Unit 2: Genocide Prevention” (p. 50). In order for the idea of nation-building to exist, a theme of memory emerges.

7.4 Level 2: Analytical analysis across all six textbooks

The second level of analysis delves into the “story behind the story”. This involves examining the historiographical story, investigating the presence of multiple perspectives, determining what aspects have been emphasised or marginalised, and exploring the treatment of otherness and the manner in which it is addressed. Additionally, this stage incorporates insights from existing literature on textbooks, history textbooks, and dark history and applying this knowledge to aspects that were previously undisclosed but surfaced during the analysis.

The historiography of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is one-sided but interactive. It tends to present the narrative linearly but emphasises that the user fills in some of the gaps or blanks by doing their own research, speaking to elders in Cells, or visiting a genocide memorial. The textbooks engage the user in research, but after the research, there is no further interaction. In several forewords, the decision to make the textbooks activity-heavy and learner-centred is validated and defended as extending users to become better and more successful [in] life” as noted in Textbook 3 (p. vi).

The choice of characters included in the master narrative and how they were presented also leads the user to view the knowledge in a specific light. The characters were described but it

¹⁶ In Rwanda, a Cell is the grassroots level of local governance. These Cells are usually community-based. The elders within these communities are trusted and respected due to their lived experience and wisdom and are consulted on matters. This type of governance is deeply rooted and valued in Rwandan tradition. [This does not need to be repeated if explained on first use]

was unclear whose perspective was being conveyed, if any. The point of view of the victims, the Tutsi, was never revealed nor taken into account, but rather a brief and calculated description of the type of trauma they experienced was provided; this tended to vary across the textbooks. Some are almost minimalist in nature, such as in Textbook 1, or provide gruesome details, of the suffering endured by the Tutsi, such as in Textbooks 2 and 4. The perpetrators' point of view was also not delved into, but rather, a brief factual account of what was done is provided. Momentarily within the master narrative, a spotlight was shed on a single Hutu militia leader who seemed to be just an ordinary man, not infamous nor well-known, and his perspective was shared as part of an activity in Textbook 1. This was the only instance of this across the six textbooks. The lack of perspective leaves a gap in the historical understanding of the historical event as there was an attempt to provide an objective view but ignoring the broader historiography with a lack of knowledge and leaving it up to the user to decode and decipher.

Rather than presenting multiple perspectives of the historical event of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the textbooks (as discussed previously) present one perspective that brings to the fore as many objective facts as possible. This becomes problematic when the users are tasked with activities to fill in the gaps within the historiography. Many concerns arise here, each user is going to find different knowledge with differing focal points. At no point in the textbooks are the narratives or perspectives brought together to refocus all the users, guiding them towards a central point or assisting them to make sense of the knowledge they have researched and found. What the textbooks reiterate is that genocide was inevitable given certain conditions and criteria – as long as people with differences exist, the chances of tensions arising are very high, and “there are always signs that show that friends have become enemies” (Textbook 1, p. 54). To this end, Textbooks 5 and 6 dedicate their narrative to highlighting the conditions that create genocides.

Acknowledgement is given to the lives lost during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Textbook 1, which notes, for example, that “many people were killed” (p. 55) and “over one million people perished in only 100 days” (p. 55). Textbook 3 notes that “more than one million innocent people, including men, women, and children, were killed in just 100 days” (p. 30). Textbook 4 notes something similar, “more than one million people” (p. 22). It was noted that both Tutsi and Hutu were targeted and victimised, the latter if they did not support the genocide; however, the overwhelming focus was on the elimination of the Tutsi. Reasoning for the massacre was not really provided rather the perpetrators were the Hutu and this was part of their plan, a long and detailed plan. The isolation and lack of external interference by the UN and the international community at large perpetuated the genocide even further. Thus,

external forces are also blamed for the genocide across multiple textbooks and it was reinforced that the Rwandans had to defend themselves.

In terms of the theory of silences and otherness, while there is an acknowledgement of the lives lost during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the loss is not fully quantified. To merely state a million lives were lost seems insincere and inhumane. Thus, the victims of the massacres and their suffering can be seen as othered. The explicit violence described seems unimaginable and, if anything, will shock the user. For example, in Textbook 1, the listing of the mutilation and grotesque acts such as “rape, abduction and torture by Hutu extremists ... pounding babies in mortars, and confining and starving victims to death ... burying victims alive, maiming and shooting them to death” (p. 55) in a single paragraph does not seem enough space to grapple with the horror endured by victims of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. In Textbook 2, the extreme violence is further noted, “Other forms of torture and killings included burning people alive, throwing people into pit latrines while still alive and forcing family members to kill each other” (p. 59). In Textbook 3, the degree of trauma experienced by the Tutsi is highlighted, “excessive degradation of human dignity characterised by inhuman crimes like cannibalism, rape and even the burial of people who were alive” (p. 30). Finally, in Textbook 4, cruel and extreme forms of violence are showcased (similar to that of Textbook 2), “torturing victims before killing them, throwing victims in septic tanks alive, burying them alive in common graves, gathering them in churches and other places and burning them alive using gasoline, raping women before killing them, crushing babies in mortars or smashing them against walls” (p.22). The experience of the victims seems to generate a narrative of shock and horror leading the user down a “self-discovered path of knowledge” which was, in fact, engineered by the textbook authors.

The primary division during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was along ethnic and regional lines and, as such, the conflict emerged as a result of tensions between the Tutsi and the Hutu, who felt marginalised and disadvantaged in the political and economic structure of Rwanda by the interference of the Belgians during their colonisation of Rwanda. In the master narrative of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the Tutsi can be seen as the other from the perspective of the Hutu government and the Hutu militia. The other ethnic groups (such as the Twa) could also be considered othered within these narratives as they do not feature at all or are mentioned only once in several textbooks. It is clear that the Tutsi were foregrounded in the textbooks as the collective and nameless victims, while the Hutu government and militia were foregrounded as the perpetrators. However, the ordinary Hutu citizens were silenced despite the fact that many ordinary Hutu were also involved in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi through propaganda. This is not mentioned; therefore, these ordinary Hutu citizens and

those Hutu who remained neutral during the genocide or helped the Tutsi in need were silenced.

In terms of dark history and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in the textbooks, the historical event is dealt with in a macabre and sinister manner. Gory detail of the suffering inflicted on the Tutsi is presented – enough to make any user's stomach churn. While the gore may not be lengthy, it is enough to make users question the morals and ethics of the Hutu and make them appear inhumane. Perhaps with such gore on display, it was not necessary to mention the weapons of choice, such as machetes and firearms. I assume it is for this reason that one of the activities in Textbook 1 is a confession of one of the perpetrators – to humanise the Hutu. The master narrative presented skirted around the historical event in terms of fully explained details as the focus of the unit was on genocide and its features generally rather than specifically and solely focusing on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. This was discussed previously as a possible strategy to scaffold the learning from textbook to textbook across the years of schooling, perhaps. Thus, this historical event, while a dark period in history, serves as a stark reminder of the consequences of hate, division, and indifference and underscores the importance of promoting peace, tolerance, and human rights.

The third level of analysis involves the theorisation aspect of this study, where I formulate conclusions about the analysed texts about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. This includes assessing the position of the six textbooks on the shaded continuum of dark history and the pendulum. Additionally, I address my research questions, exploring how the textbooks in Rwanda engaged with events of dark history, such as the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the concept of otherness intertwined with the nature of textbooks. I aim to understand the reasons behind the manner in which the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was considered a dark historical event and the theme of otherness was approached in these textbooks. The chapter concludes with a comprehensive discussion of the summations and theorisations pertaining to the selected Rwandan textbooks, following their descriptive and analytical analyses.

7.5 Level 3: Theoretical analysis: Textbooks 1-6

According to the Ministerial Task Team (Ndlovu et al., 2018), History in Rwanda is considered a compulsory and integrated subject at both primary and lower secondary schools. At primary school level, the textbooks are known as Social and Religious Studies textbooks, while at a lower secondary school level, they are known as Citizenship and History textbooks. Rwanda has not shied away from sensitive history as I have termed dark history (or history that is controversial). At an upper secondary school level (high school equivalent), History is viewed

as a stand-alone subject. History as a subject is offered in five out of six combinations that students can choose from for the Humanities. Therefore, while History may not be compulsory at the upper secondary school level, it seems that students would most likely choose a combination of subjects that includes History.

