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THE IDEA OF THE NATION IN POST-COLONIAL HISTORY  
TEXTBOOKS. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SENEGAL  
AND ZAMBIA

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# Abstract

This dissertation consists of a comprehensive comparative analysis of the education systems, History and Social Studies syllabi, and textbooks of post-independence Senegal and Zambia. Focusing on a six-decade-long period, this work aims to assess how both countries have utilized education - particularly History education - to bolster their nation-building processes.

National education systems are regarded as powerful instruments for socialization and ideologization, often subject to intense politicization on account of their potential to legitimise existing socio-political orders. The significance of History teaching is pivotal in this process, with political elites striving to shape and disseminate a unified narrative to forge a shared collective memory and identity. While textbook research has delved into national identity formation through History teaching, the post-colonial world, especially in Africa, remains only partially explored. Yet its unique characteristics – including the weight of colonial heritage and international influences on educational models and school publishing – make it particularly intriguing for this field of research. The concentration on two national cases, Senegal and Zambia, adds to the interest, given their distinct colonial legacies and relative stability compared to such conflict-ridden countries as have attracted the bulk of scholarly attention.

The present research is guided by three primary objectives. Firstly, it aims to reconstruct the education history of Senegal and Zambia, exploring the goals set by governments and the impact of their nation-building efforts on educational structures inherited from the colonial era. Here, the study adopts a transnational perspective to understand if and how international educational practices have influenced Senegalese and Zambian policies. The second objective is to analyse the History and Social Studies syllabi of primary and junior secondary schools with a view to evaluating how Senegalese and Zambian ruling elites have drawn on these teachings to support nation-building and establish a national identity grounded in historical justification and legitimacy. The research also aims to clarify the key features of this national identity and explore its evolution over time in response to domestic and international pressures. Thirdly, and finally, the research presents an in-depth discussion of the History and Social Studies textbooks adopted in the two countries. The analysis centres primarily on the contents of these textbooks, evaluating their alignment with official instructions. Specifically, it assesses the portrayal of the nation-state, encompassing its borders, cultural, political and religious attributes, symbolic representations, origins, periodization as well as key figures. Through this exploration, an effort is made to comprehend the shape and contents of the officially sanctioned national identity and whether the latter can be correlated, at least partially, to the stability that Senegal and Zambia have experienced since gaining independence.

For this purpose, the dissertation is structured as follows. After the introduction, which outlines the research objectives, current historiography and the sources and methodologies employed, the dissertation is divided into two parts, devoted to Senegal (part I) and Zambia (part II), respectively. Within each part, the evolution of the school systems in the two countries is scrutinized, along with an analysis of their History and Social Studies syllabi and the respective textbooks published from 1960/1964 to the present. The conclusions draw a comparison between the findings derived from the examination of the two national cases.

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## List of Abbreviations

7NDP	Seventh National Development Plan
AFD	Agence Française de Développement
ANC	African National Congress
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française
ASPHG	Association Sénégalaise des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie
ASSP	African Social Studies Programme
AUDECAM	Association Universitaire pour le Développement de l'Enseignement et de la Culture en Afrique et à Madagascar
BESSIP	Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Plan
BFEM	Brevet de Fin d'Études Moyennes
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CARAP	Centre Africain de Recherche et d'Action Pédagogique
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CE	Cours Élémentaire
CEB	Curriculum de l'Éducation de Base
CEDA	Centre d'Édition et de Diffusion Africaines
CI	Cours d'Initiation
CINAM	Compagnie d'Études Industrielles et d'Aménagement du Territoire
CM	Cours Moyen
CNREF	Commission Nationale de Réforme de l'Éducation et de la Formation
CP	Cours Préparatoire
DAGE	Direction de l'Administration générale et de l'Équipement
DERP	Demande et offre d'éducation en zones rurales

DPRE	Direction de la Planification et de la Réforme de l'Éducation
EAEP	East African Educational Publishers
EBS	Educational Broadcasting Services
EDB	Éducation de Base
EDICEF	Editions Classiques d'Expression Française
EDP	Emergency Development Plan
EFA	Education For All
EGEF	États Généraux de l'Éducation et de la Formation
ENS	École Normale Supérieure
ERIP	Educational Reform Implementation Project
ESVS	Éducation à la Science et à la Vie Sociale
FASTEF	Faculté des Sciences et Technologies de l'Éducation et de la Formation
FBE	Free Basic Education
FENZA	Faith and Encounter Centre of Zambia
FINNIDA	Finnish International Development Agency
FNDP	First National Development Plan / Fifth National Development Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEI	Georg Eckert Institute
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IDCJ	International Development Centre of Japan
IFAN	Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEADE	Institut National d'Étude et d'Action pour le Développement de l'Éducation
IPAM	Institut Pédagogique Africain et Malgache
JSS	Junior Secondary School

KKF	Kenneth Kaunda Foundation
MEN	Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale / Ministère de l'Éducation (2003-2006) / Ministère de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle (2007-2011) / Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale (2012-)
MESR	Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche
MFDC	Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance
MFEEF	Ministère de la Femme, de l'Enfant et de l'Entrepreneuriat Féminin
MFCAA	Ministère de la Formation Professionnelle, de l'Apprentissage et de l'Artisanat
MHEST	Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MoE	Ministry of Education (1964-1971) / Ministry of Education and Culture (1972-1981) / Ministry of General Education and Culture (1982 - 1987) / Ministry of General Education, Youth and Sport (1988 – 1991) / Ministry of Education (1991 - 2010) / Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education (2011-2015)/ Ministry of General Education (2016 -)
MOHE	Ministry of Higher Education
NAZam	National Archives of Zambia
NEA	Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines
NEAS	Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines Sénégal
NECZAM	National Education Company of Zambia Limited
NEDCOZ	National Educational Distribution Company of Zambia Limited
NIF	National Implementation Framework
NPA	New Primary Approach
NZPC	New Zambia Primary Course
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OCAM	Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache
OUP	Oxford University Press

PADES	Programme d'Appui au Développement de l'Éducation au Sénégal
PAQUET	Programme d'Amélioration de la Qualité, de l'Équité et de la Transparence
PDEF	Programme Décennal de l'Éducation et de la Formation
PDS	Parti Démocratique Sénégalais
PF	Patriotic Front
RS	République du Sénégal
RZ	Republic of Zambia
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SERESA	Société d'Études et de Réalisations Économiques et Sociales dans l'Agriculture
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SIDH	Société Internationale pour les Droits de l'Homme
SNDP	Second National Development Plan / Sixth National Development Plan
TDP	Transitional Development Plan
TNDP	Third National Development Plan
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
UP	United Party
UPP	United Progressive Party
UPS	Union Progressiste Sénégalaise
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
ZECF	Zambia Education Curriculum Framework
ZEPH	Zambia Educational Publishing House





# Introduction

## Presentation of the study and research objectives

As Ernest Gellner wrote in his seminal *Nations and Nationalism* with reference to industrialised societies, «the monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than is the monopoly of legitimate violence»<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, due to their power to influence processes of identity formation, to transmit values and beliefs and to determine the social, civic and moral orientation of the youth, national education systems have proved to be among the most powerful institutions of socialisation and ideologisation. Because of these potentialities, they, far from being neutral, have always been the object of intense politicisation. National education systems are used as tools to legitimise and consolidate an existing socio-political order. It follows that, when political change occurs, educational policies are often reshaped accordingly in order to support the new status quo. Parallel to this, they are used to mould, reshape and strengthen collective identities. As such, they have always played a pivotal role in the process of nation-building, which – as Anderson famously argued – amounts to the creation of «imagined communities»<sup>2</sup>.

History teaching is especially instrumental in this process. Political elites have commonly taken great care in crafting and propagating a single grand narrative of a given nation's past with a view to bringing into being a common collective memory and a shared identity. Usually, these efforts take the form of the modern nation-state being transposed back onto a distant past, even as founding myths are created that legitimize current territorial interests. All this is intended to generate a sense of both territorial and chronological continuity between the past and the present. Although presented as “the truth”, the official version of the past conveyed in History classes is the result of an intense cultural, political and ideological process of selection, exclusion and transmission. And since «national pasts are never manufactured within a vacuum»<sup>3</sup>, as cultural, political and ideological contexts change, so too is national history re-negotiated and re-invented to serve contemporary interests and needs. In this sense, national history reflects «the dynamic process of nation-building that is continually being modified by new conditions»<sup>4</sup>. Thus, studying the past taught in the schools

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<sup>1</sup> E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, London-New York, Verso, 2006 (1983).

<sup>3</sup> S. Foster and K. Crawford, *Introduction. The Critical Importance of History Textbook Research*, in Id. (eds.), *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*, Greenwich, IAP, 2006, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> D.C. Woolman, *Education Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum Development: A Comparative Study of Four African Countries*, «International Education Journal» 2.5, 2001, p. 27.

of a given country serves as a litmus test of how that country perceives itself and the world, of power relations within it, and of its values and beliefs.

To understand how a country's historical narrative is crafted and passed down to successive generations, it is essential to examine the role of school curricula and textbooks, which lie at the heart of the present research. Curricula are the embodiment of educational intentions, encapsulating what knowledge, qualities, attitudes and values the political elite deems essential for young people to possess<sup>5</sup>. This is particularly evident in the case of “national subjects”, including History, Geography, Social Studies, and Civic and Moral education. These subjects have traditionally been the focus of propagandistic and ideological work, serving as potent vehicles for promoting hegemonic values and practices. Due to these characteristics, national subjects are primary agents in the nation-building process. The content they cover is often instrumental in shaping and transmitting a collective identity, historical memory and a shared sense of destiny among the common people.

The curriculum, with its prescribed contents, values, practices and objectives, is subsequently imparted to students through school textbooks. The latter are far more than simple educational tools; they can be seen as «cultural artefacts»<sup>6</sup> that reflect prevailing political and cultural ideas and values, particularly those of dominant social groups. In essence, textbooks are repositories of ideas, values and knowledge within a given culture. Repositories that are expected to be embraced and upheld by future generations. Therefore, despite appearing neutral, textbooks function as instruments for preserving cultural homogeneity by instilling «a shared set of values, a national ethos, and an unquestionable sense of political orthodoxy»<sup>7</sup>. This is especially evident in the case of History textbooks, which present and enforce an authoritative and uncontested narrative—a so-called “official” version of events. Typically, this narrative celebrates the nation – its traditions, heritage, heroes and triumphs – while excluding such factors and dynamics as might undermine this homogeneous and positive picture. In other words, History textbooks emphasize aspects of national history that promote unity and cohesion, while downplaying or omitting those that may create division or controversy. In doing so, History textbooks have played a crucial role in determining how young people perceive and understand the nation and in legitimizing the state to which the same nation is assumed to have given rise. The construction of this usable past through a «selective tradition»<sup>8</sup> –

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<sup>5</sup> The term “curriculum” encompasses the entire spectrum of elements that an education system employs to manage and deliver education. This includes aspects like school organization, teaching materials, instructional resources, evaluation methods, educational policies, the roles and functions of various stakeholders, and more. Teaching programmes, although forming a crucial component of the curriculum, do not encompass the full scope of it. In this research, we distinguish between these two concepts by using the word “curriculum” to signify the entire education system and “syllabus” to refer specifically to teaching programs.

<sup>6</sup> Foster and Crawford, *Introduction*, cit., p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>8</sup> R. Williams, *The Long Revolution*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1961, quoted in Foster and Crawford, *Introduction*, cit., p. 5.



involving the inclusion and exclusion of specific historical elements – contributes to maintaining the «imagined community» in question.

While the processes of national identity formation through the teaching of History has been extensively studied in the European and Western contexts, the post-colonial world – and Africa, in particular – still remains partly underexplored<sup>9</sup>. This is regrettable, since this very arena offers important insights into this field of research – insights that partly deviate from the European model. First of all, unlike the European nation-states that, in most cases, evolved during the 19th century as the political expression of a single dominant culture, most contemporary African states came into being much more recently and display high levels of cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity. Indeed, at the time of independence, nationalist leaders were confronted with the challenge of crafting a sense – or a degree – of national unity out of the different groups who lived within the largely artificial borders draw up by former colonial masters. As the Ivorian leader Houphouët-Boigny stated in 1960, «Colonisation has bequeathed us a state but not a nation, which we must build»<sup>10</sup>. According to Mamadou Bouna Timera, this construction of the postcolonial national space entailed both fusion and boundary-making. Fusion was required to merge into a single mould the multiple customary, political and sociolinguistic spaces of allegiance whose reality, although strongly affected by colonialism, remained nonetheless significant. On the other hand, boundary-making amounted to an operation of delimitation which replaced an original space (fluid, open and predominantly economic) with a closed one. The new territory under construction had to be above all a political territory, the expression of a community of men linked by a common history and destiny<sup>11</sup>. The central role education – and of historical education, in particular – in sustaining this process of nation-building was evident throughout.

However, as we have seen, the school is not a neutral institution per se. This is especially so in Africa, where modern schooling began as a colonial heritage. This is another distinguishing feature of the post-colonial landscape. Indeed, African states had inherited (underdeveloped) exclusionary, pyramidal and racially segregated education systems whose curricula were intended to sustain European domination. After independence, it was these same systems that were tasked with the mission of forging a new national identity and sense of belonging. This meant that the leaders of newly independent African countries faced an intractable challenge, having to navigate the dual objectives of reforming the education system, so as to make it consistent with the development and nation-building needs of their new states, while rapidly expanding access to formal education, making

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<sup>9</sup> For a fuller discussion of the relevant historiography, see the next section.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in P. Kipré, *De la question nationale en Afrique*, «Afrika Zamani», 11-12, 2003-2004, p. 74.

<sup>11</sup> M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire, de l'indépendance aux années 1990*, «L'Espace géographique», 38.3, 2009, p. 242.

it accessible to those who had been excluded during the colonial era. Additionally, there was a strong desire to expand educational services without radically altering the inherited European system, which still enjoyed widespread prestige, not least because it had formed the political elites. Balancing these diverse positions and requirements was a hard task, as shown, for instance, by the difficult choice of the language of instruction, a long-debated issue in most independent African countries.

The evolution of African national education systems after independence was further complicated by the significant influence wielded by international organizations. Notably, starting from the 1960s, UNESCO organized conferences, including the prominent one in Addis Ababa in 1961, which emphasized the need for the quantitative expansion of the education systems inherited from colonial rule. This emphasis on quantity often took precedence over the qualitative reform of these systems and aimed at universalizing access to schooling. International pressures continued to make their presence felt during subsequent decades. Indeed, it soon became evident that African states had to consider not only their own political and ideological goals when formulating education policies but also growing economic constraints and external directives. Starting in the 1980s and 1990s, these directives often resulted from their participation in Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) sponsored by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The regional organizations to which Africa countries belonged also exerted their own influences, which, as will be seen, impacted not only on the development of school systems but also on the definition of syllabi. In this sense, the evolution of school systems and curricula in African countries cannot be analysed solely within a national framework. While the nation remains a primary focus of this research, it is important to place these developments in the context of broader international and transnational dynamics. Various educational models circulated globally, usually from the Western world to “Third World” countries, and these centre-peripheries dynamics influenced, albeit with differing outcomes in each case, national policies related to education.

One last element that distinguishes the African post-colonial experience from the Western model is textbooks. In the Western world, textbooks are typically considered “domestic products”, tailored for each nation’s education system and aligned with specific curricular guidelines. However, this is not always the case in African countries, where, according to Altbach, textbook publishing could be considered as «part of the tradition of colonial domination and neocolonial influence»<sup>12</sup>. Indeed, due to the weakness of local publishing apparatuses, African countries often lack the skills, capitals and infrastructure for developing and publishing their own textbooks. Consequently, they frequently rely on importing textbooks from abroad or adopting those published by international

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<sup>12</sup> P.G. Altbach, *Textbooks: the International Dimension*, in M.W. Apple, L. K. Christian-Smith (eds.), *The Politics of the Textbook*, New York-London, Routledge, 1991, p. 243.

publishing houses for their national or regional educational needs. This means that the aims and contents stipulated in the curricula, which may themselves be influenced by foreign sources, are not always seamlessly matched in the adopted textbooks. The end result of this state of affairs is a frequent disconnect between the intended curriculum and the materials available for students, raising challenges in providing an education that speaks to the nation's specific goals and values.

There are, in sum, several distinctive factors that set the teaching of History in post-colonial Africa apart from the better studied Western model. These differences – I maintain – are best grasped through an in-depth, comparative, analysis of the school systems, curricula and History textbooks of two specific sub-Saharan African nations, Senegal and Zambia. The selection of Senegal and Zambia as case studies is underpinned by two primary motivations. Firstly, and given that comparative research between Francophone and Anglophone African nations has been less common than one might assume (see *infra*), it stems from the intent to examine countries with distinct colonial legacies. Our objective is to metaphorically traverse colonial boundaries, and to examine how these two countries have either adapted or retained their differing education systems. Additionally, we seek to comprehend the extent to which the influence of their respective colonizers, often channelled through membership in different regional organizations, has continued to shape the formulation of educational curricula and the selection of textbooks. In essence, we aim to dissect the interplay between the original colonial model and subsequent educational policies, as well as how these countries have navigated the gulf between their national imperatives and European paradigms.

The second rationale has to do with the comparative stability of these two countries in the post-colonial era. Most research on History education and textbooks in sub-Saharan Africa has concentrated on countries that grappled with wars, genocides and ethnic conflicts. On the one hand, these investigations probed how History, as a school subject, played a role in precipitating conflicts. They examined how it came to be wielded as a tool to perpetuate racial segregation, fuel discrimination, exacerbate grievances, foster stereotypes, nurture xenophobia and sow various forms of antagonism, thereby creating and reinforcing divisions between an in-group and a demonized out-group against which violence and discrimination were deemed acceptable. On the other hand, research delved into the role of schooling as a means of fostering peace and reconciliation in post-conflict settings. While these studies underscore how History education serves as a potent instrument in the hands of political elites to mould the perceptions and attitudes of younger generations, such approaches face two potential risks. The first risk involves succumbing to a tautological narrative, essentially one that reconstructs the evolution of History education solely through the lens of conflict. The second risk lies in eschewing the study of the circumstances in which the teaching of History,

even within contexts marked by ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity, may have contributed to the stability of certain countries, as well as the mechanisms underlying this phenomenon.

In light of the above considerations, this research is informed by three overarching objectives. Firstly, it aims to reconstruct the history of the education systems of Senegal and Zambia, from the moments of their respective independences up to the present day. This involves the meticulous exploration of the educational goals set by different governments and of what the nation-building processes which they embarked upon meant for the educational frameworks they had inherited from the colonial period. Furthermore, it is necessary to examine how these objectives changed over time on account of both internal dynamics, such as changes in political leadership, public demands and economic difficulties, as well as external pressures from regional and international organizations. The intention of this work, indeed, is not to confine the analysis to a strictly top-down approach but also to focus on the transnational circulation of educational practices and how these have influenced Senegalese and Zambian education policies. As Fuchs aptly put it, adopting such a transnational perspective «is not a matter of deconstructing national history» – which remains at the heart of the present research – «but of contextualizing it»<sup>13</sup>.

My second objective is to analyse the History and Social Studies curricula of Senegalese and Zambian primary and junior secondary school, from 1960-1964 to the present day. The first purpose of the exercise is to determine whether and how the two countries' ruling elites sought to use these teachings, especially in the early years following independence, to support the nation-building process and thereby construct a national identity grounded in historical justification and legitimacy. Next, it will be a matter of elucidating the key features of this national identity and how, or if, it evolved over time in response to domestic political and economic changes and/or international or regional pressures.

Finally, this research will delve into the History and Social Studies textbooks utilized in both countries since independence. The aim is to ascertain whether the narrative outlined in the curricula is reflected in the school classrooms or if there are deviations, and, if so, how relevant. The analysis, as will be further discussed in the methodological section of this introduction, will focus primarily on the textbooks' contents. Particular attention will be given to how the nation-state is portrayed: its borders and components, cultural, political and religious attributes, symbolic representations, origins, periodisation and key figures. Despite the aforementioned limitations of both countries' publishing

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<sup>13</sup> E. Fuchs, *History of Education beyond the Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship*, in B. Bagchi, E. Fuchs, K. Rousmaniere (eds.), *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post) Colonial Education*, New York-Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2014, p. 15.

markets, the analysis of textbooks remains essential to understanding the kind of historical narratives that are introduced into classrooms and their impact on young students. This is especially important since, due to the limited availability of alternative sources, most teachers in sub-Saharan African countries continue to rely heavily on school textbooks as their primary teaching resource.

In summary, this research pursues three main avenues of research. First, it investigates the extent to which official perspectives and ideologies are embedded and institutionalized in the education system through curricula and textbooks, aimed at legitimizing and strengthening a specific socio-political order and moulding collective identities and memories in keeping with the visions of governing elites. Secondly, it examines how these viewpoints, ideologies and historical narratives have evolved over a span of six decades, adapting or resisting influences from both domestic and international sources, and how they have intersected with the political agendas of ruling authorities. Thirdly, by conducting a comparative analysis of the two countries under examination, the research seeks to determine whether the education and historical narrative models adopted by Senegal and Zambia can, at least in part, account for the relative stability of the two countries.

This research adopts a long-term analysis, examining the evolution of education systems and History curricula and textbooks from the 1960s to the present. This choice, while facilitating the perception of change and its relationship with political, cultural and economic transformations in Senegal and Zambia, has made it necessary to omit other potentially interesting research directions. One such avenue, pertaining to the realm of intellectual history, would have involved the study of the individuals who, in both countries, contributed to shaping the curricula and crafting school textbooks, exploring their motivations, ideas and politics and their influence on the final educational materials. A second potential research path might have foregrounded the two countries' publishing histories, delving into the various national and international publishing houses operating in Senegal and Zambia, investigating the key figures behind them, their connections with their respective Ministries of Education, the constraints they faced and the production decisions they took. While both of these researches would no doubt offer valuable insights into the diverse factors contributing to the formulation of educational policies, curricula and textbooks, they would require focusing on a much shorter timeframe and, potentially, a single case study, thereby obfuscating the long-term dynamics which lie at the core of this comparative research. They, moreover, would take the focus away from textbook research, which constitutes my primary area of investigation.

In broad terms, what the present work does is to use a specific source, the textbook, to illuminate the dynamic interplay between education and politics, as well as processes of identity formation and national legitimization. Despite not forming a distinct historical branch, research on textbooks has garnered substantial scholarly attention over the past fifty years, featuring a variety of

methodological approaches and disciplinary contexts. These studies have all underscored the pivotal role of textbooks as a primary means through which a given nation-state's history policies are shaped and disseminated, making them essential sources for understanding the process of identity construction. This is the field of inquiry to which this research aspires to contribute, concentrating on the relatively overlooked context of sub-Saharan Africa.

## The Historiography

Historical narratives have always been instrumental in shaping national identities and legitimizing political authority, ever since the birth of the modern nation-states in the 19th century. This aspect of history, therefore, has always been a subject of extensive research<sup>14</sup>. Researchers have explored not only how states employ history for political purposes, utilizing various means such as museums, legislation, and mass media<sup>15</sup>, but also how the position of history in educational settings<sup>16</sup>. Indeed, as has already been pointed out, the teaching of History in schools has consistently been a target of political influence and ideology. This influence is often exerted to construct a unified national identity that aligns with current political objectives. This constructed identity is portrayed as coherent and is frequently strengthened by reference to an external or internal out-group, often resulting in distortions and stereotyping.

The History textbook research, which could be regarded as a subset of the broader research into History education, emerged precisely in response to these «abuses of history»<sup>17</sup>. Its origins can be traced back to the period immediately after World War I. At this time, the League of Nations

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<sup>14</sup> For history as a nation-building tool, see for instance: S. Berger, *Writing the Nation. A Global Perspective*, Basingstoke-New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; S. Berger, C. Lorenz (eds.), *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

<sup>15</sup> B. Bevernage, N. Wouters (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History after 1945*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018; E. Foner, *Who Owns History? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World*, New York, Hill and Wang, 2003.

<sup>16</sup> M. Carretero, S. Berger, M. Grever (eds.), *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017; M. Ferro, *The Use and Abuse of History or How the Past is Taught*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, and, more generally, the different volumes of the «History Education Research Journal» (<https://www.history.org.uk/publications/categories/304/info/3633/history-education-research-journal>, 14/10/2023). Particularly relevant to this research are the numerous studies on History taught in schools as a tool for nation building, such as: M. Carretero, *Constructing Patriotism: Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds*, Charlotte, IAP, 2011; M. Carretero, M. Ascensio & M. Rodríguez-Moneo (eds.), *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, Charlotte, IAP, 2012. All these studies have at least one section specifically devoted to textbooks, a topic to which we will return later.

<sup>17</sup> M. Ferro, *The Use and Abuse of History*, cit. Of course, textbook research is not exclusively limited to History, Social Studies and Humanities textbooks. See, for example, P. Bagoly-Simó, Z. Sikorová (eds.), *Textbooks and Educational Media: Perspectives from Subject Education: Proceedings of the 13th IARTEM Conference 2015, Berlin*, Cham, Springer Nature, 2021, which covers a broad range of subjects in education and discusses the challenges involved in individual teaching subjects.

initiated an international effort to revise textbooks as a response to the extreme nationalism that had characterized History education in previous decades<sup>18</sup>. Later, in the aftermath of the era of totalitarianism, during which History was widely employed in schools to legitimize authoritarian regimes and cultivate consensus, and in the wake of the atrocities of World War II, organizations like UNESCO and the Council of Europe took up the League of Nations' mission<sup>19</sup>. It had become abundantly clear that History teaching had often been used to promote aggressive nationalism and reignite rivalry, mistrust and xenophobia among European nations. Thus, in the post-war period, the need was felt to reform History textbooks with a view to contributing to peace and reconciliation between different peoples.

The research on History textbooks has since evolved along two main lines. The first, earlier, trend involved collaborative efforts between different country representatives to negotiate how the past should be presented in textbooks<sup>20</sup>. A pioneer of this cooperative approach to textbook studies aimed at promoting international communication and understanding was undoubtedly German historian Georg Eckert, the founder of the research centre that today bears his name: the Georg Eckert Institute (henceforth GEI, today the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media)<sup>21</sup>. The second line of research, to which the present analysis contributes, falls within what Foster calls the «critical tradition»<sup>22</sup>. This field of inquiry emerged later, starting in the 1960s, and is characterized by specific, critical and analytical research on textbooks, often conducted by academics or institutions. This type of research delves into particular aspects of history as portrayed in textbooks. Over the years, it has

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<sup>18</sup> For further information on the League of Nations' role in education, please refer to: E. Fuchs, *The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s*, «Paedagogica Historica», 43.2, 2007, pp. 199-209.

<sup>19</sup> On the role of UNESCO and the Council of Europe in History textbook revision see: L. Cajani, *History Teaching for the Unification of Europe: The Case of the Council of Europe*, in B. Bevernage, N. Wouters (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History*, cit., pp. 289-305; L. Cajani, *Peace Through History Education: The Activities of UNESCO, the Georg-Eckert-Institut and the Council of Europe*, in H. Mu Hung Ting, L. Cajani (eds.), *Negotiating Ethnic Diversity and National Identity in History Education. International and Comparative Perspectives*, Cham, Springer, 2023, pp. 33-52; Council of Europe, *Against Bias and Prejudice. The Council of Europe's Work on History Teaching and History Textbooks*, Strasbourg, Council for Cultural Co-Operation, 1995; P. Luntinen, *School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of Unesco: Part I*, «Internationale Schulbuchforschung / International Textbook Research », 10.4, 1988, pp. 337-348; P. Luntinen, *School History Textbook Revision by and under the Auspices of Unesco: Part II*, «Internationale Schulbuchforschung / International Textbook Research », 11.1, 1989, pp. 39-48; UNESCO, *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding*, Paris, UNESCO, 1949.

<sup>20</sup> For an overview of some bilateral textbook revision projects and a critical analysis on them, see: K.V. Korostelina, S. Lässig (eds.), *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation. Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*, London-New York, Routledge, 2013; F. Pingel, *Can Truth Be Negotiated? History Textbook Revision as a Means to Reconciliation*, «The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science», 617.1, 2008, pp. 181-198.

<sup>21</sup> On the history, mission and infrastructure of the GEI, see: E. Patrizi, *Building a Better Society through Textbook Research. The Mission of the Georg Eckert Institute from the Beginning up to the Present Day*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», XI, 1, 2016, pp. 479-500; R. Strötgen, *New Information Infrastructures for Textbook Research at the Georg Eckert Institute*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», IX, 1, 2014, pp. 149-162; and the GEI website: *History*, in *GEI – Leibniz Institute for Educational Media*, from: <https://www.gei.de/en/institute/gei-institute/history> (14/10/2023).

<sup>22</sup> S. Foster, *Dominant Traditions in International Textbook Research and Revision*, «Education Inquiry», 2.1, 2011, p. 7.

been enriched by diverse methodological approaches and various disciplinary contexts<sup>23</sup>, benefiting from broader discussions of textbooks as educational tools, cultural artifacts and sources that can reveal the politics, power dynamics, culture and values of a society<sup>24</sup>. The majority of this research is content-oriented, addressing the specificities of historical narratives or the presentation of topics such as race, ethnicity, class and gender in various textbooks. Studies belonging to this category may examine, for instance, how the presentation of a particular topic has evolved over an extended period in one country or, conversely, how the same topic is depicted in the History textbooks of different countries<sup>25</sup>.

The concept of the nation, or the national dimension, has been a central concern of content analyses and the evolution of research in this area closely mirrors the evolution of textbook research as a whole<sup>26</sup>. Starting in the 1960s, there was a strong emphasis on bilateral studies, which examined how one nation was represented in the textbooks of another. These studies aimed to uncover biases and prejudices. At this stage, the nation was often treated as a fixed and unchanging unit, closely associated with the state. A significant shift in focus took place from the 1980s onwards, as researchers began to explore the nation itself as the primary subject of their studies. These studies, which investigate the intricate relationship between ideology, national identity and textbook content, gained increasing popularity, particularly in the context of Europe and the Western industrialized world, and in post-1991 Eastern European countries<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> For fuller discussions of the various trends in History textbook research, refer to: S. Foster, *Dominant Traditions*, cit.; E. Fuchs, *Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research*, «Journal of International Cooperation and Education», 14.2, 2011, pp. 17–34; M. Repoussi, N. Tutiaux-Guillon, *New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies toward a School Historiography*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society», 2.1, 2010, pp. 154–170. Additionally, the GEI journal can serve as a valuable resource for gaining an overview of the state of the discipline and its trends: «Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society» (<https://www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/jemms/jemms-overview.xml>, 14/10/2023), until 2009 known as: «Internationale Schulbuchforschung / International Textbook Research».

<sup>24</sup> M.W. Apple, L. K. Christian-Smith (eds.), *The Politics of the Textbook*, cit.; E. Fuchs, A. Bock (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018; S. Foster and K. Crawford, *Introduction*, cit.; E. Klerides, *Imagining the Textbook: Textbooks as Discourse and Genre*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society», 2.1, 2010, pp. 31–54.

<sup>25</sup> Providing an exhaustive overview of this extensive line of research is beyond the scope of this discussion. However, I can offer a few examples as a starting point, such as: R.L. Braham (ed.), *The Treatment of the Holocaust in Textbooks: The Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, the United States of America*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1987; J. Cairns, B. Inglis, *A Content Analysis of Ten Popular History Textbooks for Primary Schools with Particular Emphasis on the Role of Women*, «Educational Review», 41, 1989, pp. 221–226; K.A. Crawford, S.J. Foster, *War, Nation, Memory. International Perspectives on World War II in School History Textbooks*, Charlotte, IAP, 2008. Particularly interesting are the collections edited by Crawford & Foster and Nicholls that include a range of perspectives from Europe, North America, South Africa, the Middle East and South and East Asia. See: S. Foster, K. Crawford (eds.), *What Shall We Tell the Children?*, cit.; J. Nicholls (ed.), *School History Textbooks across Cultures. International Debates and Perspectives*, Oxford, Symposium Books, 2006.

<sup>26</sup> For a more in-depth discussion, see: P. Carrier, *The Nation, Nationhood, and Nationalism in Textbook Research from 1951 to 2017*, in E. Fuchs, A. Bock (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, cit., pp. 181–198.

<sup>27</sup> Once again, it is impossible to provide a comprehensive overview here. Relevant examples of both single-nation studies and comparative analyses are: A. Ascenzi, *Metamorfosi della cittadinanza. Studi e ricerche su insegnamento della storia, educazione civile e identità nazionale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, Eum, 2009; C. Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain (1875–1975)*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1997; P. Carrier



More recently, the analysis of European textbooks has been extending beyond the national dimension along two distinct lines of research. The first one is focused on the investigation of a supranational European identity. This research does not seek to establish a single, uniform and authoritative grand narrative of European history<sup>28</sup>. Instead, it aims to cultivate students' awareness of the diverse and sometimes conflicting historical memories and interpretations which exist throughout Europe. Many studies have thus investigated how Europe and European identity are portrayed in the textbooks of different countries on the continent. These studies have contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of how the concept of a shared European identity has been constructed within different cultural and historical contexts<sup>29</sup>. The second research strand has emerged since the 1990s and is concerned with the representation of Africa and colonialism in European textbooks. This sub-field reflects broader debates on the public memory of colonialism, which in turn have been much influenced by postcolonial studies and the impacts of migration on Europe<sup>30</sup>. Although research in this field is expanding and now encompasses, not only the major colonial

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(ed.), *School & Nation. Identity Politics and Educational Media in an Age of Diversity*, Frankfurt Am Main, Peter Lang, 2013 (this volume by Carrier is particularly interesting for the present research because, while being mostly focused on European cases, it also includes two African case studies, notably Senegal and Algeria); J.G. Janmaat, *History and National Identity Construction. The great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks*, «History of Education», 35, 2006, pp. 345–368; H. Schissler, Y.N. Soysal (eds.), *The Nation, Europe, and the World. Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2005; M. Silvani, *L'idea di nazione in Italia e nel Regno Unito. Indagine sui manuali di Storia della scuola secondaria dell'obbligo*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2003; C. Tamioglou, *What Effect Does School History Have on Greek Nationality Pupils in Relation to Their Ideas About Their Own Nation and 'Significant Other' Nations and Their People?*, PhD, University of East Anglia, 2011; J. Zajda, *Globalisation and National Identity in History Textbooks. The Russian Federation*, Dordrecht, Springer, 2017. For non-Western perspectives, see, especially, E. Vickers, A. Jones (eds.), *History Education and National Identity in East Asia*, London, Routledge, 2005.

<sup>28</sup> This was the risk run by the European History textbook published in 1992 in 12 languages: F. Delouche, J. Aldebert, C. Allevi, *Storia d'Europa*, Milano, Bruno Mondadori, 1992. For a critical reflection on that experience, see: O. Rathkolb (ed.), *How to (Re)Write European History. History and Textbook Projects in Retrospect*, Innsbruck, Studien Verlag, 2011, and especially Delouche's contribution: *The Rise and Fall of History-of-Europe School Textbook Projects: a Case Study (a Personal Experience)*, pp. 123-130; F. Pingel, *History as a Project of the Future: the European History Textbook Debate*, in K.V. Korostelina, S. Lässig (eds.), *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation*, cit., pp. 155-176.

<sup>29</sup> Without delving into the specifics, it is essential to mention Falk Pingel's extensive and pivotal research on this topic: F. Pingel (ed.), *Insegnare l'Europa. Concetti e rappresentazioni nei libri di testo europei*, Torino, Edizioni Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 2003; F. Pingel et al., *L'immagine dell'Europa nei manuali scolastici di Germania, Francia, Spagna, Gran Bretagna e Italia*, Torino, Edizioni della fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1994; F. Pingel, *The European Home: Representations of 20th Century Europe in History Textbook*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2000.

<sup>30</sup> For a concise examination of this matter and its impact on textbooks, refer to: E. Fuchs, M. Otto, *Educational Media, Textbooks, and Postcolonial Relocations of Memory Politics in Europe*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society», 5.1, 2013, pp. 1-13; S. Grindel, *Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts of History Textbooks*, in M. Carretero, S. Berger, M. Grever (eds.), *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*, cit., pp. 259-274; L. Müller, *Colonialism*, in E. Fuchs, A. Bock (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies*, cit., pp. 281-292.

powers,<sup>31</sup> but also Italy, Germany, and Belgium<sup>32</sup>, it is worth noting that the focus often remains on the European perspective, with relatively few studies examining African textbooks themselves<sup>33</sup>.

Indeed, there is a significant scholarly gap when it comes to African textbooks, especially in the post-colonial era<sup>34</sup>, in contrast to the substantial body of research on European textbooks. The absence of a national dimension in African textbook research is likely due to the complex nature of African states, which often defy the conventional nation-state model because of their internal ethnic diversity and the historical legacies of European imperialism. In contrast, research on sub-Saharan Africa has focused predominantly on the role of History education in either exacerbating conflicts or fostering reconciliation, reflecting the region's turbulent recent history<sup>35</sup>. Yet, Africa's unique context, marked by the presence of other powerful collective identities like ethnicity or Pan-Africanism, as

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<sup>31</sup> R. Granvaud, *Colonisation et décolonisation dans les manuels scolaires de collège en France*, «Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire critique», 99, 2006, pp. 73-81; S. Grindel, *The End of Empire: Colonial Heritage and the Politics of Memory in Britain*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society», 5.1, 2013, pp. 33-49; F. Lantheaume, *The Empire in French History Teaching. From a Promise to a Burden*, in P. Carrier (ed.), *School & Nation*, cit., pp. 15-23; M. Otto, *The Challenge of Decolonization School History Textbooks as Media and Objects of the Postcolonial Politics of Memory in France since the 1960s*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society», 5.1, 2013, pp. 14-32; P. Yeandle, *Empire, Englishness and Elementary School History Education, c. 1880-1914*, «International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research», 3.1, 2003, pp. 55-68.

<sup>32</sup> L. Cajani, *The Image of Italian Colonialism in Italian History Textbooks for Secondary Schools*, «Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society», 5.1, 2013, pp. 72-89; M. Depaepe, *L'image du Congo (RDC) dans les manuels scolaires belges et les écrits psychopédagogiques durant la période coloniale (1908-1960)*, «Annales aequatoria», 29, 2008, pp. 5-28; V. Deplano, *Making Italians: Colonial History and the Graduate Education System from the Liberal Era to Fascism*, «Journal of Modern Italian Studies», 18.5, 2013, pp. 580-598; K. Kennedy, *African Heimat: German Colonies in Wilhelmine and Weimar Reading Books*, «Internationale Schulbuchforschung / International Textbook Research », 24.1, 2002, pp. 7-26; N. Labanca (ed.), *La Libia nei manuali scolastici italiani (1911-2001)*, Roma, Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2004; E. Marmer et al., *Racism and the Image of Africa in German Schools and Textbooks*, «The International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations», 10.5, 2010, pp. 1-12; K. v. Nieuwenhuysse, *From Triumphalism to Amnesia. Belgian-Congolese (Post)Colonial History in Belgian Secondary History Education Curricula and Textbooks (1945-1989)*, «International Society for History Didactics Yearbook», 35, 2014, pp. 79-100; A. Pes, *Becoming Imperialist: Italian Colonies in Fascist Textbooks for Primary Schools*, «Journal of Modern Italian Studies», 18.5, 2013, pp. 599-614.

<sup>33</sup> For an interesting overview of the representation of the colonial period in European as well as African textbooks (the volume includes studies on Zimbabwe and Mozambique), see: K. v. Nieuwenhuysse, J.P. Valentim (ed.), *The Colonial Past in History Textbooks. Historical and Social Psychological Perspectives*, Charlotte, IAP, 2018.

<sup>34</sup> African colonial manuals have received comparatively more attention, thanks to some important contributions: M. Depaepe, J. Briffaerts, P. Kita, H. Vinck, *Manuels et chansons scolaires au Congo Belge*, *Studia Paedagogica* 33, Louvain, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2003. For the Belgian Congo, see also the numerous publications by Father Honoré Vinck. I. Seri-Hersch, *Enseigner l'histoire à l'heure de l'ébranlement colonial. Soudan, Égypte, Empire britannique (1943-1960)*, Paris, Karthala, 2018; C. Scalvedi, *An Empire of Possibilities: Education in Fascist Italy's African Colonies, 1922-1943*, PhD, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2023.

<sup>35</sup> D. Bentrovato, *Learning to Live Together in Africa through History Education. An Analysis of School Curricula and Stakeholders' Perspectives*, Göttingen, V&R Press, 2017; D. Bentrovato, *History Education, Transitional Justice and Politics of Reconciliation: Multi- and Univocality Around Violent Past in South African and Rwandan Textbooks*, in M. Keynes, M., H. Åström Elmersjö, D. Lindmark, B. Norlin (eds.), *Historical Justice and History Education*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, pp. 291-314; D. Bentrovato, K.V. Korostelina, M. Schulze (eds.), *History can Bite. History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*, Göttingen, V&R Press, 2016 (although this volume does not deal exclusively with the African continent, it does contain several interesting African case studies, such as Kenya, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi); A. Engelbrecht, *Textbooks in South Africa from Apartheid to Post-Apartheid: Ideological Change Revealed by Racial Stereotyping*, in E. Roberts-Schweitzer, V. Greaney, K. Duer (eds.), *Promoting Social Cohesion Through Education. Case Studies and Tools for Using Textbooks and Curricula*, Washington, World Bank, 2006, pp. 71-80; E. King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

well as the distinctive characteristics of its school systems and publishing markets, makes it an intriguing and valuable area of study for understanding how History education contributes to the formation of national identity.

All of this, of course, should not be taken to imply that the field is entirely unexplored. However, while there has been some research on the role of History education in several African countries, much of this work is primarily concerned with contemporary developments and eschews the long-term analysis of post-colonial political and curricular reforms<sup>36</sup>. Comparative research is also limited, especially across countries with different colonial legacies and of different regions<sup>37</sup>. This dissertation seeks to address some of these research gaps by casting the spotlight on two sub-Saharan countries, Senegal and Zambia, that have enjoyed relative stability since gaining independence. This happy distinction makes it possible not to focus solely on the role of history as either the cause of or the remedy for conflict, but rather to investigate the extent to which History education in these countries has been utilized as a tool for nation-building. The present research delves into the kind of historical narrative and national identity conveyed through these means and whether these factors can be linked to the absence of significant conflicts in these two nations. In this regard, the comparison between two countries situated in distinct geographical regions, and having different colonial backgrounds, is deemed particularly valuable. This approach will aid in comprehending how, despite starting from diverse initial conditions, facing varying pressures and following different trajectories, these countries ultimately arrived at similar outcomes. Furthermore, the research aims to provide a long-term perspective, examining not only the evolution of the national narrative but also the progression of educational policies and programmes. It will shed light on both the objectives of national policies and how these objectives were influenced by local, regional, and international actors.

In reconstructing the educational history, the development of school curricula and the landscape of school textbooks in Senegal and Zambia, I began by analysing the existing literature. It is important to note that while there are numerous studies of colonial education, research on the

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<sup>36</sup> As an example of this type of research, see: J. Holmén, *Nation-Building in Kenyan Secondary School Textbooks*, «Education Inquiry», 2.1, 2011, pp. 79–91. Notable exceptions that confirm the rule are: P. Guidi, *Éduquer la Nation en Éthiopie. École, État et identités dans le Wolaita (1941-1991)*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2020, e M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire au Sénégal des premières écoles à la réforme de 1998*, PhD, Université Cheick Anta Diop – Dakar, 2003-2004. My debt to Sow's work will become clear in Part I.