A national writing team was appointed by the Rwandan government to determine what content would be included in the Rwandan textbooks. The approach taken was to “bring about national unity after the genocide by creating a single narrative of a Tutsi genocide” (Ndlovu et al., 2018: 26). Therefore, a single identity is encouraged rather than emphasising ethnic differences. Instead of acceptance of the Hutu as an ethnic group, Rwandans are seen as citizens of Rwanda. This further propagates the view of a single identity with no ethnicity.

Buhigiro (2017) notes that after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, a moratorium was placed on the teaching of history in Rwandan secondary schools. This was done because the subject was spreading misinformation and propaganda, creating further tension between ethnic groups which was one of the causes of the genocide (Fried, 2017). When History was reintroduced as a subject, it contained content related to the genocide that was approved by the government. Since 2016, the History curriculum has been phased out and replaced by a new, competency-based curriculum combining history and citizenship education (Rwanda Education Board, 2015). The Rwandan government has been committed to “promoting remembrance and collectively learning from the past through ubiquitous – and largely controversial – genocide memorialisation and education” (Bentrovato & Buhigiro, 2021: 124). Therefore, the production of knowledge has been firmly controlled by the Rwanda Education Board in terms of genocide education.

What we know about change in curriculum is that a stronger emphasis has been placed on activities that are either conducted in groups or research tasks. These activities across the six textbooks analysed “falls in line with the new curriculum” (Fried, 2017: 40). Ngendahayo and Askell-Williams (2016) concur that a shift from a knowledge-based curriculum to one that relies more on the competencies of the students and aims to develop students to apply what they have learnt to real-life situations is important. What must be considered is that not all schools have access to the facilities mentioned in the activities that promote “active learning – which is learner-centred learning” (Umugwaneza, 2015: 251) – and the question is raised whether such an activity-rich research approach is the best way to teach this dark history.

Another big change in the curriculum, according to Fried (2017), is that the themes, topics, subtopics and units across the six textbooks are seen progressively – in other words, each textbook builds on the knowledge of the previous textbook on a specific historical event. In

terms of genocide education, the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is mentioned in each of the six textbooks and a form of scaffolding is set. Bertram calls this type of curriculum a “spiral” (2019: 37) as the four main themes are circulated throughout all six years of schooling and consequently, the textbooks. For example, in Textbook 1, we see the distinction being made between mass murders and genocides, as well as the different types of genocides that can be found, while in Textbook 2, the causes of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are explored. In Textbook 3, the consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are examined, including the challenges faced by the post-genocide government. Textbook 4 focuses on examples of genocides in various countries and comparisons are drawn between the three case studies of Namibia, Germany, and Rwanda. Textbook 5 deals with genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda as well as abroad, while Textbook 6 highlights genocide prevention.

In 2019, the Rwanda Education Board released a content distribution list which noted how many lessons should be spent on each section of the History curriculum. Table 16 indicates the number of lessons that were planned for genocide education across the six schooling levels.

Table 16: Content distribution list from 2019

Textbook	Unit	Lessons
Textbook 1	Genocide and its features	8
Textbook 2	Causes and course of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi	6
Textbook 3	Consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi	8
Textbook 4	Comparison of the genocides	8
Textbook 5	Genocide denial and ideology in Rwanda and abroad	14
Textbook 6	Prevention of genocide	22
Total		66

It is clear from Table 16 that of the 66 planned lessons on genocide education only 14 lessons (Textbooks 2 and 3) were exclusively spent on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. While the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was mentioned in the other textbooks, the focus remained on genocide denial and prevention with more than half of the lessons (36 lessons) spent on the latter. This trend seen in the textbooks aligns with what Bentretoato notes as the government’s way of focusing on nation-building and unity. Bertram (2019) adds that such an approach also lends itself to memory and collective history, especially as seen in cases such as Kenya and Rwanda, which have a strong national history focus. The most fundamental issue I had after analysing Textbooks 1 through 6 was, “Where does this leave us with the 1994 genocide

against the Tutsi?” In these six textbooks, the presence of torture, death, and gross human rights violations of thousands of people was clear and described in gruesome detail. The Hutu were undeniably the perpetrators from a collective standpoint while the Tutsi were seen as the victims. It was reiterated on multiple occasions that the Hutu planned the genocide with the sole purpose of destroying the Tutsi. There was only one instance in Textbook 1 where a single Hutu was seen as a lone perpetrator and named. Elsewhere within the textbooks, the Hutus were blamed as a collective and, in some instances, the inferred blame was placed on the Hutu president, Habyarimana. However, the blame for the suffering experienced did not lie squarely at the Hutu’s feet. Several inferences are made in Textbook 1 and Textbook 6 that the international community failed to assist Rwanda and, therefore, the degree of villainy differs from textbook to textbook. In Textbook 1, the international villain was seen as US President Clinton while in Textbook 6, where illustrations are drawn showing peacekeeping troops saving others but denying the Tutsi who were begging for assistance, the villain appeared to be the UN.

Paulson (2015) explains that the teaching of post-conflict history can follow three patterns. First, the teaching of historical events gravitates towards inspiration and nation-building and away from indoctrination with a view to engaging the students. Secondly, the teaching of historical events follows the disciplinary skills of historians by examining a wide range of potentially contradicting sources, which would allow students to construct their own historical knowledge. Finally, the teaching of historical events allows the students to form part of the community they are learning about with an overarching theme of denationalisation. While Paulson favours the second pattern, I am not quite convinced that the teaching of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi can be neatly placed in such a box. It seems as if the approach used to teach the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi draws from all three patterns. Textbooks 1 through 6 draw on the nation-building and unity tenets while also allowing the users to formulate their own historical knowledge about the dark historical event and allowing them to form part of the community of Rwanda as a whole by not referring to individuals by their ethnicity but rather as a collective Rwandese people, a collective that accepts that the Hutu were to blame and the Tutsi suffered.

These textbooks attempt to understand the past without denying past atrocities as noted by Körber (2014); however, multiple experiences are not considered and are silenced for the sake of political gain. What, then, is the political gain? It is to foster unity and nation-building by silencing the narratives of the Tutsi survivors as well as the Hutu majority survivors. It is clear that the suffering of the Tutsi was prominent, but the voices of the Tutsi are never heard nor are the testimonies of the Hutu opposition politicians. Textbook 1 had a confession from one

of the Hutu perpetrators, Emmanuel Nyirimbaga, but not from the Tutsi survivors nor from the Hutu moderates. Shaw argues that there is a “need to recognise the heterogeneity of suffering, however peripheral” (2007; 115), which contrasts with what was found in the textbooks on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The passages of text and research-heavy activities functioned as an officially sanctioned narrative that placed the Tutsi suffering above all else and collectively blamed the Hutu. The values that the government wishes to inculcate in the users of these textbooks and in terms of the understanding of the dark history of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is that the atrocity happened, but the focus is on future prevention and ensuring that the atrocity is not denied.

In Rwanda today, multiperspectivity cannot take place as the government of Rwanda forbids it by law. The users of the textbooks were explicitly taught in Textbook 5 about the genocide denial and ideology that has been seen in the past about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. A rationale was also provided as to why such alternate perspectives of the genocide could not be considered plausible and how the Rwandan government dealt with such versions of the dark history event and those who fabricated them. Furthermore, by design and law, these textbooks can only be viewed with a specific master narrative running through the scaffolded spiral curriculum. As noted in Chapter 6, the extremist groups are socially stigmatised or stereotyped by the master narrative and, in Rwanda’s case, this was the Hutu who deliberately planned the genocide against the Tutsi.