<sup>37</sup> Worth mentioning here is the PhD dissertation by Denise Benvato, one of the most prominent historians of textbooks in post-colonial Africa: D. Benvato, *Narrating and Teaching the Nation: History, Identity and the Politics of Education in the Great Lakes Region of Africa (Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo)*, PhD, University of Utrecht, 2013. Even though it focuses on three neighbouring countries, all of which former Belgian colonies, this work stands out as one of the few comparative studies that examines both curricula and school textbooks. In contrast, Woolman's research, which investigates four countries from various regions, privileges educational policies and curricula at the expense of textbooks. See: D.C. Woolman, *Education Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum Development*, cit.

evolution of education systems in these countries since gaining independence is sparser<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, there are significant disparities between the two countries' literatures. The Senegalese case has received considerably more attention than the Zambian one, with extensive research having been carried out into the evolution of its school system and the teaching of History<sup>39</sup>. Some contributions, to which I am especially indebted, have even delved into the construction of national identity through History and Geography education<sup>40</sup>. Additionally, studies on textbooks in Francophone Africa have enhanced my understanding of the educational publishing landscape<sup>41</sup>. On the other hand, the body of research into the history of education in Zambia is much more fragmented, and there is a noticeable absence of up-to-date works on the post-colonial period<sup>42</sup>. Existing research tends to focus on specific areas, such as religious education or community schools<sup>43</sup>, with more attention given to the economic aspects of the education sector and the need to reconcile educational reforms with growing economic challenges<sup>44</sup>. Detailed studies on the teaching of History and Social Studies are also relatively

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<sup>38</sup> Studies with a direct bearing on colonial Senegal and Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) are: G. Boyer, P. Clerc, M. Zancarini-Fournel (eds.), *L'école aux colonies, les colonies à l'école*, Lyon, ENS Éditions, 2013; K.M.D. Bryant, *Education as Politics: Colonial Schooling and Political Debate in Senegal, 1850s–1914*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2015; B. Carmody, *The Politics of Catholic Education in Zambia: 1891–1964*, «Journal of Church and State», 44.4, 2002, pp. 775-804; T. Chafer, *Teaching Africans to Be French? France's 'Civilising Mission' and the Establishment of a Public Education System in French West Africa, 1903–1930*, «Africa» 56.2, 2001, pp. 190–209; G.P. Kelly, *Colonialism, Indigenous Society, and School Practices: French West Africa and Indochina, 1918-1938*, in P.G. Altbach, G.P. Kelly (eds.), *Education and the Colonial Experience*, New Brunswick-London, Transaction Books, 1984, pp. 9-32; S. Küster, 'Book Learning' Versus 'Adapted Education': *The Impact of Phelps-Stokesism on Colonial Education Systems in Central Africa in the Interwar Period*, «Paedagogica Historica» 43.1, 2007, pp. 79–97; S. Küster, *African Education in Colonial Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Government Control, Settler Antagonism and African Agency, 1890-1964*, Hamburg, Lit Verlag, 1999; P. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*, Lusaka, Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1990.

<sup>39</sup> C. Fam, *Réflexions sur l'école sénégalaise*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2019; C. Fam, *Réforme de l'école ou réformes à l'école? Le curriculum de l'éducation de base au Sénégal: un diagnostic*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2019; C. Labrune-Badiane, M.-A. de Suremain, P. Bianchini (eds.), *L'école en situation postcoloniale*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2012; A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, in M.-C. Diop (ed.), *Sénégal. Trajectoires d'un État*, Dakar, Codesria, 1992, pp. 379-429; A. Ngom, *L'école sénégalaise d'hier à aujourd'hui: entre ruptures et mutations*, «Revue internationale d'éducation de Sèvres», 76, 2017, pp. 24-29; D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal, 1962-2014. Une analyse des contenus et des méthodes d'enseignement*, «Liens», 20, 2015, pp. 244-268.

<sup>40</sup> A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal from 1960 to the Present Day. A History of Misunderstanding*, in P. Carrier (ed.), *School & Nation*, cit., pp. 24-37; M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit.; M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire*, cit.

<sup>41</sup> P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks used in French-speaking African Countries*, Paris, UNESCO, 2008; F. Wellot-Samba, M. M'baye Madeleine, G. Diaratou, (M. Jacques Breton – Directeur de recherche), *Le Manuel Scolaire d'Enseignement Primaire dans les Pays Francophones Africains et Malgache*, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Bibliothèques, 1973.

<sup>42</sup> The most notable studies are: B. Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, Lusaka, Bookworld Publishers, 2004; M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education in Zambia from Pre-Colonial Time to 1996. A Book of Notes and Readings*, Lusaka: Image Publishers, 1999; G. Masaiti (ed.), *Education in Zambia at Fifty Years of Independence and Beyond. History, Current Status and Contemporary Issues*, Lusaka, UNZA Press, 2018; J. C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education In Zambia*, PhD, University of Toronto, 1980.

<sup>43</sup> See, for instance, B. Carmody, *Education in Zambia. Catholic Perspectives*, Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999; M. Mwalimu, *Access, Quality and Opportunity: A Case Study of Zambia Open Community Schools (ZOCS)*, PhD, Michigan State University, 2011.

<sup>44</sup> P. Nkhoma, *Aid Administration of Bilateral, Multilateral and Non-government Organisations in the Primary Education Sector: A Comparative Case Study Analysis of Zambia*, PhD, Edith Cowan University, 2001; R.J. Zvobgo, *The Post-colonial State and Educational Reform: Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana*, Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1999.

limited<sup>45</sup>, and often concentrate on specific aspects, such as the involvement of teachers in curriculum reform processes and their views<sup>46</sup>, with broader synthetic works being almost entirely absent. The same applies to research into the use of History and History and Social Studies textbooks as tools for nation-building. Therefore, not only does this research offer an original comparison between the education systems of Senegal and Zambia, tracing the evolution of their History and Social Studies curricula and analysing the national narrative presented in their textbooks, but it also aims to serve as a comprehensive overview of the development of the school systems and History curricula and textbooks in the two countries.

## Sources and Methodology

To address the fundamental questions at the heart of this thesis, a qualitative approach was employed, encompassing desk-based research and the collection and analysis of pertinent primary sources. The initial data collection phase involved extensive desk-based research. This step was instrumental in forming an understanding of the issues pertinent to the thesis and in formulating its theoretical and analytical framework. A wide range of data sources were considered, drawing upon Anglophone, Francophone and Italian scholarships on textbooks, as well as such broader disciplines as History, Politics, and Education<sup>47</sup>. The literature reviewed encompassed scholarly monographs and academic articles, available in both printed and electronic formats. As the first year of the research occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic, access was limited to secondary literature available online or at the University of Pavia's libraries. From late 2021, when safety measures were relaxed and travel was once more permitted, additional material was collected from various Italian and European libraries.

The second set of data was derived from the collection of laws, documents, bulletins and reports generated by governmental and non-governmental entities. This material proved indispensable for reconstructing the evolution of educational policy in Senegal and Zambia since the

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<sup>45</sup> D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development in Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe*, PhD, University of Georgia, 1992; C.P. Chishimba, R.K. Simukoko, *Social Studies in Zambia*, in M.B. Adeyemi (ed.), *Social Studies in African Education*, Gaborone: Pyramid Publishing, 2000, pp. 281-302; R. Mambwe, E.S. Lufungulo, *The Evolution of Social Studies Education in Zambia*, «Multidisciplinary Journal of Language and Social Sciences Education», 5.1, 2022, pp. 1-18.

<sup>46</sup> Y.M. Kabombwe, N. Machila, P. Sikayomya, *Implementing a History Competency-Based Curriculum: Teaching and Learning Activities for a Zambian School History Classroom*, in «Multidisciplinary Journal of Language and Social Sciences Education», 3.3, 2020, pp. 18-50; F. Mbeba, *Challenges Related to the Zambian History Curriculum and How the History School Curriculum can Be Decolonised*, «Yesterday and Today», 28, 2022, pp. 159-163; S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development of Social Studies Learners' Textbooks for Junior Secondary Schools in Zambia*, MA, Lusaka, University of Zambia, 2019; C. Mwanza, *Teacher Involvement in Curriculum Development in Zambia: A Role Analysis of Selected Secondary School Teachers in Lusaka*, MA, Lusaka, University of Zambia, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> In this dissertation, all quoted material from languages other than English has been translated into English by the author.

1960s. It is important to note that the analysis was focused solely on state-led formal education, excluding various forms of private, religious and community education<sup>48</sup>. This decision was motivated by the intention to evaluate how the values and ideals of the ruling political class in Senegal and Zambia were conveyed through History and Social Studies curricula. Other types of educational institutions, although significant in both countries, are subject to different regulations and face less direct forms of state control. Accessing official educational materials involved varying levels of complexity. For instance, the majority of the laws cited in this work were accessible through the official websites of the parliaments of both countries. Similarly, all the documents produced by UNESCO could be obtained from the UNESCO Digital Library. In some instances, conversely, accessing this documentation required a comprehensive search and necessitated travel. To facilitate this, research trips were conducted in France, England, Germany, and Zambia<sup>49</sup>.

The third set of data was obtained through a qualitative analysis of post-colonial History and Social Studies curricula and textbooks published from the time of independence to the present. This analysis was confined to primary and junior secondary schools<sup>50</sup>. Since only a minority of students in Senegal and Zambia complete their studies up to upper secondary school, the decision was made to focus on these lower grades, which encompass the majority of students and thereby enable more generalizable conclusions<sup>51</sup>. Moreover, concerning textbooks, only those published in Senegal and Zambia or abroad but intended for use in these two countries or regions were considered. Given that the analysis primarily concentrates on the representation of the national entity in these textbooks, all materials exclusively designed for the French and English school markets – although present and circulating in the two countries under review – were excluded from the analysis<sup>52</sup>. The sole exception was made for textbooks explicitly recommended by curricula or teaching guides as supplementary materials. Additionally, exercise books were not included in the sample. Teacher's textbooks, while

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<sup>48</sup> As a result, community and private schools, which have witnessed a substantial rise in prominence in Zambia, particularly since the 1990s, were deliberately omitted from the analysis. Similarly, the examination did not extend to Quranic schools in Senegal, despite their pivotal role in the educational landscape of the country. On these issues, see: P. Andre, J.-L. Demonsant, *Substitution Between Formal and Qur'anic Schools In Senegal*, «The Review of Faith & International Affairs», 12.2, 2014, pp. 61-65; K.F. Camara, A. Seck, *Senegal*, in D. Davis, E. Miroshnikova (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Religious Education*, London, Routledge, 2013, pp. 300-309; M. Mwalimu, *Access, Quality and Opportunity*, cit.

<sup>49</sup> The following Institute, centres, libraries and archives were consulted: Bibliothèque Diderot, in Lyon; Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), in Paris; GEI, in Braunschweig; British Library, in London; the National Archives of Zambia (NAZam), the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC), the University of Zambia (UNZA), the Faith and Encounter Centre of Zambia (FENZA) and the Jacaranda Combined School in Lusaka.

<sup>50</sup> That is, for Senegal: Cours d'Initiation (CI), Cours Préparatoire (CP), Cours Élémentaire (CE1-CE2), Cours Moyen (CM1-CM2) and from the 6<sup>e</sup> to the 3<sup>e</sup>; for Zambia: Primary school (from 1st to 7th Grade) and Junior Secondary (8th and 9th grade).

<sup>51</sup> According to the most recent data provided by UNICEF, the completion rate in primary school is 47% in Senegal and 72% in Zambia. These percentages drop to 29% and 52%, respectively, when it comes to lower secondary schools, and reach 10% and 30%, respectively, in upper secondary schools. See: UNICEF, *Education Overview* in «Unicef Data: Monitoring the situation of children and women», <https://data.unicef.org/topic/education/overview/> (03/10/2023).

<sup>52</sup> On the textbook market of the two countries under consideration, see chapters 2.1 and 4.1.

not subjected to systematic analysis, were used during the discussion of results to provide further explanations or information, especially when the corresponding pupils' textbooks could not be found. The resulting sample of textbooks was composed as follows:

- 22 textbooks for Senegalese primary schools.
- 20 textbooks for Senegalese junior secondary schools.
- 3 Senegalese teacher's guides and other educational materials.
- 36 textbooks for Zambian primary schools.
- 11 textbooks for Zambian junior secondary schools.
- 21 Zambian teacher's guides and other educational materials.

Accessing these sources involved different levels of complexity. In some cases, data collection was relatively straightforward. Current curricula, for instance, could be directly downloaded from the respective Ministries of Education's websites. In other instances, accessing this documentation required extensive searches and often involved travel. The difficulty of accessing such documentation also varied significantly depending on the country. Senegalese curricula, textbooks and other instructional materials were found in institutions like the Bibliothèque Diderot, in Lyon, the BNF and the GEI. This latter Institute, which provided me with a research fellowship, was also consulted to access Zambian curricula and textbooks, along with the British Library in London. However, not all Zambian curricula were available in these two institutions, necessitating a research trip to Lusaka. There, I visited several institutions, including the National Archives of Zambia, the Curriculum Development Centre, the University of Zambia, the Faith and Encounter Centre of Zambia, and the Jacaranda Combined School. Unfortunately, despite these efforts, I was still unable to locate and consult the 1996 syllabus for Grades 8 and 9.

Following the collection of curricula and textbooks, the next phase involved analysis. The study of these «cultural artifacts» was guided by various qualitative methodological approaches deemed most pertinent to the thesis's goals and objectives. Specifically, the analysis was carried out in accordance with the principles outlined in Falk Pingel's *Guidebook on Textbook Research and Revision*. This work, jointly published by UNESCO and the GEI, was initially designed to support systematic processes of textbook and curriculum revision. However, it also serves as a valuable tool for textbook research, offering an initial framework for addressing the various aspects that need to be considered when planning research projects on textbooks. This methodology was further strengthened

by drawing upon other works on textbook analysis and more recent articles on textbook research methodologies, such as *Methods in School Textbook Research* by Jason Nicholls<sup>53</sup>.

Regarding the analysis of curricula, both their “institutional” and pedagogical aspects, as well as teaching contents, were examined. This entailed a combination of content and linguistic analysis. Concerning the “institutional” aspects, the study looked at the general goals of education, with a particular focus on whether education, explicitly or implicitly, had patriotic and nation-building objectives. Secondly, it assessed the status of History within the curriculum. This entails exploring whether History is taught as a standalone subject or integrated into a broader discipline like Social Studies or History and Geography; whether it is a compulsory or optional subject; the grade at which it is introduced into the curriculum, and the number of hours allocated to it per week. Also explored is the frequency with which the curriculum undergoes revision, including whether reforms occur regularly or in response to internal political changes, pressure from grassroots movements or supranational organizations. On the pedagogical side, the curriculum’s objectives in teaching History were analysed, focusing on whether the subject primarily involves passive learning of dates, facts, and historical figures or if it encourages students to actively participate in the knowledge acquisition process with an emphasis on critical thinking. Finally, I scrutinized the contents outlined in the syllabi, particularly how the nation is represented. This encompassed an examination of key events and figures related to national history, the presence or absence of ethnic groups, and the inclusion or exclusion of post-colonial history. Linguistic analysis was employed to determine whether the curriculum situates the national entity in a particular historical period, whether the various ethnic groups depicted are considered parts of the nation or distinct entities, and whether any colonial terminology persists. Lastly, the periodization proposed by the curricula was assessed to ascertain whether it follows national or regional history or relies on Eurocentric periodization.

The second source extensively examined in this research is the textbook. As mentioned earlier, the focus is on the textbooks themselves and their contents, rather than the processes involved in their creation. This research does not delve into the contexts in which they are used or how they are received by students and the general public, either. Although these aspects are indeed important in textbook research, including them in this study would have made it challenging to trace the educational practices implemented over the six decades under review. The goal is not to analyse contemporary pedagogical practices but to emphasize how the representation of the nation in History

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<sup>53</sup> J. Nicholls, *Methods in School Textbook Research*, «International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research», 3.2, 2003, pp. 1-17; F. Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised and updated edition, Paris-Braunschweig, UNESCO-GEI, 2010. For broader reflections on textbooks’ research methodology, refer to: H. Bourdillon (ed.), *History and Social Studies - Methodology of Textbooks Analysis*, London, Routledge, 1992; J. Mikk, *Textbook: Research and Writing*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2000.



and Social Studies textbooks has evolved over time. Furthermore, as already highlighted, History textbooks are a valuable source in their own right. While textbooks remain a fundamental resource for learning and teaching in many countries, this is even more so in the African context, where alternative teaching resources are often limited. Furthermore, due to the challenges faced by the publishing industry in the two countries under review and the economic difficulties they encountered, History textbooks often represent one of the few sources of historical knowledge that young people will encounter in their lives. Therefore, while it is true that History textbooks, like all media, are subject to various influences during the reception process, and that one cannot draw direct conclusions from them regarding the knowledge, ideas, judgments or attitudes of individuals, it is undeniable that their contents and assumptions have significantly impacted generations of future citizens.

The analysis of textbooks in this research involved a multi-faceted approach, including both contextual and qualitative analyses. Before delving into the qualitative analysis, certain aspects related to the publishing environment and textbook policies in the individual countries were examined for each textbook. These aspects include:

- Alignment with curricula: Whether or not the textbook complies with the teaching programmes currently in place.
- Approval by the state: Whether the textbook has been approved or sponsored by the state.
- Publisher information: The publisher of the textbook and the primary target market for which it was initially conceived.
- Authorship: The origins of the authors (whether they are Senegalese or Zambian or foreigners).

For the qualitative analysis, a combination of content, linguistic and hermeneutic analysis was employed. The primary focus remained on the representation of the nation, and the following specific questions were addressed:

- Nation-State: How is the nation-state presented? What are its borders, and how have they evolved over time? What symbols are associated with it? Is it presented as a product of historical circumstances or as an innate entity?
- Historical events and figures: Which are the main historical events and figures that make up the national epic and pantheon? Is there a search for historical precedent in the pre-colonial past? Is continuity used as an argument for legitimacy?

- Ethnic representation: How is the ethnic past presented in each text? Which ethnic groups are the most and least represented? How does the textbook explain the transition from a multitude of ethnic groups in the pre-colonial era to the rhetoric of a single nation?
- Colonial history: How is colonial history presented?
- Post-Independence national history: How is post-independence national history presented? What are its main events and characters?
- Pan-African identity: Is there any reference to a pan-African identity?
- Historical Periodization: Is the periodization marked by European/Western events or national/regional events?

Content analysis is complemented by linguistic and hermeneutic analyses. These provide insights into how messages are characterized and conveyed, unveiling value-laden terminology and underlying assumptions that might otherwise not be immediately evident. These analyses have mainly focused on how the following elements are presented in the textbooks:

- Ethnic groups: This analysis assesses whether ethnic groups are ascribed negative or positive connotations in the textbooks. It also examines whether all ethnic groups are portrayed as equal members of the national group.
- National figures: The study evaluates whether national figures are described with pejorative or positive connotations and if they are emotionally charged.
- Colonial past: This part of the analysis scrutinizes whether linguistic terms or expressions employed during the colonial era persist in postcolonial textbooks.

Through these analyses, the research aims to highlight recurring themes in the national narrative and how they have evolved over the long term. Additionally, it seeks to understand the type of national identity conveyed through the textbooks. Specifically, it investigates whether the textbooks promote an exclusive identity, one, that is, which does not admit competition from other types of identity (such as ethnic or supra-national identities) and which displays well-defined characteristics that citizens are expected to adhere to. This exclusive identity typically sets an “in-group” against an “out-group”. Conversely, textbooks might foster an inclusive identity, which strives for unity in diversity and acknowledges the possible coexistence of multiple identities.

Initially, it was expected that the present research would also feature a quantitative analysis. In the event, however, quantitative data, such as the number of pages dedicated to national history in textbooks, were not systematically collected or reported. This decision was primarily driven by the

complexities of the educational market and the wide range of educational materials available. The considerable variations in educational materials, including books intended for national or supranational markets, textbooks covering multiple disciplines, and incomplete series, would have made the resulting quantitative data hardly comparable amongst themselves and potentially misleading. Therefore, it was decided to include these data only occasionally, whenever they could be taken to indicate particularly significant values.

Similar considerations apply to iconographic analysis, which was carried out selectively rather than systematically. It was only conducted in connection with the text when significant images relating to national history were identified. In these cases, the analysis assessed whether the images complemented the text or introduced new information and perspectives. Consideration was given to who or what was represented in these images, such as well-known personalities (e.g., politicians, military figures, local chiefs or rulers) or ordinary people. The presence of local or national celebrations and the representation of national symbols (e.g., coat of arms, flags) were also taken into account. Particular attention was paid to maps and the portrayal of national borders over time, including internal and external borders. This involved examining whether modern borders were projected backward in time, whether pre-colonial kingdoms coincided (or were made to coincide) with contemporary borders, and whether there were geographical representations of different ethnic groups.

## Outline of the thesis

This study is subdivided into two main parts. These are dedicated to the individual countries under investigation: Senegal (part I) and Zambia (part II). The country-specific periodization adopted in the two parts is guided by the pivotal turning points that have significantly impacted on the development of educational policies in these countries, from the 1960s up to the present day. Although there are notable similarities, the timelines are not entirely synchronous for the two nations in question. Each of these “national” parts is subsequently subdivided into two chapters.

The first chapters (1 and 3) delve into the post-colonial histories of the two countries’ education systems. Their objective is to understand how Senegal and Zambia have grappled with their inherited education systems and whether they have adapted them to suit their unique development and nation-building objectives. This exploration also encompasses the central debates that have accompanied this process. The chapters then turn to examining the two countries’ major educational reforms, exploring the main political and economic motivations behind them. We assess the goals,

progression and execution of these reforms, shedding light on any influences stemming from local constituents or external pressures. These chapters extend their analysis to include the curricula and History and Social Studies syllabi developed during the same period for primary and junior secondary schools. Our examination dwells upon the objectives, pedagogical approaches and content, according to the outlined methodology. Notably, we place particular emphasis on the national dimension, aiming to comprehend if the political elites in power attempted to harness the teaching of History in schools to bolster nation-building efforts and legitimize the state and its boundaries, and the strategies they employed to do so.

The second chapters of each part (2 and 4) are dedicated to the analysis of the History and Social Studies textbooks employed in Senegal and Zambia. First, we offer a succinct overview of the educational publishing sector within the respective country, encompassing its progression from the era of independence to the contemporary period. These chapters also identify the primary local and foreign publishers active in Senegal and Zambia (2.1 and 4.1). Then, we delve into the analysis of textbooks, evaluating in the first place whether the instructional materials align with the current curricula and whether their intended audience is primarily domestic or extends beyond national borders. Furthermore, we conduct an in-depth analysis of the contents of these textbooks, with a particular focus on the representation of national history. This examination involves identifying the key historical events, ethnic groups and prominent figures that receive emphasis, as well as ascertaining the presence of any historical precedents in the pre-colonial era and the depiction of national borders and post-colonial history. The overarching goal is to assess how the narrative of national history is conveyed through these textbooks. This encompasses an exploration of whether the narrative is consistent with the political and ideological objectives outlined in the educational programmes, or if it is influenced by the colonial legacy. Additionally, we aim to understand how this narrative evolves over an extended period and the type of national identity it seeks to construct.

Lastly, in the concluding section, we compare the two countries under discussion. This comparison involves several aspects. Firstly, we evaluate educational reforms in both countries, examining the extent to which these reforms have moved away from colonial educational models and the degree to which they remained indebted to them. Additionally, we explore how political elites in Senegal and Zambia have managed to reconcile their political and ideological imperatives with pressures stemming from their populations and various supranational organizations. On the other hand, we seek to understand how these two countries have employed the teaching of History in schools as a means to bolster their nation-building initiatives. We compare the narratives and identities that these nations have endeavoured to convey and whether these find an echo in the textbooks used in each country. This comparative analysis aims to shed light on both the

commonalities and distinctions between these two national cases. Finally, an attempt is made to establish a correlation between the strategic deployment of History education within school systems and the corresponding levels of political stability experienced in these nations.



# Part I. Senegal

The first part of this dissertation focuses on the history of national education in Senegal, from the 1960s to the present day. It is subdivided into two chapters.

In the first one, entitled *National education in independent Senegal*, we will trace the educational reforms that were carried out in the country in order to transform a colonial system into a national one. The four sub-chapters that make up chapter 1 revolve around the main turning points in the history of Senegalese education: the situation in the aftermath of independence; the first Orientation Law of 1971, following the turmoil of 1968; the *États Généraux de l'Éducation et de la Formation* and the *École Nouvelle*; and, finally, the innovation brought about by the framework documents *Programme Décennal de l'Éducation et de la Formation* (PDEF) and *Programme d'Amélioration de la Qualité, de l'Équité et de la Transparence* (PAQUET) and the debates of the *Assises de l'éducation*. At the same time, we will also analyse the different History syllabi for primary and lower secondary schools that were published during the same period. In line with the research objectives of this study, the focus will be primarily on national history and on how it has been presented over time.

The second chapter presents a content analysis of History textbooks. The aim is to ascertain whether and to what extent the instructions conveyed by the political elite through teaching programmes were actually put into practice and conveyed in classrooms through this medium. The second chapter is organized along the same lines as the first one, analysing in each of the sub-chapters the textbooks for primary and junior secondary school published in the period under consideration and adopted in Senegalese schools.

## 1. National education in independent Senegal

### 1.1 The 1960s: the school between nation-building, pan-African unity and continuity with the French model

In the aftermath of independence, Senegal showed its ambitions in the educational domain, which was regarded as critical for nation-building and national development. Senegal could build on solid bases. Formal education had been introduced by French colonizers in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, well

before completing the conquest of the entire country<sup>1</sup>, and in 1960 the country still boasted the most developed education system and the highest schooling rates among the former colonies of the *Afrique Occidentale Française* (AOF)<sup>2</sup>. However, in order to serve the goal of nation-building, Senegalese authorities soon became aware of the need to reform an education system which had been so deeply marked by French influence. In a February 1962 address to the convention held by his party, the *Union Progressiste Sénégalaise* (UPS), the first President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor (1960-1980), summarized the mission of educational institutions in the following terms:

It is a question of forming the new Senegalese citizen through the school system: a man who is ready to act, who is focused on action. But that action, in order to be effective, implies that it is a joint action, carried out by and for the nation as a whole, in a national project that is unanimously undertaken and accomplished<sup>3</sup>.

What Senghor had in mind was a homogenous – as opposed to a pluralistic – nation-state, one which would break down existing divisions and teach the same rules and values to all young students. So, to avoid the prevalence of particularisms, the education system was entrusted with the task of making ethnic fissures and local attachments disappear<sup>4</sup>. In accordance with these philosophical and – one could argue – political premises, in 1960, a preliminary study commissioned by the Republic of Senegal, and carried out by two French companies, identified the guiding principles that were meant to shape the new educational policy, namely:

1. *The sense of belonging to a community*: “Each pupil will know that the education he receives is basically a means for serving the group he is a part of, not a means for escaping this group or ‘emerging’ from it”;
2. *The sense of belonging to the nation*: “Action undertaken by the school system will ensure, as quickly as possible, the generalised use of a common language and the acceptance of a common culture by the various groups making up the population, while working towards integrating in citizens’ culture the contributions of the modern world”<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Sow, *Senegal*, in T.N. Postlethwaite (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of National Systems of Education*, 2nd Edition, Oxford, Pergamon, 1995, p. 845.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. C. Labrune-Badiane, *Contestations scolaires et politiques au lycée Djinabo de Ziguinchor: les enjeux de l’enseignement secondaire postcolonial au Sénégal (1968-1981)*, in C. Labrune-Badiane, M.A. de Suremain, and P. Bianchini (eds.), *L’école en situation postcoloniale*, cit., p. 141 and A. Sylla, *L’École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> L.S. Senghor, *Socialisme, unité africaine et construction nationale. Rapport sur la doctrine et la politique générale au IIIe congrès de l’UPS à Thiès. 4-6 février 1962*, «L’Unité africaine», 13 February 1962, p. 7, quoted in A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> M.A. Sow, *L’enseignement de l’histoire*, cit., pp. 715-716.

<sup>5</sup> CINAM-SERESA, Comité d’études économiques, *Rapport sur les perspectives de développement du Sénégal. Rapport general*, July 1960. Quoted in A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., p. 26. Italics in the text. The aforementioned companies were the Compagnie d’études industrielles et d’aménagement du territoire (CINAM) and the Société d’études et de réalisations économiques et sociales dans l’agriculture (SERESA).



As regards the latter point highlighted by the study – the use of a common language – it is worth noting that, in the wake of independence, several African political leaders underscored the necessity of teaching in a common national language in order to serve the goal of nation-building. After some wavering, the debate on the introduction of national languages in schools and the choice of a unifying national language was settled in 1968, when President Senghor openly expressed himself in favour of continuity with the language of the former colonizers<sup>6</sup>. According to him, it was

a question of choosing a language for its intrinsic virtues: its educational virtues; from this point of view, “the language of kindness and candour” that is French is the obvious choice... Those who argue for replacing French “as the official language of instruction” are, to put it kindly, irresponsible romantics. In which language, if we are not to sunder national unity? And how, when there is not even a decent grammar of Wolof, are we to teach modern sciences and succeed where languages that have been written for 1000 years are still meeting with their share of failures?<sup>7</sup>.

Thus, in the face of linguistic plurality, French was presented as a unifying language<sup>8</sup>. As we will see, the debate on the introduction of national languages, both as means of instruction and as stand-alone subjects, would continue in the following decades. However, the prevalence of French in the Senegalese education system would remain unchallenged.

Senghor’s remarks illuminate the thorny dilemma faced by the new rulers of Senegal. There was a clear contradiction between the perceived need to distance themselves from the French model to serve the goal of nation-building and the fear to do so. This cautious approach did not only pertain to the linguistic domain, but invested the educational structure as a whole and was shared by other Francophone African leaders. This emerged clearly during a series of conferences that brought together African and French ministers of national education between 1960 and 1969<sup>9</sup>. The goal of these meetings was to harmonise and coordinate French-style education systems throughout Sub-Saharan Francophone countries and to propose modes of adaptation and Africanisation<sup>10</sup>. They, however, took place in a context still dominated by French influence and the persistence of paternalist relations. African ministers themselves spoke openly about their gratitude for the school system that

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<sup>6</sup> A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Politique, nation et développement moderne. Rapport du politique générale au 6ème congrès, 5, 6 et 7 janvier 1968*, p. 33, quoted in A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> The 1963 Constitution officially acknowledged French as the official language of the Republic of Senegal. Cfr. République du Sénégal, *Constitution de la République du Sénégal*, Titre I, Art. 1.2, Rufisque, Imprimerie nationale, 1963.

<sup>9</sup> Seventeen African countries were represented. The first were: Senegal, Mauritania, Sudan, Niger, Ivory Coast, Haute-Volta, Dahomey, Gabon, Congo, Central African Republic, Tchad and Madagascar. To these must be added Togo, Cameroun, Burundi, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo, which joined them in 1961. On the topic see L. Manière, *Les conférences franco-africaines des ministres de l’Éducation nationale et le développement d’un «enseignement de type français» au lendemain des indépendances*, in C. Labrune-Badiane, M.A. de Suremain, and P. Bianchini (eds.), *L’école en situation postcoloniale*, cit., pp. 81-99.

<sup>10</sup> Ivi, pp. 81-82.

France had bestowed upon them<sup>11</sup> and strove to promote a “French-style education”, fearing – among the other things – that a thorough reform would jeopardize the equivalence between African and metropolitan diplomas. This suggests a certain lack of confidence in the new African school systems they were creating and, according to Sow, proves the profound impact of cultural imperialism, whose indelible marks were still reflected in the minds of part of the African elite<sup>12</sup>. This is particularly true of Senegal, where the magnitude and perseverance of the francophone impact on education and thus on the formation of the modern elite – and of President Senghor himself – and the state is unmatched elsewhere in Francophone Africa<sup>13</sup>. To settle the matter, the former French colonial countries signed cultural cooperation conventions with France in order to promote a “French-style education”. Thus, the language of instruction would remain French, while African school systems would be so designed as to lead to the equivalence with French grades, diplomas and university degrees<sup>14</sup>. Nevertheless, in the minds of African leaders, this desired continuity with the French education system coexisted with the aspiration to Africanise their school systems in order to contribute to the realization of African unity<sup>15</sup>. Indeed, by emphasizing the pan-African dimension of education, the conferences embodied the dream of African unity and the Senghorian concern to avoid the balkanization of Africa by getting together around a common language and culture.

Two, in sum, were the main axis around which Senegalese educational policy revolved during the 1960s: the perceived need to keep the French-derived education system in place and the aspiration to promote African unity within this context. In the vision of Senegalese policy-makers, the two ambitions were not mutually exclusive. Moreover, instead of inaugurating a serious and profound reflection on the role of the national school in the context of state- and nation-building, Senegalese authorities – influenced by pre-independence plans and by the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961 - prioritized the quantitative development of the education system rather than its reform. As a result, the implementation of the education system's “senegalisation” was postponed during the initial decade of the Senghorian regime. This delay primarily stemmed from the absence of a consensus regarding the definition of “senegalisation” and the strategies to accomplish it. Furthermore, the lack of a genuine opposition played a pivotal role. In 1966, President Senghor transformed Senegal into a de facto one-party democracy by merging the UPS with the sole opposition party, the Parti de la

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<sup>11</sup> Association Universitaire pour le Développement de l'Enseignement et de la Culture en Afrique et à Madagascar (AUDECAM), *Compte-Rendu*, Paris, Février 1961, p. 116, quoted in L. Manière, *Les conférences franco-africaines*, cit., pp. 83-84.

<sup>12</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 580.

<sup>13</sup> W. M. Rideout, M. Bagayoko, *Education Policy Formation in Senegal. Evolutionary not Revolutionary*, in D.R. Evans (ed.), *Education Policy Formation in Africa: A Comparative Study of Five Countries*, Technical paper No. 12, Washington, USAID, 1994, p. 205.

<sup>14</sup> L. Manière, *Les conférences franco-africaines*, cit., p. 81.

<sup>15</sup> Ivi, p. 84.

Revolution Africaine. He also appointed certain former leaders of opposition parties as ministers. Consequently, there was a political vacuum, with no opposing force to challenge Senghor's education policy in the first decade after independence. Indeed, ten more years would have to pass before a comprehensive reform was actually attempted (1971) and another ten before a national debate on the issue was held (1981)<sup>16</sup>. As will be argued below, it was precisely for this failure to address the national educational needs and the expectations of civil society that, less than ten years after the attainment of independence, the Senegalese system was plunged into a profound crisis.

With regard more specifically to History, after independence, there was broad agreement on the need to decolonize the studying and teaching of African history, hitherto distorted by the colonizers to serve their political and ideological needs<sup>17</sup>. The acquisition of a well-developed historical consciousness by the younger generations was, therefore, regarded as a necessary bulwark against cultural and mental alienation and as an instrument of nation-building. To this end, it was decided to “Senegalise” and Africanise history teaching programmes. However, the first reforms took place in the context of the inter-ministerial conferences, which decided to implement a unique History syllabus for all the seventeen countries at the secondary school level<sup>18</sup>. Naturally, this approach tended to privilege – even in History teaching – the pan-African dimension; national history, conversely, was only to be taught in primary school<sup>19</sup>.

Therefore, the first post-independence primary school syllabus – issued in 1962 – included a History syllabus focused almost entirely on national history, apart from the last year (CM2), which would be mainly devoted to African history<sup>20</sup>. As reported by ministerial indications, History teaching at this level – and particularly during the *cours élémentaire* (CE1-CE2) – should amount primarily to «simple tales on great figures and on the most relevant events of Senegalese history which should help the student develop a patriotic feeling»<sup>21</sup>. Quite surprisingly, given the nationalist impetus that inspired the syllabus, national history is introduced almost *in medias res*, with a section<sup>22</sup> entitled

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<sup>16</sup> A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., note n. 8, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> M.M. Sow, *L'Afrique dans les programmes d'histoire de Bamako et Tananarive: contextes, enjeux et contenus*, in C. Labrune-Badiane, M.A. de Suremain, and P. Bianchini (eds.), *L'école en situation postcoloniale*, cit., p. 101.

<sup>18</sup> L. Manière, *Les conférences franco-africaines*, cit., p. 97.

<sup>19</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 568

<sup>20</sup> République du Sénégal (RS), Ministère de l'Éducation nationale (MEN), Direction technique premier degré, *Circulaire n. 13.550/MEN/DT 1, Répartitions des matières des nouveaux programmes des Écoles Primaires*, «L'Éducation Sénégalaise», numéro spécial, Textes officiels. N. 2. Novembre 1963, pp. 71-72.

<sup>21</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, Bureau d'études. Direction de l'enseignement du premier degré, *Circulaire n. 11.450/MEN/BE/DT 1, Horaires et programmes de l'enseignement primaire*, «L'Éducation Sénégalaise», numéro spécial, Textes officiels. N. 2. Novembre 1963, p. 31.

<sup>22</sup> The most widely used term in French-language secondary literature to refer to a group of lessons in the teaching programme is *chapitre*, “chapter”. However, to avoid any confusion between teaching programmes and textbooks (to be examined in the next chapter), it has been decided to render *chapitre* with the word “section”.

«Contacts with people of white race»<sup>23</sup>. This choice is most problematic and constitutes, arguably, a legacy of colonial education, when the existence of pre-colonial civilisations was by and large denied or neglected. As M. Abdoul Sow points out, this omission can give the child the perception that the country's history only began with the arrival of foreigners, or with European domination<sup>24</sup>, and ended with local resistances to them. Indeed, it was decided that the teaching of History at CE would stop with colonialism, to which a large section is dedicated, leaving out of the narrative both the struggle for, and the transition to, independence. Of particular interest, nonetheless, is the focus on «figures of national history», that is, those who resisted colonial penetration<sup>25</sup>. This testifies to the existence of a new recognition of the role they played in resistance, despite having being caricatured during the colonial period as bloodthirsty tyrants or, at best, adventurous prophets<sup>26</sup>. Another remarkable aspect is the inclusion in this pantheon of national heroes of Mamadou Lamine Dramé and Fodé Kaba Dumbuya, who originated from the eastern and southern regions of the country, otherwise neglected in the History syllabus.

The pre-colonial kingdoms and empires which had flourished on Senegalese territory were then introduced in the *cours moyen* (CM1-CM2) syllabus<sup>27</sup>. Several aspects must be emphasised in this regard, since they would recur almost unchanged in future syllabi. First, these polities are presented as historical provinces of Senegal, which, of course, is to be understood as an attempt to foster a sense of belonging to a national community and a national territory, tracing their origins back to pre-colonial, rather than colonial, times. Secondly, the approach is very much top-down, and the history of these organizations is reduced to that of their emperors or kings or of figures who resisted French penetration. History, here, is the doings of great men, a nationalist rendering of *histoire-bataille*<sup>28</sup>. The overall image to be conveyed, in sum, was that of a Senegalese nation whose origins predated colonial rule and whose integrity and independence had called for the sacrifice of several national heroes. The conscious effort to “nationalize” what had often been local and sectional efforts at resistance also explains the decision to overlook the ethnic roots of the kings and heroes included in the national pantheon. Their geographical origins, that is, are emphasized at the expense of their ethnic ones. Indeed, in the aftermath of independence, ethnicity was ruled out as a criterion for defining the nation and was perceived by Senegalese leaders as an obstacle to the consolidation of a

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<sup>23</sup> RS, MEN, Direction technique premier degré, *Circulaire n. 13.550/MEN/DT 1*, cit., pp. 70-71.

<sup>24</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 569-570.

<sup>25</sup> These are: El Hadj Omar (Almamy); Alboury N'Diaye (Bourba); Dial Diop (Serigne); Lat Dior (Damel); Djimboth M'Bodji (Brack); Maba Diakhou (Almamy); Coumba N'Doffène (Bour Sine); Sa N'Déné N'Dao (Bour Saloum); Fodé Caba (Almamy); Thiéyacine (Teigne); Mamadou Lamine (Almamy). See : RS, MEN, Direction technique premier degré, *Circulaire n. 13.550/MEN/DT 1*, cit., pp. 70-71.

<sup>26</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 570.

<sup>27</sup> RS, MEN, Direction technique premier degré, *Circulaire n. 13.550/MEN/DT 1*, cit., pp. 71-73.

<sup>28</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 572-573.

national consciousness. Therefore, as pointed out by Djibril Seck, to dampen the sense of ethnic belonging, the primary school History syllabus sought to make the local kingdoms ethnically neutral and anonymous<sup>29</sup>. While ostensibly denied, the ethnic factor did shape the History syllabus, which – one could argue – was never sufficiently inclusive to function as a real vector of national integration. It, in particular, ignored the ancient kingdoms of southern and eastern Senegal, favouring those of the west, north and centre of the country. The marginalization of Casamance and eastern Senegal in the primary school History syllabi – one that, as we will see, will be confirmed by subsequent reforms – and the prominence given to the nation’s Islamo-Wolof component sowed the seeds of future frustration. Nonetheless – as we have seen – this marginalization was partially nuanced by the presence of Mamadou Lamine Dramé and Fodé Kaba Dumbuya in the pantheon of national heroes of anticolonial struggle<sup>30</sup>.

Finally, the CM syllabus, unlike that of CE, did extend to the contemporary period, devoting much space to the struggle for independence and the process of decolonisation, which are thus presented to pupils for the first time<sup>31</sup>. Nevertheless, the debates following the introduction of the syllabi voiced the suspicion that these topics would not be easily addressed in the classroom. For example, the issue of «Éducation Sénégalaise» dedicated to the syllabus admitted that to talk about the Loi-cadre, the Referendum of 28 September 1958, the Mali Federation and Independence – all topics included in the CM1 syllabus – meant talking about recent politics, which might make the teacher’s work difficult. The commentary concludes by stating that: «Time has not yet done its work of decanting, there is not yet enough hindsight to guarantee the objectivity that should be applied to the teaching of history»<sup>32</sup>. The implication seems to be that such topics should be ignored for the time being and dealt with only at an unspecified point in the future.

If the new primary school syllabus was, as we have seen, entrusted with the task of entrenching a sense of national belonging, serving as a tool for nation-building, the secondary school syllabus was marked instead by the African dimension and the aim of creating pan-African unity, as well as promoting openness to the outside world. These two different perspectives reveal what, from this point onwards, will be the two pole stars of Senegalese education, in general, and the teaching of History, in particular: rootedness in the national and African environment, and openness to the outside world. In the Senegalese scheme, the two perspectives are not inconsistent with one another. On the

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<sup>29</sup> D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., p. 255, fn. 356.

<sup>30</sup> Ivi, p. 255 and fn.358.

<sup>31</sup> RS, MEN, Direction technique premier degré, *Circulaire n. 13.550/MEN/DT 1*, cit., p. 72.

<sup>32</sup> A. Niang, *Commentaire des Nouveaux Horaires et programmes*, «L’Éducation Sénégalaise», n. 3, Février 1964, p. 61.

contrary, openness is envisaged as the completion of the humanist ideal, a necessity, or even the extension, of rootedness<sup>33</sup>. According to Senghor, the goal of the new Senegal was

To educate first and foremost good Senegalese citizens, but not only Senegalese citizens [...]. Today's Senegal is part of Africa, which is part of the world [...]. To be among the militants of Africanity and negritude, the Senegalese have overcome the quarrels of races and civilizations [...]. Openness to the world, to our brothers, men of all races, this is the major objective of the State of Senegal<sup>34</sup>.

As mentioned earlier, the new secondary school syllabi were developed at the initiative of the inter-ministerial conferences of Francophone Africa. In particular, the Bamako Conference of March 1965 decided to convene in Abidjan a meeting of experts charged with the task of drafting a project of common History and Geography syllabi<sup>35</sup>. The Abidjan commission, which began its deliberations in 1965, decided to establish a History teaching that would be more centred on Africa, while at the same time remaining opened to non-African civilisations and historical events of universal significance<sup>36</sup>. For the ministers and the drafters of the syllabi, the teaching of History to African youth was clearly part of a broader political project aimed at fostering the emergence of a civic and Pan-African awareness<sup>37</sup>.

This curriculum was subsequently adopted in the ministerial conference of Paris-Caen-Cabourg (May 1965) and approved by the Republic of Senegal, which published it in a special number of «Éducation Sénégalaise» (n. 8, 1966). Its first application was scheduled for the school year 1965-1966<sup>38</sup>. Intended for the four years of the lower secondary school cycle, from 6<sup>e</sup> to 3<sup>e</sup>, the syllabus follows a chronological order, ranging from prehistory to the contemporary era. Departing from the Eurocentric perspective that characterized previous colonial curricula, it devotes, in each school year, a large part of the sections to African history (rootedness), and then broaden their horizons to other areas of the world: Europe, certainly, but also America, Asia and the Near East (openness). What is

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<sup>33</sup> M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire*, cit., p. 238.

<sup>34</sup> L.S. Senghor, *Distribution des prix au Lycée Van Vollenhoven (15 juin 1961). Allocution du Président de la République*, «École nationale sénégalaise», Organe d'information du Synels, Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Laïc du Sénégal, n. 2, 1961, p. 8, 14.

<sup>35</sup> *Les Nouveaux programmes d'histoire et de géographie des établissements d'enseignement secondaire des états francophones d'Afrique situé au sud du Sahara et de Madagascar*, «L'Éducation Sénégalaise». Programmes officiels d'histoire et géographie de l'Enseignement du Second Degré, n. 8, Numéro spécial, 1966, p. 15. This commission was composed of historians, geographers and experts in education: Amadou Mahtar M'Bow (Senegal, future Minister of National Education), Elimane Kane (Maritanie), Joseph Ki-Zerbo (Burkina Faso), Henri Lopez (Congo Brazzaville), Boni (Ivory Coast), Jean Pliya (Benin). To these must be added French historians and geographers who worked and taught in Africa, like Jean Devisse, Hubert Deschamps and Yves Person. Cfr. L. Manière, *Les conférences franco-africaines*, cit., p. 95 and M.M. Sow, *L'Afrique dans les programmes d'histoire de Bamako et Tananarive*, cit., pp. 103-104.

<sup>36</sup> *Les Nouveaux programmes d'histoire et de géographie des établissements d'enseignement secondaire*, cit., p. 15.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>38</sup> *Présentation*, «L'Éducation Sénégalaise». Programmes officiels d'histoire et géographie de l'Enseignement du Second Degré. N. 8. Numéro spécial, 1966, p. 3.

surprising, given the emphasis placed by political elites on using History as a nation-building tool, is the total absence of the national dimension. There was not a single lesson on specifically Senegalese history in the entire lower secondary school syllabus. It is thus evident that the curriculum formulated at Abidjan was primarily a response to the political project of pan-African unity, which took precedence over that of nation-building.

In March 1967, not even a year after the Abidjan curriculum had come into force, the experts' commission met again in Tananarive to draft a new secondary school curriculum. The "Tananarive curriculum" was later adopted by the Ministers of National Education of the Francophone African countries gathered in Paris on 24-29 April 1967 and recognized by the French Minister of National Education for their equivalence to French diplomas. It was implemented in Senegal from the 1967-1968 school year<sup>39</sup>. The revised curriculum did not entail a change of contents, which were merely reorganised and expanded upon, leading, inter alia, to significant criticism on the part of teachers who would complain about the heaviness and encyclopaedic character of the curriculum<sup>40</sup>. The overall structure of the syllabus remained oriented towards promoting both rootedness in the African dimension, which got the lion's share, and openness towards the outside world. Also unchanged was the neglect of the national dimension. This is all the more surprising considering that the new common Geography syllabus, published in the same year, provided for a correction in the national sense<sup>41</sup>.

Given the absence of national history, these syllabi lie partly beyond the scope of this research. Nevertheless, the ministerial instructions that accompanied the new Tananarive curricula do disclose some interesting aspects. Indeed, the experts' commission which had drafted the curriculum had provided some methodological recommendations relating to the approach to be adopted in the teaching of African history. So, for example, in presenting «African States and empires from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century», teachers were encouraged to draw on the example of the kingdom of Benin<sup>42</sup> or of Great Zimbabwe and its famous stone ruins to signpost the formation and the blossoming of civilizations well before the arrival of Europeans on the African continent<sup>43</sup>. The attention paid to this topic is probably justified by the desire to acquaint students with the long-neglected, but glorious, past of their continent and by the concern of finding usable historical precedents to foster the construction of African unity<sup>44</sup>. Moreover, according to the experts, the spread of Islam ought to have been studied from the point of view of black history, since it worked as a catalyst for an enlargement

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<sup>39</sup> *Circulaire ministérielle n. 3889 du 29 juin 1967*, «L'Éducation Sénégalaise», Nouveaux programmes d'histoire et de géographie de l'Enseignement du Second Degré, n. 9, Numéro spécial, 1967, p. 14.

<sup>40</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 738.

<sup>41</sup> *Circulaire ministérielle n. 3889 du 29 juin 1967*, cit., pp. 14-15.

<sup>42</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 601.

<sup>43</sup> Henri Bart, *Zimbaoué la Grande. Ruines d'une authentique culture noire*, «Courrier de l'Unesco», octobre 1959, quoted in M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 601-602.

<sup>44</sup> M.M. Sow, *L'Afrique dans les programmes d'histoire de Bamako et Tananarive*, cit., p. 110.

of the scale of political organizations and as one of the pillars of resistance to colonial penetration<sup>45</sup>. Finally, teachers were explicitly urged to pay particular attention to the role played by resistance to colonialism<sup>46</sup>. Once more, resistance fighters were to assume a central role in the narrative of an epic which was not only national but also the continental. What these indications clearly reveal is the aspiration to mobilise the pre-colonial African past – its kingdoms, religions, culture, heroes – to lay the foundations of pan-African unity<sup>47</sup>.

On the contrary, the more recent history of the continent, from independence on, is largely neglected. This may have had something to do with the temporal proximity of these events, which – as has already been pointed out in the case of primary school syllabus – made it difficult to deal with them in the classroom. However, since the overarching aim of these curricula was to stimulate a feeling of belonging to the continent and to lay the foundations for the unity of African countries, it is also possible that their drafters resolved to deal only briefly with the more recent period – which had been characterised by the triumph of territorially-based nationalism and the emergence of individual independent states – and to focus instead on the pre-colonial past, whose expansive kingdoms and empires appeared to offer a better template for African unity. The new syllabus was, indeed, the product of a specific political context, one which was characterized by the deeply felt aspiration to overcome the so-called “balkanisation” of the continent. In this context, national history, too, could be considered a victim of the pan-African moment. But all ideas have a time and place, and – as will be seen – the retreat of pan-Africanist ambitions left the room open for new approaches to the teaching of national history.

## 1.2 The 1968 crisis and the 1971 reform: the birth of a national school?

1968 marked a rupture in the history of Senegal. That year witnessed heavy protests by university students in Dakar which soon involved other regions and social groups. The protest was both the cause and the consequence of a severe political and social crisis that, for the first time since independence, threatened Senghor’s power. The maintenance of the school structures inherited from the colonial period and the willingness to get the greatest possible number of students into school had increased the costs of schooling, which became more and more difficult for the state to meet. This, in turn, led to a number of negative outcomes: the progressive decline of the quality of education, the

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<sup>45</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 602.

<sup>46</sup> *Nouveaux Programmes. Tananarive – Avril 1967*, «L'Éducation Sénégalaise», Nouveaux programmes d'histoire et de géographie de l'Enseignement du Second Degré, n. 9, Numéro spécial, 1967, p. 29.

<sup>47</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 592-593.



growing inability to respond to strong popular demand for schooling, the reproduction of regional and gender disparities and the weakening of the role of the school as “social elevator”. Moreover, these problems have to be inscribed in the context of a larger political and social crisis and of contestation of a regime perceived as subservient to the former colonizers and of an elite accused of monopolizing power<sup>48</sup>. These simmering tensions explain why when, in May 1968, the government decided to reduce the size of scholarships and the number of monthly payments, Dakar university students went on strike and blocked the campus. Eventually bringing together teachers and university and high school students from all over the country, the protest movement asked for a reform of the education sector that would make it more attuned to national and African realities<sup>49</sup>.

At first, Senegal’s ruling elites presented the strikes as a sign of psychological immaturity or as the product of harmful external influences<sup>50</sup>. For his part, President Senghor attributed the protests of 1968 to the spread of Marxism and to the absence of a specific Senegalese ideology, which led the students to emulate the ideas and behaviours of their French colleagues<sup>51</sup>. Espousing Senghor’s position, the then Minister of national education, Amadou-Mahtar M’Bow, spoke of the need to «promote a vibrant national culture, rooted in our traditional values but at the same time open to the outside world»<sup>52</sup>. To achieve that, the government decided to undertake a profound reform of the education system which would mark the advent of a school rooted in the Senegalese and African experiences<sup>53</sup>. Therefore, despite the brutal repression of the first strikes and the accusation thrown at the students, the protests were successful in speeding up the pace of school reform. Indeed, if, after independence, Senegal had maintained the education system inherited from the colonialism, it was only after the events of 1968 that the reforms started<sup>54</sup>.

The 1971 reform signalled the willingness of political authorities to finally make a radical break with colonial education and to re-orient Senegalese society towards a more nationalistic trajectory, deploying education to mould a new kind of Senegalese, the *homo senegalensis*<sup>55</sup>. The new character of the education system is summarized in article 3 of the Orientation Law of 3 June 1971, which states: «The Senegalese national education is an African education, rooted in African realities

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<sup>48</sup> C. Labrune-Badiane, *Contestations scolaires et politiques*, cit., pp. 142-148.

<sup>49</sup> Ivi, p. 142, and A. Sylla, *L’École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 382.

<sup>50</sup> C. Labrune-Badiane, *Contestations scolaires et politiques*, cit., p. 149.

<sup>51</sup> «Dakar-Matin», 22 September 1969, quoted in M.A. Sow, *L’enseignement de l’histoire*, cit., pp. 611-612. See also on this topic *Direction de la promotion*, «Sénégal d’aujourd’hui. Spécial Éducation», Publication du Ministère de l’information et des télécommunications, 1971, pp. 53-54.

<sup>52</sup> «Dakar-Matin», 2 April 1968, quoted in M.A. Sow, *L’enseignement de l’histoire*, cit., p. 611.

<sup>53</sup> D. Seck, *L’histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., p. 247.

<sup>54</sup> A. Fall, *Recrutement de volontaires de l’éducation au Sénégal: regard rétrospectif sur une expérience controversée*, in C. Labrune-Badiane, M.A. de Suremain, and P. Bianchini (eds.), *L’école en situation postcoloniale*, cit., p. 159.

<sup>55</sup> M.A. Sow, *L’enseignement de l’histoire*, cit., p. 611.

and aspiring to the blossoming of African cultural values »<sup>56</sup>. The increasing emphasis placed on rootedness – vis à vis openness – was justified by Senghor himself in the following terms in 1971.

Before being uprooted and transplanted into a new soil, education is rooted in the land of origin; before being open to the fertile influences of the foreigner, it is, in essence, closing in on itself and absorbing all the juices of the land. In short, before being actively assimilated, education is substantial identification<sup>57</sup>.

One way in which this rootedness was to come about was through the teaching in one of the national languages in primary schools<sup>58</sup>. The decree 71-566 – which regulated the application of the Orientation Law 71-36 – explained this decision as follows:

Since every language conveys a given civilisation, we believe that our people shall be alienated for as long as we Senegalese continue to teach our children a foreign language [...]. It is an urgent necessity for the Senegalese people to begin teaching their national languages<sup>59</sup>.

Moreover, in order to take into account all the different language groups, thereby preventing any possible feelings of marginalization and sense of cultural frustration, the decree further clarified that the goal was to teach the language of the majority of the population in each district<sup>60</sup>.

In spite of these grand public statements, the impact of the 1971 reform was relatively minor. First, since it left educational structures almost untouched, the reform could not bring about any kind of radical change<sup>61</sup>. Secondly, there was still no consensus on what it meant to Senegalise the education system. Even if the Orientation Law of 1971 and the accompanying decree had both pointed to the creation of a system and the drafting of curricula that would reflect African languages and realities, the educated élite was still wedded to the old francophone system and insisted on preserving as much of it as possible<sup>62</sup>. Therefore, even the prospective introduction of local languages as mediums of instruction was only partially implemented in the first years of elementary school<sup>63</sup>. Moreover, the continuing lack of resources, coupled with population growth and a rapidly declining

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<sup>56</sup> République du Sénégal, *Loi d'orientation 71-36 du 03 juin 1971*, Title I, Article 3, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> L. S. Senghor, 1970, quoted in *Introduction*, «Sénégal d'aujourd'hui. Spécial Éducation», cit., pp. 3-4.

<sup>58</sup> A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 384.

<sup>59</sup> Gouvernement du Sénégal, *Décret n. 71-566 du 21 mai 1971 relatif à la transcription des langues nationales*, Rufisque: Imprimerie nationale, 1972, p. 29. Quoted in C. Fam, *Réforme de l'école ou réformes à l'école?*, cit., p. 40.

<sup>60</sup> Gouvernement du Sénégal, *Décret n. 71-566 du 21 mai 1971*, cit., p. 29. Quoted in A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., p. 33.

<sup>61</sup> M. Sow, *Senegal*, cit., p. 846.

<sup>62</sup> L. Yoder, *Senegal*, in R. Marlow-Ferguson (ed.), *World Education Encyclopedia: a Survey of Educational Systems Worldwide, Volume 3, S-Z*, 2nd edition, Farmington Hills, Gale Group, 2002, p. 1176.

<sup>63</sup> A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., fn. 7, p. 384 and J. Leclerc, *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, retrieved from: <https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/senegal.htm> (20/07/2022).

average age (which more than doubled the school-age population in three decades), meant that the country struggled to keep up with classroom construction, materials development and teacher education<sup>64</sup>. In conclusion, the education system was still confronted with a profound crisis. The failings of the reform explain why, from that moment on, students and teachers went on striking and protesting on an almost annual basis, supported by other social forces – workers, peasants, feminists – which targeted the entire Senegalese political system – centralised, corrupted, elitist – and its neo-colonial management<sup>65</sup>. In essence, while the first decade of President Senghor's era witnessed the enhancement and expansion of the colonial model, the subsequent ten years marked a period of significant conflict between popular demands and government actions. Despite this, the outcomes were ultimately ineffective. The frustration and procrastination over these two decades would eventually manifest in demands that, as we will explore, the new government under President Diouf seemed to concede to<sup>66</sup>.

However superficial and half-baked, the reform of the school system inevitably led to a change in the teaching programmes. Since the young protesters had been accused of lacking patriotism and of importing foreign attitudes and ideas, the new syllabi published in 1972 were strongly marked by the desire to generate and impart attachment to the homeland and its values. In this context, History teaching – now included in the subject *«étude du milieu»*, which also comprised Geography, Civic Education and Observational Science – ought to amount, especially in CE, to «a lesson in morality, civicism and patriotism», capable, through its narration, of capturing the student's sensitivity, imagination and taste for the marvellous. Accordingly, it was suggested that teachers use simple and concrete narratives, dedicated to great figures and episodes that had marked the national past<sup>67</sup>. In this sense, as had been the case in the 1962 teaching programme, History education, far from being a means for the acquisition of critical knowledge or the rudiments of historical method, was destined to consist of a kind of national epic, aimed at arousing the student's attention and stimulating his or her sense of attachment to the homeland. This objective also seems to be confirmed by the teaching methods recommended in the relevant ministerial guidelines. Indeed, all the teaching-learning activities were to be regulated by the teacher, who confined the learner to the position of consumer of a story intended to amaze him/her and to exalt his/her patriotism<sup>68</sup>. Contents, too, remained similar and their articulation progressed from the particular to the general. Notably, the two years of CE

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<sup>64</sup> L. Yoder, *Senegal*, cit., p. 1176.

<sup>65</sup> C. Labrune-Badiane, *Contestations scolaires et politiques*, cit., pp. 143-152.

<sup>66</sup> W. M. Rideout, M. Bagayoko, *Education Policy Formation in Senegal*, cit., p. 216.

<sup>67</sup> République du Sénégal, *Décret n. 72-861 du 13 juillet 1972 portant organisation de l'enseignement primaire élémentaire*, in *Réforme de l'Enseignement au Sénégal*. Rufisque: Imprimerie nationale D.L. no 3584, 1972, p. 31.

<sup>68</sup> D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., p. 260.

mainly dealt with national history, while the CM – reduced to a single year in the aftermath of reform – also included African history<sup>69</sup>.

Thus, the 1972 syllabus reprised some themes which had already been present in 1962 and which testified to the determination of political leaders to mobilize the Senegalese past – and the precolonial era, in particular – in order to serve the goal of nation-building. So, for example, the Senegalese population is presented as a time-honoured unit whose origins dated back to a distant past<sup>70</sup>, and – in a section entitled «My country» – «the birth of Senegal» is explicitly traced back to pre-colonial era<sup>71</sup>. Another aspect that places the new primary school syllabus in continuity with that of 1962 is the strong emphasis placed on Senegalese and African agency, both in resisting European penetration and during the colonial era. Indeed, as regards this latter aspect, in the CE2 syllabus, some lessons are devoted to the role of political parties in the development of nationalism, as well as to such early African leaders as Blaise Diagne and Galandou Diouf<sup>72</sup>. However, even though such a selection of topics signalled a firm break with colonial History teaching, we must highlight the use of a problematic and clearly Eurocentric concept in the CM syllabus: a section devoted to the relationship between Africa and Europe and, more specifically, to the arrival of Europeans is entitled «Africa discovered by Europe»<sup>73</sup>, a colonial turn of phrase if there ever was one. It must be admitted, however, that this obsolete approach is absent from the sections that follow. In fact, in line with the CE syllabus, when dealing with colonisation, the focus is primarily on the role of African resistance, with particular reference to certain characters: El Hadj Omar Tall and Lat Dior, for Senegal, and, for Africa more generally, Samory Touré and Béhanzin<sup>74</sup>. What differentiates the 1962 and 1972 primary school History syllabi was, ultimately, the greater space devoted to more recent history in the latter. Indeed, both the CE and CM syllabi dealt with the transition to independence and with postcolonial Senegal and Africa<sup>75</sup>.

Despite the importance attached to these syllabi by political authorities, they faced huge setbacks in their implementation. In particular, the transitional classes which were supposed to take the place of CM2 were never created and the school continued to operate under the old system and syllabus despite their ostensible abolition<sup>76</sup>. Criticism from parents' representatives and various education specialists

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<sup>69</sup> RS, *Décret n. 72-861 du 13 juillet 1972*, cit., pp. 31-34.

<sup>70</sup> Ivi, p. 32.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>72</sup> Ivi, p. 33.

<sup>73</sup> Ivi, p. 34.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>75</sup> Ivi, pp. 33-34.

<sup>76</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 618-619.

prompted the ministry to create technical commissions to modify the 1972 syllabi and timetables<sup>77</sup>. The 1979 reform which followed marked the return to a primary school cycle of six years – instead of five, as had been resolved upon in 1971. The contents of the syllabus had to be modified accordingly. Nevertheless, the History syllabus resembled that of 1972, both in its methodological approach and political goals, namely, providing children with a deeper knowledge of their immediate environment and nation<sup>78</sup>.

Since the 1979 reform did not radically transform the contents of History syllabus, we will limit ourselves to highlighting two main changes vis-à-vis the 1972 syllabi. The first one is the introduction, in the CE2 syllabus – now entirely devoted to the study of Senegal's pre-colonial kingdoms – of the kingdoms of Casamance and Haute-Gambie<sup>79</sup>. However, while the traditionally studied western, northern and central kingdoms (Cayor, Baol, Walo, etc.) had been presented under the seal of ethnic anonymity, the newly introduced southern and eastern kingdoms were assigned a clear ethnic denomination<sup>80</sup>, thereby marking once again their distinctiveness from the rest of the country and the body politic, presented as ethnically homogeneous. The second major change to be underlined is that, in dealing with the first contacts with the Arabs and the Islamisation of North-Sudanese Africa<sup>81</sup>, the syllabus' authors decided to omit the Arab slave trade, a topic which did feature in 1972<sup>82</sup>. According to Sow, there is no justification for this silence, since the Arab slave trade, carried out with the connivance of local chiefs, had been no less inhuman than the Atlantic slave trade, and had lasted longer<sup>83</sup>. On the other hand, this can be explained in the light of a tendency that has already been underlined, that is, to present history as a coherent sequence of events in order to serve current political goals, avoiding any element that could damage that image.

The secondary school syllabi were also reformed in 1972. This was even more necessary, since the previous Tananarive curriculum, by not devoting a single lesson to the history of Senegal, was in clear contradiction to the “nationalist” spirit that now inspired the school, in general, and History teaching, in particular. Nevertheless, the general instructions issued in 1972 defined the aim of the teaching of History and Geography as «to prepare for the knowledge of the surrounding environment and in

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<sup>77</sup> *Décret n° 79-1165 du 20 décembre 1979 Portant organisation de l'Enseignement élémentaire*, «Le Pédagogue», n.26, 1983, pp. 9-13.

<sup>78</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 619.

<sup>79</sup> Les royaumes Diolas de Casamance; les royaumes mandingues de Casamance; le royaume Ugoye de Haute-Gambie; le royaume de Boundou de Haute-Gambie. The other kingdoms listed in the syllabus were: Le Grand Djolof jusqu'à la bataille de Danki; le Cayor; le Baol; le Sine; le Saloum; le Djolof après Danki; le Walo après la dislocation du Djolof. *Décret n° 79-1165 du 20 décembre 1979*, cit., p. 29.

<sup>80</sup> D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., pp. 257-258.

<sup>81</sup> *Décret n° 79-1165 du 20 décembre 1979*, cit., p. 38.

<sup>82</sup> See RS, *Decret n. 72-861 du 13 juillet 1972*, cit., p. 33.

<sup>83</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 622.

general of the world in which we live»<sup>84</sup>. The combination of rootedness and openness that had always characterised History teaching in Senegal was thus confirmed.

Within a framework of continuity, however, there were also important changes. The curriculum, to begin with, no longer followed a chronological order, but a geographical one. Each year, from 6<sup>e</sup> to 3<sup>e</sup>, was to be devoted to the study of the history of a continent, from prehistory to the 19th century<sup>85</sup>. Although this innovative curriculum might be said to have privileged openness to the outside world over rootedness, national history played less marginal a role than it had in the Tananarive curriculum, and was in fact introduced for the first time in lower secondary school. The real victim, here, was the African dimension, since only prehistory, ancient Egypt and – generically – history up to the 15th century retained a place in the syllabus<sup>86</sup>.

The particular and concise formulation of the new curriculum immediately raised many criticisms. These concerned both the geographical organisation of the topics, which made it difficult to subdivide the subjects into different classes, and the brevity of the contents' indications<sup>87</sup>. Having taken stock of these observations, the Ministry proposed a reform of the 1972 lower secondary school curriculum that was drafted by the National Commission of Curriculum Reform<sup>88</sup> and published in 1978. In keeping with the observations that had been made, the new syllabus returned to a chronological order of events – from prehistory in 6<sup>e</sup> to decolonisation in 3<sup>e</sup> – and presented the contents to be addressed in each school year in much more detail. Moreover, while remaining open to the other continents (Europe, Asia, America), it reassigned a more central role to the history of Africa. To this must be added a few lessons devoted more specifically to Senegal. For example, in 5<sup>e</sup>, students were now required to study some of the kingdoms that had emerged on Senegalese territory<sup>89</sup>. The inclusion of these polities in the secondary school syllabus illustrates how functional to the ideological construction of the Senegalese nation these were considered to be, so much so that they are studied several times during the two school cycles considered here. On the other hand, one cannot fail to notice how, once again, the focus is exclusively on the kingdoms of the northern and western regions, while Casamance kingdoms disappear from view<sup>90</sup>. This omission seems to be consistent with the project implemented by the political elites to build the Senegalese nation by placing the

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<sup>84</sup> République du Sénégal, *Décret n. 72-863 du 13 juillet 1972 relatif à l'Enseignement moyen général* in *Réforme de l'Enseignement au Sénégal*. Rufisque, Imprimerie nationale D.L. no 3584, 1972, p. 120. According to M.B. Timera, the drafters of this new curriculum were academics, both Senegalese and French working in Dakar University. M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire*, cit., p. 235.

<sup>85</sup> RS, *Décret n. 72-863 du 13 juillet 1972*, cit., p. 122.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>87</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 650-651.

<sup>88</sup> M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire*, cit., p. 235.

<sup>89</sup> These are: le Tekroure; les royaumes du Bas-Sénégal: Walo et Djoloff; Les royaumes du Saloum et de la Sénégalie: (Cayor, Baol, Sine-Saloum, etc.). *Programme 1978*, quoted in M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 912.

<sup>90</sup> Ivi, p. 914.

Islam-Wolof component at the centre. As a result – as has already been pointed out – any element that might overshadow or contradict this identity is expunged from the syllabus.

Despite the greater importance attached to the national dimension, the ideal of pan-African unity that had inspired the Tananarive curriculum did not disappear altogether. In fact, it is in this light that we should understand the introduction of a summary lecture entitled «The cultural unity of the Black World: a comparative study of political systems, economic, social, religious and cultural structures»<sup>91</sup>. To this idea can also be linked a section in the 4<sup>e</sup> syllabus that, in dealing with the history of Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, refers to attempts at regroupment prior to colonisation, with particular reference to West Africa. Finally, another continuity with the 1965 and 1967 syllabi is the scant space devoted to the decolonisation process and, in general, to contemporary independent Africa. Here, too, decolonisation is presented as a global phenomenon, devoting only one lecture to sub-Saharan Africa<sup>92</sup>. This seems to confirm, once again, the marginal role attributed to the post-colonial era in the construction of both Senegalese and African identities.

By Africanising its contents and reorganizing them in chronological order, this syllabus had solved the problems engendered by the 1972 syllabus. Yet, after only four years of its application, discussions arose on the need for a further reform<sup>93</sup>. According to Sow, the main concerns were related to the titles of sections and lessons, which should have been reformulated and better organized, because, in their current form, they posed problems of understanding and of mastery of chronology, and to the curricula's heaviness and encyclopedism<sup>94</sup>. Therefore, in 1982, the association of History and Geography teachers under the administrative supervision of the National Curriculum Reform Commission was charged by the Ministry to draft new syllabi, known as “Rufisque curriculum”. These did not substantially change the contents, but lightened and reorganised them<sup>95</sup>.

However, despite these continuous reforms – 1972, 1978, 1982 – the new syllabi had a limited impact on the actual History teaching in classrooms. Indeed, if at the primary level the Ministry of Education created a commission entrusted with the task of drafting the new official textbooks (textbooks that would later be published by the Ministry itself), no secondary school textbook was produced to conform to the new History syllabus<sup>96</sup>. As a result, textbooks complying with the 1967 syllabus continued to circulate in classrooms, thereby greatly reducing the reach of all these successive reforms.

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<sup>91</sup> Ivi, p. 913.

<sup>92</sup> Ivi, pp. 916-917.

<sup>93</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 656.

<sup>94</sup> Ivi, pp. 656-657.

<sup>95</sup> M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire*, cit, p. 235.

<sup>96</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 739.

### 1.3 The *États Généraux de l'Éducation et de la Formation* and the *École Nouvelle*: a missed reform

A new impetus for the reform of the education system came from changes in the Senegalese political leadership. In 1980, after twenty years as President of the Republic, Léopold Sédar Senghor resigned and was eventually replaced at the helm of the country by the then Prime Minister, Abdou Diouf. The latter, aware of the problems of the school or – most probably – anxious to silence a public opinion in turmoil and to distinguish himself from his predecessor, decided to address the issues related to the school system<sup>97</sup>. Hence, during his first radio and television message to the Nation on 1 January 1981, President Diouf summoned the General States on Education and Training (*États Généraux de l'Éducation et de la Formation*, EGEF) from 28 to 31 January 1981<sup>98</sup>, which brought together representatives of all the institutions and organisations involved in education, teachers' unions, parents, religious and customary authorities<sup>99</sup>. The goal was to develop a system that would take into account the needs and preoccupations of every social group, thereby achieving a national consensus<sup>100</sup>.

The main objectives set out by these proceedings were not at all new. It called for a reform that would transform the school inherited from the colonial period into a national, democratic and popular school – called *École Nouvelle* – in order to build the new Senegalese society and train the *homo senegalensis*. The envisaged society should be based on Senegalese traditional values that had been marginalized by the colonial and postcolonial education system, even as it remained open to scientific and technical progresses<sup>101</sup>. To achieve that, it would progressively introduce national languages into the curriculum<sup>102</sup> and established that the new curricula would be adapted to Senegalese culture and reality and the new textbooks drafted by Senegalese specialists<sup>103</sup>.

Once the *États Généraux* came to an end, the government formed a National Commission for the Reform of Education and Training (*Commission Nationale de Réforme de l'Éducation et de la Formation*, CNREF) charged with the task of «developing the conclusions, proposals and recommendations of the General States of Education approved by the Government, in view of their

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<sup>97</sup> Ivi, p. 627.

<sup>98</sup> A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 386 and M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p.684.

<sup>99</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, *L'École Nouvelle*, Juillet 1986, p. 4.

<sup>100</sup> M. Sow, *Senegal*, cit., p. 846.

<sup>101</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p.684.

<sup>102</sup> M. Sow, *Senegal*, cit., p. 851. On the introduction of national languages as means of instruction, see RS, MEN, *L'École Nouvelle*, cit., pp. 33-36.

<sup>103</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 628-629.



concrete implementation»<sup>104</sup>. However, the conclusions of the CNREF were not submitted to the Head of State until 6 August 1984<sup>105</sup>. In the meantime, the school continued to work according to a system whose demise had already been officially decreed. It was only in December 1986, after two more years, that the Minister of National Education appointed the commissions responsible for drafting the new curricula for pre-school and elementary schools<sup>106</sup>. Despite the time that had elapsed between the first step of the reform (1981) and its actual implementation (1991), no efforts were made to review or at least update its objectives and strategies<sup>107</sup>. Moreover, the timing of the reform was quite unfortunate. Indeed, the EGEF took place when the Senegalese government was undertaking the stabilization and adjustment programs under the aegis of the IMF of the WB and of the *Coopération Française*<sup>108</sup>. This inevitably reduced its room for manoeuvre and imposed severe limitations on the means accorded to the educational sector, which, notwithstanding its relatively poor results, was regarded as particularly “budget hungry”<sup>109</sup>. As a consequence, palliative measures were introduced, such as double-shift and multi-grade classes, which are still in use today and which inevitably affected the quality of education<sup>110</sup>.

Because of these constraints, some of the changes advocated by the EGEF were never actually implemented, beginning with the gradual introduction of national languages as mediums of instruction and of Religious Education<sup>111</sup>, as well as the free distribution to students of textbooks drafted in Senegal<sup>112</sup>. Therefore, not only was the implementation of the reform proposed in 1981 unsuccessful, but it did not succeed in solving – or at least reducing – the profound crisis that the education system had been experiencing for several years. The problems confronting the school were left unaddressed and indeed worsened due to the economic situation. The poor infrastructure and the insufficient number of textbooks and teaching materials resulted in the decline of school quality. Moreover, the strong population growth increased the need for education, which resulted in a strong pressure on the education system. These structural problems, of course, were reflected in the weariness and skepticism of students and teachers, who continued to protest and strike<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> *Décret n° 81-644 du 6/7/1981 portant création de la CNREF*, Article II, quoted in A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 387.

<sup>105</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 629.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>107</sup> M. Sow, *Senegal*, cit., p. 846.

<sup>108</sup> A. Fall, *Recrutement de volontaires*, cit., 163.

<sup>109</sup> Ivi, p. 159.

<sup>110</sup> On this topic see: A. Fall, *Recrutement de volontaires*, cit., pp. 159-182 and A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., pp. 379-429.

<sup>111</sup> L. Yoder, *Senegal*, cit., p. 1178.

<sup>112</sup> A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 414.

<sup>113</sup> Ivi, pp. 410-411.

It was in this critical context that the new Orientation Law was finally signed on 16 February 1991, ten full years after the EGEF, mainly retaining their conclusions and those of the CNREF. The main aims of the reform are listed in the first title, where it is stated that national education should provide the conditions for an integral development, assumed by the nation as a whole, promote values held dear by the nation and raise the cultural level of the population<sup>114</sup>. The second title deals with the general principles of national education, defined as secular, democratic and – most importantly for the scope of the present research – «Senegalese and African». This latter aspect is further expanded in the article six, which states:

In developing the teaching of national languages – privileged instruments to give the pupils a living contact with their culture and to root them in their history – it [National Education] trains a Senegalese aware of his belonging and his identity. By providing an in-depth knowledge of African history and cultures, of which it highlights all the wealth and the contributions to the universal heritage, National Education emphasizes the solidarity of the continent and cultivates a sense of African unity. National Education also reflects Senegal's belonging to the cultural community of French-speaking countries, at the same time as it is open to the values of universal civilization and is part of the major currents of the contemporary world<sup>115</sup>.

Two aspects should be highlighted here. First, the EGEF and the Orientation Law of 1991 might be regarded as a revival of the Senghorian model of the school, with the maintenance of the usual tension between rootedness and openness, the resurrection of Pan-Africanism, and the confirmation of French as the language of instruction. The second remark – implied in the first one – points to the priority given to the African and Francophone dimensions of education to the detriment of the national one. Indeed, despite the proclaimed intention to reform the education system in a more national sense, Senegalese school still had its key points of reference abroad.

Even before the approval of the new Orientation Law, in December 1986, the Minister of National Education appointed the commissions responsible for drafting the new curriculum for pre-school and elementary schools<sup>116</sup>. These were then tested from 1987 in seventy-five pilot classes<sup>117</sup>. At the same

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<sup>114</sup> République du Sénégal, *Loi d'orientation 91-22 du 16 février 1991 portant orientation de l'Éducation Nationale*, Title I, Article I, subsections 1, 2 and 3, pp. 1-2.

<sup>115</sup> Ivi, Title II, Article VI, p. 4.

<sup>116</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, *Programmes pour les classes pilotes. Enseignement Élémentaire. École Nouvelle «Programmes et instructions officiels»*, Dakar, Imprimerie du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale en collaboration avec Samba Fall Ineade/Audiovisuel, 1987, p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> Ivi, p. 2. According to Abdou Sylla, the number of pilot classes was raised to 150 in the school-year 1988/1989. A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 419.

time, all the other classes continued to work with the old system and curriculum. Thus, the two systems evolved parallelly, with two curricula being taught concomitantly<sup>118</sup>.

A substantial change was the shift from a pedagogy based on contents to a pedagogy based on objectives<sup>119</sup>. Therefore, unlike in the past, the new teaching programmes did not specify the contents to be learnt by the student, but rather the objectives to be achieved at the end of each two-year period (*étape*). Another important novelty was the introduction of History teaching at the *cours d'initiation* (CI) and *cours préparatoire* (CP) level (*première étape*), whereas, from the colonial era and until 1979, the students had started the study of this subject only from the CE on<sup>120</sup>. This attests to the greater importance attached to History teaching in the new *École Nouvelle* curriculum. Nevertheless, national history was only introduced from the *deuxième étape* (CE) on. What all this seems to suggest is the emergence of a new pedagogical approach aimed at involving students in the construction of historical knowledge and at gradually introducing them to the research techniques used by the historian. At least in theory, this marked a major break with previous curricula, whose main intention was to provide students with a curious and stimulating grand narrative from which to draw moral and patriotic lessons and examples of behaviour. However, when the pedagogical guide for the pilot classes is taken into consideration, the picture that emerges is more nuanced. Indeed, this guide reasserted that History should be an instrument to strengthen national cohesion<sup>121</sup>. Furthermore, in outlining more specifically the objectives of the *deuxième étape*, those already present in the curricula of previous decades are taken up, namely to:

Develop the active and creative imagination and stimulate a taste for the marvellous linked to local legends; Stimulate the feeling of patriotism and the idea of national cohesion through the study of the great deeds of certain great men, certain great families who have marked the evolution of the locality, the region<sup>122</sup>.

Again, in dealing with the general objectives of teaching, the point is made that the teacher should highlight characteristic facts, important dates and famous personalities whose importance is recognised in the fabric of the national history of each of these periods<sup>123</sup>. Therefore, although the official instructions presented the reform as a true «Copernican revolution»<sup>124</sup>, due to the introduction of pedagogy by objectives, in practice, History teaching continued to take the form of a grand

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<sup>118</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 630.

<sup>119</sup> RS, MEN, *Programmes pour les classes pilotes*, cit., p. 2.

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>121</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, *Guide pédagogique pour les classes pilotes. Enseignement Élémentaire. École Nouvelle «Programmes et instructions officiels»*, Dakar, Imprimerie du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale en collaboration avec Samba Fall Ineade/Audiovisuel, 1987, p. 110.

<sup>122</sup> Ivi, p. 112.

<sup>123</sup> Ivi, p. 113.

<sup>124</sup> RS, MEN, *Programmes pour les classes pilotes*, cit., p. 2.

narrative of the national past, of which only a few significant events and main characters are to be emphasised.

This is also confirmed by the contents that are suggested to teachers «as a guide» to help them in their task<sup>125</sup>, which broadly repeat the contents of the 1972 and 1979 teaching programmes. Once again, the idea is reaffirmed that the emergence of the first independent Senegalese kingdoms coincide with the origins of Senegal as a nation<sup>126</sup>. Also interesting is the fact that the student is asked to study «My kingdom» – in terms of evolution, facts and main figures<sup>127</sup> – meaning the kingdom that had arisen in the territories corresponding to his/her present-day region. In this way, once more, there was a deliberate overlap between pre-colonial kingdoms and administrative regions – an overlap that served to place the former in correlation and historical continuity with the latter. One noteworthy novelty in the presentation of national and African resistance – introduced in the *troisième étape* (CM) – is the division between armed and spiritual resistance, a notion, the latter, which is introduced for the first time in school History and which is represented by religious figures. According to Seck, the presence of religious leaders in History classes could have weakened national identity and accentuated conflicts of memory between communities. Thus, the History syllabus of the *École Nouvelle* tried to nationalize the history of religious leaders by emphasizing their resistance to colonial penetration, presenting them as the main animators of peaceful resistance<sup>128</sup>. Another novelty was the admission of Aline Sitoe Diatta, from Casamance, into the pantheon of heroes of the anti-colonial resistance celebrated by school History. Once again, according to Seck, this was part of Diouf’s strategy to mobilize other symbolic registers (religious figures, historical personalities hailing from the “periphery”) in order to provoke a uniform adherence to the Senegalese nation. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this admission of Diatta in the school syllabus only happened at the same time as the rebellion of the *Mouvement des forces démocratiques de Casamance* (MFDC)<sup>129</sup>. Thus, according to Fam, «it is quite possible to see it as a recovery operation, if not a charm operation towards the rebellion»<sup>130</sup>. Finally, reverting the trend inaugurated by the 1970s primary school syllabi – which dealt with decolonization and the most recent history of the country –, the new syllabus ends with the achievement of independence of Senegal. Therefore, no space is left for the country’s history after 1960<sup>131</sup>.

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<sup>125</sup> RS, MEN, *Guide pédagogique pour les classes pilotes*, cit., p. 115.

<sup>126</sup> Ivi, p. 117.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>128</sup> D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., p. 258.

<sup>129</sup> Ivi, pp. 258-259.

<sup>130</sup> C. Fam, *Réforme de l'école ou réformes à l'école?*, cit., p. 38.

<sup>131</sup> RS, MEN, *Guide pédagogique pour les classes pilotes*, cit., pp. 118-119.

From the point of view of their implementation, these new syllabi suffered from several constraints. First of all, the number of classes and students concerned by the reform throughout the national territory was insignificant<sup>132</sup>. Two types of curricula continued to exist side by side in the country: the 1987 curriculum in pilot schools and the 1979 curriculum in all the other schools, thus resulting in a multi-speed school system. This is why, according to Sow, «Questions arise whether the new national, democratic, popular school wish to train the new homo senegalensis or different homo senegalensis according to the kind school attended and to the financial means of its parents»<sup>133</sup>. Moreover, the implementation of the new pedagogical approach – aimed at involving students in the construction of historical knowledge – was very marginal in teaching practices in the late 1980s and 1990s, which continued to give prominence to narrative approaches by devoting too much time to teachers' presentation<sup>134</sup>. Worsening the situation, of course, was the difficult historical period faced by Senegal at the time of the implementation of the reform. The national economy was dealing with the adjustment policies imposed by the WB and the IMF, while the school environment was plagued by cyclical strikes: all of this gave a fatal blow to *L'École Nouvelle*<sup>135</sup>. Indeed, despite the immense enthusiasm it had aroused and the decision taken by the government to move from pilot classes to pilot schools<sup>136</sup> in 1991-1992, the *École Nouvelle* hardly managed to establish itself in the Senegalese educational landscape. It follows that, in practice, the reform proved largely illusory<sup>137</sup>.

One of the problems with the *École Nouvelle* was that there was no consistency between the primary and the secondary school curricula, where the 1978 History syllabus (as revised in 1982) continued to be applied. The latter was therefore reformed in 1998. Once again, several problems beset its implementation. The main one was that, as there was a rush to implement this new syllabus at the beginning of the 1999 school year, it was decided to publish it without the accompanying measures proposed by the members of the commission who had drafted it and without the conditions of feasibility being met<sup>138</sup>. As a consequence, teachers were not aware of the spirit that informed the new curricula and clung to their usual pedagogical practices<sup>139</sup>. Indeed, at a meeting organized by the Association of Teachers of History and Geography of Senegal (*Association Sénégalaise des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie*, ASPHG) in 2003, it emerged that some teachers were unaware of the very existence of concepts such as objectivity, ability and competence. Some of them

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<sup>132</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 631.

<sup>133</sup> Ivi, p. 647.

<sup>134</sup> D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., pp. 261-262.

<sup>135</sup> Ivi, pp. 250-251.

<sup>136</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 634-635.

<sup>137</sup> Ivi, p. 634.

<sup>138</sup> Ivi, pp. 674-675.

<sup>139</sup> Ivi, pp. 678-679.

did not even have access to the new curriculum and, among those who did, there were some who only photocopied the list of the lessons, as if the methodological recommendations were not part of the curriculum<sup>140</sup>. This problem of accessibility in turn led to the dissemination and sale of all kinds of booklets written by teachers, which did not comply with the curriculum in force<sup>141</sup>.

Therefore, in 2004, the curriculum for secondary schools was published once again by the Minister of National Education. In this case, the pedagogical recommendations and objectives for each school year were detailed. The contents, on the other hand, remained the same as in 1998. One important novelty, according to the official instruction, was that the syllabus of the first cycle was to be characterized by a refocusing on the history of Senegal, from the origins to independence<sup>142</sup>, whereas until now this school level had been mainly devoted to the study of the history of Africa. Now, on the contrary, within each year's syllabus, there was a section devoted to African history and one to Senegalese history. This highlights how History teaching plays an increasingly central role as an instrument of nation-building and national cohesion, which takes precedence over the goal of pan-African integration. This is confirmed in other parts of the syllabus. For example, in outlining the objectives to be acquired in terms of knowledge-and-behaviour, it is stated that, by the end of the school cycle, students should, among the other things, «be attached to their country, love it and serve it with dedication, be patriotic with a sense of civic duty»<sup>143</sup>.