Having analysed the language used in the history textbooks and the characterisation used to describe the role players of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi through the analysis tool adapted by Chatman (1978), I deduce that the voices of the survivors are othered. The grotesqueness of the actions of the Hutu and the suffering they inflicted upon the Tutsi as a collective was stated repeatedly, particularly in Textbooks 1, 2, and 3. However, the human element of connecting to an individual was not present and was overshadowed by the theoretical and academic nature of genocide denial and prevention in Textbooks 5 and 6. This construct of character or polarisation can be done, as explained previously, to serve political or social agendas. Furthermore, and in line with Kukard’s (2017) agreed or enforced historical memory, portraying the narrative of the genocide factually reflects the broader societal attitude that moving forward such an atrocity should never occur again by attempting to nation-build after such a dark history event. The Rwandan government has attempted to remove the us versus them phenomenon from learning about a hurtful past. Hodgkin (2006: 202) echoes the above sentiment by noting:

The government espouses a reconciliation-based approach, establishing the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. Political rhetoric no longer refers to Hutu, Tutsi

or Twa, or the divisions and episodes of violent conflict much of Rwanda's modern history. The government preaches a message [of a] national group – [the] Banyarwanda – sharing a common language, culture, ancestral history and land.

Therefore, it can be seen that the master narrative created by the Rwanda Education Board is one that is far more linear and less nuanced than multi-perspective by creating a need for a national group, the Banyarwanda (people of Rwandan origin). Furthermore, the research-rich activities that users need to complete speak to the official history narrative by reinforcing speaking to Cell leaders of the community and visiting memorials and museums. Consequently, all six textbooks contained a master narrative with only one broad perspective for the most part, that the Hutu caused pain, death, and torture while the Tutsi suffered but in order to move forward, differences need to be set aside (by removing any affiliation to ethnic references in any materials) and unity as one people must prevail in order for reconciliation as Rwandans to save themselves as no one else will assist (thereby vilifying the international community by throwing subtle “shade”).

The Hutu were seen as the villains with their actions causing pain and suffering to many Tutsi in Textbooks 1-3. While in Textbooks 4-6, a strong reinforcement of corrective collective memory and nation-building was presented. Therefore, in terms of the shaded continuum of dark history (Figure 2 in Chapter 1) and the multiperspectivity pendulum (Figure 7 in Chapter 3), all six textbooks were considered a shade of black on the shaded continuum of dark history. This is due to the legal moratorium placed on the portrayal and teaching of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Only one official perspective and narrative emerges, entrenched in an enforced historical memory with no contention over the facts of the dark history event. The overt otherness is clear in Textbooks 1-3 – the Hutu are seen as the instigators of the genocide – and that the genocide was a long time coming.

In terms of the multiperspectivity pendulum and the narrative about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the conclusions drawn from Figure 2 line up with that of Figure 7 as there is no contention over the fact that the Hutu were to blame and this is seen as an acceptable master narrative. Hodgkin (2006: 204) further notes that the “official truth, the creation of a single narrative and will in effect deny or repress the memories of each subgroup within Rwanda society”. While the removal of formal history from the curriculum is a pragmatic short-term solution, in the long term, it is essential to find ways to teach history that contributes to understanding, healing, and reconciliation that still honours the victims and survivors on both sides of the conflict and avoids the notion of re-traumatisation (Roesdahl & Thomassen, 2021). Such a balanced and inclusive approach to historical education could play a crucial role in

building a more unified and resilient society that transcends ethnic divisions rather than bans them outright.

7.6 Conclusion: Case of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi

To conclude this chapter about the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, I needed to provide answers to my research questions. First, how was the event of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi as dark history and otherness engaged with in textbooks in Rwanda? The “how” question has previously been answered in this chapter, and “the other” who were engaged with from a historical perspective were the Tutsi. During the genocide, the Hutu majority alienated the Tutsi, making citizens believe through the use of indoctrination and propaganda that the Tutsi needed to be eliminated. However, post-conflict and looking at *how* the narrative is portrayed, there seems to be a shift in the othering.

All the textbooks contained silences and a lack of multiperspectivity due to the politically endorsed historical narrative that has emerged, shaped by the government’s rhetoric of nation-building and the enactment of making the categorisation of ethnicities illegal. The victims were othered and silenced. But, despite the horrors of dark history, the textbooks also emphasised stories of resistance, resilience, and survival by the retaliation of the RDF, which included acts of defiance, underground movements, and efforts to rebuild communities in the aftermath of violence and oppression. The details from victim testimonies might have been left out as part of a preservation approach, that is, shielding the self from harm or the trauma of reliving the narrative and opening old wounds.

My examination of the dark history of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi brought to light a significant concern of an oversimplified portrayal of the event, which not only neglects the complexity of historical events and characters but also perpetuates a singular master narrative that may hinder a comprehensive understanding and a lack of critical thinking, especially since users are predominately tasked to research on their own. At the heart of the narrative, the textbooks showcased initiatives aimed at promoting understanding and reconciliation between the perpetrators and survivors in order to construct a collective Rwandan national history.

Chapter 8

Discussion and conclusion

“If you think you are too small to make a difference, try sleeping with a mosquito” –
Dalai Lama

8.1 Introduction

As long as humanity has existed, so too have the divisions that divide people. The us versus them phenomenon mentioned earlier in this study persists and becomes perpetuated and exacerbated by emerging societal trends with every passing generation. The need to categorise people and things deepens to the point of obsession, for example, Generation Z (Gen Z) and the insistence on “cancel culture”. These keyboard warriors have embraced the trend of publicly shaming and shunning individuals or groups who have engaged in offensive or abhorrent behaviour as determined by the new societal norms or incoming trends. In addition, the grand singular accepted narrative of various historical events that are passed down from generation to generation is then met with the ever-growing and powerful trend of cancel culture, which ultimately influences how the narrative is received. And, in the case of Gen Z, radical action and agency seem to be their standard position. It is this platform where the grand narrative takes centre stage and is meant to be understood.

To place this in context, I want to revert to *The Lion King* analogy used in Chapter 1. Simba understands the viewpoint that the Elephant Graveyard is a dark and sinister place from the position of his father, King Mufasa, but Simba himself has no personal experience with the dark, shadowy place beyond the borders of the Pride Lands. Yet, instead of heeding his father’s warning and staying away from it, the warning issued by Mufasa seems to intrigue Simba even further, to the point where he sneaks off to inspect the Elephant Graveyard himself and ends up in need of rescue. Fast forward several years, and Simba has his own son, Kion. Just like his father, Simba warns Kion of the Elephant Graveyard as well as other dangers that Simba encountered through his lived experience. Kion, however, just like the rambunctious cub Simba was many years before, decides to find out for himself what the reality of the Elephant Graveyard is. This all takes place through the perspective of the lions – the hunters. The point here is that no matter what the official narrative is, there are various ways to interpret it, and everyone’s frame of reference is different. Thus, the idea of othering exists in light of whose perspective is foregrounded.

This study aimed to deepen the understanding of otherness and dark historical events from an Afrocentric perspective rather than relying on the traditional Eurocentric viewpoints

imposed on Africa. It also sought to continue the discussion beyond the study's conclusion, recognising that the investigation of intersectionality is only a starting point and that further research is needed, such as potentially exploring additional dark historical events in other African countries.

Through this study, I wished to complement the existing body of knowledge regarding dark history, multiperspectivity, and otherness in an African context. In light of this, the guiding research questions were:

1. How are events of dark history and “otherness” engaged with in textbooks in Nigeria, Rwanda, and Uganda?
2. Why are the dark history events and “otherness” engaged with in this manner in these countries?

Bearing these questions in mind, the focus of this study was to engage with the intersectionality of otherness, with the unique experiences of discrimination and marginalisation that this creates, and how this otherness plays out in terms of cultural memory and identity. In addition to the engagement with intersectionality, the study also focused on multiperspectivity and the notion of light within the specific historical events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. The grand narratives that exist about the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are considered dark history events due to their contentious nature and the fact that certain facts and details cannot be agreed upon – thus various interpretations exist. Furthermore, the study focused on understanding how these narratives were portrayed to determine whose story was being told and why, as well as whose story was being left out and why.