This renewed commitment to History as an instrument to foster national identity also appears from the analysis of the contents. Indeed, once again, in dealing with national history, the lion's share went to the study of pre-colonial kingdoms of the Senegambian regions up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the introduction of the Gaabu empire among the list of polities to be studied confirms the tendency already seen in previous syllabi, that is, the effort to correct the chronic marginalization of the history of the southern part of the country<sup>144</sup>. However, this focus on national history is more nuanced when dealing with more recent history. Indeed, despite the tendency to study world events in relation to their own country – as was the case for the two World wars<sup>145</sup> –, decolonisation is treated, as usual, as a global phenomenon. Moreover, despite the inclusion of a lesson devoted to Senegalese political history between 1944 and 1962 and one to the emergence of the Third World after the Bandung conference, there is no mention of the country's history after independence<sup>146</sup>.

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<sup>140</sup> Ivi, p. 680.

<sup>141</sup> Ivi, p. 682.

<sup>142</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation, Inspection générale de l'Éducation, Commission Nationale d'Histoire et de Géographie, *Programme d'Histoire*, 2004, p. 5.

<sup>143</sup> Ivi, p. 7.

<sup>144</sup> The Senegambian kingdoms listed in this syllabus are: le Tékrou et le Fouta; l'empire du Jolof; l'empire du Gaabu. Ivi, pp. 10-11.

<sup>145</sup> Ivi, pp. 16-17.

<sup>146</sup> Ivi, p. 17.

#### 1.4 The persistent crisis of the education system and the continuous search for balance: PDEF, PAQUET and *Assises de l'éducation*

In 2000, Senegal experienced a notable shift in its political landscape with Abdoulaye Wade, the leader of the *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais* (PDS), winning the elections and ending a four-decade-long dominance of the Socialist party, which had been led by both Senghor and Diouf. As Galvan aptly expressed it: «at long last, *sopi* – the word for change in the Wolof language and the rallying cry of Wade's opposition movement – had arrived»<sup>147</sup>. However, this change in political dynamics, marked by a peaceful transition through democratic elections, did not result in significant consequences. Wade had already held ministerial positions since the 1990s, aligning with President Diouf's strategy of co-opting political opponents. Additionally, Wade's political opposition to the socialist party lacked sharp ideological and programmatic differences. Consequently, there was no substantial alteration in education policy. Following Wade's election, the Senegalese state continued to invest much in this field, increasing the percentage on the GDP spent in this field, higher than the average of the other sub-Saharan African countries<sup>148</sup>. However, despite that and the growth of the gross enrolment rate in elementary school<sup>149</sup>, the system remained quite inefficient and continued to be marked by worrying repetition and drop-out rates, inter-regional, inter-zonal and gender disparities and deficiencies in the teaching system and study conditions<sup>150</sup>.

It was to address this issues that, in 2001, that the new government adopted the Ten-Year Program of Education and Formation 2001/2010 (*Programme Décennal de l'Éducation et de la Formation* – PDEF) under the input of the UN and sustained by the WB<sup>151</sup>. However, this did not constitute a proper reform of the education system but rather an operational framework designed as to «identify, prioritize and schedule the government's priorities and harmonize and organize its interventions»<sup>152</sup>. This is borne out by the introductory admission that the PDEF's foundation was to be found in the *École Nouvelle* as established by CNREF<sup>153</sup>. Nevertheless, the document recognized that the existing school system was only a partial reflection of those dispositions, due to the «lack of

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<sup>147</sup> D. Galvan, *Political Turnover and Social Change in Senegal*, «Journal of Democracy», 12.3, 2001, p. 51.

<sup>148</sup> See M. Fadiga, *Etude longitudinale rétrospective sur l'efficacité externe et l'équité d'accomplissement des diplômés sénégalais de l'ENSETP de 1981 à 1994*, PhD, Université Catholique de Louvain, 2003, p. 44, and D. Ness and C.L. Lin, *Senegal*, in D. Ness and C.L. Lin, (eds.), *International Education: An Encyclopedia of Contemporary Issues and Systems. Vol. I*. Abingdon, Routledge, 2015, p. 364.

<sup>149</sup> M. Fadiga, *Etude longitudinale rétrospective*, cit., p. 42.

<sup>150</sup> Ivi, p. 44.

<sup>151</sup> M.N. Gueye, *Le programme décennal de l'éducation et de la formation : acceptation et participation*, «Perspectives», n. 138, Dossier Dialogue politique et éducation: Expériences Africaines, Vol. II, Vol. XXXXVI, n.2, June 2006, p. 10.

<sup>152</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'éducation, *Programme de développement de l'éducation et de la formation, PDEF (Éducation pour tous, EPT)*, 2003, p. 8.

<sup>153</sup> Ivi, p. 7.

implementing decrees but also and above all to the absence of an explicit, coherent and forward-looking global vision of the purposes, goals and expectations of the system»<sup>154</sup>. Therefore, the goal of this reform was to coherently implement and quantitatively develop what had been prescribed by the 1991 Law, adopted under the socialist government, by intervening in the management of the system in order to improve the quality of education<sup>155</sup>.

The PDEF also called for a reform of the curriculum, acknowledging that

the curricula, although often reformed (1962, 1969, 1972, 1987), following the observation of their lack of relevance, have not fundamentally changed the face of the school. Two types of programmes currently exist: traditional and pilot, based on different approaches and contents<sup>156</sup>.

Having recognized its failure in addressing the social, cultural and economic problems of the country, from 1996 on, Senegal embarked on the path of building a basic education curriculum for elementary school based on the paradigm of competence (instead of objectives)<sup>157</sup>. With regard more specifically to History teaching, the reform aimed at reducing the hourly credit of the «*étude du milieu*» and updating its contents<sup>158</sup>. This testifies to a reduced importance of the Humanities – and of History in particular; a trend that, as we will see, would be confirmed in most recent years. After about ten years of designing and developing, the new curriculum based on competences was adopted in some pilot schools and, in 2012, the new *Curriculum de l'Éducation de Base* (CEB) was generalized to all primary schools<sup>159</sup>. History was now included in «Science and Social Education» (*Éducation à la Science et à la Vie Sociale, ESVS*) – and, in particular, in its first sub-domain, «Discovery of the world», together with Geography and Introduction to Science and Technology – and is introduced from CI, as already established by the *École Nouvelle*.

From the pedagogical point of view, the new curriculum should have marked the advent of investigative history, which emphasizes the constructed dimension of history and puts an end to history-narrative, with the aim of developing students' critical thinking and independent judgment<sup>160</sup>. However, from the analysis of the teachers' pedagogical guide, published back in 2009, a more nuanced picture emerges. One of the objectives of History – we read – was to help the student to «be

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<sup>154</sup> Ivi, p. 39.

<sup>155</sup> M. Fadiga, *Etude longitudinale rétrospective*, cit., p. 35.

<sup>156</sup> RS, MEN, *Programme de développement de l'éducation et de la formation*, cit., p. 24.

<sup>157</sup> Cfr. Ivi, p. 62 and D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., p. 251.

<sup>158</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation, *Programme décennal de l'éducation et de la formation (PDEF). Plan d'action de la deuxième phase 2005-2007*, 2005, p. 31.

<sup>159</sup> D. Seck, *L'histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., p. 259.

<sup>160</sup> Ivi, pp. 262-264.



rooted in the values of his civilisation in order to develop a sense of patriotism»<sup>161</sup>, which clearly dial back up the use of History as a tool of nation-building, antithetical to the development of critical thinking. And again: «the history lesson must be lively, anecdotal and picturesque», in order to «develop sensitivity, imagination and a taste for the wonderful»<sup>162</sup>, aspects that have nothing to do with the historiographical method and that recall, instead, the idea of history as centred on great events and personalities. In addition to these incongruences, the concrete use of the competency-based pedagogy also posed problems. Indeed, according to Seck, this teaching method did not always receive full support from teachers, who complained about its difficult implementation, due to the insufficiency of hourly credit and the great number of students in each class<sup>163</sup>. It follows that the approach based on the use and analysis of documents is currently marginal in pedagogical practices<sup>164</sup>. In conclusion, the combination of these factors implies that the history-narrative, which had been for a long time at the heart of the pedagogical system, remains alive and well in Senegal<sup>165</sup>.

As regards the contents, national history is introduced from the *deuxième étape* (CE) and the topics to be addressed resemble those of previous syllabi. Indeed, despite the methodological innovations, the emphasis continues to be placed on major events and characters, thereby reproducing the grand-narrative from which the new curriculum was intended to move away. Thus, at this level, the history of Senegal begins and ends with pre-colonial era, which, as we have seen, is the period most frequently used to mobilise feelings of attachment to the nation. This is not surprising, considering that the aim of History teaching at this level is to «foster patriotic feelings, the idea of national cohesion and broad solidarity»<sup>166</sup>.

Two further aspects must be emphasised. The first is the geographical approach that characterises the study of pre-colonial kingdoms<sup>167</sup>. Thus, even though the now stable inclusion of “peripheral” kingdoms is certainly commendable, one cannot fail to emphasise the continuous differentiation that is made along geographical and ethnic lines. Another interesting aspect introduced by the 2012 syllabus is that the pre-colonial period is presented under the title «the organisation of

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<sup>161</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l’Enseignement préscolaire, de l’élémentaire, du moyen secondaire et des langues nationales, *Formation continue diplômante des maitres contractuels. Fascicule Didactique des disciplines à l’élémentaire*, 2009, p. 55.

<sup>162</sup> Ivi, pp. 55-56.

<sup>163</sup> D. Seck, *L’histoire scolaire au Sénégal*, cit., p. 262.

<sup>164</sup> Ivi, pp. 262-263.

<sup>165</sup> Ivi, pp. 264-265.

<sup>166</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l’Enseignement préscolaire, de l’élémentaire, du moyen secondaire et des langues nationales, *Formation continue diplômante des maitres contractuels*, cit., p. 56.

<sup>167</sup> They are divided in two groups. The first one comprehends: le Tékrou, Djoloff avant et après Danki; le Cayor; le Baol; le Walo; le Sine; le Saloum. The second one: le Gabou; les royaumes Diola; les royaumes mandingues; les royaumes Peuls; le royaume d’Ugoye et de Boundou. République du Sénégal, Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale, Direction de la Planification et de la Réforme de l’Éducation, Secrétariat Technique Permanent du Curriculum de l’Éducation. *Guide Pédagogique. Niveau Élémentaire. Domaine: Éducation à la science et à la vie sociale, Sous-domaine 1: Découverte du monde, Première étape*, 2013, p. 25.

Senegal before independence»<sup>168</sup>, almost erasing the colonial era. This trend is confirmed in CM (*troisième étape*). Even here, colonisation is not addressed explicitly, being confined to the section on contacts with the Europeans<sup>169</sup>. Consequently, when dealing with the resistance to colonial conquest and the peaceful march towards independence, reference is made either to individual figures or to Senegalese social and political movements, representing the different regions of the country<sup>170</sup>. In no case are the institutional steps that led to independence dealt with. Independence is thus presented as the outcome of a process that began with resistance to colonisation and continued with the action of politicians, trade unionists, and intellectuals. In this way, the colonial era disappears from view. Even more problematic, there is reference neither to African nor to contemporary world history. To understand the significance of this omission, suffice it to say that at no level of this syllabus is reference made to the two world wars.

The PDEF also gave impetus to the reform of the secondary school curriculum, carried out with the support of USAID/*Éducation de Base* project<sup>171</sup>. According to the USAID final report, in lower secondary education, there were several “curricula” in circulation, none of which was really recognised (validated). It was rather the available textbook and the teacher’s “knowledge” that made the curriculum<sup>172</sup>. The 2012 reform was intended precisely to rectify this situation through the dissemination of teaching guides and the adoption of a competence-based approach<sup>173</sup>, as was the case for primary school, thus harmonising the pedagogical practices of the two cycles. However, the change only concerned the pedagogical approach, without affecting in any way the contents, which remained identical – even in the wording of the sections and lessons – to those of 2004<sup>174</sup>.

At the end of the ten years of the PDEF, in 2010, the Republic of Senegal decided to elaborate a further program, called *Programme d'Amélioration de la Qualité, de l'Équité et de la Transparence* (PAQUET), which would constitute the new operational framework of the state’s educational policy

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<sup>168</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>169</sup> Ivi, p. 16.

<sup>170</sup> Résistances à la conquête coloniale: Elh Oumar Tall, Ahmadou Cheikhou; Fodé Kaba Doumbouya; Maba Diakhou Bâ; Lat-Dior Diop; Alboury Ndiaye. Marche pacifique vers l’indépendance: résistance politique, syndicale et civique (ex. hommes politiques, syndicalistes, intellectuels engagés, Aliine Sitoë Diatta, etc.); résistance culturelle et spirituelle (ex. Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba). *Ibidem*.

<sup>171</sup> Cfr. Usaid, Projet USAID/EDB, *Évaluation à mi-parcours du projet éducation de base de l’USAID «Une communauté éducative engagée et performante»*. Rapport final, 2013; RS, MEN, *Programme de développement de l’éducation et de la formation*, cit., p. 95 and RS, MEN, *PDEF*, cit., p. 91.

<sup>172</sup> Usaid, Projet USAID/EDB, *Évaluation à mi-parcours*, cit., p. 70.

<sup>173</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale, Direction de l’enseignement moyen secondaire général, *Guide d’usage des programmes. Histoire*. Avec l’appui du projet USAID/éducation de base, 2012, p.1.

<sup>174</sup> The only minor difference concerns the wording of lesson 4 of the 5<sup>e</sup> syllabus, which changes from «Muslim civilisation» to «Political-religious, economic and cultural life», always with reference to Muslim civilisation. Ivi, p. 28.

in the period 2013-2025, later extended until 2030<sup>175</sup>. It aimed both at consolidating the achievements of the previous decade and correcting certain weaknesses and inefficiencies that had emerged from the PDEF<sup>176</sup>. In fact, the presentation document acknowledged the positive results achieved by the previous program, such as the increase in public resources invested in the education system. However, it also recognised the persistence of some serious problems, such as the scarcity of educational offer, the insufficient quality of teaching, overcrowded classes, the lack of textbooks and teaching materials, and the high drop-out rates after primary school<sup>177</sup>.

It was to address some of these issues that the document's drafters deemed it necessary to implement a ten-year basic education curriculum<sup>178</sup>. Such provision, already envisaged by the PDEF, was now considered urgent in the light of Law No. 2004-37 of 15 December 2004 (amending the 1991 Orientation Law), which stipulated compulsory schooling for all children between six and sixteen years of age<sup>179</sup>. If, on the one hand, the PAQUET recognized the relevance of both the CEB for the primary cycle and of the reformed secondary school curriculum, on the other, in the light of the new provisions, it was now deemed necessary to integrate and harmonise the curricula of the two cycles<sup>180</sup>. In addition, confirming a trend which had already started with the PDEF, this curriculum was expected to focus first and foremost on the study of Science and Technology, that is, the subjects that were assumed to make the most significant contribution to the economic development of the country<sup>181</sup>.

However, according to the document *Programme d'Appui au Développement de l'Éducation au Sénégal* (PADES) – issued by the Republic of Senegal and by the *Agence Française de Développement* in 2018 – the implementation of the basic education curriculum has yet to be finalised. Although its framework was defined in 2015, it has been slow to materialise<sup>182</sup>. Therefore, the CEB for primary school, as amended in 2012, as well as the secondary school curriculum published in the same year, continue to be in force. As we shall see, the only partial change that

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<sup>175</sup> République du Sénégal, Agence Française de Développement, *Document de présentation du programme d'appui au développement de l'éducation au Sénégal – PADES 2019-2023*, 2018, p. 13.

<sup>176</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de la Femme, de l'Enfant et de l'Entrepreneuriat Féminin, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, Ministère de la Formation Professionnelle, de l'Apprentissage et de l'Artisanat, *Programme d'Amélioration de la Qualité, de l'Équité et de la Transparence (PAQUET). Secteur Éducation-Formation 2013-2025*, 2013, p. 9.

<sup>177</sup> Ivi, pp. 12-15. Regarding the latter point, the document states that, as of 2011, only half of school-age children continue their studies at lower secondary school (*enseignement moyen*), i.e. 53.2%. See: ivi, p. 14. In addition, approximately 39% of students do not even complete the primary cycle. See: RS, AFD, *Document de présentation du programme d'appui*, cit., p. 20.

<sup>178</sup> RS, MFEEF, MEN, MESR, MFPA, *PAQUET*, cit., p. 16.

<sup>179</sup> Journal Officiel de la République du Sénégal, *Loi 2004-37 du 15 Décembre 2004 modifiant et complétant la loi d'orientation de l'Éducation nationale n. 91-22 du 16 Février 1991*, 2004. Retrieved from: <http://www.jo.gouv.sn>

<sup>180</sup> RS, MFEEF, MEN, MESR, MFPA, *PAQUET*, cit., p. 78.

<sup>181</sup> Ivi, pp. 39-42 and 116-119.

<sup>182</sup> RS, AFD, *Document de présentation du programme d'appui*, cit., p. 20.

occurred was a result of the Covid emergency; this, however, was not aimed at harmonising the two curricula, but rather at lightening their contents.

In most recent years, the public debate in Senegal has returned to the issue of the national school, its main problems and challenges. The impetus was given, in 2014, by the *Assises de l'éducation du Sénégal*, a meeting that gathered together delegates from the Government, the Presidency, Parliament, trade unions, parents, pupils and students, civil society, regions and universities to discuss and draft a proposal of school reform<sup>183</sup>. Indeed, despite the PDEF's and PAQUET's attempts to improve the functioning of the education system and the state's substantial investment in the sector, the education system was still marked by a profound crisis. Hence also the continuous strikes that have continued to agitate the world of education for three decades<sup>184</sup>. Such crises and turmoil were described by the then Education Minister, Serigne Mbaye Thiam, in these terms:

Senegalese school no longer fulfils its vocation: it no longer teaches enough because of the cyclical strikes that shake it; it no longer educates well enough as it becomes the place where the crisis of values that runs through our societies is expressed; it does not train well enough as it does not meet the labour needs of our country<sup>185</sup>.

It was to address these issues that the reform proposal formulated by the *Assises* insisted on the importance of the school taking into account the needs of the nation and fostering cohesion between the different segments of society<sup>186</sup>. To achieve this goal, the school should, on the one hand, conform to national values and culture – for example, by introducing national languages as a medium of instruction and Religious Education<sup>187</sup> – and, on the other, place greater emphasis on Science and Technology, on which economic and social development ultimately depends<sup>188</sup>. The working document of the *Assises* summarized these two imperatives by stipulating that the education system «will reflect our cultural values while opening up to modernity based to a large extent on science and technology»<sup>189</sup>. This confirms the tendency to prioritize scientific subjects to the detriment of the Humanities and especially History. In fact, although the working document refers to the need to reform the school curriculum by taking into account «moral, socio-cultural values, local wisdom, men

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<sup>183</sup> République du Sénégal, *Assises de l'éducation. Rapport général. Document de travail*, 2014, p. 24.

<sup>184</sup> Cfr. Ivi, p. 128 and Unesco, Ibe, *World Data on Education VII Ed. 2010/2011. Senegal*, 2010, p. 11.

<sup>185</sup> Speech of Serigne Mbaye Thiam, Minister of National Education, held in Ndiambour in 2014. Quoted in RS, *Assises de l'éducation*, cit., p. 11.

<sup>186</sup> Ivi, p. 13.

<sup>187</sup> Ivi, pp. 15, 30, 98.

<sup>188</sup> Ivi, p. 12.

<sup>189</sup> Ivi, p. 16.

and women who have made the history of Africa and of Senegal in particular»<sup>190</sup>, it then focuses only on Reading, National Languages, Mathematics, Science, Technology, Religious Education, Franco-Arabic Education, Sports and Art and culture<sup>191</sup>.

However, despite the debates that arose in the context of the *Assises*, no organic reform of the education system has yet seen the light of day. At present, the school system in Senegal is still governed by a Law issued in 1991 (modified in 2004) and resulting from debates that took place at the beginning of the 1980s. Despite the recognition of some of its flaws, both the PDEF and the PAQUET considered its contents and objectives still relevant and decided not to adapt them to a context that, more than twenty years later, has inevitably changed. Even worse, the 1991 Law is still not fully implemented and the education system continues to work incoherently, thus creating a double – or multi-speed – system which inevitably weakens the role of the school as an instrument of nation-building. Indeed, this objective seems to have taken a back seat in favour of a school model geared to the country's socio-economic development. This, in turn, has diminished the importance that subjects such as History seem to hold within the national curriculum, to the advantage of Science and Technology, on which both the PDEF, the PAQUET and the *Assises* place great emphasis.

This diminished importance of History teaching also seems to be confirmed by the curricular reshuffling that took place in 2020 and, again, in 2021-22, following the Covid emergency, which entailed a substantial lightening of the contents. As a consequence, at the end of this school cycle, Senegalese students will have a knowledge of their country's history that is extremely fragmentary and stripped of some of its fundamental components, both in geographical and temporal terms. Once again, in making cuts, it was decided to sacrifice the history of the southern and eastern regions, long excluded from the curriculum. Furthermore, the treatment of colonisation is gradually disappearing. While this could be explained by pointing to the desire to create a national ethos, the fact remains that this omission results in students gaining a very patchy understanding of the history of their country. Finally, once again, one cannot fail to emphasise the persistent marginalisation of the contemporary age. Barely an hour is devoted to Senegal's more recent history and, in any case, no events after 1962 are currently covered<sup>192</sup>.

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<sup>190</sup> Ivi, p. 97.

<sup>191</sup> Ivi, pp. 97-101.

<sup>192</sup> Cfr. République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, *Circulaire n. 00001592 MEN/SG/IGEF/als du 22 juin 2020, Réajustement des programmes scolaires*, pp. 26-27 and République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, Inspection Générale de l'Éducation et de la Formation (IGEF), *Circulaire n. 00001505 MEN/SG/IGEF/ du 31 mars 2022, Réajustement des programmes scolaires*, pp. 3-7.

## 1.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, from the achievement of independence until the present, the Senegalese education system has always been the theatre of disruptions and crises. According to Cheikh Fam, this situation is due to the fact that the school is still, in essence, a colonial product, rather than the result of an internal development of Senegalese society. Hence the numerous reforms through which the state has tried to improve the quality of education and to keep the school at pace with the times and, above all, national needs<sup>193</sup>. However, the image that emerges from these continuous reforms is that of a broken education system, in which ineffective measures are periodically adopted in a context of constant experimentation and instability<sup>194</sup>.

This is also reflected in the History syllabi. While there is no doubt that History teaching in Senegal has always sought to lay the foundations of a common identity, it is also true that the sources of this identity have changed over time: first the relationship with the old metropolis, then the pan-African option and, finally, the nation<sup>195</sup>. At first, as we have seen, African elites tried to keep the teaching programmes as similar as possible to those of the metropolis. Only later, once they were certain of equivalence with the French diplomas, was it decided to turn History syllabi into an instrument for the creation of a common African identity. The insistence on the African (as opposed to national) dimension in the aftermath of independence can be explained, according to Timera, by the fact that the challenge for African countries was to find a strong identity framework that could compete with that of the West<sup>196</sup>.

It was only later, in the 1970s-1980s, that History came to be considered a key discipline in the construction of national identity. Therefore, in a context marked by Senegalisation and nationalist resurgence, openness to the African continent in History syllabi increasingly gave way to rootedness in the national environment<sup>197</sup>. This was achieved through the promotion of local histories – mainly precolonial kingdoms and resistances – which, once nationalized, would become the source of Senegalese identity<sup>198</sup>. Through this operation, the national space was presented as an immanent object, something that had always existed and whose origins were projected back to remote times. It was naturalized into an amorphous space, which elided tensions, social, cultural and political conflicts as well as contradictions and spatial unevenness<sup>199</sup>. In reality, as we have seen, the peripheral regions

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<sup>193</sup> C. Fam, *Réforme de l'école ou réformes à l'école?*, cit., p. 25, 34.

<sup>194</sup> C. Fam, *Réflexions sur l'école sénégalaise*, cit., p. 46.

<sup>195</sup> M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire*, cit, p. 234.

<sup>196</sup> Ivi, p. 235.

<sup>197</sup> Ivi, pp. 240-241.

<sup>198</sup> Ivi, p. 244.

<sup>199</sup> Ivi, p. 243.

of the country were often excluded or separated from this homogeneous entity. Hence the contradiction, pointed out by Timera, into which the Senegalese state fell in its attempt to create a national identity. On the one hand, there was the denial of ethnic groups, presenting the nation as an ethnically homogeneous entity. On the other, this homogeneity actually concealed the hegemony of the Islamo-Wolof model, used as the main frame of reference to consolidate the nation<sup>200</sup>. Hence the resentment of some of these ethnic groups and the tendency on the part of some inhabitants of these regions to speak of Senegal as an entity distinct from their milieu, as if it was a country foreign to their own. For all these reasons, according to Fall, to this day, the Senegalese nation appears to be an intellectual construct that is fairly removed from the lived experience of the various populations of the country<sup>201</sup>.

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<sup>200</sup> Ivi, p. 248.

<sup>201</sup> A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., p. 36.





## 2. History textbooks in independent Senegal

This chapter focuses on the History textbooks used in Senegal from the 1960s to the 2010s. It will be divided into four sections, in the same chronological order as Chapter 1. Each sub-chapter will be devoted to a content analysis of History textbooks for primary and secondary schools published in the decade (or decades) under consideration. As explained in the methodological introduction, the analysis does not cover all of the topics discussed in each textbook. Because the research is primarily concerned with the concept of nation and its evolution over time, it will be primarily focused on Senegalese history, particularly on the topics already addressed in the analysis of syllabi. The latter are the following: representation of the pre-colonial past; main national characters; inclusion of post-independence history; and state borders over time, with special emphasis on the various regions. In addition, broader issues concerning the representation of supranational units, as well as insights into the concepts of nation and ethnicity, will be addressed. Finally, the survival or otherwise of a colonial narrative style will be considered in light of the peculiar editorial nature of some of these textbooks.

### 2.1 The Senegalese educational publishing market

Before delving into the content analysis, a brief overview of the country's educational publishing market is required. Indeed, despite the fact that Senegal has a free textbook market, it is important to describe this publishing environment in order to gain a better understanding of certain unique characteristics that, in practice, impose constraints on this freedom of choice. In Francophone Africa, there are essentially two types of textbooks, according to Pierre Kipré. The first consists of textbooks developed by African publishing houses with the assistance of educators from African institutions<sup>1</sup>. This type of pedagogical materials dominates the primary school market, where it is more common to find textbooks that adhere to the official syllabus and deal with national history. The second category includes textbooks – typically for secondary schools – produced for various countries by non-African – usually French – publishing houses and frequently written by authors who, while experienced, are unfamiliar with everyday classroom realities in French-speaking Africa<sup>2</sup>. These textbooks, on the other hand, are devoted to more than one country and usually do not adhere to the syllabus or take into account national history.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks*, cit., p. 11. Among the African publishing houses involved in the Senegalese textbook market are: NEA (later NEAS in Senegal, see fn. 111, p. 87), Didactikos, Harmattan Sénégal.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*. Some of these French publishing houses active in the African educational market are: Hatier, Les Classiques Africains, Ligel, Présence Africain (see also fn. 53, p. 75), Nathan, Istra, Hachette, Edicef (see also p. 77).

Local language textbooks deserve a separate mention. As we have seen, there has been a debate in Senegal about the need to adopt local languages as a means of instruction since at least the 1970s. However, with the exception of the introduction of local idioms in the first year of primary school, French has remained the official language of instruction to this day, and the vast majority of textbooks, whether produced in Senegal or abroad, are in French. One of the reasons advanced to explain this choice has been a scarcity of textbooks, grammar books, and dictionaries in local languages<sup>3</sup>. Indeed, the local publishing industry has been slow to produce such materials, owing in part to the diversity of idioms, which dilutes demand for materials in any one language. Local language materials are also two to three times more expensive to produce than French language materials due to smaller production runs and higher start-up costs. According to World Bank data from 1986, the country produces 153,000 French textbooks, compared to 4,140 Wolof and 532 Diola<sup>4</sup>.

The availability of pedagogical materials is a final factor to take into account. In particular, in most Francophone African countries, the high cost of producing books for an unpredictable market discourages national publishing houses from investing in this sector<sup>5</sup>. At the same time, in order to avoid a large number of unsold textbooks, French publishing houses issue only limited printings and exports of textbooks<sup>6</sup>. To this must be added the issue of textbook distribution. Indeed, editors and booksellers face significant distances between publishing locations and user areas, as well as customs, taxes and poor infrastructure conditions<sup>7</sup>. All these factors, in turn, are reflected on the cost of the textbooks<sup>8</sup>, which parents are often unable to afford.

A significant effort to address the problem was made by Minister Iba Der Thiam, who proposed providing textbooks free of charge to all students. This measure was first tested with students in the Tambacounda region during the school year 1983-1984, and was later expanded to other regions of the country, eventually reaching the Dakar region at the start of the 1988-1989 school year<sup>9</sup>. Despite its undeniable importance, the impact of this measure was heavily impaired by the country's economic and financial crisis at the time. As a result, its success was limited: according to research conducted in 1988 by the Directorate of Studies, the national average number of books per pupil during the 1987-1988 school year was 0.61<sup>10</sup>. This failure, according to Sylla, had a negative

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<sup>3</sup> J. Leclerc, *L'aménagement linguistique*, cit., (20/07/2022).

<sup>4</sup> A.Y. Vawda, H.A. Patrinos, *Producing Educational Materials in Local Languages: Costs from Guatemala and Senegal*, «International Journal of Educational Development», 19, 1999, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks*, cit., p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> F. Wellot-Samba, M. M'baye, D. Guindo, *Le Manuel Scolaire d'Enseignement Primaire*, cit., p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>8</sup> Ivi, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 414.

<sup>10</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, *Demande et offre d'éducation en zones rurales* (DERP), Dakar, 1989, quoted in Ivi, p. 415.

impact on the qualitative advancement of the Senegalese school<sup>11</sup>. Despite these obvious limitations and shortcomings, the policy of free textbook distribution in primary schools was maintained, as attested by the document for the PDEF's second phase in 2005<sup>12</sup>. To facilitate the availability of textbooks, this document proposed establishing a decentralised distribution system. To that end, textbooks would be made available to schools, which would then be in charge of maintaining and distributing supplies<sup>13</sup>. In the long run, the goal would be to provide every child in *première étape* with two textbooks (one for Reading and one for Math), and those in *deuxième* and *troisième étape* with five textbooks each (Maths, Reading, History, Geography and Introduction to Science and Technology)<sup>14</sup>.

Such policy has begun to bear fruit. Indeed, whereas the national textbook-student ratio for all subjects was less than one in 2000, it increased to 2.15 in 2003 and remained stable in 2007<sup>15</sup>. Nonetheless, this figure conceals significant subject disparities, which are especially alarming insofar as the availability of History textbooks is concerned. Indeed, according to the 2007 National Education Report, the History textbook-student ratio was 0.0 in the *première étape* and 0.3 in *deuxième* and *troisième étape*<sup>16</sup>; four years later, in 2011, it was still only 0.2 at the *deuxième étape* and 0.3 at the *troisième*<sup>17</sup>. In light of these figures, it is reasonable to surmise that the teaching method is based on the blackboard rather than the direct use and reading of textbooks<sup>18</sup>. Nevertheless, in the PAQUET programme issued in 2013, the Senegalese government insisted on the importance of providing textbooks to students because they are «at the heart of teaching practices» – both as pedagogical tools for teachers and as medium for the students – «and constitute irreplaceable learning tools»<sup>19</sup>.

Because of the rigidity of the Francophone Africa educational publishing market, according to Kipré, «the average lifespan of a textbook is 10 years, even 15 years in some countries, rather than five years». As a result, the History textbook is a product that is only very gradually renewed in terms

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<sup>11</sup> A. Sylla, *L'École: quelle réforme?*, cit., p. 415.

<sup>12</sup> RS, MEN, *PDEF*, cit., p. 12 and 48.

<sup>13</sup> RS, MEN, *Programme de développement de l'éducation et de la formation*, *PDEF*, cit., pp. 67-68. According to the document the readaptation of textbooks would be carried out by the *Institut national d'Étude et d'Action pour le Développement de l'Éducation* (INEADE) and the *Direction de l'Administration générale et de l'Équipement* (DAGE).

<sup>14</sup> Société Internationale pour les Droits de l'Homme (SIDH), Sénégal. Comité des droits économiques, sociaux et culturels. 66<sup>e</sup> session, *Rapport de la société internationale pour les droits de l'homme sur le droit à l'éducation au Sénégal*, Dakar, SIDH, 2019, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement Technique et de la Formation Professionnelle, Programme décennal de l'éducation et de la formation (PDEF), *Rapport national sur la situation de l'éducation 2007*, Dakar, Direction de la Planification et de la Réforme de l'Éducation (DPRE), 2008, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>17</sup> International Development Centre of Japan (IDCJ), *Rapport d'analyse du secteur de l'éducation de base. Sénégal*, 2012, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> *Ivi*, p. 37.

<sup>19</sup> RS, MFEEF, MEN, MESR, MFPA, *PAQUET*, cit., p. 119.

of content and method<sup>20</sup>. In turn, this means that, to date, there is a significant lack of fit between official History syllabi (which are frequently updated) and textbooks (which are not). In other words, in the face of constant curriculum changes, there are frequently no corresponding textbooks available<sup>21</sup>.

In Senegal, two stop-gap solutions are frequently used to address textbook scarcity. The first is the adoption of French textbooks – that is, textbooks that are aligned with the French curriculum – that arrive in the country as a result of donations or external grants<sup>22</sup>. Regardless of how relevant their adoption is, this solution exacerbates the already significant gap between the official syllabus and History textbooks, because African history, let alone national history, is rarely covered in these imported textbooks. The second solution is for individual teachers to create booklets for use in their classrooms. Unlike French textbooks, these follow the official syllabus and thus deal with national and African history. However, they can pose problems in terms of historical accuracy, and their contents have only a limited impact on the larger Senegalese school population because they are intended to be used only in the author's classes and schools.

## 2.2 The 1960s. Between colonial legacy and pan African dream: the nation does not go to school

### 2.2.1 A provisional solution: «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise»

As we have seen, following independence, the Senegalese government set about reforming the History syllabus for primary school students. The new History syllabus was published in 1962 and marked a shift from previous colonial teaching syllabi by refocusing on national history. However, while the inter-ministerial conferences tasked a commission with developing new textbooks for secondary schools in Sub-Saharan francophone Africa, there was no such plan for primary schools. To address this «famine of books»<sup>23</sup>, characterised by a lack of adequate teaching materials and textbooks, the then Minister of National Education, Amadou Makhtar M'Bow, decided to launch the bi-monthly magazine «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise» in 1967. Its goal was to inform and train teachers, particularly those in such remote or impoverished areas as were most affected by a lack of

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<sup>20</sup> P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks*, cit., p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> Ivi, p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Ivi, pp. 13-14.

<sup>23</sup> F. Wellot-Samba, M. M'baye, D. Guindo, *Le manuel Scolaire d'Enseignement Primaire*, cit., p. 6.

textbooks. The journal provided practical advice as well as pedagogical and documentary sheets to assist History teachers in their duties<sup>24</sup>. It presented one History lesson per grade level from CE1 to CM2, and the topics chosen mirrored closely those included in the 1962 History syllabus. What stands out in this regard is the almost exclusive focus on the “national heroes” listed in the syllabus. Therefore, five out of a total of nine History lessons were to be devoted to such Senegalese historical figures as Dial Diop<sup>25</sup>, Maba Diakhou<sup>26</sup>, Fodé Kaba<sup>27</sup>, Lat Dior<sup>28</sup> and El Hadj Omar<sup>29</sup>. This demonstrates the importance attributed to these men, which, as has been argued in chapter 1, were used as role models for the youth and as “ambassadors” of national identity. It is therefore not surprising that their personal history and battles were presented in glowing terms<sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, even if their ethnic background was mentioned, their geographical origin took precedence. Teachers, in fact, were explicitly urged to

Recall the national heroes whose history has been studied, by quoting their region. Dial DIOP, the independence of the Lebous in Cape Verde, Lat-Dior, that of Cayor, El-Hadj Omar in Fouta Toro, Maba DIAKHOU in Rip [...], Fodé KABA in Casamance<sup>31</sup>.

The importance of geographical origin was reinforced by the fact that the teacher was asked to use a map of Senegal in almost every lesson so that students could locate the kingdoms and cities concerned. Once again, the goal was to strengthen the connection between national heroes and kingdoms of the past and present-day regions. Finally, it is worth noting that the journal devoted one lesson to Fodé Kaba, from Casamance<sup>32</sup>.

Other topics addressed by «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise» included African history and relations with the rest of the world. However, in this case, too, the goal of the authors was to foreground and celebrate Senegalese and African past. For instance, a lesson cited an excerpt from Alvise Ca' da Mosto's *Relations des voyages à la côte occidentale d'Afrique 1455-1457* in which the Venetian explorer described his meeting with the Damel of Cayor and the wealth of his court<sup>33</sup>. Clearly, Ca' da Mosto's record was intended to show the children that their country had a thriving and sophisticated civilisation prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

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<sup>24</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 576-577.

<sup>25</sup> AA.VV., *Quelques figures de l'histoire nationale: Dial Diop*, «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise», 1, 1967, p. 19.

<sup>26</sup> AA.VV., *Quelques figures de de [sic.] l'histoire nationale: Maba Diakhou*, «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise», 2, 1967, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> AA.VV., *Quelques figures de l'histoire nationale: Fodé Kaba*, «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise», 3, 1967, p. 35.

<sup>28</sup> AA.VV., *Le Cayor: Madiodio, Lat Dior*, «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise», 2, 1967, p. 19.

<sup>29</sup> AA.VV., *Resistance au Sénégal: El Hadj Omar*, «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise», 2, 1967, p. 23.

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. AA.VV., *Le Cayor: Madiodio, Lat Dior*, cit., p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> AA.VV., *Quelques figures de l'histoire nationale: Fodé Kaba*, cit., p. 35. Capital letters in the text.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>33</sup> AA.VV., *Les Navigateurs: Les Dieppois, Ca da Mosto*, «L'École Primaire Sénégalaise», 1, 1967, p. 49.

Despite the excitement generated by this publication and its significance (it was the only available material for primary schools in the 1960s that met the new syllabus), it appears to have lasted only three issues, from January to March 1967. This experience, then, came too late and was too short-lived to effectively address the lack of updated pedagogical materials.

### 2.2.2 *The longevity of the colonial narrative*

In the absence of new syllabus-compliant History textbooks, those imbued with colonial rhetoric continued to circulate in the country long after independence. The latter were either marginally revised versions of History booklets that had been issued by the colonial administration to be used in the AOF's schools or new publications issued by French publishing houses for the former colonies. The survival of this type of narrative undermined the 1962 syllabus' goal of decolonizing History teaching and making it a powerful tool for nation-building. To begin with, because they were intended for a larger audience, the vast majority of them made little room for national history, which, on the contrary, was at the heart of the curriculum reform. Second, because of their editorial origins, they were the carriers of stereotypes and distortions that ran counter to the spirit of the reform.

The Eurocentric approach that informed these textbooks is confirmed by an examination of their periodisation, which typically defined African history in terms of the continent's contacts with Europe. For example, *Les peuples noirs. Histoire à l'usage des élèves Africains*, the textbook for the CM, was subdivided into three sections, entitled «Africa before Europeans», «Africa and Europe», «decolonisation»<sup>34</sup>. Even if the centuries preceding the arrival of the Europeans were no longer described as dark and barbaric<sup>35</sup>, their arrival on the African shores was almost always framed in terms of «discovery» and thus presented as a positive event, as it ended the continent's ostensible isolation<sup>36</sup>. Furthermore, while the slave trade is mentioned in every textbook, the role of Europeans in this «abominable trade»<sup>37</sup> was grossly understated<sup>38</sup>. Stemming from this, colonisation was presented almost as a natural evolution of Euro-African relations, with a focus on peaceful conquest

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<sup>34</sup> A. Clérici, R. Parisse, *Les peuples noirs. Histoire à l'usage des élèves Africains*, Paris, Hatier, 1965, p. 159. An unchanged version was published in the same year by the Centre d'édition et de diffusion africaines (CEDA), an Ivorian publishing house based in Abidjan. André Clérici, a French historian, was counsellor of the then president of the Ivory Coast Republic, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, and General Secretary of the Haut comité de la langue française. René Parisse was an inspector of education in France and a prolific author of school textbooks – mostly for Geography – intended both for France and for former French colonies.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. J. Ernoult, *Histoire d'Afrique Occidentale. Cours élémentaire 2e année*, Issy-Les Moulineaux, Éditions Saint-Paul, 1961, p. 11. Jean Ernoult is a French author of textbooks for Francophone Africa.

<sup>36</sup> See for example: J. Ernoult, *Histoire d'Afrique Occidentale*, cit., p. 10 ; Id., *Autrefois en Afrique. Histoire cours élémentaire 2e année*, Issy-Les Moulineaux, Les Classiques Africains (E.S.P), 1963, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> J. Ernoult, *Autrefois en Afrique*, cit., p. 22.

<sup>38</sup> See for example : A. Clérici, R. Parisse, *Les peuples noirs*, cit., p. 80 and J. Ernoult, *Autrefois en Afrique*, cit., p. 22.

through treaties and in accordance with local chiefs<sup>39</sup>. There was little mention of the resort to violence and brutality, and when there was, it was limited to the actions of a few individuals who «did not understand the true needs of the people whom they had the duty to protect»<sup>40</sup>.

A surprising aspect was the mention of African resistance to French penetration in all of the manuals. El Hadj Omar, Ahmadou, Behanzin, Samory, Ba Bemba and Rabah were among the most frequently mentioned figures from the 1962 History syllabus. One textbook specifically mentioned Senegalese resistance leaders such as Mohammed el Habib, Lat Dior, and Mamadou Lamine<sup>41</sup>. Nonetheless, these historical actors were not portrayed as heroes fighting to defend their lands. El Hadj Omar, in particular, was rendered as an empire-builder whose ambition led him into conflict with French interests. Others went even further, portraying some resistance leaders, such as El Hadj Omar, again, and Samory, as bloodthirsty and warmongering tyrants who terrorised the local population and engaged in slave trade<sup>42</sup>. By so doing, the authors (whether wilfully or not) sabotaged the intentions of the syllabus' drafters, who expected resistance leaders to be presented as heroes and harbingers of the nation to come.

Every French textbook depicted the era of colonisation as an overall positive period in West African history, referring first and foremost to its ostensible “benefits”: schools, hospitals, roads and railways<sup>43</sup>. In this framework, decolonization too was presented as a natural process that unfolded peacefully and consensually, with France, particularly De Gaulle, acting as the driving force<sup>44</sup>. On the contrary, almost no space was left for tracing the causes that led France to lose all of her colonies in fifteen years, or for the agency of African peoples and leaders.

Despite the fact that almost all of these textbooks were aimed at West or Francophone African countries, Senegalese history, particularly that of its pre-colonial kingdoms, did make an appearance in some of them. The textbook *Precis d'histoire de l'Ouest Africaine*, for example, recognised the formation of the Djolof, Fouta Toro, Cayor, and Sérère kingdoms (consisting of the principalities of Sine, Baol and Saloum)<sup>45</sup>. However, once again, the manner in which they were dealt with contradicts the 1962 syllabus' intentions. Not only was there no mention of “national heroes”, but the salience of

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<sup>39</sup> J. Ernoult, *Autrefois en Afrique*, cit., pp. 29-30.

<sup>40</sup> M. Guilhem, H. Ndiaye, *Sénégal. Récits historiques. Cours élémentaire*, Paris, Ligel, 1964, p. 54. Marcel Guilhem, a friar, is the author of several textbooks for African schools. On the back cover of the textbook *Precis d'histoire de l'Ouest Africain*, he is described as «Professeur et Directeur d' École Normale».

<sup>41</sup> P. Erny, *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, Issy-Les Moulineaux, Éditions Saint-Paul, 1962, pp. 49-50. Pierre Erny was a French ethnologist, psychologist and educational scientist. He has taught in several African university, such as the Université Officielle du Congo (Lubumbashi), the Université Nationale du Zaïre (Kisangani) and the Université Nationale du Rwanda (Butare). He has also directed the *Institut d'ethnologie* at the University of Humanities and Social Sciences of Strasbourg.

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. M. Guilhem, *Precis d'histoire de l'Ouest Africain*, Paris, Ligel, 1961, pp. 142 and 154.

<sup>43</sup> J. Ernoult, *Autrefois en Afrique*, cit., p. 32 and pp. 34-36.

<sup>44</sup> See J. Ernoult, *Histoire d'Afrique Occidentale*, cit., pp. 22-23, and Id., *Autrefois en Afrique*, cit., pp. 38-39.

<sup>45</sup> M. Guilhem, *Precis d'histoire de l'Ouest Africain*, cit., pp. 75-78.

ethnic differences between kingdoms was also highlighted. Furthermore, the polities that developed in the southern and eastern territories were not taken into account<sup>46</sup>.

Precolonial kingdoms were also the sole topic addressed by *Sénégal. Récits historiques. Cours élémentaire*, the only textbook of this generation specifically conceived for the Senegalese market, published in 1964 by the French editor Ligel<sup>47</sup>. Even this work, however, did not conform to the syllabus and clearly recalled the “colonial narrative” that characterised the vast majority of coeval textbooks. As a result – with the exception of those in the south and east, which remain excluded from Senegalese history<sup>48</sup> –, precolonial kingdoms were presented here through random episodes, most likely chosen for their uniqueness – ones that was expected to impress young readers – and told in the style of a fairy tale, with no time references. Moreover, contrary to the indication of the syllabus, the authors frequently emphasised the ethnic connotations of the different polities and the conflicts among various ethnic groups to control them.

Only one textbook, *Histoire et Civilisation d'Afrique Noire*, written for the CE of «French-speaking African schools», discussed the beginnings of colonisation in Senegal. It should be noted that the text made no mention of the history of these territories prior to the 18th century, implying that Senegalese history began with the arrival of the French. The subsequent conquest was portrayed in glowing terms: not only was it carried out peacefully through the signing of trade treaties, but it also increased the security and wealth of the territory. Furthermore, the French fought «against the country's great *plague*: the slave trade»<sup>49</sup>, of which they were proud adversaries rather than co-responsible. Indeed, prior to the arrival of the French, the country had been marked by wars and raids, which was why both Senegalese and French traders hoped that Faidherbe would bring peace<sup>50</sup>. The governor – who was the subject of an entire chapter – was thus portrayed as a true Senegalese hero and protector, fighting against local chiefs and kings who reigned through terror. As a result, he

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<sup>46</sup> Ivi, p. 78.

<sup>47</sup> M. Guilhem, H. Ndiaye, *Sénégal. Récits historiques*, cit., 1964.

<sup>48</sup> Tékrou, Djoloff and Fouta Toro with Koli Tengouella; the Cayor with the mad damel Daou Deimba and Ma Dior; the Cayor and Baol and their damel-teigne Miassa Teinde Ouedj and his war against the Sérère of Diobasse; the war between the Ouolof and the Maures; history of the Sine-Saloum. Cfr. Ivi, pp. 82-105.

<sup>49</sup> R. Boucher and J. Paule, *Histoire et civilisation de l'Afrique Noire. Cours élémentaire des Écoles africaines d'expression française*, Paris, Fernand Nathan, 1962, p. 61. Italics in the text. R. Boucher and Joseph Paule had authored textbooks for African colonial schools in the late 1950s.

<sup>50</sup> Ivi, p. 75.



brought back «not only security and peace, but progress»<sup>51</sup>, a concept which was also highlighted graphically.



Figure 1. Faidherbe, le pacificateur, in R. Boucher and J. Paule, *Histoire et civilisation de l'Afrique Noire*, cit., p. 74.

### 2.2.3 Two anti-colonial textbooks

There were, however, a few notable exceptions to this type of narration. Two textbooks in particular, published by Présence Africain and Les Classiques Africains, attempted to distance themselves from the distortions and stereotypes common in colonial or colonial-derived textbooks. As a result, even if they did not follow the official syllabus and were thus not focused on national Senegalese history, they tried to accomplish one of the new syllabus' main goals: the decolonisation of history teaching. In *Histoire de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*, one of the two texts under discussion, Pierre Erny argued that the goal of education was to help children «to think African», or to make them aware of their heritage in all its richness and unity. Furthermore, he contended, «history should awaken national conscience in our young countries»<sup>52</sup>. *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, published by Présence Africaine, took an even more “militant” approach<sup>53</sup>. According to its authors, Djibril Tamsir Niane and Jean Suret-

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<sup>51</sup> Ivi, p. 75.

<sup>52</sup> P. Erny, *Histoire de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*, Issy-Les Moulineaux, Les Classiques Africains, 1964, p. 2. Although this text was written by the same author as *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale* (1962) and only two years apart, as will be seen, the narrative adopted is very different.

<sup>53</sup> D.T. Niane, J. Suret-Canale, *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, Paris, Présence Africain, 1961. Djibril Tamsir Niane was a distinguished Guinean historian. Jean Suret-Canale was a French historian of Africa, Marxist theoretician, member

Canale, the volume was intended to foster two political causes: that of historical objectivity and that of African liberation. «We believe that there can be no conflict between these two loyalties: the cause of freedom and human dignity requires truth and only truth. Only evil causes require lies»<sup>54</sup>. Both volumes differed from other textbooks of this generation in that they rejected the fable-like, top-down approach that focused almost entirely on kings and emperors. The proposed chronology was also slightly different, attempting to depart from the standard Eurocentric periodisation and to make it more relevant to African history<sup>55</sup>.

In terms of content, we see a near-complete reversal of what was promoted by the other textbooks. The point was thus made repeatedly that Africa was not an isolated continent prior to the arrival of Europeans<sup>56</sup>. Furthermore, the authors emphasised the economic and exploitative motivations, as well as the violence, that lay at the heart of Europe's relationship with Africa, and they condemned the deception commonly used by Europeans to justify their presence on the continent<sup>57</sup>.

Being aimed at the whole of Francophone Africa, these two texts are peripheral to the present study. Nonetheless, their emphasis on supranational unity warrants a mention. A case in point is the way in which Niane and Suret-Canale assessed the figure of El Hadj Omar. In *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, El Hadj Omar was presented as a visionary, the only leader who attempted to establish a strong state capable of uniting West African peoples and overcoming their differences.

El Hadj Omar, one of Africa's most important nineteenth-century figures, has died. If fully realised, his project would have resulted in the unification of West Africa on the eve of colonial conquest. Unfortunately, the social and political conditions in West Africa prevented his venture from succeeding. In Senegal, where he had popular support, the chiefs' hostility and the presence of the French prevented him from having success [...]. As a result, he failed to meet the Africans' expectations<sup>58</sup>.

Erny concurred: «It was too early for them [the peoples of the Niger valley] to see beyond their particular peoples. In some ways, El Hadj Omar appears to be a modern-day prophet»<sup>59</sup>. A second case in point concerns the situation in West Africa after 1960. Indeed, according to the authors,

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of the French Communist Party and World War II French Resistance fighter. *Présence Africain* is a publishing house founded in Paris in 1949 by the Senegalese intellectual Alioune Diop. It is the publisher of the homonymous panafrican review.

<sup>54</sup> D.T. Niane, J. Suret-Canale, *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, cit., p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> P. Erny, *Histoire de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*, cit., p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Ivi, p. 82.

<sup>57</sup> Cfr. for example: P. Erny, *Histoire de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*, cit., p. 93; D.T. Niane, J. Suret-Canale, *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, cit., pp. 66, 105.

<sup>58</sup> D.T. Niane, J. Suret-Canale, *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, cit., p. 92.

<sup>59</sup> P. Erny, *Histoire de l'Afrique de l'Ouest*, cit., p. 100.

national independence was not the ultimate goal of political freedom. Erny wrote in this regard: «There is power in numbers. The African states quickly realised that they were too weak to have an effective foreign policy on their own, and that they shared too many problems to remain isolated»<sup>60</sup>. For their part, Djibril Tamsir Niane and Jean Suret-Canale maintained that:

Black Africa strives for unity. Independence within the fictitious framework of colonial borders can only be a first step. The unit responds to Africa's need to pool its economic and political resources in order to overcome the effects of colonization and play the role to which it is entitled in the world. It finally responds to Africans' national conscience of belonging to one people, one civilisation, despite tribal differences<sup>61</sup>.

In this sense, both books placed no value on nation states, which were seen as arbitrary due to their origins, but rather believe that their independence was only the first step towards pan-African unity. In sum, the only two 1960s primary school textbooks that clearly broke free from the colonial straitjacket were not specifically focused on Senegalese history. Because of their political stance, moreover, they appear to disregard nation-states in favour of supranational units.

#### 2.2.4 Secondary history textbook for Francophone Africa and the (de)colonization of Africa's past

As we know, when the Abidjan curriculum for secondary schools was implemented in 1965, the Ministers attending the conferences, keen to limit the adoption of French textbooks, decided to form a working group to prepare a series of History textbooks consistent with the new History syllabus<sup>62</sup>. The members of this group were Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Amadou Makhtar M'Bow and Jean Devisse<sup>63</sup>. The first two volumes, for the 6e and 5e, were published by Hatier in 1969 and 1970, respectively, while the 4e textbook was not published until 1975 due to financial constraints, as explained in the book's introduction<sup>64</sup>. On the other hand, no evidence of the publication of a volume dedicated to the 3e classes was found.

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<sup>60</sup> Ivi, p. 129.

<sup>61</sup> D.T. Niane, J. Suret-Canale, *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale*, cit., pp. 185-186.

<sup>62</sup> Cfr. M.M. Sow, *L'Afrique dans les programmes d'histoire de Bamako et Tananarive*, cit., p. 116 and M.A. de Suremain, *Africaniser la formation des professeurs de géographie: les Dopedocs de l'école normale supérieure de Dakar*, in C. Labrune-Badiane, M.A. de Suremain, and P. Bianchini (eds.), *L'école en situation postcoloniale*, cit., p. 159.

<sup>63</sup> *Nouveaux programmes d'Histoire et de Géographie pour les Etats de l'Afrique francophone et de Madagascar*, in «L'Éducation Sénégalaise», Programmes officiels d'histoire et géographie de l'Enseignement du Second Degré, n. 8, Numéro spécial, 1966, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> A.M. M'Bow, J. Ki-Zerbo, J. Devisse (eds.), *Histoire 4e. L'Afrique et le reste du monde du XVIIIe au début du XIXe siècle. La traite négrière. Paroxysme et recul*, Paris, Hatier, 1975, p. 3. These textbooks were: *Des origines au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.C. de la classe de 6<sup>e</sup>*, Paris: Hatier, 1969; *Du VII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle de la classe de 5<sup>e</sup>*, Paris, Hatier, 1970; *L'Afrique*

Meanwhile, some of the major French publishing houses (Nathan, Istra, Hachette) began to adapt their historical collections to the changed African context and to the new common syllabi, forming partnerships with organisations such as the Centre Africain de Recherche et d'Action Pédagogique (CARAP) and the Institut Pédagogique Africain et Malgache (IPAM)<sup>65</sup>. The first attempt was carried out by CARAP and Nathan with a series of History and Geography textbooks<sup>66</sup>. A second, more comprehensive endeavour was launched around IPAM and brought together Istra, Hachette and Hatier; it gave birth to the Editions Classiques d'Expression Française (EDICEF), whose mission was to spread primary and secondary school textbooks, from CP to 3e, in Francophone Africa countries and Madagascar<sup>67</sup>.

These two series were the product of two distinct editorial approaches. On the one hand, Nathan, with its team of editors, took over the entire responsibility of drafting textbooks, with only minimal input by African pedagogues. The EDICEF textbooks, on the other hand, witnessed the collaboration of Francophone African teachers from the IPAM, while Istra and Hachette were primarily in charge of publication and dissemination<sup>68</sup>. Despite being written by African experts, it is this latter series – which was also the longest-lived – that is the most problematic in terms of contents, as it gave a new lease of life to many of the falsifications and distortions typical of colonial narratives. Even though other French publishing houses proposed and published textbooks involving distinguished African historians<sup>69</sup>, the CARAP and IPAM collections ultimately came to dominate the History textbook market in Francophone Africa. They were the most widely used textbooks in Senegalese secondary schools between the 1970s and 1990s, and, despite being out of date, they still

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*et le reste du monde du XVIIè au début du XIXè siècle. La traite négrière. Paroxysme et recule*, Paris, Hatier, 1975. The editors of this collection have already been presented in the first chapter. The authors of the 6è volume are: R. Lonis (French historian and professor at the university of Dakar), H. Hugot (French historian of Africa) and S. Ayache (French historian, specialised in the history of Madagascar). The authors of the 5è volume are: S. Ayache, J. Devisse, H. Guissou, J. Monlaü, D.-T. Niane, Y. Paillard (French historian, specialised in history of Madagascar and on colonial ideology), S. Robert. The authors of the 4è volume are: S. Ayache; M. Dautresme; A. Marçet, A. M. M'Bow, Y. Paillard, J. Pliya (Beninese historian and geographer), Th. Tchicaya (Congolese historian and politician).

<sup>65</sup> F. Wellot-Samba, M. M'baye, D. Guindo, *Le manuel Scolaire d'Enseignement Primaire*, cit., p. 38.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem. The History textbooks were: *Histoire. Des premiers hommes à l'Islam. 6è*, Paris, Nathan-Afrique, 1967; *Histoire de l'Islam au 16e siècle. 5è*, Paris, Nathan-Afrique, 1965; *Histoire. Dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles. 4è*, Paris, Nathan-Afrique, 1965; *Histoire. L'époque contemporaine. 3è*, Paris, Nathan-Afrique, 1967. No author is mentioned in the front page, nor in the colophon and the textbooks are simply presented as part of the CARAP collection. The first three volumes were published in compliance with the 1965 Abidjan curriculum; the 3è volume was published only in 1967 in accordance with the new Tananarive curriculum.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem. The History textbooks published by this enterprise were: *Histoire 6è. Le monde des premiers hommes au 6e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris, Hachette, 1966; *Histoire 5è. Le monde, du 7e siècle à la fin du 16e siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1968; *Histoire 4è. Du 17e siècle au début du 19e siècle*, Paris, Edicef, 1970; *Histoire 3è. Le monde contemporain du début du 19e siècle à nos jours*, Paris, Edicef, 1973. In this case, too, authors are not mentioned and the textbooks are published under the acronym of IPAM, which refers both to the collection and the editor.

<sup>68</sup> Ivi, pp. 38-39.

<sup>69</sup> P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks*, cit., p. 13. Two examples are J. Ki-Zerbo, *Le Monde africain noir; histoire et civilisation*, Paris, Hatier, 1963, and S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire de l'Afrique occidentale. Moyen-âge et temps modernes, VIIe siècle-1850*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1966.

live on in a number of Francophone African countries, including Senegal<sup>70</sup>. This, once more, raises the issue of inconsistency between official syllabi and available textbooks.

Despite their different editorial strategies, both of these collections, as well as the one by Hatier, were distinguished by a strong encyclopaedic orientation, which led them to consider the political, economic and social evolution of every area of the world for each period under consideration. As a result, despite the fact that African history received the greatest proportion of pages in nearly all volumes, the textbooks under discussion were not primarily focused on it.

The periodisation adopted by both the IPAM and CARAP series – Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern Age and Contemporary History – was markedly Eurocentric, even though the CARAP authors did attempt to assign an equivalent period of African history to each of these “ages”<sup>71</sup>. On the contrary, the Hatier collection, which most clearly distinguished itself from a colonial-style narrative, rejected Eurocentric periodization. The authors made this intention clear in the 5e manual, writing: «We did not want to keep the title “the Middle Ages” for this second volume. This concept has little relevance in Africa and even less in world history. This expression has been used as little as possible»<sup>72</sup>.

All of these series had one thing in common: they were aimed at the entire Francophone Africa and adopted a global approach, which means that they only devoted comparatively little space to the history of West Africa, in general, and Senegal, in particular. Moreover, what little there was on Senegal often militated against the aims of the newly formulated syllabus. The authors of the three collections provided a concise account of the major political events that occurred on Senegalese soil prior to the arrival of Europeans, with special emphasis on the Tekrou, Fouta Toro, Djolof, Oualo, Cayor, Baol and Sine-Saloum<sup>73</sup>. The IPAM collection also mentioned two early precolonial leaders such as Ndiadiane Ndiaye – the founder of the Djolof empire – and Koli Tengouella – who established the Dénianké dynasty in Fouta Toro<sup>74</sup>. Conversely, the kingdoms and peoples of the Eastern Province and Casamance were completely ignored. Furthermore, all of the textbooks identified the dominant ethnic group in each Senegalese kingdom and dwelt upon the alleged migration routes of the various populations. The emphasis on this topic worked towards foregrounding the ethnic factor, which was precisely what the Senegalese Ministry of National Education had cautioned against. The IPAM

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<sup>70</sup> For example, the most recent reprint of the IPAM textbook for the 3è classes included in this analysis dates to as late as 2011.

<sup>71</sup> CARAP, *Histoire. Des premiers hommes à l'Islam. Programme africain et malgache 1965. 6e*, Paris, Nathan Afrique, 1965, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup> A.M. M'Bow, J. Ki-Zerbo, J. Devisse (eds.), *Histoire 5e. Du VIIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris, Hatier, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> Cfr. CARAP, *Histoire. De l'Islam au 16e siècle. Programme africain et malgache 1965. 5e*, Paris, Nathan Afrique, 1966, p. 91 and IPAM, *Histoire 5e. Le monde, du 7e siècle à la fin du 16e siècle*, Vanves, Edicef, 1971 [1968, 1994], p. 89.

<sup>74</sup> IPAM, *Histoire 5e*, cit., p. 89.

collection went even further, assigning physiognomic and behavioural traits to entire ethnic groups. The authors, for example, described the Peuls as «of slender stature, fair complexion, often very handsome, tireless runners [...], of peaceful disposition»<sup>75</sup>. Worse still, when explaining the formation of new ethnic groups in the Senegal valley and the Peuls' seizure of power in the 4<sup>e</sup> textbooks, the authors wrote:

They [the Peuls] first infiltrate farmers who are not indifferent to the beauty of their daughters and marry them [...]. Thus, mixed-race Peul groups develop, including the Sérères, Toucouleurs, Toranké, and Foulakké of the Senegal valley [...]. Their daughters' seduction leads them to the great men, and their keen intelligence earns them important positions when they settle down<sup>76</sup>.

Such descriptions, of course, were strongly reminiscent of old colonial textbooks, even if their intent was not deliberately offensive. The IPAM collection, in particular, fell into the trap of stereotyping on several occasions. Besides giving a racial description of the Peuls, the authors of the 5<sup>e</sup> textbook spoke openly of «discovery» when dealing with the Portuguese's arrival on the West African coast<sup>77</sup>.

However, the main difference between the collections in this regard emerged in the 3<sup>e</sup> textbooks, which dealt with more recent and thus sensitive topics<sup>78</sup>. Their opposed narrative style began to emerge when the CARAP and IPAM textbooks addressed the colonisation of Senegal. To be sure, both collections described the figure of Governor Faidherbe in positive terms. However, if the CARAP textbook gave a comparatively nuanced account of his actions in Senegal (stressing, for instance, his attacks against the Maures and the Toucouleurs but also his anti-slavery beliefs and his accomplishments in Senegal, such as the construction of the port in Dakar and the opening of schools)<sup>79</sup>, IPAM's judgment was positively glowing. Faidherbe was described as «energetic, dedicated to African issues [...], a staunch opponent of slavery and a firm believer in the Africans' equal intelligence and adaptability». Not only did he establish «schools and transformed freed slaves into warriors»<sup>80</sup>, but he also stipulated alliances with the Senegalese kingdoms which were seeking his protection against attacks by nomadic Saharan peoples and El Hadj Omar. Because of his actions, «in ten years, the small states have grouped together under the French flag to form “Senegal”»<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Ivi, p. 90.

<sup>76</sup> IPAM, *Histoire 4e. Le monde du 17e siècle au début du 19e siècle*, Paris, Edicef, 1970, pp. 152-153.

<sup>77</sup> IPAM, *Histoire 5e*, cit., p. 211.

<sup>78</sup> Since Hatier never published a textbook for this class, the analysis that follows will be restricted to the CARAP and IPAM collections.

<sup>79</sup> CARAP, *Histoire. L'époque contemporaine. Programme africain et malgache d'expression française 1967. 3e*, Paris, Nathan Afrique, 1967, p. 121.

<sup>80</sup> IPAM, *Histoire 3e. Le monde contemporain, de 1815 à nos jours*, Paris, Edicef, 1977 [1973], p. 116.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem.

Two points stand out clearly here. The first and most important one is that this textbook not only acknowledged the colonial origin of state boundaries<sup>82</sup> – a topic completely overlooked by the CARAP textbook<sup>83</sup> – but also presented Faidherbe and the French as unifying factors and the ultimate creators of Senegal. The second point is that the authors completely flipped the narrative envisaged by the syllabi, paradoxically depicting El Hadj Omar as the aggressor and Faidherbe as the defender of Senegal’s unity. This approach served to present those who opposed French penetration in a negative light and their defeat as the product, not so much of French military superiority, as of local opposition. Consider, for instance, the following passage.

These conquerors come from the same family as Soundiata, Sonni Ali, and the Askias, who established empires without caring about the dead. But times have changed because *Europeans brought new ideas with them*, such as the horror of slavery, the value of individual life, and responsibility. The Senegalese riflemen and spahis who fight alongside the French are not afraid to prove their worth as men to those who treat them as if they were slaves: they are brave, loyal, and very sensitive to having their dignity respected<sup>84</sup>.

Here, the resisters were once again related to the old empires, but their resistance was presented as a form of allegiance to past barbaric practises. On the contrary, the populations among whom the Europeans’ ideas of liberty have spread were no longer willing to accept them and therefore allied themselves with the French.

Given the tone of the narrative, it is not surprising that the IPAM authors emphasised the benefits of colonisation, which included «the abolition of slavery», «peace: the end of wars and raids between local chiefs», and the «opening of Africa to the world».<sup>85</sup> These were supplemented by the “usual” benefits of colonisation, such as hospitals, disease control and, most importantly, education, which, rather tellingly, did not even rate a mention in the CARAP textbook. Though not unexpected, the recycling of the myth of the “civilizing mission” on the part of the IPAM is still striking for its brazenness.

If some colonisers prioritised their own profit [...], many others carried «the white man's burden» (Kipling) with dignity and efficiency, and completed their «educational task» with zeal [...]. Much has been said about acts of brutality [...], of rapacity; to be fair, we must also speak of a great deal of dedication, of work done in difficult conditions by men who believed in the need to develop Africa<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> Ivi, p. 141.

<sup>83</sup> CARAP, *Histoire. L'époque contemporaine*, cit., p. 124.

<sup>84</sup> IPAM, *Histoire 3<sup>e</sup>*, cit., p. 145. Italics in the text.

<sup>85</sup> Ivi, p. 173.

<sup>86</sup> Ivi, p. 180.

On this score, the difference with the CARAP textbook could hardly be more pronounced, since, according to the latter, the reality was that «no one had any hesitation about breaking indigenous societies, destroying their values and hierarchies, and imposing a new culture and order on them by force»<sup>87</sup>.

Given the presentation of the colonial era by the IPAM textbook, it is not surprising that the process of decolonisation was regarded as peaceful, concluded in substantial agreement with France, and following an institutional path. The same point was made by the CARAP collection, which, however, also emphasised the role played by local political elites educated in French schools in organizing the masses into trade unions and political parties and leading them to independence. Among the few Senegalese figures mentioned there were Senghor<sup>88</sup> and Lamine Gueye<sup>89</sup>. However, both collections dealt with the independence of individual African countries perfunctorily; in the case of Senegal, for instance, the failure of the Mali Federation was left unexplained<sup>90</sup>.

Both textbooks featured a chapter on post-independence Africa, reflecting, in particular, on the borders of the new African states. The CARAP textbook made a strong case for African unity, stating that «economic progress is not conceivable within the boundaries of an overburdened and impoverished territory: development must come from cooperation with brothers»<sup>91</sup>. In other words, the legitimacy of states was called into question not because of the arbitrariness of their borders and origins – a topic never addressed by this textbook –, but because they were insufficient to lead independent Africa on the path to economic development. IPAM's account was more articulated. Here, state borders – together with European languages<sup>92</sup> – were declared to be the «first heritage» of colonisation<sup>93</sup>, and the authors underlined how, despite their origin, they were not called into question at the time of independence. On the contrary, within these «artificial frontiers» a national consciousness did begin to emerge, often revolving around the figure of a leader (for the Senegalese, Senghor was mentioned)<sup>94</sup>. The problems of these states were then discussed: national consciousness arose more easily if the states were small and homogeneous, otherwise centrifugal tensions emerged, against which the states fought by banning outward signs of tribal affiliation. However, according to the authors, true unity could only be achieved through schooling and by building the future together<sup>95</sup>. Thus, we continue to notice that the textbooks which still retained a colonial configuration were also

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<sup>87</sup> CARAP, *Histoire. L'époque contemporaine*, cit., p. 154.

<sup>88</sup> Ivi, p. 263.

<sup>89</sup> Ivi, p. 264.

<sup>90</sup> Cfr. ivi, p. 267, and IPAM, *Histoire 3e*, cit., p. 303.

<sup>91</sup> CARAP, *Histoire. L'époque contemporaine*, cit., p. 268.

<sup>92</sup> IPAM, *Histoire 3e*, cit., p. 313.

<sup>93</sup> Ivi, p. 312.

<sup>94</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>95</sup> Ibidem.



those which openly mentioned the colonial origin of state borders, presenting it as a fruitful legacy. On the other hand, the textbooks that refused colonial ideology preferred not to discuss the matter, and called instead for African unity. The nation-state – and its origins in particular – thus emerged as a sensitive issue.

Confirming the IPAM collection's enormous success, a new edition of the 3e textbook was published in 1988 and most recently reprinted in 2011. The bulk of the text was identical to the 1977 one, which means that, more than sixty years after the independence of Senegal, a textbook redolent with colonial connotations, is still widely used in the country's schools. The one difference is the addition of two new final chapters – on the Cold War, the 1970s economic crisis, and the situation in Africa some thirty years after independence – to the original text. A couple of points should be made with respect to these chapters. To begin with, the authors continued to insist on the colonial legacy of state borders, which the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) famously stated should be preserved<sup>96</sup>. The division of Africa into so many small, often under-populated, states appears to be viewed negatively. Indeed, the authors compared its population to that of North America, which, unlike Africa, was divided into only three states<sup>97</sup>. They then discussed such supranational organisations as have emerged in recent decades and their importance for Africa's development and for preventing inter-state rivalries<sup>98</sup>. Rivalries between different groups within a single state were also mentioned, particularly when political leaders were accused of favouring their home groups<sup>99</sup>. Senegal was rarely mentioned directly in this context, except in the caption of a photograph of the beginning of a parliamentary session in Dakar. The caption read as follows:

One of the great moments in the political life of Senegal, which is justly proud of its democratic traditions. These certainly owe much to Léopold Sédar Senghor who, before becoming the first President of the Senegalese Republic, had been a French parliamentarian and a close friend, since his youth, of Georges Pompidou, who became General de Gaulle's successor as President of the French Republic in 1969<sup>100</sup>.

Thus, Senegal was included among Africa's democratic countries and appeared to be unaffected by the divisions and tensions to which the chapters made reference. At the same time, Senghor was presented as the source of democracy in Senegal, thanks to his ties with France. The fact that Senghor

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<sup>96</sup> IPAM, *Histoire 3e. Le monde contemporain, de 1815 à nos jours. Nouvelle édition. Revue et augmentée*, Paris, Edicef, 2011 [1988], p. 324.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>98</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 328-331.

<sup>99</sup> *Ivi*, p. 324.

<sup>100</sup> *Ivi*, p. 325.

ruled the republic for twenty years, most of which in a one-party dispensation, was omitted, as were the Casamance tensions (despite the new edition being published after the birth of the MFDC).

### 2.2.5 *A textbook for Senegalese secondary schools: towards a multiple and inclusive identity?*

Still at the end of the 1960s, Hachette published a textbook for Senegalese secondary school that did not follow the official syllabus. In fact, the text spanned the period typically covered in 6e and 5e classes, from prehistory to African pre-colonial kingdoms and empires. Furthermore, unlike the Abidjan and Tananarive curricula, the textbook focused solely on African history. However, despite being especially intended for use in Senegalese schools, the space that the country's history occupied within the volume was decidedly marginal, covering only 13%, or a total of 28 pages out of 214, 17 of which were dedicated to the geography of the country. This marginalisation of Senegalese history seems in stark contrast to the volume's introduction, where the textbook's ambition to participate to the nation-building effort was made explicit.

This textbook of African history for Senegal is addressed to all those who, in this country, participate or will be called upon to participate in nation building [...]. The mobilisation of Senegalese souls, of Senegalese energies, will only take dynamic form if it is first accomplished at the level of hearts and minds. This community will first of all be aware of belonging to a common nation, rooted in the same land, in a common past, committed to the same future in solidarity. In this sense, this textbook of African history for Senegal must, if not provoke awareness, at least act as a revelation: Senegal will only be able to take possession of itself, to come together in the long term, as long as each Senegalese patriot feels fully involved in the building of modern Senegal, in a spirit of participation, dedication and, dare we say it, faith... To build Senegal by integrating the values of the past; to root the Senegalese nation in these values and to make them live, to animate and carry the thoughts and acts of each day; that each Senegalese leader can define himself in a Senegalese continuity, in relation to the past of his fathers and in relation to the realities of the present, in order to better take in hand, in a spirit of civic "virtue" and fraternal cooperation, personal destinies closely associated with those of his own country. In short, that each person, in his or her own life and in the construction of the nation, feels responsible for all and all for one. This volume is therefore not so much a textbook as a work of faith<sup>101</sup>.

In terms of structure and contents, the main difference between this work and the secondary school textbooks we have examined above lay in the inclusion of an extensive introduction on the

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<sup>101</sup> AA.VV. *Histoire de l'Afrique à l'usage du Sénégal*, Paris, Hachette, 1968, p. 7. No author is listed on front page of the textbook. However, the table of contents specifies the authors of each chapter. They are: Régis Van-Chi, French geographer and associate professor of History and Geography at the University of Paris VIII; Vincent Monteil, French orientalist, linguist and ethnologist; Raymond Mauny, French historian, specialised in the prehistory of Senegal and Mali; Jehan Desanges, French historian, philologist and epigrapher, a specialist in the topic of North Africa during Antiquity. The preface is written by Théodore Monod: he was a French naturalist, Professor at the Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle and founder and honorary director of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

geography of West Africa, which, however, also contained some interesting insights into history and society. Indeed, here, the authors, Raymond Mauny and Jehan Desanges, insisted on West Africa's unity and homogeneity, which they regarded as the effect both of geography and of the existence of a common peasant civilisation, albeit characterised by the presence of numerous ethnic groups<sup>102</sup> (due to continuous migration flows in the area<sup>103</sup>) and languages<sup>104</sup>. In the perspective of the authors, the new independent states – despite being the result of arbitrary borders drawn up by the colonisers – succeeded in transforming themselves into nation-states. This, however, did not prevent their claiming a «common West African personality», because they recognised themselves «in the affinities created by the common vehicular languages, the ways of thinking and, even more, the ancestral values of a same Tradition»<sup>105</sup>. While admitting the existence of two «de facto» groups in West Africa – the Anglophone and Francophone countries –, the textbook was quick to add that «linguistic differences do not create a barrier between them, and [that] West African countries, regardless of their official language, are marked by the sentiment of what unites them as well as the awareness of what divides them»<sup>106</sup>. According to the authors, this was testified by West African states' attempts to form supranational groups, from 1960 on, with varying degrees of success.

As regards Senegal, the most interesting paragraph centred on the diversity of ethnic groups existing in the country. It was accompanied by the following map:

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<sup>102</sup> Ivi, p. 29.

<sup>103</sup> Ivi, p. 36.

<sup>104</sup> Ivi, p. 39.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>106</sup> Ivi, p. 45.

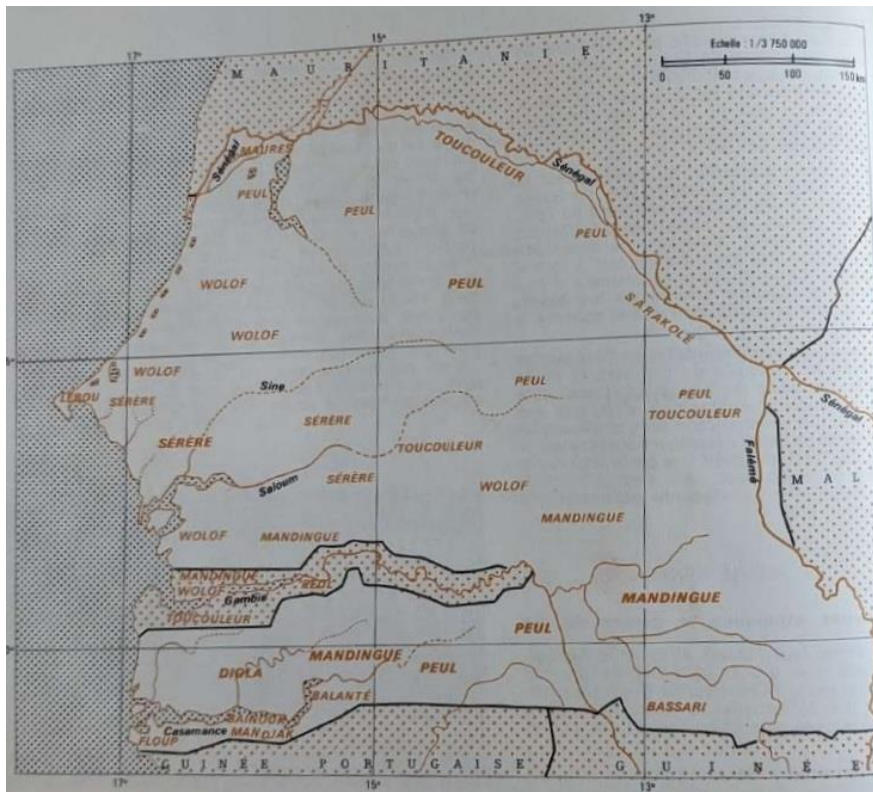


Figure 2. *Ethnies sénégalaises*, in AA.VV., *Histoire de l'Afrique à l'usage du Sénégal*, cit., p. 56.

According to the authors, Senegal was characterised, like the whole region, by a great ethnic diversity. However, especially in urban areas or the regions where different ethnic groups overlapped, the latter ended up influencing and mixing with one another<sup>107</sup>. «The result is that, beyond ethnic diversity, a people is being built, whose unity is achieved within the framework of the institutions of the Senegalese state, which is a centralised republic»<sup>108</sup>. This meant that ethnic diversity did not necessarily contravene the goal of nation-building and should not therefore be omitted from the picture. As stated in the introduction, Senegal's unity stemmed not so much from its past – in which it has its roots – as from the construction of a shared future.

The text listed the country's major ethnic groups (Wolof, Sérères, Peuls, Toucouleurs, Mandingues, Diola, Bassari, Lébou, Maures), providing their origins, main physical characteristics – as we have seen in par. 2.2.4, this racialisation of ethnic groups was a typical and problematic feature of this generation's textbooks – and occupations, distribution across the territory, language, and a brief history of each. Without going into specifics, suffice it to say that the text categorised them into two major groups. The first was made up of the Wolofs, Sérères, Peuls, Toucouleurs and Mandingues, that is, the peoples of the savannah region and the Sahel who gave rise to centralised states from a

<sup>107</sup> Ivi, p. 55.

<sup>108</sup> Ivi, pp. 56-57.

very early stage, who were part of the major empires of West Africa and who were organised into hierarchical societies made up of classes and castes. The other group included the Diola, Bainouk, Manjak, Mancagne and Balante, that is, the peoples of Casamance, in the south of the country. These communities were formed by people who sought shelter against raiders in forest areas or in the defensive sites provided by marshy regions. «More isolated, more individualistic», these groups have vigorously resisted foreign infiltration and influence and have never formed a state, preserving their ancient traditions and religious practices<sup>109</sup>. By adopting this perspective and by limiting the discussion of precolonial kingdoms to those which were located in the northern and central regions, the text recognised and indeed emphasised the ethnic, cultural and historical differences between Senegal north of the Gambia and Casamance, an aspect that points to the Wolofisation of the history of Senegal. At the end of the section, however, the authors attempted to relate the ethnic diversity of Senegal to a broader characteristic of West African peoples. Indeed, because of these ethnic characteristics, Senegal was fully part of the unity of West Africa and had in fact belonged to all the major empires that had arisen in this region. The author ends the text by writing:

Senegal's African vocation has been reinforced and its international role has grown since independence. In the eyes of History, the effort of tomorrow, in a country where men, heirs of a long African tradition, must build a modern Nation in tune with the humanistic and technological civilisation of the contemporary world, will count as much as the past splendours<sup>110</sup>.

## 2.3 A national turn in the Seventies?

### 2.3.1 *The first national textbooks for primary schools*

As pointed out above, in the first decade of independence, there were no primary school textbooks compliant with the official curriculum. Therefore, Senegalese schools adopted – where available – either textbooks for the Francophone or West African market or, worse, re-adaptations of colonial books. The situation became all the more serious in 1971, when the first Orientation Law (see chapter 1) brought about a distinctly national turn in education and the new primary school History syllabus focused first and foremost on the national dimension. It was to address this critical situation that, in 1972, the Ministry of Education created a commission entrusted with the task of drafting new official

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<sup>109</sup> Ivi, p. 57.

<sup>110</sup> Ivi, p. 61.

textbooks for the CE. These textbooks – which would eventually be published by Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines (NEA), an enterprise partially controlled by the Senegalese State<sup>111</sup> – fully responded to the national curriculum, focusing almost entirely on national history and, more specifically, on the most important personalities of the Senegalese past. The authors openly confirmed this approach in the introduction to the CE1 volume.

Beginning with an understanding of his surroundings, the student will approach the history of the region and the nation in a concrete and appealing manner: the history of great national figures, symbols of the Senegalese people. From the origins to the French conquest, each region is represented by a national hero. We have placed a special emphasis on those who resisted colonial conquest, with the deliberate goal of instilling in the child a sense of pride and love for his or her past, which is essential for the nation's development<sup>112</sup>.

The new textbooks for CE1 and CE2 followed the 1972 syllabus' chapter structure to the letter. Therefore, *Histoire du Sénégal. Cours élémentaire 1<sup>ère</sup> année* focused almost entirely on pre-colonial kingdoms, devoting one chapter to each of these, detailing their history, their ethnic composition and, most importantly, their main leaders<sup>113</sup>. These latter, always portrayed in positive terms, were especially praised for their efforts to spread Islam and to defend their territory from attacks by both neighbouring kingdoms and, most notably, the French. All of them were labelled as Senegalese national heroes, regardless of their ethnicity, kingdom, or religion. This confirms the overall goal of turning these historical personalities into the linchpins of the process of nation-building. Although some historical figures from the eastern provinces and Casamance were mentioned in the textbook and the Casamance kingdom appeared on a map (see figure 2 below), the two areas' distinction from the rest of the country was emphasised on several occasions. For instance, the point was made that while these two territories were subject to the Mali empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, most of Senegal's central and northern regions were grouped together in the Djolof kingdom. Another difference was

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<sup>111</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 739. These textbooks are: T.O. Bâ, S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire du Sénégal. Cours élémentaire 1<sup>ère</sup> année*, Dakar-Abidjan, Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1973; S-M. Cissoko, T.O. Bâ, *Histoire du Sénégal. Cours élémentaire 2<sup>ème</sup> année*, Dakar-Abidjan, Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1974. In this case, the authors are explicitly mentioned on the cover of the textbooks. Tamsir Ousmane Bâ was a Senegalese historian, while Sekene Mody Cissoko was a Malian historian who, at the time, presided over the Association des historiens africains (Asa) and worked at the Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire (IFAN) in Dakar. NEA was a company that grouped together the Senegalese state – which retained 51% – and seven French publishing houses (Istra, Hachette, Seuil, Nathan, A. Colin, Hatier and Présence africaine), with the remaining 49%. The group was later enlarged with the adhesion of Ivory Coast and, subsequently, Togo. However, this transnational venture resulted in failure, and in the 1990s each country pursued its own school textbook policy in its domestic sphere. As regards Senegal, the NEA morphed into the NEAS (Nouvelles Editions Africaines Senegal) that was later bought by the French Vivendi. Cfr. F. Wellot-Samba, M. M'baye, D. Guindo, *Le manuel Scolaire d'Enseignement Primaire*, cit., p. 44 and P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks*, cit., p. 11.

<sup>112</sup> T.O. Bâ, S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> Tekroun and Fouta Toro: Koli Tengouella, El Hadj Omar; Djolof: N'Diadiane N'Diaye, Alboury N'Diaye; Cayor: Amary N'Goné Sobel, Lat Soukabé N'Goné Fall, Lat Dior N'Goné Latyr; Cap-Vert: villages Lebou; Sine-Saloum: Maba Diakhou; Pays de l'Est: Mamadou Lamine; Dianké Walli. Cfr. *ivi*, pp. 62-63.

that, while kingdoms were created in the rest of the country, the eastern provinces and Casamance remained organised into tribes<sup>114</sup>. Both these differences are graphically highlighted.

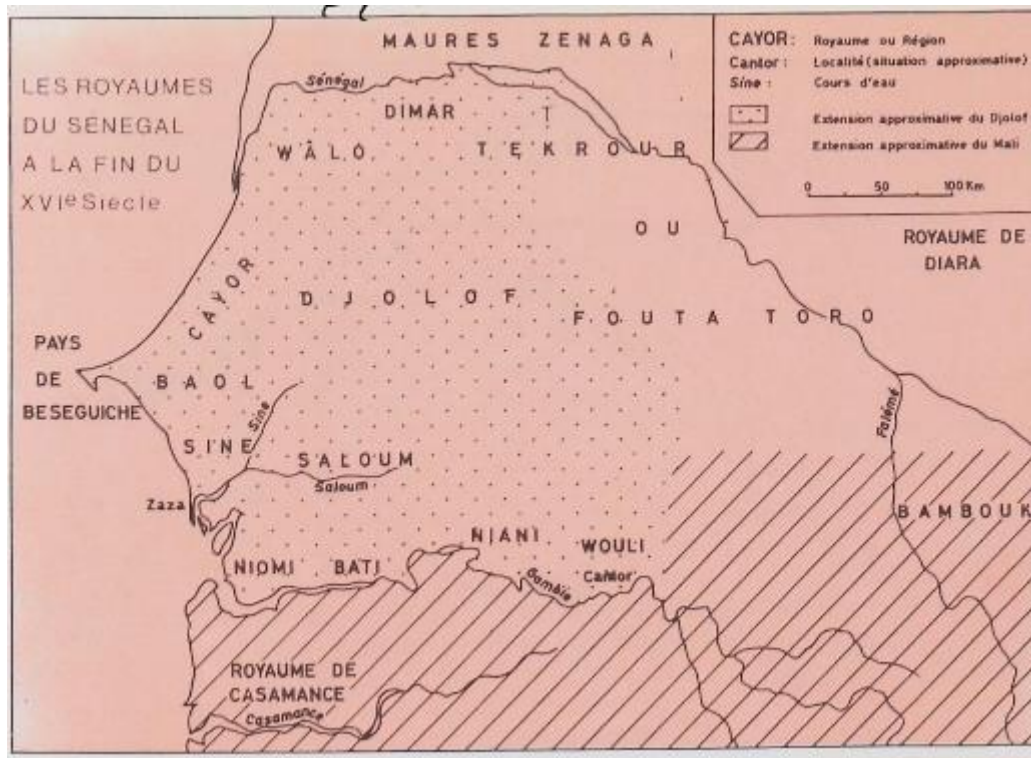


Figure 3. Les royaumes du Sénégal à la fin du XVIIe Siècle, in T.O. Bâ, S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., p. 19.