In Chapters 5, 6, and 7, I interpreted the findings from the case studies of each of the countries (Chapter 5 covered Nigeria and the Nigerian-Biafran War, Chapter 6 covered Uganda and the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and Chapter 7 covered Rwanda and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi). I used three levels of analysis: descriptive, analytical, and theoretical. Through the discussion, an understanding of the first research question was reached of how these dark history events were engaged with in the selected textbooks from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. The discussion also looked at how otherness was engaged with in the textbooks.

As the final chapter of this study, Chapter 8 offers a reflective overview of the study whilst attempting to answer the research questions. Furthermore, in this concluding chapter, I briefly recap the key findings of my research and show how these findings address the research questions. Thereafter, I discuss the broader impact and importance of my findings in the

research field and their significance. I also acknowledge any limitations or constraints that I encountered during my research and provide recommendations and ideas for future research.

8.2 Overview of the study

My study was structured into eight chapters. Initially, I had planned to follow the more conventional route of seven chapters with the findings being presented in one chapter and the analysis and discussion in another. However, I felt that this would not work for my study as I did not want to lump the findings for each country together but preferred to treat them separately using three levels of analysis and then providing a comparison in the last chapter. Thus, I decided to have separate chapters for the findings, analysis, and theorisation of each country. This is explored further in the overview later. I, therefore, present an overview of the eight chapters of this study next.

Chapter 1 served as the foundation of the study, outlining the fact that the world that we live in and the narratives that exist – from a historical perspective – are generally controlled by the victor in a conflict situation, endorsing the us versus them phenomenon. It established the framework and context for the research. The chapter further emphasised the historiography of the case studies on Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. The historiography of the countries was an integral part of the chapter in understanding the wider context of the specific historical events in order to see whether what is known in the wider domain correlates or contrasts with what is found in the History textbooks that I analysed. The bricolage of concepts was defined so that the reader could make sense of the thesis. Concepts such as multiperspectivity, otherness, and light and dark history were explored in relation to the textbooks, historical narratives, and the three case studies. How dark a historical event could be was portrayed on a continuum that intersected with multiperspectivity as well as various factors (such as critical thinking or historical memory and evidence of othering or overt otherness) that would determine where on the dark history scale a historical event would land. The general housekeeping items of the study are also included in this chapter; namely, the focus and purpose were linked to the research questions posed, the rationale of the study was outlined, the conceptual framework was explained, and the methodological approach was clarified. This chapter concluded by setting the stage and outlining the structure for the remainder of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 was the ever-important literature review where the existing body of knowledge was examined. This was done in several layers. First, I reviewed the role of dark history and then furthered this by looking at the relationship between dark history and History textbook production. Secondly, I examined the broader context of textbook studies and then delved specifically into History textbooks. After that, I reviewed the key concepts of multiperspectivity,

revisionism, inclusions, silences, the other, othering and otherness in relation to History textbooks.

I discussed the conceptual framework of the study in Chapter 3. Three main concepts underpinned the framework of understanding for this study. Concept 1 unpacked the difference between a narrative and the master narrative, which came to be the national narrative or the grand singular narrative found in textbooks. Concept 2 dealt with multiperspectivity and the notion that many perspectives of a specific event should exist. Concept 3 depicted otherness and dark history and the correlation between them.

In Chapter 4, I provided a detailed look at the research design and methodology, covering key aspects of case study methodology, narrative inquiry techniques, and the choices made throughout the research. This included the analysis tools and processes for sampling, data collection, and data generation. In the chapter, I also explored the methods for analysing data, highlighting their strengths and limitations and, additionally, reflected on important considerations such as validity, reliability, and ethical issues, ensuring a thorough examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the methodology.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Chapter 5 dealt with the Nigerian-Biafran War in Nigeria, Chapter 6 with the political dictatorship of Idi Amin of Uganda, and Chapter 7 with the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. I focused on three levels of analysis. The first level of analysis was a descriptive layer which examined the layout of the section dealing with the specific dark history event. The second level of analysis was analytical in nature and where themes and patterns emerged. The third level of analysis was theoretical where the placement of the historical event on the dark history shading continuum was discussed. By linking the results from Chapters 5, 6, and 7 back to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, the research identified which findings were anticipated and which revealed new insights.

In this eighth chapter, I conclude my study by proposing answers to my research questions and theorising what I found in the history textbooks regarding the three dark history events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. I also review the study holistically in terms of its limitations and implications for further studies and examine what contribution this study offers to academia.

The overview of this study could be likened to a “highlight reel” of the key elements discussed in each chapter of this study. Without these components, the whole does not make sense. The findings from Chapters 5, 6, and 7 are compared and contrasted below and linked to the research questions and conceptual framework of this study.

8.3 Discussion

This section of the chapter examines how the dark history events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda were engaged with and why they were engaged with in such a manner. The *how* and *why* research questions were addressed first and then I tie it together with the concept of otherness towards the end of the discussion section.

8.3.1 *How dark history events were engaged with in the textbooks*

The historical events of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi share the commonality of being dark history as each event negated human rights, showcased political instability, and contained macabre human losses. In terms of gross human rights violations, the findings indicate that these were widespread across Nigeria, Rwanda, and Uganda, with torture, mass killings (including genocide), and the forced displacement of citizens. From a political standpoint, each country endured a coup, which resulted not only in political tension but also in ethnic strife, which resulted in economic hardship and a huge loss of life.

In Nigeria, this ethnic and political tension was primarily between the Igbo, who seceded and formed Biafra and the Hausa-Fulani, who played a major role in the military and political landscape of Nigeria as part of the Federal Government. The Yoruba sided with the Federal Government, thus further isolating the Igbo. The Nigerian-Biafran War lasted three years (1967–1970), with a death toll estimated at three million people. The international response to the Nigerian-Biafran War was diplomatic efforts and the provision of humanitarian aid.

In Uganda, the ethnic and political tension was primarily a result of the favouritism Amin showed certain ethnic groups, such as the Kakwa (to which he belonged), Lugbara, and Nubian people, over others, such as the Acholi and Langi people. In part, this targeted persecution was a result of the threat that Amin thought the Acholi and Lango people posed to his rule, as his predecessor, Obote, was a Langi. Notwithstanding Amin's expulsion of the Asian minority in 1972, this tension and Amin's reign lasted eight years (1971–1979), and the death toll is estimated at around 300 000 people. The international response to Amin's rule after the world learnt of the atrocities and human rights violations committed was not only international condemnation but also economic sanctions.

In Rwanda, the ethnic and political tension was between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi. It was exacerbated by the Belgians' favouritism of the Tutsi during their colonial rule. The duration of the genocide against the Tutsi was a mere 100 days in 1994, and the death toll was estimated at a staggering 800 000 people within that timeframe. The international

response was non-existent, and intervention appeared only when it was too late for most of the Tutsi population.

The portrayal of the dark history of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in history textbooks varied. This variation depended on the national directive of the country as well as the curriculum and the level of education. In addition, the perspective of the narrative – whether Euro- or Afrocentric – also played a role in what was emphasised or othered in the narrative. Therefore, the lens through which the dark history event was viewed further impacted the understanding of the event.

These layered lenses could be from a regional, national, or global perspective that was then split into an African and Western perspective. For instance, in Nigeria, the national narrative of the Nigerian-Biafran War was glanced over and portrayed as a minor secessionist conflict, as seen in the findings of this study, where Nigeria was portrayed as only reacting to the aggressive advances of Biafra. The focus of the textbooks was on the economic impact of the conflict and how the Nigerian government had to repair and rebuild as a result of the conflict started by Biafra. From a Western perspective, the Nigerian-Biafran War was rarely mentioned, and, if it was, it was only as an example of an African conflict (Falola, 1999; Kirk-Greene, 1971). However, from an Afrocentric perspective, the Nigerian-Biafran War was often viewed in the textbooks as a symbol of resistance against a government that was oppressive (Achebe, 2012; Daly, 2020; Ekwe-Ekwe, 2007). This brought to the fore an incomplete narrative that focused mainly on socio-economic issues and not on the holistic historical event from multiple perspectives.