<sup>114</sup> T.O. Bâ, S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., pp. 18-19.

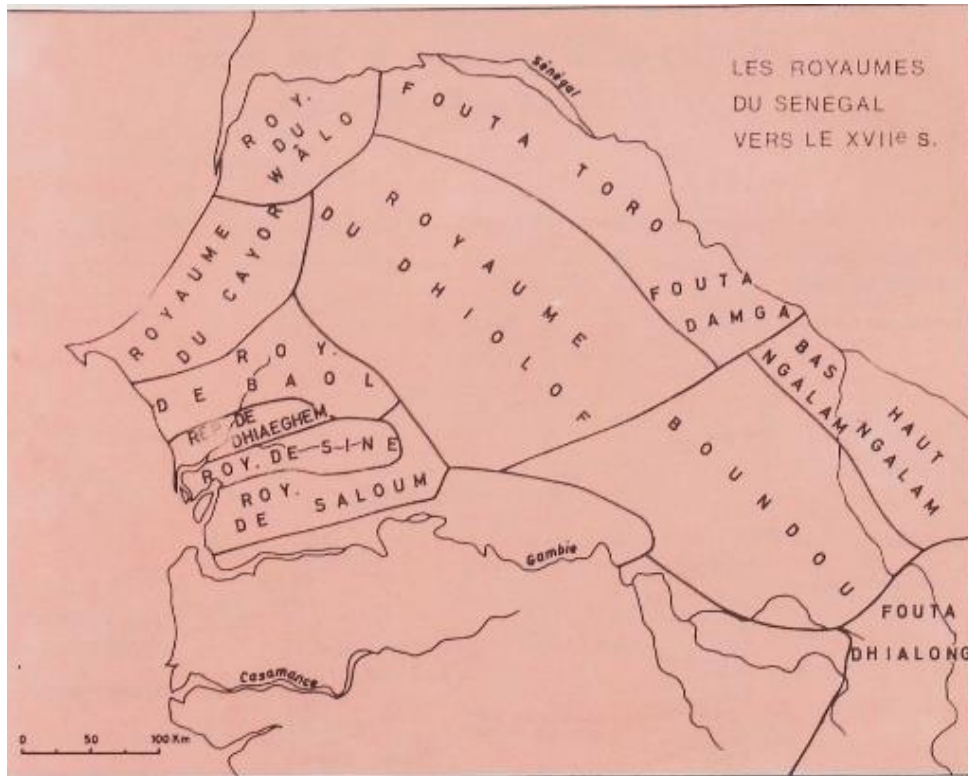


Figure 4. Les royaumes du Sénégal vers le XVIIe in T.O. Bâ, S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., p. 19.

The differences between these two regions and the rest of the country were taken up again in *Histoire du Sénégal. Cours élémentaire 2<sup>ème</sup> année*. One example will suffice: while resistance to French penetration in the kingdoms of Walo, Cayor and Djolof was defined as «Senegalese resistance»<sup>115</sup>, it was labelled as «national resistance» in Casamance and Senegal Oriental<sup>116</sup>. The authors themselves wrote that «In Eastern Senegal and Casamance there is a great diversity of peoples, languages and religions. Thus, each people constituted a small independent kingdom, often in conflict with the others. The French conqueror took advantage of this situation to impose himself»<sup>117</sup>.

As regards the timespan covered, the CE1 textbook began and ended with pre-colonial history and did not explain how Senegal came to form a single country out of a collection of kingdoms and ethnic groups. The authors skirted the issue, simply writing that «Our country has been inhabited since the earliest times. Serer, Ouolof, Peul, Toucouleur, Maure, Soninke, Manding, Diola, and other peoples came together to form the Senegalese people of today»<sup>118</sup>. On the contrary, the CE2 textbook took up again precolonial history but then reached up to the contemporary period. The colonial era was dealt with briefly, and the authors' assessment was in this case very nuanced: the Europeans

<sup>115</sup> S-M. Cissoko, T.O. Bâ, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., pp. 88-89.

<sup>116</sup> Ivi, p. 89.

<sup>117</sup> Ivi, p. 70.

<sup>118</sup> T.O. Bâ, S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., p. 16.



exploited the country's resources and subjugated its people, but there were also positive contributions: infrastructure, the growth of peanut cultivation, the construction of schools and hospitals<sup>119</sup>. The interwar period was the harshest one, as it was marked by «forced labour, confiscation of crops and livestock, imprisonment, and daily humiliation»<sup>120</sup>. The presentation of the independence process was particularly interesting because – contrary to what had been the case for the history of precolonial kingdoms and for the resistance – the authors gave up the top-down approach and emphasised instead the struggle of common people. The latter were organised in trade unions and parties – Lamine Gueye's Socialist Party and Senghor's Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais – and also driven by students and war veterans who «returned from France and Europe and explained to the population the need for independence as the surest way to improve the lives of the Senegalese»<sup>121</sup>. The importance of the Senegalese people was also illustrated graphically, with an image depicting the railwaymen's strike of 1947-1948.

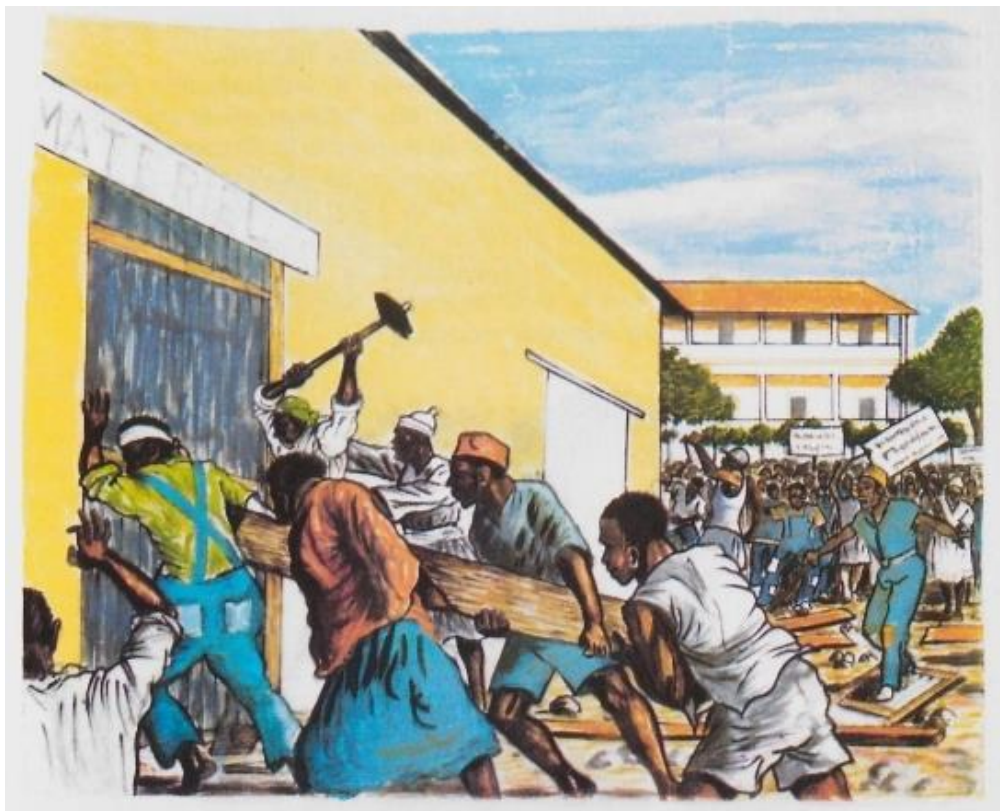


Figure 5. *Grève des cheminots en 1947-1948*, in S-M. Cissoko, T.O. Bâ, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., p. 83.

<sup>119</sup> S-M. Cissoko, T.O. Bâ, *Histoire du Sénégal*, cit., pp. 74-76.

<sup>120</sup> Ivi, p. 79.

<sup>121</sup> Ivi, p. 82.

A two-page chapter covered the country's history after independence. The authors only stated that, beginning with independence, «the government works to improve the lives of Senegalese, to build a modern Senegal»<sup>122</sup>. However, they only discussed the state's administrative and economic structures. There was no mention of the economic, political or social problems that occurred after 1960, thus omitting any element that might tarnish a positive image of the national past. This confirms the impression that had already emerged during the analysis of the syllabi: contemporary history was too sensitive to be mobilized in the construction of the nation; therefore, it was best overlooked or dealt with only cursorily.

### 2.3.2 *Bucking the trend: Présence Africain and the «sense of belonging to the same – African – community»*<sup>123</sup>

According to Kipré, state intervention in the publishing domain, which also occurred in other Francophone African countries at this time, was both the cause and the consequence of French publishing houses gradually losing interest in History at the primary level, as the market had been largely taken over by local publishers<sup>124</sup>. Nevertheless, this did not mean that textbooks for Francophone African countries disappeared altogether. On the contrary, both History textbooks conceived for a larger African market and written by African historians<sup>125</sup> and new reprint of books of colonial origin<sup>126</sup> continued to circulate in 1970s Senegal. All of these primary school textbooks were identical in every way – graphics, contents – to those produced in the 1960s, and there is therefore no need to examine them in detail. There is, however, an important exception: *Histoire de l'Afrique. Tronc commun. Cours Moyen*, the new textbook for the CM published by Présence Africaine. The authors, Djibril Dione and Sékéne Mody Cissoko, wrote in the introduction that the syllabus developed in the volume was formulated by the *Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache* (OCAM) secretariat in collaboration with the African Cultural Society and that it was aimed at CM students from the organization's member countries<sup>127</sup>. However, research to date has revealed that, in the 1960s, the African Interministerial Conferences had opted for a common curriculum only at the secondary school level, with primary school curricula being determined by

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<sup>122</sup> Ivi, p. 84.

<sup>123</sup> S-M. Cissoko, D. Dione, *Histoire de l'Afrique. Tronc commun. Cours Moyen*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1973, p. 2. On Cissoko see fn. 111.

<sup>124</sup> P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks*, cit., p. 13.

<sup>125</sup> It is the case, for example, of the textbook *Histoire de l'Afrique. Tronc commun. Cours Moyen* authored by the same Sekene Mody Cissoko and Djibril Dione and published by Présence Africaine in 1973.

<sup>126</sup> In 1973 a new reprint of J. Ernoult, *Autrefois en Afrique*, whose first edition dates back to 1964, was published by Les Classiques Africaines.

<sup>127</sup> S-M. Cissoko, D. Dione, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, cit., p. 2.

individual states. Furthermore, *Présence Africaine* published this text in 1973, a year after Senegal had issued its new History syllabus focused primarily on national history, an approach that *Histoire de l'Afrique. Tronc commun. Cours Moyen* rejected. The textbook, indeed, aspired to instil in young Africans a «sense of belonging to the same community», as this would have ushered in greater opportunities for cooperation<sup>128</sup>.

Since the primary syllabus to which Dione and Cissoko refer is unlikely ever to have seen the light of day, their textbook did not conform to the syllabus in use at the time of its compilation. Nonetheless, it is worth dwelling upon a couple of intriguing aspects, which distinguish *Histoire de l'Afrique. Tronc commun. Cours Moyen* from the other textbooks of this generation. To begin with, the authors gave a negative assessment of pre-colonial kingdoms, which, on the contrary, were very much extolled in Senegalese textbooks. According to the two authors, in the 17th and 18th centuries, tropical Africa saw the emergence of «a multitude of small independent kingdoms, generally dominated by a warrior aristocracy with little desire to maintain order». Their rise and *modus operandi* were partly the effect of the upheavals caused by the Atlantic trade and the arrival of Europeans<sup>129</sup>. Far from being a testimony of African political capabilities, these kingdoms – including the Djolof, Oualo, Cayor, and Fouta Toro kingdoms – were here recast as symbols of the continent's political insecurity<sup>130</sup>. It was this situation, according to the authors, that had favoured the successful penetration of western European countries, despite fierce resistance<sup>131</sup> and despite late attempts at unification brought about by the Islamic religion, such as those embodied by El Hadj Omar and the Peul states<sup>132</sup>.

Secondly, coming to a more recent period, the concluding chapter of the *Présence Africain* textbook – unlike “official” textbooks – did not eschew the discussion of the problems faced by independent Africa. One of the challenges identified by the authors was the slow emergence of a national sentiment on account of enduring tribal loyalties and caste considerations<sup>133</sup>. Although this was seen as a problem, the authors – faithful to the spirit that inspired the textbook – also emphasised the importance of looking beyond the borders of one's own countries:

The African states are in the same state of underdevelopment, with the same problems to solve: the formation of a solid nation, the fight against economic and cultural dominance. Small and poor, they can do nothing alone; but united, they form large groups capable of developing the many untapped resources and making their voices heard by the world's rich

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<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>129</sup> *Ivi*, p. 108.

<sup>130</sup> *Ivi*, p. 109. The Muslim state of Boundou is an exception in this regard.

<sup>131</sup> *Ivi*, p. 116.

<sup>132</sup> *Ivi*, p. 119.

<sup>133</sup> *Ivi*, p. 181.

nations. This has been recognised by African leaders. As a result, they worked to organise African unity and cooperation prior to and during the first years of independence<sup>134</sup>.

Once more, this pointed to the tendency of the most “anti-colonial” textbooks to disregard national units, favouring the supranational dimension.

### 2.3.3 The «famine of books»<sup>135</sup> strikes back: a self-published textbook

Despite the importance of the NEA initiative (see section 2.3.1), it should be borne in mind that the primary school curriculum of 1972 was reformed after only seven years of its application. In this case, however, no textbook was published in accordance with the new History syllabus. While this could be explained by the fact that the 1979 curriculum did not entail a profound reform of the contents, new publications would nonetheless have been necessary, especially because the new curriculum provided for the return to six years of primary schooling, instead of the five established by the 1972 reform. In the absence of official textbooks, teachers had to find solutions, and so they started to write and photocopy pedagogical materials on their own. One good example is the booklet *Notes d'histoire locale du Sénégal* written in 1980 by teacher Maurice Birane Ndour in compliance with the 1979 History syllabus. As the author himself stated in the introduction, the text was intended to provide teachers with the necessary documentation in the absence of local and national History textbooks for CE and CM. Furthermore, Ndour went on, in keeping with the spirit guiding the new syllabus, the emphasis of *Notes d'histoire locale du Sénégal* was to be on national history and its key figures<sup>136</sup>. However, because it did not cover all of the topics proposed, the textbook did not perfectly respond to the 1979 syllabus. In fact, *Notes d'histoire locale du Sénégal*, which was subdivided into four separate dossiers, was almost entirely concerned with the history of pre-colonial kingdoms<sup>137</sup>, beginning with Walo and Cayor, the subject of the first booklet, the only one we have been able to trace so far. Nonetheless, *Notes d'histoire locale du Sénégal* gives us a glimpse of the overall structure of this source, which was organised as follows: one introductory chapter on the social, political and administrative organisation of the reign, and then various chapters, each of which devoted to one Brak of the Walo or Damel of the Cayor. Their stories were told in an epic, almost fable-like tone, with

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<sup>134</sup> Ivi, p. 182.

<sup>135</sup> F. Wellot-Samba, M. M'baye, D. Guindo, *Le manuel Scolaire d'Enseignement Primaire*, cit., p. 6.

<sup>136</sup> M.B. Ndour, *Notes d'histoire locale du Sénégal I*, informally published work, 1980, pp. 1-2. Maurice Birane Ndour is a Senegalese dean and teacher.

<sup>137</sup> Walo and Cayor, fascicle one; Djolof, Sine and Saloum, fascicle two; Boundou, Rip, Gabou, Firdou, Gadiaga, fascicle three; Diola kingdoms of Casamance, Lebou Republic of Cape Verde, Senegal in the great empires, Fouta-Toro and the first governors of Senegal, fascicle four. Cfr. ivi, p. 7.

extensive use of local legends and special emphasis on kingly biographies, and dynastic and external wars. Thus, both precolonial kingdoms and “national heroes” from that period were confirmed as central element in the national discourse.

#### 2.3.4 *The chronic lack of History textbooks for secondary schools*

If the Senegalese government had intervened to partially address the lack of textbooks compliant with official syllabuses in primary schools, nothing similar had happened for secondary schools. In fact, no new textbook had been published in the aftermath of the issuing of the 1972 History syllabus<sup>138</sup>. And this critical situation would not be addressed in the following decades, either. Writing in 2008, Seck explained that in Senegal there were no textbooks for secondary schools published in compliance with the curricula adopted between 1978 and 2004<sup>139</sup>. The same point was made, one year later, by Bouna Timera<sup>140</sup>.

Therefore, in the absence of more updated textbooks, books compliant with the Tananarive curriculum continued to be reprinted and adopted in Senegal. This was all especially problematic if we consider that such textbooks were clearly inconsistent with the “nationalist” spirit that had inspired the 1971 school reform and the 1972 History syllabi, since they did not devote even a single chapter to national history. As a consequence, and despite Ministerial indications, Senegalese students were only exposed to national history in primary school.

### 2.4 The 1980s and 1990s. The continuing disparity between primary and secondary schools

#### 2.4.1 *National history takes roots in primary schools*

After the *États Généraux de l'Éducation et de la Formation* (EGEF, see section 1.3) and the implementation of the new pilot school curriculum in 1987, the Ministry of Education remained active in the editorial sector. Indeed, the ministerial document issued to present the *École Nouvelle* clearly stated that, in order to limit the number of imported textbooks, pedagogical material should be

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<sup>138</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 739.

<sup>139</sup> I. Seck, *Esclavage et traite des esclaves dans les manuels de l'enseignement secondaire du Sénégal*, «Afrika Zamani», 15.16, 2007, p. 108.

<sup>140</sup> M.B. Timera, *L'identité sénégalaise à travers la géographie scolaire*, cit, p. 235.

prepared at the national level and written by Senegalese professionals<sup>141</sup>. With this aim in mind, back in 1980, the government had already created the *Institut National d'Étude et d'Action pour le Développement de l'Éducation* (INEADE), charged with the task of assessing the contents of the textbooks and securing their development. This institute was at the heart of the policy aimed at bringing the elaboration of pedagogical materials back into Senegalese hands<sup>142</sup>.

Therefore, soon after the approval of the new curriculum in 1987, the Ministry commissioned INEADE to draft two new History textbooks for primary schools. Intended for the *deuxième* and *troisième étape*<sup>143</sup>, these would eventually be published in 1996. These textbooks complied with the new syllabus – taking up almost verbatim the topics proposed in the ministerial pedagogical guide – and with its pedagogical approach based on objectives. This is why they have a significantly reduced textual component, in favour of pictures, maps, timelines and exercises.

These textbooks were not the only one compliant with the teaching programmes. Indeed, almost in the same period, Les Classiques Africaines, a French publishing house specialized in books for Francophone Africa, issued a History textbook for the Senegalese *2e étape*, written by Senegalese historians and experts in education<sup>144</sup>. The authors stated in the introduction that the textbook adhered to both the 1979 and the *École Nouvelle* curricula, that is, the two curricula in effect at the same time in the Senegalese school, while adopting both the pedagogical approach by objectives and the contents' organisation of the latter.

In terms of contents, these textbooks progressed from the student's immediate environment to Senegalese and then African history. The evolution of social, religious, economic, political, and cultural institutions was covered in the *deuxième étape* textbooks of both INEADE and Les Classiques Africaines, albeit with some notable differences. The INEADE textbook presented the history of African socio-political institutions in a linear progression, from family to clan to tribe to kingdom, without mentioning the presence of ethnic groups<sup>145</sup>. On the other hand, the Les Classiques Africaines textbook wrote:

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<sup>141</sup> République du Sénégal, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, *L'École Nouvelle*, cit., p. 7.

<sup>142</sup> IDCJ, *Rapport d'analyse du secteur de l'éducation de base*, cit., p. 36.

<sup>143</sup> AA. VV., *Histoire 2<sup>e</sup> étape, cours élémentaire*, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale du Sénégal, Dakar-Vanves, INEADE-Edicef, 1996; AA. VV., *Histoire 3<sup>e</sup> étape cours moyen*, Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale du Sénégal, Dakar-Vanves, INEADE-Edicef, 1996. In this case, too, there is no indication of the authors. The only signatures on the book cover are INEADE and the Ministry of National Education. Cfr. M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 639. It should be noted that, despite the new curriculum provided for the introduction of History teaching from the *première étape*, no textbook has been found for this school level.

<sup>144</sup> S. Diagne, A.M. Camara, M.E.B Diop, A. Sow, M. Mbaye, *Histoire. Etape 2. CE1/CE2*, Versailles, Les Classiques Africains, 1995. In this case the authors are listed in the book cover and in the colophon their occupation is indicated. Sekhou Diagne is examiner and trainer at the *École Normale Supérieure* of Dakar (ENS, that is, the faculty responsible for the formation of secondary school teachers); Amadou Mamadou Camara is assistant professor of Geography at the ENS; Mohamed El Bachir Diop is Professor of History and Geography at the ENS; Abdoul Sow is assistant professor of History at the ENS; Moussa Mbaye is examiner and trainer at the ENS.

<sup>145</sup> AA.VV., *Histoire 2<sup>e</sup> étape*, cit., pp. 82-85.

In my village, society has progressed to the point where we no longer refer to tribes. People are identified by their ethnic group membership, which is a group of people who share a number of civilisational features, most notably a common language and culture<sup>146</sup>.

However, none of the books explained which is the difference between tribes and ethnic groups. Also, this latter entity was no longer mentioned in later developments: kingdoms, according to Les Classiques Africains authors, were formed by the initiative of a family head or an outside conqueror<sup>147</sup>. The most interesting passages, however, were those dedicated to the birth of the state and the nation, two entities that were presented as inextricably linked by the authors: «The nation is a group of peoples who, beyond their differences, agree to live together on the same territory. To achieve this, they need a State that is the expression of their will»<sup>148</sup>. They then repeatedly questioned the students about the various peoples that made up the Senegalese nation, implying that there is more than one. To emphasise this, they use Senghor's definition:

The nation is like a people animated by a common DESIRE FOR A COMMON LIFE beyond the differences of race, religion and social group... What makes the Nation is the willingness of diverse populations who are located on the same territory and who want to live together and build a community<sup>149</sup>.

The nation was thus presented as a project and a process – one which draws its strength from the will to build a common future – rather than as an innate unit or as something that had existed for centuries.

In accordance with the syllabus, national history was introduced in CE2 and dealt uniquely with Senegal's pre-colonial kingdoms – which were presented in general terms – and their most important protagonists. The INEADE authors began the chapter on those polities by stating that «in the past, Senegal was not a united country like today»<sup>150</sup>, but they did not go on to explain how this unity of different polities had actually been achieved. Rather, both textbooks insisted on connecting these kingdoms to modern-day Senegal, inviting students, for example, to draw the pre-colonial kingdoms on a map of 20th-century Senegal and indicate which kingdom their locality would have belonged to<sup>151</sup>. Moreover, the student was expected to work like a historian and write the history of his or her region's kingdom, identifying its main stages of development<sup>152</sup>. However, several points

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<sup>146</sup> S. Diagne, A.M. Camara, M.E.B Diop, A. Sow, M. Mbaye, *Histoire. Etape 2*, cit., p. 107.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>148</sup> *Ivi*, p. 109.

<sup>149</sup> L.S. Senghor, quoted in *ibidem*. Capital letters in the original.

<sup>150</sup> AA.VV., *Histoire 2<sup>e</sup> étape*, cit., p. 95.

<sup>151</sup> Cfr. *Ibidem* and S. Diagne, A.M. Camara, M.E.B Diop, A. Sow, M. Mbaye, *Histoire. Etape 2*, cit., p. 111.

<sup>152</sup> Cfr. AA.VV., *Histoire 2<sup>e</sup> étape*, cit., pp. 98-109 and S. Diagne, A.M. Camara, M.E.B Diop, A. Sow, M. Mbaye, *Histoire. Etape 2*, cit., pp. 113-123.

should be made about the coverage of this topic. To begin, it should be noted that, unlike the INEADE, *Les Classiques Africains* textbook placed a strong emphasis on ethnicity. Furthermore, the history of the kingdoms to the south and east was completely ignored in the textbooks. In fact, *Les Classiques Africains* authors only mentioned the Djolof empire and its subsequent disintegration, which resulted in the formation of a series of independent kingdoms. There was no mention of the rest of the country's history<sup>153</sup>. A similar point on the wolofization of the history of Senegal has been made by Abdoul Sow with respect to the INEADE textbook. Indeed, in that case, all the examples of royal power, the creation or disappearance of kingdoms as well as wars were drawn from the Wolof kingdoms: the Cayor, the Walo, the Djolof<sup>154</sup>. The marginalisation of difference was reinforced by the manner in which the authors presented Senegal's religions. The emphasis was almost entirely on Islam and Christianity, with animism given short shrift<sup>155</sup>. Finally, when discussing pre-colonial Senegalese kingdoms, *Les Classique Africains* authors wrote that the number of these kingdoms increased in the nineteenth century, and that different populations coexisted peacefully<sup>156</sup>. In reality, these kingdoms were frequently involved in dynastic succession struggles, inter-kingdom conflicts, and religious wars. In all likelihood, this "sterilization" of precolonial history served to paint a rosy picture of the country's past and to provide a historical example of how different ethnic groups lived together in the same kingdom.

The INEADE textbook for the *deuxième étape* then ended with the presentation of some of Senegalese «great historical figures»<sup>157</sup>, such as El Hadj Omar, Lat-Dior, Al Boury Ndiaye, Ndjeumbout Mbodj and Aline Sitoé Diatta<sup>158</sup>. A few words about the composition of this national pantheon are in order. First, it should be noted how its members hailed from different parts of Senegal. The inclusion of Aline Sitoé Diatta, whom the authors described as «a great patriot»<sup>159</sup>, stands out in this regard. Long overlooked in primary school textbooks, Diatta was now singled out as a symbol of the resistance to colonisation in Casamance. This new attention to Casamance was surely related to the fresh outbreak of armed rebellion in the region. According to Fall, it represented an attempt to co-opt a political movement, if not a charm campaign directed at the rebellion<sup>160</sup>. Since male characters dominated previous textbooks, the inclusion of two female figures – Ndjeumbout Mbodj and Aline Sitoé Diatta – in the national pantheon represented another significant innovation. Finally, with the

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<sup>153</sup> S. Diagne, A.M. Camara, M.E.B Diop, A. Sow, M. Mbaye, *Histoire. Etape 2*, cit., p. 113.

<sup>154</sup> M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., pp. 639-640.

<sup>155</sup> S. Diagne, A.M. Camara, M.E.B Diop, A. Sow, M. Mbaye, *Histoire. Etape 2*, cit., p. 126. The same point has been made by Sow for the INEADE textbook. Cfr. M.A. Sow, *L'enseignement de l'histoire*, cit., p. 639.

<sup>156</sup> S. Diagne, A.M. Camara, M.E.B Diop, A. Sow, M. Mbaye, *Histoire. Etape 2*, cit., p. 113.

<sup>157</sup> AA.VV., *Histoire 2<sup>e</sup> étape*, cit., p. 112.

<sup>158</sup> Ivi, pp. 112-121.

<sup>159</sup> Ivi, p. 121.

<sup>160</sup> A. Fall, *Schools and Nation in Senegal*, cit., p. 31.



exception of Ndjeumbeut Mbodj, who was a Waalo Lingeer, all of the figures mentioned in *Histoire 2è étape, cours élémentaire* were symbols of resistance to the French, a factor that was emphasised in order to elevate them from local characters tied to the history of individual kingdoms to national heroes.

The textbook for the *troisième étape*, on the other hand, covered the history of Francophone Africa from prehistory to independence, with special emphasis on Senegal, particularly when it came to pre-colonial history and resistance to colonisation. Concerning the first topic, the authors now devoted a lecture to each of these kingdoms. Each of these lectures provided a brief history of the relevant kingdom's region, highlighted its main events and personalities, described its administration and economy, and addressed its main political problems, such as dynastic wars or wars against neighbouring states<sup>161</sup>. The ethnic factor was rarely mentioned<sup>162</sup> in the history of these kingdoms, with the exception of the Sérère in Sine-Saloum<sup>162</sup> and the Peul kingdoms<sup>163</sup>. This confirmed the tendency of school syllabi and state-sponsored textbooks to deemphasise the ethnic factor, a possible catalyst of divisions, in favour of the geographical one. Indeed, the presentation of all of these kingdoms was accompanied by a current map of Senegal, on which the pre-colonial kingdoms' borders were marked. Also significant was the fact that the authors represented all regions of Senegal, correcting the traditional marginalisation of the eastern provinces and Casamance. Indeed, they described how the kingdoms of the latter region were similar to others in Senegalese territory<sup>164</sup>.

In keeping with the syllabus, the second topic, resistance to colonisation, was divided into armed and all other forms of resistance. The wars against French penetration led by Lat Dior, Alboury Ndiaye and Mamadou Lamine Dramé, in Senegal, and by Béhanzin, Samory and El Hadj Omar, in the broader in West African region, were included in the first group<sup>165</sup>. To the second category belonged all other forms of resistance practised both during and after the colonial conquest: guerrilla warfare by populations who were not part of organised kingdoms and thus did not have an army; flight from territories occupied by the French; refusal to be conscripted into the colonial army and hand over the harvest to the French; religious resistance<sup>166</sup>. However, the authors devoted almost all of the relevant chapter's attention to a few Muslim religious leaders<sup>167</sup>, overlooking any other form

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<sup>161</sup> AA.VV., *Histoire 3è étape*, cit., pp. 30-47. The chapters are: Tekroun and Fouta Toro kingdoms, Djolof, Walo, Cayor, Baol, Sine and Saloum kingdoms, Haute-Gambie and Eastern Senegal kingdoms (Nani, Wouli, Goye, Kaméra, Noundou, Gadiaga, Niokolo, Bademba, Badon, Bélédougou, Sirimana, Dantila), Casamance kingdoms (Kassa and Gaabou) and Peul kingdoms.

<sup>162</sup> Ivi, p. 41.

<sup>163</sup> Ivi, pp. 46-47.

<sup>164</sup> Ivi, p. 45.

<sup>165</sup> AA.VV., *Histoire 3è étape*, cit., pp. 70-81.

<sup>166</sup> Ivi, p. 85.

<sup>167</sup> They are: Ahmadou Bamba, who founded the Mouride brotherhood; El-Hadji Malick Sy, who spread the Tijani brotherhood in Senegal; Seydina Limamou Laye, who founded the Layene brotherhood. Cfr. Ivi, pp. 86-91.

of religious resistance that had taken place in Africa<sup>168</sup>. This imbalance, which could be traced back to the Islamization of Senegalese history, was partially rectified by the introduction of Aline Sitoé Diatta, a Casamance heroine, the only one to led a genuine passive resistance to French dominance, and an advocate of a return to Africa’s ancestral values and religion, as well as equality between men and women<sup>169</sup>.

The presentation of the colonial era and the process of independence were also primarily presented from the perspective of French-speaking Africa. It should be noted, however, that the authors gave a negative assessment of France’s action, making no mention of any of the ostensible “benefits” of colonisation. Furthermore, the decolonization process was portrayed as extremely confrontational, with France attempting to maintain its dominance over the colonies in any way possible, including through violence, as evidenced by the massacre of African veterans in Thiaroye<sup>170</sup>, which thus made it first appearance in a Senegalese History textbook. Reforms were only possible due to the efforts of African deputies elected to the French parliament, as well as domestic trade unions and political parties<sup>171</sup>. Tellingly, one of the various exercises assigned to students involved the compilation of short biographies of the four leading politicians shown on in figure 5.



Figure 6. Roger Viollet, *Hamadou Lamine Guèye; Léopold Sédar Senghor; Galandou Diouf; Blaise Diagne*, in AA.VV., *Histoire 3<sup>e</sup> étape*, cit., p. 107.

Despite dedicating an entire lesson to Senegal’s independence and the failure of the Mali Federation, no mention was made of the country’s history after independence. The only reference was to be found in a final section of exercises in which students were asked to place the major events of twentieth-century Senegalese history on a timeline. They were asked to indicate the time when Senghor was President of the Republic and the time when his successors, the names of whom were

<sup>168</sup> M.A. Sow, *L’enseignement de l’histoire*, cit., p. 646.

<sup>169</sup> AA.VV., *Histoire 3<sup>e</sup> étape*, cit., pp. 92-93.

<sup>170</sup> Ivi, p. 109.

<sup>171</sup> Ibidem.

requested, became Presidents<sup>172</sup>. Thus, once again, Senegalese students ended primary school ignoring the most recent history of their country.

#### 2.4.2 A new supranational collection for secondary school

As previously discussed, in Senegal there were no History textbooks for secondary schools compliant with the syllabi issued after 1967. This, of course, widened the gap that existed between the prescribed syllabus and classroom realities in terms both learning methods and contents<sup>173</sup>.

At the end of the 1990s, a series was published by Hatier which comprised four new textbooks for the lower-secondary classes of Francophone Africa<sup>174</sup>. Given its chronological framework and global approach, the series' main reference seemed to have been the Tananarive curriculum. However, unlike some previous History collections published in the 1960s, the Hatier 1990s series made a clear break from colonial-style narration and falsification – both of which were exposed – and distanced itself from Eurocentric periodization. «History», the authors wrote in the first chapter of the 6e textbook,

can also be divided into different **periods**: the Middle Ages, the slave trade, the colonial period. But these periods are not the same for all regions of the world, which are not affected by the same events and do not develop in the same way [...]. This year, we will study Prehistory and the first period of History (from 3500 BC to 600 AD): for the countries around the Mediterranean, this first period is called Antiquity (antique means ancient); for Africa, the historian Raymond Mauny speaks of «**obscure centuries**», because the history of the continent at that time is still imperfectly known<sup>175</sup>.

This premise was important not only because it relativised historical periodisation, but also because the authors admitted that there was not enough evidence to reconstruct the history of sub-Saharan Africa before the sixth century, a point often omitted by other textbooks. Indeed, one of the main characteristics of this series was that the authors often insisted on the different kind of sources available for the study of African history in its different stages<sup>176</sup>. A second notable feature was the series' focus on social rather than political history. This is particularly evident in the chapters dealing

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<sup>172</sup> Ivi, p. 115.

<sup>173</sup> P. Kipré, *Critical Review of History Textbooks*, cit., p. 10.

<sup>174</sup> S. Le Callennec (ed.), *Histoire 6<sup>ème</sup>*, Paris, Hatier, 1992; S. Le Callennec (ed.), *Histoire 5<sup>ème</sup>*, Paris, Hatier, 1993; S. Le Callennec (ed.), *Histoire 4<sup>ème</sup>*, Paris, Hatier, 1994; S. Le Callennec (ed.), *Histoire 3<sup>ème</sup>*, Paris, Hatier, 1995. Sophie Le Callennec (French professor of History and Geography), whose name is listed in the colophon, is the editor of this series, entitled *L'Afrique et le monde*. The authors are not explicitly mentioned, but simply indicated under the label «par une équipe d'enseignants africains».

<sup>175</sup> S. Le Callennec (ed.), *Histoire 6<sup>ème</sup>*, cit., p. 15. Boldface in the original.

<sup>176</sup> S. Le Callennec (ed.), *Histoire 5<sup>ème</sup>*, Paris, Hatier, 1993, pp. 44-45.

with resistance to colonial penetration: the focus was not so much on the leaders of the resistance wars, but more on passive popular resistance both during and after the colonial conquest<sup>177</sup>. Similarly, the pursuit of independence was attributed to the agency of African people, led by local élite, despite the resistance of European powers<sup>178</sup>. It should be noted, however, that the authors did very little to problematize the concept of nation in the African context. They only referred to this topic in the last chapter of the 3e textbook, when dealing with OAU. Here the authors wrote that

Article 3 of the OAU Charter recognised the intangibility of the borders inherited from colonisation, which were however ill-adapted to the geographical, historical and ethnic realities of Africa: some peoples are divided between several countries and some countries have a mosaic of peoples. But this recognitions [sic] of borders was the indispensable starting point for promoting peace between the various states<sup>179</sup>.

Though brief and undeveloped, this comment is important: with it, the authors divested the nation-state of its supposedly intrinsic value and rather attributed its emergence and maintenance to contingent factors.

Senegalese history was almost completely absent from the Hatier series. The only mentions dealt with are: the diffusion of Islam in the Tekrour<sup>180</sup>; the first French *comptoirs*<sup>181</sup>; the birth of Peul kingdoms such as the Fouta Toro and its evolution over time<sup>182</sup>; the dislocation of the Djolof and the birth of independent kingdoms<sup>183</sup>; and, finally, the achievement of independence with the short-lived Mali Federation<sup>184</sup>. The authors also made brief mention of some of the figures listed in the Senegalese syllabus as national heroes. However, the latter were depicted in slightly different terms. For example, El Hadj Omar was described not so much as a resistance fighter but as one of the Muslim protagonists of the so called «Peul renewal» of the nineteenth century<sup>185</sup>. Indeed, both he and Samory clashed with the French as they were carrying out *jihād*<sup>186</sup>. Among the most recent Senegalese leaders the authors only quoted Lamine Senghor<sup>187</sup> and Léopold Sedar Senghor<sup>188</sup>. Finally, it should be noted how, despite being a collection dating to the 1990s, the authors did not deal with postcolonial African

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<sup>177</sup> S. Le Calennec (ed.), *Histoire 3<sup>ème</sup>*, cit., p. 54.

<sup>178</sup> Ivi, p. 114.

<sup>179</sup> Ivi, p. 150.

<sup>180</sup> Ivi, p. 106.

<sup>181</sup> Ivi, p. 42.

<sup>182</sup> Ivi, pp. 70 and 78.

<sup>183</sup> Ivi, p. 84.

<sup>184</sup> Ivi, p. 118.

<sup>185</sup> Ivi, p. 152.

<sup>186</sup> Ivi, p. 52.

<sup>187</sup> Ivi, p. 82.

<sup>188</sup> Ivi, pp. 114 and 118-119.

history, only presenting its supranational organisations<sup>189</sup>, thus confirming the chronic marginalisation of contemporary history.

The publication of this new series of textbooks certainly constituted a step forward, as textbooks free of any stereotyping and colonial distortions were now made available to young Senegalese. However, by not conforming to the current syllabus, it only widened the gap that already existed between ministerial instructions and the contents actually conveyed in the classroom. This was particularly evident when it came to national history, which had assumed an increasing role in the Senegalese syllabus, while it was almost completely absent from this collection.

## 2.5 The declining role of History teaching in the twenty-first century

### 2.5.1 *Central narratives in a marginalized context: precolonial kingdoms and resistance in new primary school textbooks*

In 2012, the Senegalese government made a commitment to provide textbooks to children when it generalized the CEB in all primary schools<sup>190</sup>. This curriculum overhaul prompted publishing houses to create up to 62 titles, including skills booklets, pedagogical guides, workbooks and exercise books, covering all the subjects in the new curriculum. These materials were distributed free of charge to schools (which were responsible for their command), although there were disparities in their distribution between different schools and classes<sup>191</sup>. Among the new History publications in compliance with the official syllabus there are series edited both by Senegalese publishing houses – Didactikos, EENAS, Harmattan Sénégal – and by French ones, such as Les Classiques Africaines and Hachette. However, a basic survey of the websites of some Senegalese bookshops specialised in school supplies shows that old textbooks – compliant with the 1987 and even with the 1972 curriculum – still continue to circulate<sup>192</sup>. The most important novelty introduced by these new

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<sup>189</sup> Ivi, pp. 150-151.

<sup>190</sup> RS, MFEEF, MEN, MESR, MFCAA, *PAQUET*, cit., p. 121.

<sup>191</sup> C. Fam, *Réforme de l'école ou réformes à l'école?*, cit., p. 47.

<sup>192</sup> It is the case, for example of the textbooks T.O. Bâ, S-M. Cissoko, *Histoire du Sénégal. Cours élémentaire 1<sup>ère</sup> année*, Dakar-Abidjan, Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1973; S-M. Cissoko, T.O. Bâ, *Histoire du Sénégal. Cours élémentaire 2<sup>ème</sup> année*, Dakar-Abidjan, Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1974, published in compliance with the 1972 syllabus, and *Histoire 2<sup>e</sup> étape, cours élémentaire*. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale du Sénégal, Dakar-Vanves, INEADE-Edicef, 1996; *Histoire 3<sup>e</sup> étape cours moyen*. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale du Sénégal, Dakar-Vanves, INEADE-Edicef, 1996, compliant with the 1987 syllabus. See the website Librairie Papeterie Le Senegal, *Primaire – Histoire-Géographie – NEAS*, <https://www.lps.sn/rayon/8/42/histoire-geographie-neas> and id., *Primaire-Histoire-Géographie – EDICEF*, <https://www.lps.sn/rayon/8/43/histoire-geographie-edicef> (04/10/2022).

textbooks was that, in line with the curriculum, History was no longer taught as a stand-alone subject. Rather, it was integrated in ESVS and, in particular, in its first sub-domain: «Discovery of the world». This integration also meant that the new textbooks had to allocate less space to History, as it was now combined with Geography and an Introduction to Science and Technology within this interdisciplinary framework.

To assess how the new syllabuses were conveyed through these textbooks, manuals from Hachette and Harmattan Senegal were examined. Hachette's publications strictly followed the topics outlined in the corresponding syllabuses. For example, in CE1, students learned about the concept of time and place in history, and studied the history of their immediate surroundings, including family, school, neighbourhood, village and municipality, as well as some key figures and events related to these entities. Two notable points should be highlighted in this regard. Firstly, when researching their village or neighbourhood, students were asked not only to present on local holidays, festivities and social organization, but also on the main ethnic groups. This indicated an acknowledgment of the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the Senegalese people<sup>193</sup>, thus marking a break with previous generations' textbooks. Secondly, when presenting the «*vestiges du passé local*» (remnants of the local past), students were given the example of the *Maison des esclaves* in Gorée<sup>194</sup>. This meant that even though national history was not yet part of the syllabus at this level, one of the most significant national sites of memory and historical events, related to the slave trade, was introduced. Insofar as the general textbook's structure is concerned, it should be noted that although it employed a competency-based and investigative approach to teaching history, it encountered a contradiction similar to that found in the syllabus. Indeed, on the one hand, the textbook emphasized students conducting their own research, reducing the importance of the textual part. On the other hand, it still focused predominantly on key figures and events<sup>195</sup>.