In Uganda, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin was portrayed as a period of totalitarian rule and gross human rights violations. The findings of this study concur, as Amin, the person, was side-lined versus the nameless collective of victims who were slain under his orders. This depiction of Amin then echoes the global reputation of Amin as a tyrannical butcher who was brutal yet eccentric (Boddy-Evans, 2019; Leopold, 2020). From an Afrocentric point of view, Amin's reign was showcased as a "what-not-to-do" warning of authoritarianism as a chosen political system (Kintu, 2012; Mamdani, 1983; Obote, 1990).

In Rwanda, great emphasis was placed on the genocide against the Tutsi as a national tragedy, with a focus on reconciliation, unity, and future genocide prevention. The narrative gradually increased and became more specific with each passing education level, as per the findings of this study. A generalised overview of genocide and mass killings took place in Textbook 1, while in Textbook 6, genocide denial and ideology were the focal point. From a Western perspective, the genocide against the Tutsi is often used as a prime example of genocide, alongside the Holocaust, with a distinct emphasis on the failure of the international

community to intervene (Dallaire, 2003; Mani, 2004; Straus, 2006). From an Afrocentric perspective, the genocide against the Tutsi might have been mentioned in passing or was often omitted due to political sensitivities (Mugisha, 2015; Nzungu-Ntalaja, 2002).

By comparing and contrasting the portrayal of dark historical events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda, some common issues appeared. Across the three historical events, a lack of depth and context arose. This was especially true for the Nigerian-Biafran War, where there was an oversimplification of the complexity of the conflict. In fact, each of these events was incredibly complex and with so many different role players and stakeholders involved in each country (including the various and numerous ethnic groups), it made following such a narrative rather challenging. This was something I struggled with during the early stages of this study. I had to constantly refer back to the notes I had made that were colour-coded to make sense of it all.

As previously mentioned, the strong focus on Eurocentric or Western perspectives can result in a skewed narrative. This skewed narrative led to the omission of local voices and experiences. Political bias or sensitivity to issues also affected how the events were portrayed to make them more palatable for the users. In the Rwandan textbooks, for instance, a Western president was named and shamed for his role in the lack of international assistance given to the Tutsi during the genocide. Narratives such as these are often changed based on where the narrative is being used to ensure that, in the case of the West, the focus is on the Hutu as the perpetrator and the Tutsi as the victim and to overlook the failure of the international community (Power, 2002; Seybolt, 2007). Similarly, the Rwandan textbooks analysed in this study followed suit, perhaps in an effort to foreground the Hutu, while the Tutsi followed with the deeply rooted desire to unify and reconcile. Thus, the blame was on the international community, which caused further divisiveness and strayed from the national unity that the government wished to strive for.

One of the major findings in this study in terms of the portrayal of the three events in Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda was representation and omission. The “how” research question has largely been answered within each chapter dealing specifically with Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda but also in the previous section. To understand this further, however, it must be linked to the conceptual framework of the study.

In Chapter 3, I discussed the relational influence that the number of narratives or perspectives have on the shading of an event to establish how dark a dark history would be on the multiperspectivity continuum (Figure 6). I have established thus far that in each textbook analysed of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, one narrative existed, which was that there was some form of overt

othering, that the facts presented were not contested as a national narrative, and that there was an enforced historical memory (Kukard, 2017).

In each case, there was a distinct villain and victim as well as a rescuer of sorts. Therefore, a pattern emerges of how users are meant to understand and interact with the narratives and why they are written in this manner. My explanation draws from Stephen Karpman's (1968) Drama Triangle, a psychological model that describes the dynamics of interpersonal relationships and conflict.

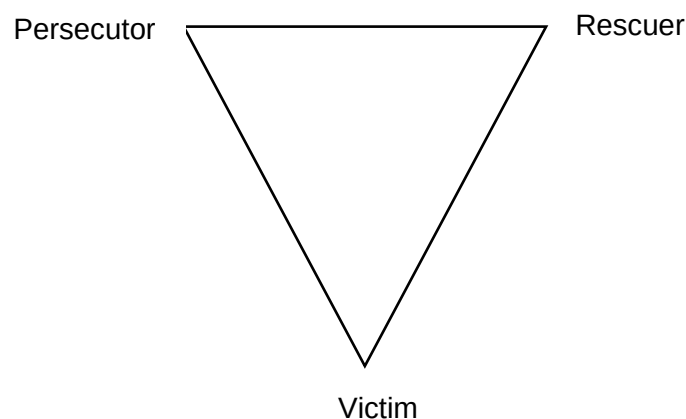


Figure 9: A simplified version of Karpman's Drama Triangle for illustrative purposes

If I adapt the Drama Triangle to include words such as hero and villain, it assists in explaining the representation of the narratives and the omissions, which include othering. Figure 10 illustrates my adapted version.

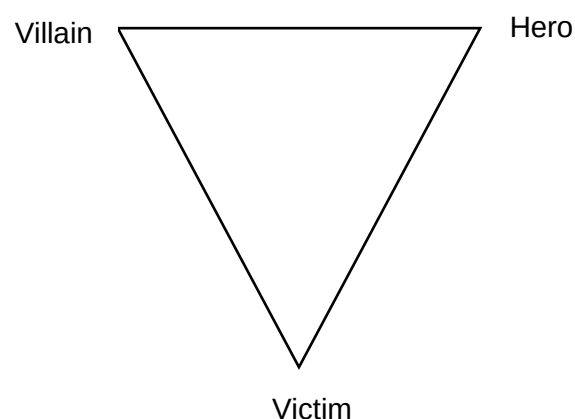


Figure 10: My adapted version of Karpman's Drama Triangle for illustrative purposes

Could we theorise that in order for a narrative to be holistic and fully representational, all three elements are necessary? A villain is needed in the narrative, this is already clearly stated in

the findings – Biafra in Nigeria, Amin in Uganda, and the Hutu in Rwanda. The villains are the persecutors and inflict harm on others. The victims are also present in the findings but not always as apparent as the villains in terms of being named – people/citizens in Nigeria, and people in Uganda. In Rwanda, however, the victim is clearly named the Tutsi. Thus, as shown in the findings, the narratives of victimisation and the perpetrator exist. These narratives are needed to carry the story of the dark history event - the main role players. It is the extent to which these narratives feature that is questioned and results in omissions. It is the third point of the triangle that seems to be missing in most of their narratives: a clear hero or “rescuer” (Karpman, 1968). The rescuer need not be international intervention or assistance as a Western narrative would possibly punt but rather Africans saving themselves from their own conflict. The local voices are othered and omitted. In Rwanda, for instance, mention is made of the RPF, but it lacks detail on exactly how they were able to take control of Kigali and overthrow the Hutu government. In Uganda, no hero is present. Amin’s grip on Uganda is removed upon his death. However, in Nigeria, the hero could possibly be seen as the Nigerian government, which graciously forgives the Biafrans, allows them to be part of the workforce, and attempts to restore the economy after the conflict.

8.3.2 *Why dark history events were engaged with in this manner*

To propose an answer to the second research question of why the dark history events were engaged with in a specific manner, I first looked at some of the trends that emerged in the textbooks. As previously mentioned, the Eurocentric or Western perspective of events had a great impact on how the rest of the world tended to see things in general or specifically in the history textbooks. It is true that many influential works have been written by Western authors and, as a result, have shaped the dominant narrative that exists. It is only in recent years that more works are emerging from within Africa. However, many still draw on works from the West as a platform of departure or reference point. So why does this matter? In recent years, more so than before, representation matters. Whether narratives exist is not, ultimately, the issue; it is where the narrative comes from that permeates every aspect of it.

This study has shown that things cannot be viewed in isolation and that everything has a domino effect. To this end, if a narrative exists from a Western perspective about African history, othering will exist as the entire content is not understood. Similarly, from within an African country, narratives that exist are social constructs and are often used for political ends – thus, groups or people are othered. To narrow this down even further, if an individual from one of the countries in one of the case studies writes a personalised narrative to make a dark historical event more relatable (such as a Hutu militia member in Textbook 1 who recounted the terrible things he did during the Rwandan genocide), it will contain subconscious bias and

exhibit othering. Would there then be any context that will not contain the other, othered, or othering?

This study has examined textbooks authored by people from Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda. Presumably, these authors were given mandates as to what information the current political dispensations wanted to include in their textbooks based on their respective political ideologies. In Nigeria and Rwanda, for instance, a clear position was taken to bring national unity to the fore, and thus, the narratives espoused that. But at what cost? For individuals to be part of a collective national identity, they first need to know who they are as individuals. As part of Kukard's (2017) historical memory, only certain parts of the historical memory of the narrative of an event are being remembered; thus, overt otherness exists and ostracises members of the community, which, in turn, exacerbates underlying tensions for possible future conflicts. Trauma and memory have long-lasting effects not only on individuals but also on communities and countries. This pattern has been seen numerous times in history so we know that it is cyclical and repeats itself (such as Hitler and WWII and tensions from the Cold War resurfacing again) – perhaps because we do not learn from it.

Another trend in the reason for the portrayal of dark history events could also be a nod to the subtle critique of either political systems, which cannot be said overtly, or international responses to events. In the Rwandan textbooks, there were several subtle hints of laying blame at the door of the international community for their lack of response. As mentioned earlier, the naming of a specific Western president placed a face to where the resentment could be directed, a scapegoat, if you will. Similarly, a more emotive way of laying blame appeared in Textbook 6 with an illustration of Tutsi seeking refuge on UN trucks as a mob of machete-wielding Hutu ran towards them. The UN's unwillingness to assist the Tutsi and a lack of empathy shown by a soldier who responds, "Please, it is not under our mandate to rescue Rwandese," is shown in the illustration.

Another trend which has been seen and noted in this study is the role that the media played in popularising certain narratives, such as the film *The Last King of Scotland* reinforcing a stereotype about Idi Amin as the African despot and the oversimplification of the historical context. Similarly, in the film *Hotel Rwanda*, the historical context was simplified by showcasing the government as corrupt and not highlighting the tensions that were exacerbated by pre-or post-colonial rule but lost by the gruesome depiction of the genocide. In addition, the wishy-washy attempt at peacekeeping by the UN is foregrounded in the film allowing for the criticism of the international community to be at the forefront of the narrative. *Hotel Rwanda* also follows the personal story of Paul Rusesabagina and his experience of the genocide as a Hutu trying to help the Tutsi. It should be noted that not every moderate Hutu's

frame of reference and experience was similar to Paul's and, therefore, was not representative of the community as a whole.

Similarly, in Nigeria, the film *Half a Yellow Sun* focuses on the personal stories of a professor, his wife, and a boy whom they employed in their home and how they are affected by the conflict. While this humanises the view of war, it brings a personal perspective to the struggle of the Biafran people but also oversimplifies the historical context.

Several reasons can be attributed to the omission and representation of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The first deals with the idea that these omissions or otherings maintain historical amnesia and silence (Mamdani, 2002). This falls in line with Kukard's (2017) historical memory, where a skewed or incomplete view of history can impact how we understand the world around us and, in turn, respond to present issues. Historical amnesia, then, can be used as a propaganda tool as parts of the dark history events are either too uncomfortable or inconvenient to remember as they go against the direction of the current dispensation. Omissions can contribute to the removal of African experiences or events and perspectives when written from a Western perspective (Mazrui, 2005). This can be seen, as mentioned previously, where Western texts only mention the Nigerian-Biafran War as a conflict or Idi Amin as an example of a tyrannical African despot. No further depth is given to these events, which leads to their lack of representation. This notion can also be linked to what Apple (2004) refers to as the reinforcement of existing power dynamics and inequalities. In the case of Amin, the perspectives that exist reinforce stereotypes and stigmatisation of a manic dictator.

Such omissions can also consistently reinforce the grand singular narrative that exists as the one truth, as Stradling's (2003) multiperspectivity does not exist. The biases within the grand narrative persist and are not challenged (Trouillot, 1995). Moreover, the persistence of biases in a singular narrative, omissions, and lack of representation also foster a lack of empathy (Hicks, 2011) and nuanced understanding (Bain, 2000) of a viewpoint that is different to one's own. This, by its very nature, seems counter-intuitive as both the Nigerian and Rwandan education boards aimed to foster unity and nation-building, but they only present one narrative.

In conclusion, omissions and lack of representation not only distort the historical truth and historical context but also marginalise groups that are already vulnerable and thus become the other and are othered. In an effort to promote national unity, these grand narratives are hindering the reconciliation and healing process by invariably promoting one group over another, which can lead to future tensions. They also undermine the efforts to prevent similar atrocities as the tension bubbles under the surface. However, it must be noted that the Rwanda Education Board has addressed this concern by ensuring that an entire chapter in

year Senior 6 deals with the prevention of just such an atrocity that occurred 30 years previously.

Specifically, in the context of othering, this can be seen in the findings of each of the chosen countries. Bear in mind that the other, being othered or othering, takes on a negative connotation or stigma, and it is very often the marginalised and most vulnerable actor who is seen as the other or othered.

In Nigeria, the Igbo and Biafrans were othered when the Nigerian government labelled them secessionists and rebels, as this spread the idea that Biafrans were aggressive and wanted conflict. The ethnic and regional divisions experienced in Nigeria that led to the secession of Biafra were aggravated by political and economic interests.

In Uganda, Idi Amin's political dictatorship othered specific ethnic groups such as the Acholi, the Langi, and the Asian minority. The stigma created by Amin was that these groups were the enemy of the state, as he thought they were plotting his demise and were a threat to his rule. The stigma was created through the use of propaganda, which stigmatised these groups and seemed to justify the violence being used against them as they were labelled as troublemakers.

In Rwanda, the Hutu extremists portrayed the Tutsi as the other by labelling them cockroaches and snakes to justify their violence against them. The us versus them mentality or phenomenon was exacerbated by the colonial and post-colonial narratives, furthering the ethnic divisions.

While the above view regarding the othering in Rwanda is justified, another major finding of the study is that the Hutu themselves could also be othered. Othering can contribute to the dehumanisation, stereotyping, stigmatisation, marginalisation, and potential violence and genocide of individuals or groups. Therefore, the Hutu were themselves permanently stigmatised as villains or perpetrators as it was constantly mentioned that the genocide against the Tutsi was deliberate and planned. My conclusion, then, is that the Hutu as a collective needed to be seen as the villains in order for their actions during the genocide to make sense to the world.

So why are the dark history events and otherness engaged with in this manner in these countries? As mentioned in Chapter 4, there are various themes that emerged in the studied history textbooks, namely (but not limited to) power and oppression, trauma and resilience, memory and forgetting, moral ambiguity, humanisation and/or dehumanisation, resistance, legacy and impact, and interconnectedness. It was also established that otherness can be linked to dehumanisation, stereotyping, stigmatisation, marginalisation and potentially

violence and genocide. Therefore, the themes lent themselves to othering. As we have already established, history is contentious in its very nature.

In terms of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the reason that this dark history event is engaged with in terms of silence or suppression is due to the fact that the conflict is still seen as a politically sensitive issue in Nigeria today, with fears of ethnic separatism being reignited. There are still deeply rooted divisions amongst the Igbo, Yoruba, and Hausa-Fulani groups. While the Nigerian government has tried to heal the wounds of division by promoting national unity and nation-building, there is a need to address the legacy of othering that the Nigerian-Biafran War represents. Unlike Rwanda, Nigeria has not made it illegal to talk about or refer to people's ethnicities, possibly to tap into historical amnesia and promote national unity.

In terms of the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, the reason the dark history event is engaged with in terms of silence and denial is due to selective memory in order for the current government to move forward without confronting the past too deeply. Amin's massacres are acknowledged, but the government has chosen not to engage nationally with the trauma left in the wake of his reign. While the Amin era is kept alive through media and textbooks, it seems that the Ugandan government's engagement is limited. The reason for this could be that Uganda's focus is on national stability as well as political expediency. Current leaders do not wish to draw attention to Amin's gross human rights violations as it may cast the spotlight on their own current indiscretions. Another reason for the othering of Amin could be the trauma and fear that people lived through, and thus, there is a reluctance to reopen the wounds of the trauma experienced previously through discussion about people's lived experiences.