In the CE2 textbook, which was also entirely consistent with the syllabus, there was a shift in focus from the student's immediate surroundings to pre-colonial national history. In the first part of the book, students explored the concept of progress by examining the evolution of productive activities (including hunting, farming, and agriculture), as well as social and cultural activities (such as art, religion, clothing) and the significant events and personalities related to their environment. As regards this latter point, the textbook continued to emphasize battles, kings, queens and heroes, but it also introduced a more diverse range of figures and events, including ceremonies, catastrophes, *chefs*

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<sup>193</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire. Éducation à la Science et à la Vie Sociale. Sous-domaine 1. Découverte du monde. Deuxième étape CE1. Manuel de l'élève, Histoire-Géographie-Initiation scientifique et technologique*, Dakar, Fermon Éditions/Hachette Livre International, 2018 [2014], p. 61. Talla Faye and Mamadou Faye are indicated as «inspecteurs de l'Enseignement élémentaire». On Moussa Mbaye see fn. 144.

<sup>194</sup> Ivi, p. 62.

<sup>195</sup> Ivi, p. 106.

*coutoumiers*, religious personalities and artists<sup>196</sup>. This broader perspective reflected an effort to provide a more comprehensive view of history beyond mere military and political aspects. One notable aspect of the textbook was its commitment to maintaining an ethnic and geographical balance, one of the stipulations of the syllabus. This was evident in the inclusion of photographs and examples featuring various ethnic groups and regions. For instance, the textbook showed images of ancient weaponry found in the Saint-Louis area, information about the stone circles of Senegambia, an account of the Battle of Boundou, and profiles of figures like Ndaté Yalla, the queen of Walo. Additionally, it provided a description of Wolof dwellings as they were in the 19th century<sup>197</sup>.

In the subsequent units, students delve deeper into the study of pre-colonial history. It is worth emphasizing that, in keeping with the phrasing used in the syllabus, the Hachette authors referred to this period as «the organization of Senegal before independence», effectively excluding the colonial era from the national historical narrative. Following the syllabus' guidance closely, the pre-colonial kingdoms were divided into two distinct groups. The first group included the northern and central kingdoms, encompassing the Grand Djoloff, Cayor, Baol, Walo, Sine and Saloum. The second group focused on the southern kingdoms, which comprised Gabou, the Diola, Mandingue and Peuls kingdoms, as well as the kingdom of Ugoye and Boundou. For each of these political entities, the textbooks provided information about key historical events, as well as social and political characteristics, along with introductions to notable figures<sup>198</sup>. Moreover, as was the case in the 1990s textbooks, this new Hachette publication superimposed the borders of precolonial kingdoms onto maps of modern-day Senegal, thus creating a visual continuum between precolonial and postcolonial history of the region. However, contrary to what had been the case with INEADE textbooks, which tended to downplay the ethnic factor, here the authors distinguished between “northern-central” and “southern” kingdoms along geographical, ethnic and religious lines. Notably, while the first group of kingdoms (with the exception of Sine and Saloum) was presented as ethnically and religiously “neutral”, when addressing the second group, the authors provided detailed information about their ethnic and religious composition<sup>199</sup>. Finally, because this topic marked the conclusion of the textbook, it followed that, in line with the syllabus, national history at the CE level primarily encompassed the history of precolonial kingdoms.

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<sup>196</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire. Éducation à la Science et à la Vie Sociale. Sous-domaine 1. Découverte du monde. Deuxième étape CE2. Manuel de l'élève, Histoire-Géographie-Initiation scientifique et technologique*, Dakar, Fermon Éditions/Hachette Livre International, 2022 [2014], pp. 17-19.

<sup>197</sup> Ivi, pp. 12-18.

<sup>198</sup> Ivi, pp. 72-93.

<sup>199</sup> Ivi, pp. 81-93.

The temporal scope widened in CM1 textbooks. In the first part of the Hachette book, students studied prehistory<sup>200</sup>, while, in the second part, after a brief overview of Senegal's pre-colonial history<sup>201</sup>, pupils studied the first contacts with Arabs and Europeans and their consequences. However, the Harmattan textbook took a slightly different approach. Unlike the Hachette books, it did not strictly adhere to the syllabus. Notably, it skipped the general overview of Senegalese pre-colonial political organization and instead delved into the histories of specific local kingdoms, introduced by two brief chapters on the evolution of African societies. Here Sissokho described their structure, from the family unit to the clan (an extended family), tribe (a group of clans with a common language) and kingdom (a grouping of different tribes). The author then ended the chapter by stating that «today there are many Nation States in Arica», but he did not explain how the transition from kingdom to modern state had come about, nor did he include ethnic groups in this framework<sup>202</sup>. When discussing Senegalese kingdoms, the book dedicated one chapter each to Djolof, Cayor, Waalo, Sine and Saloum, and Baol, with one chapter encompassing «the kingdoms of Upper Gambia and Eastern Senegal»<sup>203</sup>. In this context, it is evident that the balanced representation of kingdoms found in the Hachette CE2 textbook was not replicated, and that the Harmattan author reverted to the older practice of marginalizing the history of southern and eastern Senegal when discussing precolonial kingdoms. This marginalisation was further reinforced by a map included at the end of the unit that even cuts out Senegalese southern border.

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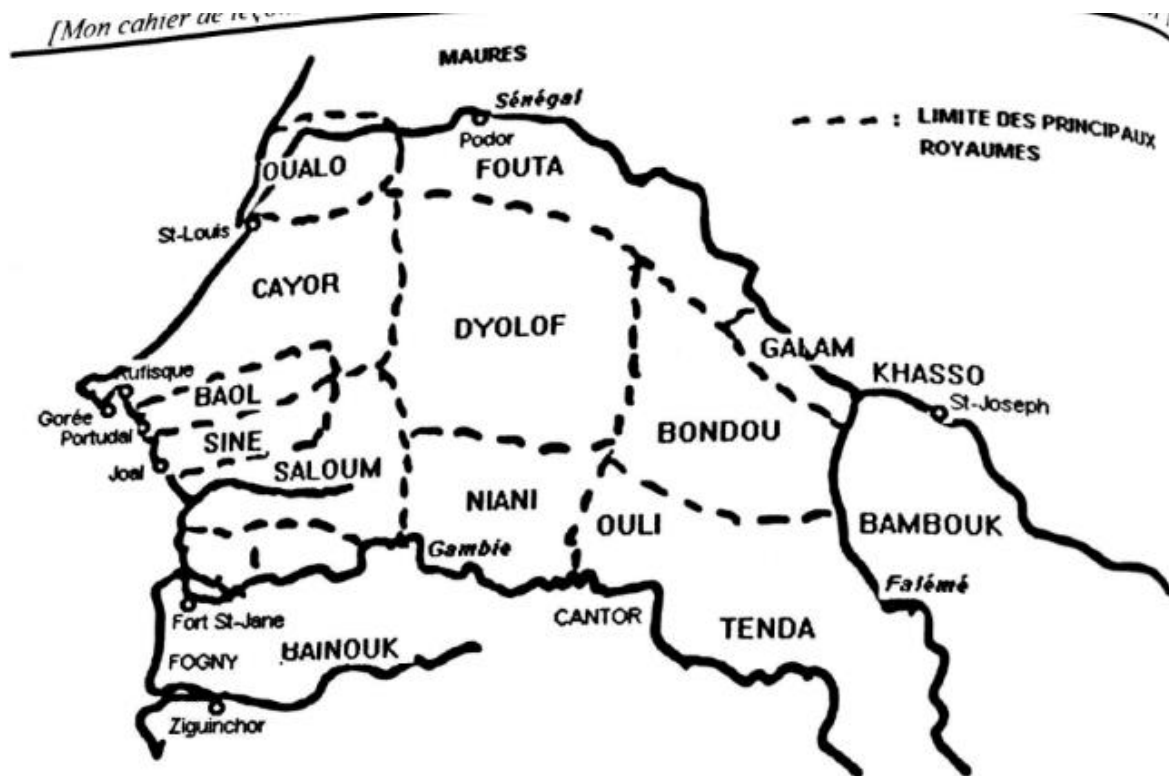
<sup>200</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire. Éducation à la Science et à la Vie Sociale. Sous-domaine 1. Découverte du monde. Troisième étape CM1. Manuel de l'élève, Histoire-Géographie-Initiation scientifique et technologique*, Dakar, Fermon Éditions/Hachette Livre International, 2017 [2015], pp. 8-15.

<sup>201</sup> Ivi, pp. 46-47. Here the authors simply summarized the topics already addressed in the CE2 textbook.

<sup>202</sup> O. Sissokho, *Mon cahier de leçons. Éducation à la Science et à la Vie Sociale (E.S.V.S), CM1/CM2*, Dakar, L'Harmattan-Senegal, 2019, pp. 20-21. Ousmane Sissokho is a Senegalese teacher.

<sup>203</sup> Ivi, pp. 21-23.





Carte 1: Les royaumes anciens

Figure 7. *Les royaumes anciens*, in O. Sissokho, *Mon cahier de leçons*, cit., p. 24.

Both the Hachette and Harmattan textbooks delved into the causes and consequences of contacts with Arabs and Europeans. Concerning the Arabs, the Hachette book credited them with spreading Islam and Arab culture and customs in Africa, initiating trade with sub-Saharan kingdoms, but also with for introducing the slave trade to the region<sup>204</sup>. Regarding the Europeans, the authors discussed the initial trade interactions with Africans, the establishment of trading posts, and the beginnings of the Atlantic slave trade and the devastating impact it had on Senegalese kingdoms and societies. The Hachette textbook briefly addressed the establishment of French domination in Senegal, mentioning that it occurred not only through peaceful means but also through wars, particularly those led by Faidherbe. The authors also provided a concise explanation of how the country was reorganized under French rule, how its administration functioned, and how Senegalese resources were exploited to benefit the French<sup>205</sup>. In contrast, the Harmattan textbook, while covering the same topics, dedicated much more space to the consequences of contacts with Europeans, particularly evident in its three chapters on the Atlantic slave trade<sup>206</sup>.

<sup>204</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire... CMI*, cit., pp. 48-51.

<sup>205</sup> Ivi, pp. 52-55.

<sup>206</sup> O. Sissokho, *Mon cahier de leçons*, cit., pp. 25-26.

In the concluding sections of the textbooks, both Hachette and Harmattan addressed the resistance to colonization and the journey toward independence. In line with the syllabus, the colonial era was almost entirely omitted from Senegal’s national history in these CM1 textbooks. In the Hachette publication the colonial period was condensed into a single-page within the chapter on the contacts with Europeans. Indeed, it was mostly looked at by way of contrast, presenting only the resistance to colonialism, emphasizing the efforts of specific “national heroes”. Indeed, as the Hachette authors wrote when introducing this topic: «In Senegal, French colonisation encountered fierce resistance from certain States and populations»<sup>207</sup>. They underlined the patriotic spirit that permeated this chapter by incorporating extensive visual elements. Alongside images of these “national heroes” who played pivotal roles in resisting French colonization, the textbooks employed illustrations that seemed to portray a triumphant armed struggle by the Senegalese people.



Figure 8. S. ndar Cissé, J.-L. Maniouloux, *Lat Dior Diop contre les Français*, in T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire... CM1*, cit., p. 58.

In the Hachette textbook, the pantheon of national heroes aligned with the figures mentioned in the syllabus. These figures originated from various regions of Senegal, including Casamance, and most of them were Muslim. Religion appeared to be a pivotal factor in their resistance to European penetration, and in many cases, their struggles against the French were intertwined with the *jihad*

<sup>207</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire... CM1*, cit., p. 56.

movements these Senegalese figures were leading<sup>208</sup>. The religious dimension continued to play a significant role even after Senegal became a French colony. When discussing Senegalese spiritual and cultural resistance, particularly embodied by Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacké, the Hachette authors emphasized that «a great deal of resistance to colonisation was based on Islam and the desire of Muslims not to be dominated by foreigners who risked imposing their religion on them»<sup>209</sup>. The Harmattan textbook also dedicated a chapter to El Hadj Malick Sy, recognizing him as one of the leaders of peaceful resistance in Senegal<sup>210</sup>. However, a notable contrast emerged regarding the recognition of figures from eastern and southern Senegal in the armed struggle for independence. Despite being specified in the syllabus, the Harmattan textbook omitted these figures (notably Fodé Kaba, but also Maba Diakhou Bâ), focusing instead on leaders from Western African regions such as Behanzin, Samory Touré, and Rabah<sup>211</sup>.

Furthermore, both textbooks explored the civic, political, and trade union forms of resistance. They discussed the formation of political parties and trade unions, the organization of strikes, and the contributions of intellectuals like Guèye and Senghor. Notably, Aline Sitoé Diatta from Casamance was highlighted as a heroine for her resistance against French domination and her dedication to preserving traditional religions and customs<sup>212</sup>. She stood out as the sole woman and non-Muslim figure included in the national pantheon of both Hachette and Harmattan textbooks. However, it is essential to underline that, despite the strong emphasis on resistance to colonization, the CM1 textbooks did not address the actual achievement of independence. This crucial period of Senegal's history was not covered in these textbooks.

Regarding the CM2 textbooks, there were notable differences between the Hachette and Harmattan publications in terms of both contents and approach. The Hachette textbook followed closely the syllabus, adopting a thematic and concentric approach, and it thus expanded both the temporal and spatial scope of the subject matter. It began with the history of West African empires such as Ghana, Mali, and Gao<sup>213</sup>. It then explored the causes and consequences of contacts with Arabs and Europeans<sup>214</sup>. While these topics were touched upon in CM1, the CM2 book provided a more in-depth examination, now referring to Africa as a whole rather than just Senegal. For instance, more

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<sup>208</sup> Ivi, pp 56-59. This is the case for example of El Hadj Oumar Tall and Ahmadou Cheikou, Fodé Kaba Doumbouya, and Maba Diakhou Bâ.

<sup>209</sup> Ivi, p. 60.

<sup>210</sup> O. Sissokho, *Mon cahier de leçons*, cit., pp. 27-28.

<sup>211</sup> Ivi, pp. 28-32.

<sup>212</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire... CM1*, cit., p. 62.

<sup>213</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire. Éducation à la Science et à la Vie Sociale. Sous-domaine 1. Découverte du monde. Troisième étape CM2. Manuel de l'élève, Histoire-Géographie-Initiation scientifique et technologique*, Dakar, Fermon Éditions/Hachette Livre International, 2018 [2015], pp. 8-13. To these, the Harmattan author, added two chapter on ancient Egypt. See: O. Sissokho, *Mon cahier de leçons*, cit., pp. 87-90.

<sup>214</sup> T. Faye, M. Mbaye, M. Faye, *Enseignement élémentaire... CM2*, cit., pp. 14-17 and 46-51.

space was devoted to scientific discoveries and to the role played by European explorers<sup>215</sup>. Importantly, the textbook included a specific chapter on colonization, a topic that was only briefly mentioned in earlier grades. The authors maintained here their anti-colonial perspective, highlighting how European powers often seized control through warfare and how they exploited African resources for their own profit. Even when discussing the supposed “benefits” of colonization, like the construction of railways and schools, the authors emphasized the negative aspects, such as the use of African forced labour and the schools’ role in training colonial officers. The chapter also explained how Africans – «particularly the Senegalese» – fought against colonial rule and for independence. However, like in previous grades, the attainment of independence was not addressed<sup>216</sup>. Indeed, the last historical chapter addressed scientific and technological developments in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>217</sup>.

The Harmattan textbook took up a different approach. It skipped the topic of contacts with Arabs and focused solely on Europeans, but it did so in much greater detail. Similar to the Hachette textbook, Harmattan placed European domination in a broader context that included scientific discoveries and exploration voyages (here the author took up the unfamous expression «discovery of the world»)<sup>218</sup>. Notably, Harmattan delved deeply into the colonization process, with chapters on the Berlin Conference, the colonial administration, and the involvement of colonies in both World Wars<sup>219</sup>. Additionally, the textbook covered the institutional changes that eventually led to Senegal’s independence, such as the Brazzaville Conference and the 1958 referendum<sup>220</sup>, thus filling the gap left opened by both the syllabus and the Hachette book. Finally, one last chapter was specifically devoted to Senegalese independence. Here Sissokho stated that «**Senegalese politicians** – Blaise Diagne, Galandou Diouf, Lamine Gueye and Léopold Sédar Senghor – played a decisive role in the fight for independence»<sup>221</sup>. Each of these figures is given a short political biography<sup>222</sup>.

Despite these differences, both textbooks confirmed the absence of post-colonial history, which had long been a characteristic of Senegalese History textbooks. In the Hachette textbook, national history effectively ended before 1960, as it did not cover the attainment of independence. This is concerning, particularly in a context where history has already diminished in importance due to its integration into the ESVS curriculum. As a result, the teaching of History, especially national

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<sup>215</sup> Ivi, pp. 44-45 and 48-49.

<sup>216</sup> Ivi, pp. 52-53.

<sup>217</sup> Ivi, pp. 54-57. These topics were included at the end of Harmattan textbook, too, together with a chapter on capitalism in Europe. See: O. Sissokho, *Mon cahier de leçons*, cit., pp. 97-98.

<sup>218</sup> O. Sissokho, *Mon cahier de leçons*, cit., pp. 90-91.

<sup>219</sup> Ivi, pp. 93-95.

<sup>220</sup> Ivi, pp. 95-96.

<sup>221</sup> Ivi, p. 96. Boldface in the original.

<sup>222</sup> Ivi, pp. 96-97.

history, which has seen a significant reduction in its allocated space, ultimately centred primarily on the pre-colonial kingdoms and the resistance to colonization led by specific historical figures.

### 2.5.2 Secondary school: the domain of self-produced materials

The activism on the part of the Ministry in the editorial domain was not confined to primary school, at least in its intentions. Indeed, the document for the second phase of the PDEF stated that a policy of designing and producing secondary school textbooks should be developed so that every student would receive five textbooks, one for each core subjects (French, Maths, English, Physics, *Sciences de la Vie et de la Terre*); in this scheme of things, History and Geography textbooks would have been made available in 2005-2006<sup>223</sup>. The same policy was confirmed by the PAQUET<sup>224</sup>. In spite of the absence of specific data on History textbooks, it is safe to assume that the goal was far from being achieved. Indeed, the national ratio textbook-student is around 2.1 textbooks per student in the 6e, 5e and 4e, and 2.5 in the 3e, the best equipped class<sup>225</sup>.

These figures, however, masked the continuing problem affecting History textbooks. As has already been pointed out, there are, at present, no textbooks in circulation that reflect the most recent syllabus, nor – indeed – *any* syllabus issued after 1967. The textbooks that circulate in History classrooms are either those edited by French publishing houses or those belonging to the newer Hatier collection issued in the 1990s<sup>226</sup>. To these may be added more recent French History textbooks – edited by Belin, Magnard, Nathan and Hachette – compliant with the 2011 and 2016 French History-Geography syllabus<sup>227</sup>.

The chronic absence of textbooks compliant with official syllabi has meant that secondary school teachers have had to rely once again on palliative solutions, especially self-produced booklets or unofficially published works. One good example is the series of History and Geography booklets published by Gabriel Boissy and adopted mainly in the secondary schools of Dakar. Its first edition appears to date to 2003, but there were several reprints, the latest of which in as recently as 2016<sup>228</sup>.

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<sup>223</sup> RS, MEN, *PDEF*, cit., p. 20 and 86.

<sup>224</sup> RS, MFEEF, MEN, MESR, MFPA, *PAQUET*, cit., p. 119.

<sup>225</sup> RS, MEN, PDEF, *Rapport national sur la situation de l'éducation 2007*, cit., p. 70.

<sup>226</sup> See, for example, the website Librairie Papeterie Le Senegal, *Livres secondaires – Histoire IPAM (EDICEF)*, <https://www.lps.sn/rayon/9/86/histoire-ipam-edicef> and Librairie Papeterie Le Senegal, *Livres secondaires – Histoire (HATIER)*, <https://www.lps.sn/rayon/9/87/histoire-hatier> (04/10/2022).

<sup>227</sup> See, the website Clairafrique. Librairie, Papeterie, *Librairie – Scolaire*, <https://clairafrique.com/index.php/categorie-produit/tous-les-articles/librairie/scolaire/> (04/10/2022).

<sup>228</sup> Since the booklets do not indicate any publishing house, they can be assumed to have been published privately. They are sold in some libraries of Dakar (see, for example Librairie Papeterie Le Senegal, *Livres secondaires – Histoire (Gabriel Boissy edition 2016)*, <https://www.lps.sn/rayon/9/114/histoire-gabriel-boissy> (05.10.2022) or directly in the schools that recommended them (Enko Waka Campus, *Manuels scolaires / School Books 2021-2022*, Ouakam, Dakar,

According to Abdoul Sow, interviewed in 2006 by Solveig Korum, this series was «a simple collection, a compilation of texts picked up here and there [...] which do not stimulate the critical thinking of the students at any level». According to Korum, many teachers and trainers at FASTERF agreed with this view<sup>229</sup>. One of the most recent examples found was the blog written by teacher Adama Fall, who published examples of History lessons for other colleagues and sold self-produced booklets for students to prepare for their final examination (*Brevet de fin d'études moyennes, BFEM*)<sup>230</sup>. We were able to trace one of these booklets, produced by Jean Dieye, a teacher in the lower secondary school “Lamine Gueye” in Dakar. This textbook was consistent with the 2004 History and Geography syllabus of 3e<sup>231</sup> and, indeed, the chapters and individual lessons followed those of the syllabus to the letter. Therefore, despite the unofficial origin of this textbook and the unavailability of the whole series, it deserves a brief discussion, as it is the one of the few secondary school textbooks dealing with Senegalese history, and the only one compliant with the new syllabus.

What distinguishes this textbook from almost all the others analysed so far is that it mentioned some sensitive issues of contemporary history. The author, for a start, correctly placed the origin of Senegal's state borders in the context of the Berlin congress, which

has been done without the knowledge of Africans, in ignorance of socio-political mores and divisions. Ethnic groups have been divided or dispersed between states; others group together a multitude of ethnic groups without any link [...]. This division has led to the **balkanisation** of Africa and is at the origin of many current conflicts, such as in Darfur and the DRC, leading to separatist movements or civil wars [...]. Today Africa still bears the scars of this congress with the borders inherited from colonisation and the European languages adopted as official languages<sup>232</sup>.

Therefore, according to the author, the problem lay not so much in the maintenance of colonial borders after independence, as in the fact that these borders weakened Africa, dividing the continent into a series of small states without any historical depth and significance.

Another original aspect of the textbook was the subdivision of African and Senegalese resistances to colonialism into three categories – armed, popular and cultural – similarly to what had been the case for primary school textbooks of the 1990s. In this case, too, each category was exemplified by reference to specific leaders: Lat Dior and Samory (armed resistance); Aline Sitoe

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<sup>229</sup> S. Korum, *L'enseignant sénégalais face au programme d'histoire du second cycle: perception et pratiques en classe*, Master Thesis, University of Oslo, 2007, p. 98, fn. 92.

<sup>230</sup> A. Fall, *Le blog de Adama Fall*, <http://tophistogeo.over-blog.fr/> (05/10/2022).

<sup>231</sup> J. Dieye, *Histoire Géographie. Classe de 3<sup>e</sup>. Cours et Supports*, privately published work, Dakar, 2015. Other teachers who collaborated to this work are: Penda Dieye and Christine Seck, teachers at the village Meckhé and at the “Lamine Gueye”, respectively.

<sup>232</sup> Ivi, p. 21. Boldface in the original.

Diatta (thus confirmed in the national pantheon as the symbol of the popular resistance); Cheikh Amadou Bamba and El Hadj Malick Sy (cultural resistance). Therefore, as in the INEADE textbook, cultural resistance was in reality reduced to religious – and Muslim – resistance, to those leaders who fought against the penetration of western values and beliefs and who refused the assimilation and acculturation policies<sup>233</sup>. The author then went on to remark that if armed resistance fell flat – due to the failure of the different leaders and kings to unite, engaging instead in fratricidal struggles – the popular and cultural resistances did succeed in opposing the penetration of western civilisation – which is, of course, a questionable statement – and favoured the birth of nationalism<sup>234</sup>. The author, however, did not explain how this happened or how nationalism overcame the artificiality of the Senegalese state.

In the lesson on Senegal's political history from 1944 to 1962, the author stated that the decolonization of Senegal happened almost entirely non-violently – despite the Thiraoye massacre, which was thus recalled for the second time – and that it was led by «great political figures such as Léopold Sédar Senghor, Lamine Gueye and Mamadou Dia»<sup>235</sup>. Moreover, a central role was assigned to political parties and trade unions, which, together with the deputies elected to the French parliament, were the main instigators of political and institutional changes.

Finally, the author dwelled on some aspects of the political history of Senegal which were normally glossed over. He, for example, talked about the division within the UPS between those, like Senghor and Dia, who were in favour of the Communauté Française, and Abdoulaye Ly, Assane Seck and Amadou Mactar Mbow, who opposed it<sup>236</sup>. Moreover, he did not shy away from conceding that one of the reasons why the Mali Federation failed was for the refusal by Modibo Keita to accept Senghor's candidacy as president. Finally, and most importantly, this was the only textbook that talked about the overthrowing by the national assembly of Mamadou Dia's government, who was later arrested and imprisoned for over ten years. However, it did not discuss how and why this happened. The chapter ended with the following claim: «Once independence was achieved, it was necessary to set about the task of developing and building the Senegalese nation»<sup>237</sup>, which was thus presented once again as something to be achieved, rather than as an immanent entity.

## 2.6 Conclusion

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<sup>233</sup> Ivi, pp. 24-25.

<sup>234</sup> Ivi, p. 25.

<sup>235</sup> Ivi, p. 67.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>237</sup> Ivi, p. 68.

The presentation of the national dimension in textbooks has evolved significantly since the 1960s. During that decade, the nation was almost entirely absent from school classrooms. The national narrative was almost completely ignored by coeval textbooks, either because the latter consisted of mere adaptations of AOF textbooks, such as primary school textbooks, or because they were responding to the common secondary school syllabus and were thus primarily aimed at fostering openness to the outside world. Worse still, most primary school texts, as well as those belonging to the IPAM collection, frequently contained colonial-era (or colonial-derived) stereotypes and distortions. Paradoxically, it was because of their dubious affiliations that these textbooks were the only ones that referred to the colonial origins of African nation states. In contrast, the “anti-colonial” textbooks of this generation addressed neither the origins of states nor the problems of nation-building, advocating instead for African unity.

This brings us to a pivotal finding arising from our exploration of Senegalese syllabi and textbooks—an enduring discrepancy between theoretical frameworks and their practical application, as well as between the outlined syllabi and the content encapsulated in textbooks. Notably, our research brought to light a persistent misalignment between envisioned curricular reforms and the actual production of new educational materials, primarily attributable to constraints within the school publishing market. This incongruity was particularly prominent in the initial decades following the nation's independence, leading to a void where new directions, ideas, values, and contents intended by political elites for dissemination through the educational system failed to resonate effectively within the classroom milieu. However, this does not entail a lack of transformation in the representation of the nation over the six decades scrutinized. While secondary school textbooks have remained almost unchanged since the 1960s, primary school textbooks have undergone a noticeable shift towards a more distinctly national perspective, notably gaining prominence from the 1970s onward.

This turn, however, manifested itself in two distinct forms. Following ministerial directives almost to the letter, state-sponsored textbooks attempted to portray the country as an immanent and homogenous entity, one whose deep roots were to be found in the pre-colonial kingdoms and one which was embodied by “national heroes”. As a result, these textbooks never discussed the country’s ethnic past, nor did they explain how the Senegalese nation had evolved from a disparate collection of peoples. Other textbooks published between the 1970s and 1990s, on the other hand, frequently referred to Senegal’s ethnic past, not to diminish the importance of the nation-state, but because these two entities were not seen as antagonistic. Here, the nation was not seen as something innate but rather as an ongoing project. Its identity, in other words, lay not so much in the past as in the future and the shared desire to live together.



Both of these narratives, however, shared two important features. First, both of them tended to ignore, or put in the background, Casamance and the eastern regions, as well as so-called “traditional” religions. This confirmed the gradual trend towards the Wolofization and Islamization of Senegalese history, one that our analysis of post-colonial syllabi had already made manifest. Therefore, whatever the approach adopted in the various textbooks, these regions seemed to be exceptions that hardly fit into the nation-building process. The second feature points to the complete marginalisation of contemporary history, which was likely regarded as replete with over-sensitive issues and thus as a possible harbinger of division. It is surprising, though, that none of these texts made any mention of contemporary historical personalities or such state symbols as the flag or national anthem. (The one exception are the key protagonists of the decolonization movement.). Instead, the narrative of national history continues to focus on pre-colonial kingdoms and resistance heroes, who are probably viewed as less divisive and, therefore, more useful in the process of nation-building.



## Part II. Zambia

The second part of this dissertation focuses on the history of national education in Zambia, from 1964 to the present day. It is divided into two chapters.

The first one, entitled *National education in independent Zambia*, trace and examines the reforms that were carried out in the country in order to transform a colonial education system into a national one. The four sections that make up the first chapter revolve around the main turning points in the political and educational history of Zambia: the situation in the aftermath of independence; the reform season of the 1970s and the impact of the economic crisis during the one-party Second Republic; the changes brought by the return to multipartyism; and, finally, the most recent reform under the Patriotic Front government. At the same time, we will also analyse the different History and Social Studies syllabi for primary and junior secondary schools that were published during the same period. In line with the research objectives of this study, the focus will be primarily on national history and on how it has been presented over time.

The second chapter offers a content analysis of History and Social Studies textbooks. The aim is to ascertain whether and to what extent the instructions conveyed by the political elite through teaching programmes were actually put into practice and conveyed to classrooms. The second chapter is organized along the same lines as the first one, analysing in each of the sections the textbooks for primary and secondary school published in the period under consideration and adopted in Zambian schools.

### 3. National education in independent Zambia

#### 3.1 One Zambia, One Nation, One school

Immediately after its electoral victory in January 1964, the new United National Independence Party (UNIP) government, led by Kenneth Kaunda, the first President of independent Zambia, began to formulate an educational policy. Indeed, the country, as other former colonies, was faced with two main challenges in this field.

The first one was to transform the colonial school system into a national one to foster nation-building. Zambia comprised different ethnic groups and languages within its borders, and Kaunda's aim was to forge unity from these desperate elements, as symbolised by his slogan «One Zambia,

One Nation». Moreover, the role of the school as a tool of nation-building should be inserted into the wider context of the Zambian Humanism, the political philosophy elaborated by Kaunda. This was based on a combination of mid-twentieth century thinking about state control and what he considered African values: self-reliance, equal opportunities, trust and loyalty to the community<sup>1</sup>.

The second challenge was to develop the education system with a view to catering to the economic and manpower needs of the newly independent state. Indeed, at the time of independence Zambia compared unfavourably to other former British colonies: in 1963 there were only 110.200 living persons who had obtained six years of education in Northern Rhodesian schools for Africans. A total of 3.200 Zambians had completed the full primary school course of eight years, only 4.420 had passed the two-year Junior Secondary Course, and a mere 961 were known to have passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination<sup>2</sup>.

This emphasis on the educational domain was not solely the result of government priorities. Indeed, as Saxby pointed out, the people of Zambia themselves seemed to have shared a desire – to which UNIP's own electoral promises bore witness – for the rapid and immediate expansion of an education system which, up to then, had excluded the majority of them. Thus, the new government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ), under the pressure of popular demands and keen to foster its legitimacy, focused first and foremost on the linear expansion of the existing system<sup>3</sup>. The new school system, in fact, maintained a significant continuity with the colonial. This was on account of several reasons. Firstly, the colonial school model continued to enjoy considerable prestige, not only among the general population but especially within the new ruling class of Zambia. Many nationalist politicians in the UNIP leadership and the new Cabinet had either been educators in the colonial schools or had received their education in the higher echelons of the colonial education system<sup>4</sup>. Secondly, there was a strong emphasis on rapidly enrolling as many children as possible into the education system, in order to rectify the exclusiveness of colonial education and to address the severe shortage of educated manpower<sup>5</sup>. A radical reform of the existing school system would have hindered the achievement of this objective. Therefore, the government – through the Emergency Development Plan (EDP, 1964), the Transitional Development Plan (TDP, 1965-1966) and, later, with the First National Development Plan (FNDP, 1966-1971) – devoted enormous resources to education, mainly

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<sup>1</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 546. On the Zambian national philosophy, see: K.D. Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and a Guide to its Implementation*, Lusaka, Government Printer, n.d. [ca. 1967].

<sup>2</sup> J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence*, Lusaka, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 37-41. Similar data are reported in Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1964*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1965, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> Ivi, p. 300.

<sup>5</sup> J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education*, cit., pp. 37-41.

aimed at the expansion and construction of the new educational facilities in order to enlarge the size of intakes at both primary and secondary level<sup>6</sup>.

However, within this framework of strong continuity with colonial education, the UNIP government did work towards Zambianising and desegregating the system and towards abolishing denominational barriers<sup>7</sup>. Soon after independence it was established that the two educational streams – one for Africans and the other for Europeans, Asians and “Coloured” children – should be integrated as far as possible into one inter-racial system, in order to provide equal educational opportunities to every child and instil mutual understanding and respect among children of all races in Zambia<sup>8</sup>. A further step forward towards the Zambianisation of the education system came with the approval of the Education Act in 1966. Through this Act the GRZ established state control over the whole education system, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education (MoE)<sup>9</sup>. This did not mean that voluntary and religious agencies – which still retained control of most schools in the country – had to hand over the institutions they managed; but it did mean that they now had to comply with school regulations issued by the Ministry and to follow the national curriculum<sup>10</sup>. This policy, combined with the parallel expansion of educational facilities, led to a shift in the majority control of schools from voluntary agencies to the government<sup>11</sup>.

The policies adopted by the MoE seemed to pay off: enrolment figures for 1970 indicated significant growth in both primary and secondary schools<sup>12</sup>. However, despite these positive results, difficulties persisted. Firstly, in an effort to achieve the objective of providing universal primary schooling by 1970, while also controlling costs, the decision was taken to implement double sessions in urban areas and to adopt a one-teacher one-classroom policy in rural areas<sup>13</sup>. Secondly, the rapid expansion of primary education outpaced the growth of secondary education, resulting in a highly selective and pyramidal system that ejected a significant number of primary school pupils annually.

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<sup>6</sup> The MoE was allocated £1.116.000 under the EDP and £6,771,000 under the TDP. See: RZ, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1964*, cit., pp. 8-9, and Republic of Zambia, Office of National Development and Planning, *First National Development Plan 1966-1970*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1966, pp. v-8.

<sup>7</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 260.

<sup>8</sup> J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education*, cit., p. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Education Act. Chapter 134*, 1966, Art. 12. Retrieved from «National Assembly of Zambia», <https://www.parliament.gov.zm/node/873> (29/04/2023).

<sup>10</sup> Ivi, Artt. 14 and 16.

<sup>11</sup> In 1963, the government had control over only 34% of the primary schools, while the majority, 66%, were managed by voluntary agencies. By 1967, however, the picture had changed dramatically, as government was now in charge of 63% of Zambian primary schools, while the remaining 37% continued to be administered by voluntary agencies. This trend continued in the following decade. See: J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education*, cit., p. 131.

<sup>12</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 411.

<sup>13</sup> RZ, Office of National Development and Planning, *FNDP*, cit., p. 55. Double- and even triple-sessions would continue even under the Second National Development Plan and the draft *Education for Development* even proposed to retain them in order to guarantee maximum accessibility to the education system. See: Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual report, 1973*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1977, p. 5, and Republic of Zambia, *Education for Development. Draft Statement on Educational Reform*, Lusaka, Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 42.

To be sure, as Saxby pointed out, compared to the colonial period, the shape of the educational pyramid did change, becoming wider at the base and expanding at its upper levels. Nonetheless, the selectivity which had characterized colonial education remained at the very core of the new system, which allowed only a progressively smaller minority of students to move upwards through the educational ranks<sup>14</sup>. Finally, the educational plans were not adequately backed by economic and manpower analysis, leading to unsustainable long-term commitments. Therefore, as the FNDP period drew to a close and thousands upon thousands of children found themselves unable either to progress in the school system or to find a job suitable to their age and educational level, popular anger and frustration mounted over the exclusiveness of Zambian education<sup>15</sup>.

By the end of the 1960s, popular pressure and growing debates within the ministry led to a questioning of the existing education system and its colonial roots. These incipient critiques were elaborated and acquired some institutional form at the First National Education Conference, convened in Lusaka in 1969. Attended by educators, politicians, senior civil servants, businessmen, representatives of the mining companies, churches and parent-teacher associations, the Conference was intended to explore, and suggest solutions for, the educational problems facing Zambia, in order to establish new goals and a new orientation for the education system that should inform the Second National Development Plan (SNDP, 1972-1976)<sup>16</sup>. Critiques focused on the system's exclusiveness, its colonial nature, the heavy reliance on expatriate teachers, the sector's growing expenses and on the problem of Grade 7 school leavers<sup>17</sup>. President Kaunda himself called for a nationalistic and humanistic reform in education, one which would make schools relevant to Zambia's needs and apt at instilling national discipline, self-reliance and patriotism in students. As he stated in the conclusion of his opening address:

We cannot afford to become slaves to an educational system conceived by other minds in other days. We must master that system, in all its new variety. We must choose our own principles, and be prepared to face our people, if necessary, with some hard choices. We must entertain bold ideas for the development of the system and be prepared for experiment; experiment to achieve a robust, self-reliant and enterprising people; experiment to create economic and social opportunity for all; experiment to create, above all, a united people around the banner of ONE ZAMBIA, ONE NATION<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 291.

<sup>15</sup> Ivi, pp. 436-441.

<sup>16</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Report of the First National Education Conference Held at Evelyn Hone College of Further Education, Lusaka 30th September-2nd October, 1969*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1970, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> That is, those students that after completing Grade 7 could find neither a place in Grade 8 nor a job. Ivi, pp. 7-8.

<sup>18</sup> Ivi, p. 13. Emphasis in the original.

However, these discussions and critiques remained largely theoretical and were not followed by any immediate move to reform<sup>19</sup>. The SINDP did not undertake major changes and left unaddressed the serious problems that had already begun to emerge in the 1960s and that continued to escalate; most importantly, it did not call into question the explicitly elitist, hierarchical and competitive structure of the education system<sup>20</sup>. On the contrary, despite the recognition of the huge financial problems created by the expansion of education during the preceding decade and the ever-concerning issue of unemployed school leavers, the targets and purposes of the earlier plans were confirmed, providing «for continuing quantitative growth, at all levels and in all sectors»<sup>21</sup>.

Therefore, within a decade or so of independence, «major political resource of the government was gradually dissipating between the inexorable cross-pressures of the apparently limitless demands of the people for education, and the constantly increasing costs of meeting these within the current system»<sup>22</sup>. Worse still, educational policy, once sustained by a wide social consensus, was now becoming a serious political (and economic) liability, and popular support was soon replaced by cynicism, disillusionment and anger<sup>23</sup>.

The inability to reform the education system and to break away from the colonial model was also reflected in the curricular sphere. Indeed, in 1965, the GRZ decided to adopt English as the medium of instruction in both primary and secondary schools. As the then Minister of Education, J.M. Mwanakatwe, would write some years later to justify this decision, «on political grounds alone, it is clearly impossible to adopt any one of the official vernaculars as a medium of instruction in primary schools without exciting tribal passions and creating serious discontent and unrest». In order to avoid tensions, Mwanakatwe went on, it had to be accepted that «English – ironically a foreign language and also the language of the former colonial masters – has definitely a unifying role in Zambia»<sup>24</sup>.

In order to make this new linguistic policy effective, the GRZ introduced in 1966 the English Medium Course, later renamed the New Zambia Primary Course (NZPC), in primary schools. This course was based on the English medium (New Peak) course used in Kenya, was characterised by learner-centred teaching methods (adopting the New Primary Approach, NPA) and aimed to provide a linguistically integrated curriculum using English as the medium of instruction from Grade 1. To implement the NPZC, the MoE set up the Primary Centre (later renamed English Medium Centre),

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<sup>19</sup> See: B. Carmody, *Education in Zambia. Catholic Perspectives*, cit., p. 103, and J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., pp. 503-504.

<sup>20</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., pp. 1-2, and R.J. Zvobgo, *The Post-Colonial State*, cit., p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Second National Development Plan. January, 1972 – December, 1976*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1971, p. 127.

<sup>22</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Ivi, pp. 564-565.

<sup>24</sup> J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education*, cit., pp. 210-213.

charged with the task of writing a four-year lower primary course for Zambia according to the NPA, and of training supervisors and teachers in the use of it<sup>25</sup>.

This inability or unwillingness to reform the school inherited from the colonial era also impacted on teaching contents. Indeed, even if the MoE acknowledged the need for a curriculum reform that would meet the country's needs and revise the syllabus and instructional materials in compliance with the policy of *Zambianisation*<sup>26</sup>, very little was done in practice. Moreover, one of the main criticisms was that education was far too academic and hardly relevant to the nation's real wants. The inclusion of practical subjects in the curriculum and the strengthening of Mathematics and Science teaching were seen as possible solutions to rectify this shortcoming<sup>27</sup>. This suggests that the need to create new History syllabi to sustain the nation-building effort was not seen as a priority by the MoE and other educational stakeholders.

The turn of the new decade saw a renewed focus on curriculum reform. The First National Education Conference in 1969 had prioritized the revision of the school structure and curriculum, particularly at the primary level<sup>28</sup>. Indeed, several senior officers had expressed the view that primary education should aim, among other aspects, at instilling in students «a knowledge of Zambia, her history and people» and a «pride in Zambia and appreciation of the need for “One Zambia, One Nation”» coupled with «a knowledge of the national philosophy of Humanism»<sup>29</sup>. As regards History, more specifically, this «should be taught in much more detail so as to give light to children and enable them to understand themselves where their fore-fathers came from»<sup>30</sup>.

Moreover, to facilitate curriculum development and research, the English Medium Centre was replaced by the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) in 1970. This was responsible for developing, evaluating and revising curricula and textbooks for both primary and secondary schools, within the overall curriculum policy determined by the MoE<sup>31</sup>. The syllabi and books prepared by the different subject committees were later to be published by a national educational publishing company (National Educational Company of Zambia, NECZAM) and distributed in schools by a parastatal organization (National Education Distribution Company of Zambia, NEDCOZ)<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Ivi, pp. 217-219.

<sup>26</sup> RZ, Office of National Development and Planning, *FNDP*, cit., pp. 56-60.

<sup>27</sup> See on this topic: Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1967*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1969, p. 24; RZ, Office of National Development and Planning, *FNDP*, cit., pp. 55-56; RZ, *Report of the First National Education Conference*, cit., p. 61.

<sup>28</sup> RZ, *Report of the First National Education Conference*, cit., p. 50.

<sup>29</sup> Ivi, p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Ivi, pp. 67-68.

<sup>31</sup> A.B. Shankanga, *The Role and Functions of National Curriculum Development Centers in Zambia and The Gambia*, PhD, University of Southern California, 1986, pp. 93-94 and 181.

<sup>32</sup> Ivi, pp. 133-134. The crucial role of CDC, NECZAM and NEDCOZ in textbook development, publication and distribution, respectively, is analysed in the next chapter,



Finally, as was the case in Senegal, international influences played a part in shaping the curriculum. Indeed, a significant role in giving impetus to the reform of the Social Studies syllabus was played by supranational conferences, particularly the one held at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1967, and another in Mombasa, Kenya, in 1968. These conferences emphasized the need to adapt Social Studies curricula to African traditions and needs, thereby promoting a learner-centred approach<sup>33</sup>. As a result, the African Social Studies Programme (ASSP) was established in Nairobi to support African countries in updating their curricula<sup>34</sup>. Unlike Francophone African countries, which adopted standardized supranational history syllabi in secondary school, ASSP countries developed their primary school syllabi individually, though using shared conceptual frameworks. This allowed customization to local needs while maintaining common educational foundations<sup>35</sup>.