In terms of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the reason the dark history event is engaged with in terms of reconciliation and unity is due to the fact that, unlike Nigeria and Uganda, the Rwandan government has taken great strides towards national trauma healing and open engagement with discussions about genocide. This was done in an effort to support the affected survivors and their families by promoting public recognition of the genocide in the form of memorials and remembrances to mourn collectively. In addition to the public recognition, the Rwanda Board of Education addresses the genocide openly to teach students the causes and consequences of genocide in order to foster genocide prevention.

8.4 Contribution of the study

The gap that I identified within the existing body of knowledge surrounding dark history and otherness was the identification of the degree of darkness attributed to a dark history event based on whether the event addressed otherness and multiperspectivity. For my study, I devised the shading continuum to assist with the categorisation thereof. Dark history exists,

as previously mentioned in this chapter, through collective memory and the trauma or lack thereof associated with the historical event. Such collective historical memories highlight the tension between history and memory, resulting in a narrative which either distorts the truth or simply suppresses it for a collective greater “good” decided upon by the current political dispensation and their ideology. This greater good can be linked to the need for reconciliation of a post-dark history event and to seek forgiveness to achieve nation-building and unity.

Another layer of categorisation was historical revisionism and denial, which led to whether multiple perspectives (multiperspectivity) existed regarding the specific dark history event. It has been well documented in the literature that dominant political powers rewrite history to suit their own political needs and interests as a way of controlling the past in order to control the future. The lack of multiple perspectives can then be directly correlated with the narrative silences and representations that are found in the textbooks regarding the dark history events. The under-representation of individuals or groups becomes the others, othering, and otherness. This study compared and contrasted the three case study countries in terms of their dark history events. Others, othering and otherness emerged in all three dark history events. Therefore, it contributes to the existing body of knowledge by challenging the dominant narratives that exist surrounding the dark history events of the Nigerian-Biafran War in Nigeria, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin in Uganda, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

In Nigeria, the silences on Biafra indicated a muted and sanitised narrative where very little was discussed about the war itself but rather concentrated on the aftermath and reconstruction. To date, the Nigerian-Biafran War remains a highly politically sensitive subject which is linked to the collective memory and trauma of the civilians. Therefore, the political sensitivities seen in the marginalisation and othering of certain groups indicate that the Nigerian government needs to maintain a fragile balance between the ethnic groups in order to promote national unity post-conflict. The official narrative is often one of reconciliation and unity, neglecting the deep scars left by the war.

In Uganda, Amin’s regime is mentioned in general terms, lacking depth about the scale of violence and the state’s terror campaigns. Moreover, the simplified narrative does not take into account the victims or the trauma endured. The collective memory then focuses more on the post-Amin period but also in a limited capacity. This can be directly related to the political ideology of the current dispensation in an attempt to downplay their own misgivings in terms of human rights violations. Thus, they ignore Amin’s wrongdoings in order not to have to account for their own. The focus then (in line with the previously mentioned Drama Triangle)

has seen the current Ugandan government stabilise Uganda post-Amin, who is almost hailed as a rescuer and then hero from the villain.

In Rwanda, the simplified narratives present the post-genocide government's perspective, largely focusing on the Tutsi as victims and the Hutu as perpetrators. This framing can omit the complexity of the conflict, othering the roles of political, social, and international factors leading up to the genocide. In line with the political rhetoric over dark history events and textbooks, the Rwandan government, under President Paul Kagame, has maintained a tight grip on how the genocide is remembered, which means that certain perspectives, such as those of Hutu survivors or criticism of the RPF, are often underrepresented in educational materials. This contributes to an incomplete picture of Rwandan history.

Collectively, then, we come to understand that in all three countries, the current dispensations have an interest in shaping national narratives in ways that reinforce current political legitimacy and avoid reopening historical wounds. Therefore, otherness exists. If fully explored, these dark historical events might threaten national unity, political stability, or the power of the ruling party. This falls in line with the literature about textbooks in general, which records that they are powerful ideological tools. The textbooks, then, are influenced by the state and history curricula are designed to align with government priorities. This educational policy control has resulted (specifically in the cases of Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda) in selective presentation or outright omission of certain dark historical periods.

In the cases of Nigeria and Rwanda, the textbooks promote a cohesive national identity rather than honing in on the ethnic divisions and oppression in the name of progress and reconciliation. In Uganda, they see to it that Amin is remembered as a tyrant but that it was only for the extent of his reign. It is glossed over to avoid controversy. If the full complexities of his regime are disclosed, the current government may be questioned in terms of its own human rights violations, which could, very likely, create its own tension. Thus, the political entity from the past remains othered, as does its victims to avoid collective memory and trauma from resurfacing.

My study revealed that despite the fact that all three historical events are considered dark history events due to their macabre nature, the degree of darkness between the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi differed. The shaded continuum (Figure 2 in Chapter 1) worked on the premise that more perspectives exist and the user can exercise critical historical thinking. Where there is no othering, the dark history event would be considered light on the shaded scale. However, where only a single perspective exists, the user is limited to historical memory, and where overt otherness is evident, the dark history event would be darker on the shaded scale. To

this end, the Nigerian-Biafran War was considered grey on the continuum. Each textbook contained a different but incomplete narrative of the event, which could create confusion as to the official narrative of the Nigerian-Biafran War. In turn, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin was considered silver as a single narrative, and an incomplete narrative exists entrenched in limited historical memory and overt otherness, resulting in obscurity around Amin. The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was placed as the blackest black on the shaded continuum. This is due to the legal moratorium and limited multiperspectivity that exists. Below is a figure showing the placement of the three dark historical events on the dark history continuum:

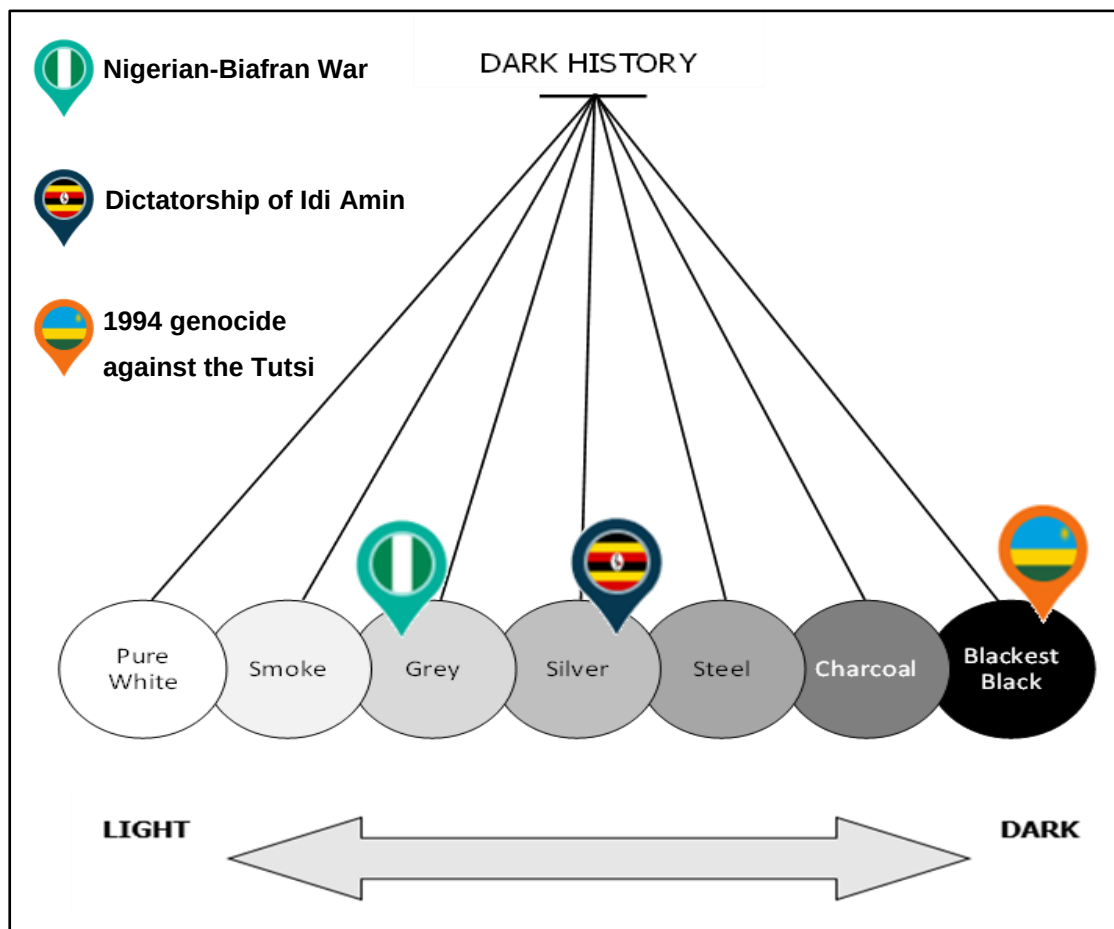


Figure 11: Diagrammatic representation of the shade continuum of dark history events and where the three events analysed place

What we know is that dark history events exist and can range from (but are not limited to): indigenous histories, totalitarian regime histories, trauma and memory histories, conflict histories, colonialism and imperialism histories, human rights violation histories, mass atrocities and genocide histories, and slavery legacy histories. What we did not know was the degree to which these dark history events would appear dark on the shading continuum.

By identifying the overt otherness that exists within dark history events, members of the othered group can challenge the master narrative. Additionally, this study challenges the dominant Western epistemologies and centres Afrocentric perspectives surrounding the dark historical events of the Nigerian-Biafran War, the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

Using intersectionality in this study has challenged otherness by revealing the complexities and nuances of the three dark history events. It has also highlighted the multiple forms of oppression and marginalisation found within the textbooks. In turn, this has created social awareness and amplified the voices of those who have been othered, which, in effect, promotes inclusivity, empathy, and understanding. As noted by Crenshaw (2017) and Said (1978), by understanding intersectionality and otherness, we can work towards breaking down boundaries and stereotypes and create a more inclusive and equitable society where everyone is represented. In doing so, national unity could be achieved for Nigeria, Uganda and Rwanda. Both Roberts (2014) and Wade (1993) highlight important areas for improving the analysis of history textbooks, such as addressing bias, ensuring accurate representation, and promoting critical thinking. While Roberts (1994) emphasises contemporary issues such as political bias, diversity, and the integration of digital resources, Wade (1993) focuses more on historical accuracy, the development of critical thinking skills, and a holistic approach to textbook evaluation. Therefore, textbook analysis should be multifaceted, rigorous, and adaptive to changes in educational technology and societal needs.

8.5 Reflections on the study – food for thought

This part of the concluding chapter focuses on my ponderings of looking back and reviewing the journey of this thesis from first a methodological perspective and, secondly, a personal-professional rationale alluded to in Chapter 1 when it all started.

8.5.1 Methodological reflections of the study

I found the methodological chapter of my study the most challenging. I knew from my master's dissertation that I wanted to stay in the realm of textbooks. Therefore, for my research design, I used a qualitative research approach, which consisted of phenomenological research and an interpretive paradigm. This part of the methodological chapter was manageable. I was able to complete the research about the design and write it up rather academically. The struggle came when I had to add my voice as a researcher into the mix. During all my years of studying this far, I had always had it drummed into my head that I needed to write in the third person and academically. No one wanted to hear *my* voice. Once I got over myself and reworked the

research design, I thought the worst was over. It was not. I was constantly second-guessing myself about what tense I was writing in and whether what I had written was any good at all.

The research methodology of case study and narrative inquiry was by far my Achilles heel. For the life of me, I struggled to get my head around the idea of a merged methodology where the narrative inquiry became embedded in the case study methodology and I had to rewrite this part of the chapter a few times. What was most frightening to me was the literature. I was able to find literature on merged methodologies using case studies, but they were in a completely different field. This really extended me. Being a perfectionist, I would mull over the chapters for ages before handing them over to my supervisor for review. I felt a great sense of relief when I completed the methodological chapter. Anecdotally, I reworked and completed Chapter 4 before the conceptual framework of Chapter 3. Once I had wrestled with both of these intellectually demanding chapters, I had my breakthrough, which came when I wrote the section called “Peeling back the layers – seven steps of analysis” towards the end of Chapter 4. This step-by-step outline really helped me visualise how the different components of my study were going to fit together and what I needed to do for this to happen. While I was writing this, I was in what I like to call “PhD boot camp” – a writing retreat, if you will, for a week with my supervisor. This week was a huge step forward in my research and writing. As a researcher, I feel I have learnt new ways of looking at research methodologies, and I would like to continue working in the merged research methodology field as I think this broadens the scope of research.

The data collection and sampling were also frustrating. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the textbooks were existing knowledge that needed to be analysed. My collection process was accessing the textbooks. This was a challenge and if I were to restart this study, I would try to fly to Nigeria, Uganda, and Rwanda to collect the textbook books myself. Thus, the sampling of the study could be seen as a limitation of the study. While a comparison has been made between the countries of the case study, I would like to do it again and compare textbooks of the same educational level to see whether the findings remain the same or something else is elicited.

The data analysis tool was tweaked several times to ensure that I was able to extract what I needed from the textbooks. Once I had worked out a template of what it would look like and how I would apply it, the data analysis process worked well.

8.5.2 *Personal-professional reflections of the study*

Seeing as I never take the simplest path to get anywhere, I have decided to intertwine my personal and professional reflections as they merge into one another. This study has been a

test of my character, resilience, and grit. As alluded to in Chapter 1, as part of the motivation and rationale of the study, I noted that reading for a doctorate in history education has always been a dream of mine. I still maintain this, but it has taken its toll.

This study has taken longer than originally anticipated due to a variety of circumstances and happenings – the birth of my son, COVID-19, lockdown, a change in teaching positions, a change in schools, several hospitalisations of my son and my husband respectively, work pressures, exhaustion, and the feelings of giving up several times to name a few. I found it difficult to juggle a full-time teaching job, raising a boisterous now 5-year-old and dedicating the necessary time to my studies. As a researcher, I would end up spending my school holidays working countless hours to catch up on the time missed during the term. While the study progressed well in holiday time, I struggled to get back into the research mindset after not working on it for an extended period.

However, I persevered and with no thanks to myself (as the procrastination queen) but rather to the very tough but supportive love of my supervisor. I believe we have both aged during this seven-year journey, and I do think he will be very happy once we finish this mega-research marathon. I know I have thanked him in my acknowledgements; however, I need to mention that my personal and professional growth would not be possible without him. From sitting in his History 101 class as a first-year student to now, many years later, still being under his tutelage, has truly (no cliché) shaped the historian and critical thinker I am today.

As a researcher, I am questioning things differently and this has filtered into my teaching of Grade 8-12 History students. I am even more aware of the power of textbooks and what impact the narratives have on the users, and I merge this into my teaching. As part of my curriculum, I teach the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi to my Grade 9 students. Having completed extensive research in this topic area, I am compelled to extend them beyond the few pages of simplified notes on a dark historical event that is extremely complex.

This study has also made me think even more about otherness – the other, being othered, and othering – beyond my own teaching space and into my everyday interactions with people and content, reaching into the social awareness space. I do not teach the Nigerian-Biafran War, nor do I teach about the political dictatorship of Idi Amin, but since this study, I have found ways to integrate these dark history examples into my teaching.

Professionally, I wish to continue working in this space of otherness and dark historical events as inclusion and representation are at the forefront in most work spheres; therefore, the

agency of awareness of omissions and otherness needs to be foregrounded more from an Afrocentric perspective.

8.6 Conclusion

The tragic histories of Rwanda, Nigeria, and Uganda illustrate how the concept of otherness – the way we define and separate ourselves from those deemed different – can be exploited to justify extreme violence and oppression. Engaging with the otherness of dark history events in African history textbooks reminds us of the urgent need for thoughtful and compassionate historical inquiry and critical thinking to understand and confront the root causes of such conflicts, how these narratives are rooted in education, and the importance of multiperspectivity in order for otherness to be eliminated as best it can so that national unity can still prevail despite the socio-political circumstances within each unique geopolitical unit.

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