This new impetus for curriculum reform finally led to the publication, in 1971, of the first Social Studies programme since independence. This was to be applied in primary schools, from Grade 3 to 7, while History remained a separate subject from Grade 8 onwards. The main subjects addressed were History, Geography and Civics. However, these disciplines were not, in fact, integrated into one single subject. On the contrary, the syllabus stipulated which topics were to be covered in each sub-discipline for each school year.

The syllabus followed a concentric structure, starting from the local environment and gradually expanding to cover African and world history. Thus, in the early grades, students focused on their immediate environment, community, and province. Grade 5 introduced a national perspective, teaching about « Zambia's traditions, customs and cultural heritage of all its people; the importance of interdependence of the provinces of the country; and the struggle to make Zambia a Nation in its own right». Grades 6 and 7 shifted the focus to studying Africa and the world respectively, drawing analogies to Zambia's situation<sup>36</sup>. Thus, instead of following the previous colonial model that often centred on British cultures and histories, the new syllabus emphasized the study of Zambia, including its diverse provinces and its interactions with other countries and regions within Africa and the world. This point was also underlined by the Psychological Service of the CDC, which, when giving further indications to teachers on how to address the new syllabus, recommended that:

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<sup>33</sup> These conferences were joined by delegates from: Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, the United States and Britain. See: C.P. Chishimba, R.K. Simukoko, *Social Studies in Zambia*, cit., p. 283 and R. Mambwe, E.S. Lufungulo, *The Evolution of Social Studies Education in Zambia*, cit., pp. 10-11.

<sup>34</sup> National Archives of Zambia (NAZam), EDU 2/36 – 9505 – 006, *Report on the African Social Studies Programme Workshop Held in Kenya at the University of Nairobi from 8<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1976*, 130, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development*, cit., p. 76.

<sup>36</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9411 – 015, *Introduction to Curriculum and Syllabuses. Social Studies*, 59.

More emphasis should be given to Zambia and Africa than to any other country or continent because every topic in the syllabus contrasts Zambia with other countries. Therefore Zambia must be regarded as the centre of the syllabus. Reference should be made to Zambia on every topic of the syllabus<sup>37</sup>.

As regards History, it played a relatively minor role until Grade 5. Indeed, in Grade 3, the subject was never mentioned, and in Grade 4 only two out of the sixteen lessons that made up the syllabus had a historical content<sup>38</sup>. This trend was reverted from Grade 5, when History was allocated three out of seven lessons. Here, students learned about the customs and the early systems of government of the country's various ethnic groups, the migration and settlement of peoples in the different provinces, and the arrival of traders and missionaries. Grade 6 foregrounded the African dimension, exploring the history, migrations, trades and missionaries of unspecified «African countries» and their past links with Zambia, including the struggle for independence and liberation movements. Finally, Grade 7's historical topics mixed national, African and global dimensions, covering a broad timeframe that ran from ancient history to the present<sup>39</sup>.

Also, given the focus of this research, it is interesting to note that in Civics lessons students were required to know the national anthem and the Zambian flag. This focus on national symbols and patriotic elements – which will be a recurring feature in subsequent syllabi too – can be understood as a deliberate effort to foster a shared sense of national identity and unity. Understanding and respecting these national symbols became integral to the process of creating a common national imagination, reinforcing a collective identity as Zambians and nurturing a sense of unity among citizens from diverse backgrounds. These elements were considered so crucial in the nation-building effort that the Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Regulations, 1966, promulgated under the Education Act, included specific instructions on how students should behave when singing the national anthem or saluting the flag<sup>40</sup>. As Mwanakatwe explained:

By encouraging students to sing the National Anthem and to relate the substance of the Anthem to the national hopes and ideals, a sense of patriotism can be engendered and national cohesion achieved. In the same way the national flag occupies an important role in building up a sense of unity and a sense of loyalty to the nation. Without the institutions of the

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<sup>37</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9411 – 015, *Social – Studies – Grade VII*, M.J. Miti, *Psychological Service*, March 1972.

<sup>38</sup> In Grade 4 pupils were required to study the history and migrations of people in their provinces. See: NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9411 – 015, *Primary Social Studies Syllabus Content*, 129.

<sup>39</sup> The following were the topics to be addressed, listed without any chronological order and without giving any further detail: (i) Our Cultural heritage. (ii) Ancient African kingdoms and civilisations [sic]. (iii) Landmarks in Man's progress; inventions. (iv) Early trade; missionaries. (v) Religious wars. (vi) The two World wars; World Peace – League of Nations, U.N.O. etc. (vii) Struggle for Independence e.g. Mahdi in Sudan & Mau Mau in Kenya. See *ibidem*.

<sup>40</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/1 – 9316 – 005 *Education Ordinance*, 9316, 005, Government of Zambia, *The Education (Primary and Secondary) Regulations*, 1966.

National Anthem and the national flag, the ideal of a united and coherent nation would be completely frustrated, because there would be no basis of common outlook for unity<sup>41</sup>.

The 1971 syllabus raises several important considerations. Firstly, its treatment of history was notably limited, partly due to history being subsumed within the broader framework of Social Studies. On the other hand, the syllabus did mark a significant departure from the colonial curriculum by emphasizing the national dimension. However, it appears that while national history was acknowledged, it did not play a central role in ongoing nation-building efforts. The syllabus opted to study individual ethnic groups and their histories separately, rather than attempting to weave a cohesive narrative of national unity throughout history. Additionally, the colonial era and the struggle for independence were approached from an African perspective, rather than being distinctly framed within the Zambian context. As a result, the curriculum seems to rely more heavily on civic education and the study of national symbols to foster a sense of unity, rather than placing history at the forefront of the nation-building process.

The syllabus did not receive overall positive feedbacks from teachers. They complained that it was too crowded and inflexible. Furthermore, they considered that the different topics to be addressed should have been better specified and simplified (especially at Grade 7), taking into account children's age and abilities<sup>42</sup>.

At the secondary level, curriculum reform in Zambia faced various challenges and lacked the level of coordination seen in primary education. In the early years after the country's independence, the focus was first and foremost on primary schools, and only limited attention was given to updating the secondary school curriculum<sup>43</sup>. This lack of attention was partly due to the decision to continue using the externally-set Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examination at the secondary level. Additionally, there was a shortage of textbooks and Zambian teachers, which further hindered efforts to nationalize the curriculum and make it more consistent with the primary school syllabus<sup>44</sup>.

However, an update of the curriculum became inevitable in 1970, when the duration of Junior Secondary School (JSS) was extended from two to three years. The new JSS curriculum aimed to prioritize Sciences, Mathematics, English Language, Civics and Practical subjects. Social Sciences

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<sup>41</sup> J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education*, cit., p. 252

<sup>42</sup> See: NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9411 – 015, *A Visit to the Luapula Region Primary Schools by J.M. Chiwela (Mrs.): Head of Social Studies Dept.*, 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> March, 1974, 168, and NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9411 – 015, Letter from the Chief Education Officer of the Luapula Region to the CDC, 30<sup>th</sup> January, 1974, CDC/S/2, 141.

<sup>43</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 - 9408 – 002, *Curriculum Development Centre. Annual Report 1972 (to September)*, 34.

<sup>44</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 617, fn. 18, and Office of the Vice-President, *Zambian Manpower*; Lusaka, Government Printer, 1969, pp. 33-45, quoted in M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education*, cit., p. 107.

and Humanities, including History, received comparatively less attention than the scientific subjects<sup>45</sup>. History, in particular, was allocated only three hours per week, reflecting its somewhat marginal status in the overall curriculum<sup>46</sup>. Nonetheless, the goals set for History education at the JSS level were ambitious, aiming to develop students' skills in historical research and critical thinking. The curriculum also aimed at developing an «appreciation of the historical basis of current Zambian affairs and present relationship with surrounding countries», as well as «an understanding of human development in Zambia from earliest times to the present day with the aim of promoting the concept of “One Zambia, One Nation”»<sup>47</sup>. From the perspective of this research, this latter objective is particularly noteworthy, as it conveys the image of a historical narrative that traces the history of Zambia from antiquity to the present, presenting it in a coherent and unified fashion.

As was the case for primary school, the JSS History syllabus followed a concentric structure, moving from the local to the African dimension. It began with a focus on the immediate environment in the first year (Form I), when pupils studied the history of their school, surroundings, local economy and other related topics. Then, History teaching proper, albeit without any clear chronological underpinning, was introduced, starting with the study of Bantu societies and their languages, social and political organizations, spiritual beliefs, ceremonies, economy and material culture. An intriguing aspect in this case is the emphasis placed by the syllabus drafters on highlighting the shared origins and commonalities among Bantu peoples, rather than focusing on their differences<sup>48</sup>. This approach seemed to mark a break with the primary school syllabus, which addressed the country's different peoples and their history separately. This impression seems to be confirmed by how students were to be introduced to the study of Zambia at the end of Form I. Similar to what was the case with Senegalese syllabi, here, too, the national entity was projected back in time into a distant past. Indeed, pupils were required to study «early Zambian physical and cultural types» – with reference to the peoples of the Early, Middle and Late Stone-Age and Early Iron Age – together with the Early Bantu tribal migrations and the Luba-Lunda diaspora<sup>49</sup>.

The second year of the JSS syllabus broadened the perspective to include African history. Teachers could choose between two streams, focused on the precolonial histories of either Western or East and Central Africa. Then, all pupils would study the arrival of the European, their early contacts with Africans, the slave trade, then the industrial revolution (and its consequences for

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<sup>45</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1969*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1971, p. 19.

<sup>46</sup> Science, Maths and English were allocated 6, 7 and 8, hours respectively. See: Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *Junior Secondary School (Form III) Syllabuses*, Lusaka, MoE, 1970, p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Ivi, p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>49</sup> Ivi, p. 28.

Zambia) as well as economic imperialism, its nature and effects<sup>50</sup>. Thus, as was the case in primary school syllabus, colonisation was studied from an African rather than national perspective.

In the third year, the syllabus abandoned the quasi-chronological order adopted up to that point to return to the history of Eastern, Southern and Central African societies before the arrival of Europeans. Moreover, a separate section was devoted to Zambia and, in particular, to the study of the kingdoms in its territory. Although the syllabus did not refer to these entities as “Zambian kingdoms”, more precise and detailed indications were given to teachers as to which kingdoms and peoples should be studied<sup>51</sup>. After foregrounding the national dimension, the syllabus broadened its scope once again when addressing colonisation, which was placed within a regional context, exploring the establishment of European missions, white settlement in southern Africa, Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (BSAC), with a focus on the relationship between settler expansionism and large-scale capitalism. Relationships between Zambia and its neighbours, Rhodesia and Malawi, were also dealt with, as students were expected to familiarize themselves with treaty-making, European occupation, colonial rule (and the different forms it assumed in the three territories), and the history of the Central African Federation. However, it is important to stress that the syllabus also highlighted African agency by dwelling on resistance to colonial domination – with particular attention to the role played by mass parties and religious movements – and the struggle for independence<sup>52</sup>.

In conclusion, this is unquestionably a curriculum that deviates from the colonial model by focusing only on the national and African dimensions. Moreover, by introducing students to the history of Zambia, its kingdoms, its colonial past and its struggle for independence, much more thoroughly than in primary school, the syllabus aimed to foster a sense of national identity and pride. At the same time, Zambia’s inclusion within continental and Central African dynamics also contributed significantly to the historical understanding of phenomena affecting the country. However, the analysis of the JSS History syllabus also indicates that, despite its concentration on national history, there was comparatively limited emphasis on using this history as a tool to give rise to a cohesive and common national identity. The syllabus does not seem to highlight specific epoch-defining events or create a common pantheon of national heroes and symbols, which are often crucial elements in nation-building efforts. Moreover, the marginalization of History within the curriculum and the relatively few hours of instruction allocated to it may have resulted in limited historical understanding on the part of students.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>51</sup> Included in the list were: the Lunda kingdom of Mwata Kazembe, Bemba and related people; the Lozi and their neighbours; the fall of the Undi empire; the Ngoni of Mpezeni; the Kololo in the Lozi Kingdom; and Arab, Portuguese and Yeke invaders. See *ivi*, p. 29.

<sup>52</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 28-29.

Furthermore, the JSS History syllabus faced several problems that limited its effective implementation. One major obstacle was the lack of textbooks written in accordance with the new syllabus. Indeed, contrary to what was the case for primary schools, where the CDC was charged with the task of writing textbooks compliant with the new syllabus, nothing similar had occurred at the secondary level. Additionally, a significant number of secondary school teachers were not Zambians, making it difficult for them to teach a syllabus that required a comprehensive understanding of Zambia's history and context. One final problem is that this syllabus may have proved too far apart from the senior secondary curriculum, which ended with the Cambridge examination and which dealt nearly entirely with European history.

All these reasons might explain why, in 1971, just one year after the publication of the curriculum, the MoE produced another History syllabus for JSSs. There were many differences as compared to the 1970 one. First, this time, it was an examination rather than a teaching syllabus, which means that it was even more concise. Second, it included a significant change in the topics to be covered, with a greater emphasis on African history to the detriment of national history. European and global perspectives were also incorporated, but they were to be discussed from the viewpoint of Africa's impact and influence<sup>53</sup>. Third, this new syllabus featured a thematic organization rather than a concentric one. Thus, the first year was intended to cover world history, from the Stone Age to the 19th century, and to include such topics as early man, Asian and European contacts, and 19th-century Europe and Africa<sup>54</sup>. The second year, on the other hand, was to be entirely devoted to the study of sub-Saharan African history, beginning in the sixteenth century. Students studied the history of southern Africa in the 1500s – that is: the Portuguese presence in Angola and Mozambique, the Luba-Lunda Empire, the Nguni and other major ethnic units – and such later developments as the Dutch at the Cape, the overthrowing of the Monomotapa, Luba migrations and the arrival of British at the Cape. The focus then shifted to the Boer states and their relationship with British and Bantu and the Boer Wars until the birth of the Union. Other areas of European influence and occupation in Africa were then presented: the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, the French and Belgians in Congo, and the British in Rhodesia. Finally, an entire section was devoted to Zambia and its history. First, the peoples of the country were to be introduced (without giving further specification). This was to be followed by Zambia's contacts with foreign countries, the impact of imperialism and the BSAC, and, finally, colonial rule and Independence. The last topic to be dealt with in the third year was

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<sup>53</sup> Ministry of Education, *Junior Secondary (External Form III). Syllabuses (1971 Edition)*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1971, p. 17.

<sup>54</sup> Asian Contacts: «Asia comes to Africa Rise & Spread of Islam Trade & Influence»; European Contacts: «Causes of European Expansion & Voyages of Discovery. The Portugues [sic] Empire. The Salve Trade & Abolition»; 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe: «Agrarian and Industrial Revolution partition and Imperialism»; 19<sup>th</sup> century Africa: «West Africa (Ghana & Nigeria) East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda). Ibidem.

entitled «revolution», meaning «The Rise of National and Africa Unity»<sup>55</sup>. This is a curious lexical choice, which, however, was neither explained nor justified. Finally, the third year focused on global history, with sections on Europe, America and Asia from various historical periods to the present day<sup>56</sup>.

In conclusion, the analysis of the new syllabus suggests that it did not fully address the problems that had emerged in the previous one. While the inclusion of a global dimension is commendable and important for providing students with a broader understanding of world history, it appears to have come at the expense of national history. Indeed, the limited space dedicated to national history, with only one unit allocated to it, might have hindered the students' understanding of their own country's past. Furthermore, the concise treatment of the national history unit might have presented challenges, especially for non-Zambian teachers who had limited familiarity with the country's past. This could have potentially impacted the quality of instruction and the depth of students' engagement with their own national history. On the other hand, unlike in the 1970 version, textbook recommendations were now provided for the syllabus, including T.R. Batten's *Tropical Africa in World History*, edited by Oxford University Press<sup>57</sup>, even if it was not compliant with the syllabus. This textbook will be analysed in the next chapter.

Finally, it should also be noted that this syllabus might never have come into force. This seemed to be suggested by the fact that, when the Educational Broadcasting Service (EBS) booklet for teachers was published later in 1973, it followed the 1970 History syllabus, rather than the 1971 one<sup>58</sup>.

### 3.2 Educational reform in a declining economy

In the 1960s and 1970s, the education system in Zambia came under increasing criticism. The Zambian population felt that the promises of better educational opportunities after gaining independence were not being fulfilled. This discontent was particularly concerning for the government, as it coincided with a moment of political turmoil. Indeed, the legitimacy of President Kaunda's UNIP government was often under attack, as was his personal rule and prestige, while Zambia's precarious position on the frontline of independent Africa left it exposed to political, military and economic pressures from the white minority regimes to the South. As a response to these

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<sup>55</sup> Ivi, p. 18.

<sup>56</sup> Ivi, p. 19.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>58</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Teachers' and Pupils' Notes. Form II. History. 1973*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1973, pp. 1-9.

mounting attacks, in December 1972, President Kaunda declared Zambia a “One-Party Participatory Democracy”, dissolving all opposition parties and establishing the total political hegemony of the UNIP<sup>59</sup>. With this consolidation of power, both politicians and officials at the MoE felt a strong imperative to address the criticisms and implement reforms.

President Kaunda took the initiative in 1973 by appointing an Ad Hoc Committee in Education, tasked with evaluating Zambia’s educational development over the past decade and proposing policy directions for the future<sup>60</sup>. Then, in 1974, a Zambian delegation participated in a seminar on alternatives in African education held in Dar es Salaam. The conference was the result of growing disillusionment in underdeveloped countries with the «international orthodoxy» that had shaped educational agendas in the previous decade. African countries were now seeking alternatives to the heavily academic system of formal education that they had inherited from colonial rule<sup>61</sup>. The Ministry sent four study groups to East and West African countries (Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone) with similar colonial histories and to socialist countries like Cuba and China to examine their educational experiences and innovations<sup>62</sup>.

These initiatives set the stage for the development of the draft proposal *Education for Development*, which was a radical response to the perceived flaws of the education system put in place after independence. The draft aimed not only at reviewing the linear expansionist approach and creating a more efficient and less costly system, but it also proposed a radical transformation of education in a socialist direction, as part of (and in support for) a transition to socialism within Zambian society as a whole<sup>63</sup>. Indeed, as explained in the first chapter, «The education system, and all who work in it, are part of the vanguard of the Humanist revolution [...]. Education for Development must be a revolutionary system of education which is inseparable from the Humanist revolution of society»<sup>64</sup>. In line with this overreaching goal, *Education for Development* proposed to organize the new education system in a collective and egalitarian fashion, which would reflect the ethos of participatory democracy (even if it was the Party and the government that retained control of the policy<sup>65</sup>) and lead to the transformation of every educational institution of the country in a

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<sup>59</sup> See: J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 557, and G. Macola, *Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, UNIP and the roots of authoritarianism in nationalist Zambia*, in J-B Gewald, M. Hinfelaar, G. Macola (eds), *One Zambia, Many Histories. Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 17.

<sup>60</sup> See: Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *Educational Reform. Proposals and Recommendations*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1977, p. 1, and J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., pp. 508-509.

<sup>61</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 490.

<sup>62</sup> L.K.H. Goma, *Foreword*, in RZ, MoE, *Educational Reform*, cit., p. vi.

<sup>63</sup> See, J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., pp. 5-6, and B. Carmody, *Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 104.

<sup>64</sup> RZ, *Education for Development*, cit., p. 1.

<sup>65</sup> As explained in the document: «It is an important principle of Education for Development that Zambia will retain a single, unified national education system, rather than a collection of systems identified with parochial interests. This principle of unity is indispensable if our education system is to fulfil its mandate for the development of the nation [...].



production unit. Such units would blend work and study during a planned ten years of Basic education for all<sup>66</sup>. Finally, the document proposed to use of the seven Zambian languages as means of instructions from Grade 1 to 4, and then English from Grade 5 onwards, «for the sake of communication between Zambians whose mother tongues differ and in order to promote the unity of the nation»<sup>67</sup>. However, as Saxby pointed out, despite the call for socialist, collectivist and egalitarian reform, there was, in fact, an increasing tendency towards centralised policymaking. Thus, the image that emerged was that of an «ostensibly radical policy initiative within a political system lacking evidence of a substantive move towards socialism»<sup>68</sup>.

The publication of the draft statement was followed by a national debate that took place between May and November 1976. The stakeholders who joined it rejected most of the proposals contained in *Education for Development*. Indeed, they were sceptical about the proposed radical changes and the prospect of abandoning the colonial-era educational model, believing that the envisaged reform would only lower standards<sup>69</sup>. They further criticised it for failing to provide any financial estimates for implementation; this was all the more concerning given the mounting economic crisis that Zambia was experiencing at the time<sup>70</sup>.

Thus, due to its political and practical unrealism and the negative feedback it received, the reform remained a dead letter, and its ideas were soon superseded by the publication, in 1977, of a more conventional document, *Educational Reform*, which became the blueprint for the development of education policy in Zambia<sup>71</sup>. The document has been dubbed an «anti-reform»<sup>72</sup>, since it re-oriented the education system in a pre-reform direction, thus reflecting a large-scale acceptance of the selective, centralized and academic orientation of the existing system<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, education was no longer seen as an instrument of political change and, remarkably, the word “socialism” disappeared from the final version. The reform proposed minimal changes to the existing education system, maintaining its pyramidal structure and aiming for only nine years of universal basic education,

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We must construct our new national education system to mirror our united Party and nation. The system will be based on the policy formulated by the Party». See Ivi, p. 73.

<sup>66</sup> Ivi, pp. 3 and 31.

<sup>67</sup> Ivi, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> J.C. Saxby, *The Politics of Education*, cit., p. 10.

<sup>69</sup> T.A. Coombe, *Basic Education and Educational Reform in Zambia*, in *Education 'At the Base' in Developing Countries*, The Hague, CESO, 1979, pp. 17-35, quoted in M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education*, cit., p. 169; G.F. Lungu, *Elites, Incrementalism and Educational Policy-making in Post-independence Zambia*, «Comparative Education» 21.3, 1985, pp. 291-292. Some of the feedback received by the Ministry of Education as part of the national debate on educational reform can be found at the NAZam, EDU 2/29 – 9489 – 001, *Education Reforms. National debate*, ME/72/12/13.

<sup>70</sup> P. Nkhoma, *Aid Administration*, cit., p. 6, and M. Mwalimu, *Access, Quality and Opportunity*, cit., p. 15.

<sup>71</sup> P. Nkhoma, *Aid Administration*, cit., p. 15.

<sup>72</sup> R.J. Zvobgo, *The Post-Colonial State*, cit., p. 37.

<sup>73</sup> B. Carmody, *Education in Zambia*, cit., pp. 104-105.

thereby reducing junior secondary schooling to two years<sup>74</sup>. The integration of study and work was no longer emphasized, and productive activities were no longer described as serving educational purposes<sup>75</sup>. Finally, the document dismissed the practicality of using local languages as the medium of instruction, confirming the use of English from Grade 1<sup>76</sup>.

In conclusion, the lengthy process that resulted in the publication of *Educational Reform* can ultimately be considered a failure. Despite the efforts to address the shortcomings of the education system, the reform was unable to bring about significant changes or to halt the decline in educational quality. Primary school enrolment increased, but it resulted in overcrowded classrooms with insufficient resources like equipment, furniture and books. At the secondary level, the progression rate from Grade 7 to 8 (the former Form I) decreased, and there were no plans to open new secondary schools, suggesting a continuing decline<sup>77</sup>. Moreover, the reform document was not widely distributed, and there was no effective implementation strategy, despite some elements of it being included in the Third National Development Plan (TNDP, 1979-1983), including the key objective of ensuring nine years of basic education for all<sup>78</sup>.

However, the launch of the TNDP was postponed due to financial constraints caused by the worsening economic situation of the country during the 1970s. The sanctions against UDI Rhodesia and the related closure of the border with that country, the oil crisis, the global recession and declining copper prices all severely hampered the possibility of successful educational reform. As resources became increasingly scarce, the educational sector no longer received the funding that was needed to keep the expanded and expanding system afloat; from this point onwards, Zambia became heavily reliant on foreign aid, which was mainly directed towards secondary and higher education, to the detriment of the primary level<sup>79</sup>. The situation worsened when Zambia entered agreements with the IMF and the World Bank in 1984. As a result, major cuts in public education expenditures were implemented, reducing the percentage of GDP allocated to the education sector from 6.5% in 1982

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<sup>74</sup> Indeed, in 1983, the JSSs structure of Forms I-III was abandoned in favour of two years of JS schooling. Moreover, the terms "Form I-II" were substituted with Grade 8 and 9. On this point, see: D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development*, cit., p. 208.

<sup>75</sup> RZ, MoE, *Educational Reform*, cit., pp. 5-6; D. Alexander, *Problems of Educational Reform in Zambia*, «International Journal of Educational Development», 3, 1983, pp. 209-210.

<sup>76</sup> RZ, MoE, *Educational Reform*, cit., pp. 32-33, and D. Banda, J. Simwinga, *Language in Education Policy in Zambia: Policy and Other Dynamics*, in G. Masaiti (ed.), *Education in Zambia*, cit., pp. 261-262.

<sup>77</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education and Culture. Annual report for the year 1978*, Lusaka: Printing Services, Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training, 1980, pp. 4-5. In 1978 the Ministry changed its name to Ministry of Education and Culture; then, in 1983, it became the Ministry of General Education and Culture. However, for the sake of simplicity, I will continue to refer to it as the Ministry of Education or MoE.

<sup>78</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Third National Development Plan. 1979-83*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1979, pp. 31 and 337.

<sup>79</sup> M.J. Kelly, *Introduction*, and *The Financing and Costing of Basic Education for All*, in id. (ed.), *National Conference on Education for All. Issues, Challenges and the way ahead for Zambia. Volume II. Conference papers, Mulungushi International Conference Centre, Lusaka, Zambia, 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> March, 1991*, MoE, 1992, pp. 7, 98 and 110.

to a mere 2.4% in 1989<sup>80</sup>. This, in turn, led to a visible and further decline both in the access to and the quality of education<sup>81</sup>.

In response to the ongoing crisis, the MoE tasked the University of Zambia (UNZA) with formulating a comprehensive strategy to implement specific aspects of *Educational Reform*, considering the prevailing economic conditions. The outcome was the 1986 *Educational Reform Implementation Project* (ERIP) report, which conducted a thorough analysis of the challenges faced in providing primary and secondary education. Unlike the trend in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the report prioritized primary schooling, making the achievement of universal primary education by the year 2000 its foremost and absolute goal<sup>82</sup>. An important addition in the ERIP report was the focus on the financial aspects of the education system. The report strongly advocated for cost-sharing and indeed included detailed financial recommendations in its final iteration, entitled *The provision of Education for All* (1986)<sup>83</sup>. However, due to a temporary break with the IMF and the WB (the Structural Adjustment Programme would only resume in 1989), this new policy was never implemented, except for the reintroduction of school fees in 1986<sup>84</sup>. Unfortunately, the reintroduction of fees had a negative impact on the gross enrolment ratio in primary schools, which declined from 96% in 1985 to 88% in 1990<sup>85</sup>.

In 1990, Zambia participated in the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand, which aimed at pursuing policy changes that would ensure the achievement of Education for All<sup>86</sup>. To address this issue, a National Education for All (EFA) Task Force was set up. In 1991, the Task Force organized the Zambian National Conference on Education for All, which was held in Lusaka on the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of March and that drew participants from a very wide spectrum of society, including politicians, academics, teachers, church representative, labour leaders and donor-agency representatives<sup>87</sup>. The conference highlighted once again the crisis that affected Zambian education, which M.J. Kelly, in his intervention, articulated in four points: crisis of access, of financing, of

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<sup>80</sup> M.J. Kelly, *The Financing and Costing*, cit., p. 94.

<sup>81</sup> Triple sessions continued to be the rule in urban primary schools, and multiple sessions began to be used in secondary schools, too. Moreover, the overcrowding in the urban primary schools reached the staggering teacher-pupil ratio of 1 to 70 per session. See: Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education and Culture. Annual report for the year 1980*, Lusaka: Printing Services, Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training, 1982, pp. 6 and 13, and id., *Ministry of Education and Culture. Annual report for the year 1981*, Lusaka: Printing Services, Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training, 1984, p. 10.

<sup>82</sup> ERIP, pp. 181, 321-323 and 581, cit. in B. Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 50.

<sup>83</sup> M. Mwalimu, *Access, Quality and Opportunity*, cit., p. 16.

<sup>84</sup> M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education*, cit., p. 157.

<sup>85</sup> M. Mukalula-Kalumbi, L. Mukuka Mulenga-Hagane and C. Siakanga, *Education in the Second Republic: What Changed?*, in G. Masaiti (ed.), *Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 16, and M.J. Kelly, *The Financing and Costing*, cit., pp. 87-89.

<sup>86</sup> M.J. Kelly, *Introduction*, in Id. (ed.), *National Conference on Education for All*, cit., p. 1.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, and Ministry of Education, *Focus on Learning. Strategies for the Development of School Education in Zambia*, Lusaka, MoE, 1992, p. ii.

quality and of confidence<sup>88</sup>. This latter point referred to the fact that parents had begun to lose confidence in the education that was being provided and, if unable to sustain the costs associated with it, simply stopped enrolling their children in school. The most visible consequence was, as we have seen, a decline in primary schools' enrolment. Other education professionals spoke during the Conference, suggesting possible solutions to the sector's four-fold crisis<sup>89</sup>, and some of these recommendations were taken up in the final document, *Zambia Declaration on Education for All*, which reaffirmed the goals of achieving universal primary education and of reducing illiteracy. Most importantly, the document opened the door to the extension of private education and introduced new strategies for raising financial resources for education<sup>90</sup>. This shift towards pluralism in the provision, management and financing of education – one which broke with previous centralization and the monopoly of education by the state – was justified by pointing to the ongoing democratization of the Zambian political system, the growth of liberalism in the economy and to the conclusions of the Jomtien conference that had encouraged partnership in education<sup>91</sup>.

Based on the Conference's conclusion and on the ERIP report, in April 1991, the MoE<sup>92</sup> appointed a team of experts to develop a detailed and prioritized strategy for delivering primary and secondary education under current economic constraints and in the light of the changing socio-political situation in the country. The final report, *Focus on Learning* (to be analysed in the next section) was adopted by the first post-UNIP government as its new educational policy<sup>93</sup>.

The intense drive for reform that characterised the Zambian educational world in the 1970s affected the curriculum domain, but only to a limited extent. Indeed, in 1974 the Curriculum Council published a document entitled *Statement of Aims and Objectives for Education in Zambian Primary Education*. This document laid out the framework for aligning the primary school curriculum with the national philosophy of Humanism. It emphasized the importance of schools in nurturing the values of humanism and promoting participatory democracy and cooperation among students<sup>94</sup>. At the same

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<sup>88</sup> M.J. Kelly, *The Financing and Costing*, cit., pp. 87-90.

<sup>89</sup> O.S. Saasa, *Multisectoral Sectoral Alliance Building for Educational Development under Economic Crisis in Zambia*, and G. Lungwangwa, *Policies and Strategies to Improve the Quality of Basic Education*, in M.J. Kelly (ed.), *National Conference on Education for All*, cit., pp. 12-17 and 70.

<sup>90</sup> M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education*, cit., p. 184.

<sup>91</sup> Ivi, p. 219.

<sup>92</sup> At the time, the Ministry was renamed the Ministry of General Education, Youth, and Sports (MGEYS). Furthermore, it shared educational responsibility with the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Technology (MHEST). To avoid any confusion, because the MGEYS continued to be in charge of formal elementary and secondary education, I shall continue to refer to it as the Ministry of Education (MoE).

<sup>93</sup> Members of the team were drawn from MoE, MHEST, Ministry of Labour, Social Development and Culture (MLSDC), Central Statistical Office (CSO) and UNZA, See: MoE, *Focus on Learning*, cit., p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9410 – 011, Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Council, *Statement of Aims and Objectives for Education in Zambia. Primary Education*, 1974. CC/74/2/1, 149, pp. 3-4.

time – acknowledging that the curriculum in force was overloaded in contents and that it placed heavy emphasis on theoretical learning and foreign cultural content, neglecting Zambia's own heritage<sup>95</sup> –, it charged the different CDC subject committees to review their syllabi<sup>96</sup>. As regards Social Studies, the document recognized it as a central subject to disseminate and interpret the principles of Humanism and to foster nation-building. Therefore, at the end of the Social Studies primary course, students were expected to «have developed an appreciation of and pride in Zambia's cultural heritage, her political development and independence» and «a positive attitude to the motto of “One Zambia One Nation” and a desire to promote national unity»<sup>97</sup>.

However, the implementation of this much-awaited reform only began in 1983, when the MoE adopted a new school structure consisting of seven years of primary schooling – divided into two sub-sections: Grades 1-4 (Lower Primary) and Grades 5-7 (Upper Primary) – and two years of junior secondary (Grades 8-9). As regards Social Studies, this was confirmed as a compulsory subject in primary schools, and was introduced (instead of History) at the JSS<sup>98</sup>. However, as we will see, the introduction of Social Studies at this level did not really take place, and History, Geography and Civics continued to be taught as separate subjects.

The Social Studies syllabus for basic education (Grades 3-9) was finally published in 1985. It was developed as part of the ASSP and as an outgrowth of the 1977 *Educational Reform*, designed for the nine years of basic education. Moreover, it was intended to be an interim syllabus, destined to be improved in its final version after receiving initial feedback from teachers<sup>99</sup>. The new syllabus had a peculiar structure. First, it did not contain a list of the contents to be imparted to pupils; rather, it was organized in terms of the objectives to be acquired at the end of each unit or sub-unit. To these a list of general objectives was added, including to develop «positive attitudes to the motto of ONE ZAMBIA, ONE NATION and desire to promote national unity»<sup>100</sup>. Secondly, it comprised three main sections.

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<sup>95</sup> Ministry of Education, *Educational Reforms Study Tours: Report of Briefing Seminar, 29<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> April 1975*, quoted in M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education*, cit., p. 151.

<sup>96</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9410 – 011, Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Council, *Aims and Objectives for Education in Zambia. A report submitted to the Curriculum Council by the Sub-Committee on Educational Objectives*, 1974. CC/74/2, p. 22.

<sup>97</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9410 – 011, RZ, MoE, Curriculum Council, *Statement of Aims and Objectives*, cit., pp. 14-15.

<sup>98</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9413 – 025, Republic of Zambia, Ministry of General Education and Culture. *Educational Reforms. The Structure of the New School Curriculum*, Draft of the Final Version, Confidential, January 1983.

<sup>99</sup> D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development*, cit., p. 235; Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Higher Education, *Basic Education. Social Studies Syllabus. Grades 3-9*, Lusaka, Curriculum Development Centre, 1985, p. ii; Republic of Zambia, Ministry of General Education and Culture. *Annual report for the year 1985*, Lusaka, n.d., p. 10.

<sup>100</sup> RZ, MoHE, *Basic Education. Social Studies Syllabus*, cit., p. viii. Capital letters in the original. As we have seen, this was one of the Social Studies' objectives included in the *Statement of Aims and Objectives for Education in Zambian Primary Education*, published in 1974. See: NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9410 – 011, RZ, MoE, Curriculum Council, *Statement of Aims and Objectives*, cit., pp. 14-15.

Section A, entitled «Man and his environment», was dealt with in Grades 3-7. This was organized using a concentric approach, starting with simple topics and gradually progressing to more complex ones or moving from the known to the unknown<sup>101</sup>. It focused on analysing the relationship between individuals and various aspects of life, such as housing, health, clothing, transportation, communication, money and work. For Grades 3 to 5, these topics were explored within the local context, while in grades 6 to 7, they were studied from a regional and global perspective. For example, in Grade 4, pupils were expected to «relate stories of how people lived together in different communities long ago» and to «collect information from the elders» about past living conditions. In Grade 6, they were asked to briefly relate «the history of how people in Zambia and her neighbouring countries lived in prehistoric period to modern times» and «discuss the major roles played by the various ethnic groupings e.g., the Khoisaan, Bantu-Speaking peoples, the Europeans, etc. in Central and Southern Africa»<sup>102</sup>.

This peculiar structure meant that the treatment of Zambian history in primary schools was not comprehensive, and did not follow a strict chronological order. Indeed, students were often prompted to compare situations in “the past” or “long ago” and in “the present”, but there were limited references to specific historical periods<sup>103</sup>. Moreover, historical content was scattered throughout the curriculum, tied to the macro-themes discussed. This resulted in limited in-depth coverage of Zambia’s history. Nonetheless, despite the scattered nature of historical contents, some objectives included in the syllabus are significant for the present research. First of all, as evidenced by the brief example above, Zambia’s ethnic past was not denied; rather, the student was asked to learn the different ethnic groups who inhabited the community, province and country, as well as their customs (food, clothes, laws), in both the past and the present. The principle of «unity in diversity» was emphasized, aiming to create a sense of national unity by asking the students to «explain how their community is part of the Zambian nation». Moreover, in an effort to foster a common national imagery, the curriculum focused on national symbols, such as the flag, coat of arms, and national festivals<sup>104</sup>. However, it is noteworthy that there were no references to specific historical figures or events that played crucial roles in shaping the nation's history.

Section B, «Looking at the Past and its development», was studied in Grades 8 and 9. This section is the most significant for our purposes as it focused almost exclusively on History. Moreover,

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<sup>101</sup> RZ, MoHE, *Basic Education. Social Studies Syllabus*, cit., pp. ii and iv.

<sup>102</sup> Ivi, pp. 11 and 34.

<sup>103</sup> One notable exception was to be found in Grade 7, where students were required to «relate the history of our country from 1890-1924 and 1924-1963; i.e. what our country was called before independence, who the rulers were, when our nation became independent, who our leaders are today, the achievements and changes made after independence». See ivi, p. 48

<sup>104</sup> Ivi, pp. 7-9.

in its introduction, the drafters specified that this section aimed to «help pupils develop a sense of “national Unity” within the context of historical experiences shared with other communities» and «assist pupils to appreciate the importance of culture and traditions of the Zambian society»<sup>105</sup>.

The learning objectives followed a chronological and thematic order. Grade 8 covered prehistory and precolonial history, including the ancient history of Zambia and the surrounding region, decentralised (Tonga, Ila and Lenje) and centralised (Bemba, Lozi and Lunda) societies in Zambia, and the population of Zambia. What is interesting is that under this latter rubric, pupils were required to «state clearly how a nation is formed in relation to Zambia’s historical development leading to Independence» and to «explain the importance of [...] “One Zambia, One Nation”, and “National Unity”»<sup>106</sup>. Here, then, we see the purpose of nation-building, already expressed in the general aims, taking clear shape. Finally, there was a thematic unit on the history of agriculture and land policy in Zambia, which was mainly focused on the post-colonial period<sup>107</sup>. As regards the history of Central and Southern Africa pupils studied the migrations of the Bantu-speaking peoples, the kingdoms and states of Central Africa (Luba-Lunda; Kalonga-Undi; Mwata Kazembe; Bemba; Luyi/Lozi; and Munumutapa) – as well as their social, political and economic organisations – and the early African societies in southern Africa (ex.: Khoi Khoi and the Saan) and the Mfecane<sup>108</sup>.

Grade 9 focused on (Central and Southern) African history from the first contacts with Europeans. This is the section where the anti-colonial perspective that informed the entire syllabus emerged most clearly. The first, partial exception was to be found in the first unit that referred to European voyages of «discovery». Nevertheless, these voyages were soon connected to the slave trade, to which an entire unit was devoted and which was clearly blamed solely on Europeans<sup>109</sup>. The syllabus covered the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape, explorers and missionaries, European expansion in Africa, African resistance to colonial rule and the Federation. Also included were the role played by African Independent churches, Native Welfare Associations, Labor Movements, and Political parties<sup>110</sup>. Thus, continental events were also referred to the national dimension and African agency was also highlighted. The curriculum also addressed African struggles for independence, including the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, demonstrating their significance for Zambia’s history and self-image as a state fighting against colonial dominance and racial discrimination.

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<sup>105</sup> Ivi, p. 62.

<sup>106</sup> Ivi, pp. 66-67.

<sup>107</sup> Ivi, p. 67.

<sup>108</sup> Ivi, pp. 65 and 68.

<sup>109</sup> Ivi, pp. 69-70.

<sup>110</sup> Ivi, pp. 70-73.

Finally, students were required to describe Zambia's achievements after independence, its role in international affairs, and appreciate the challenges of nation-building<sup>111</sup>.

Like section B, section C was studied in Grades 8 and 9 and was entitled «Man and his environment, the habitat, resources and economy». It was almost exclusively focused on geographical concepts, skills and methodologies, and it explored the Zambian, African and geographical environment<sup>112</sup>.

To summarize, unlike the 1970s syllabi, the use of History as a tool for strengthening the nation-building process is much more visible in the 1985 syllabus. This “rediscovery” of the legitimizing properties of history may have had something to do with the decline in popularity and credibility that UNIP was experiencing in the 1980s, mainly on account of its inability to effectively address the country's economic predicament. In other words, it is possible that, in the context of a profound crisis of legitimacy, the Zambian government recognized the need to reassert a sense of national identity and unity as a way to maintain a degree of social cohesion and political stability. Indeed, both in the primary and secondary school curricula, the need of instilling positive attitudes toward the motto “One Zambia, One Nation” was emphasized, while attempts were made to engender feelings of unity in diversity by studying the history of Zambia's various peoples and kingdoms. Moreover, the curriculum's focus on African and Zambian agency in the struggle against colonial rule and the liberation movements of neighbouring countries presented a narrative of resistance and independence. Finally, it is crucial to underscore that the syllabus also addressed the post-1964 history of Zambia, mentioning the challenges associated with the nation-building process that the country underwent after gaining independence. On the other hand, the piecemeal treatment of Zambian history and the lack of rigorous chronological order, especially in the primary school syllabus, might have resulted in students forming only a limited understanding of the nation's historical journey. Additionally, the absence of specific historical figures and events that played crucial roles in Zambia's history might have militated against the nation-building effort, especially in the case of very young pupils.

Other critical aspects of the new curriculum pertain to its structure. Indeed, the division of historical and geographical topics into two different sections highlighted how these two subjects were not actually integrated into the Social Studies course and were, in fact, even taught by two different teachers. This aspect was later acknowledged by the same CDC<sup>113</sup>. Furthermore, while this was a syllabus for basic schools, not all primary schools were upgraded according to its tenets. In fact, as

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<sup>111</sup> Ivi, pp. 74-76.

<sup>112</sup> Ivi, p. v.

<sup>113</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/27, 9480, 003, *Minutes of the Social Studies Curriculum Committee Meeting. Held on 8th November, 1983 at Curriculum Development Centre, Lusaka*, MGEC/101/7/17, 55.



we will see in the following section, two parallel school systems continued to exist in the country. The first consisted of basic schools, where this syllabus applied; the second was made up of primary schools (Grades 1-7) and secondary schools (Grades 8-12), where the syllabi published in the 1970s must have remained in use and where History was therefore being taught as a stand-alone subject.

Moreover, soon after the distribution of the draft syllabus in schools, problems began to surface, jeopardizing the curriculum's chances of success. The response rate from teachers, whose feedback was requested, was very low. Furthermore, they complained of a shortage of materials for the teaching of existing Geography and History courses, let alone for a new course in Social Studies<sup>114</sup>.

Despite these criticisms, the final version of the syllabus was published a couple of years after its initial release, with only minor changes. While the general objectives remained mostly unchanged, the structure of the syllabus was revised<sup>115</sup>. The division into three different sections disappeared, and the syllabus adopted a concentric approach, combining aspects of History and Geography together, as had already been the case in primary schools. Thus, while the syllabus for Grades 3-7 remained the same, the one for Grades 8 and 9 was reworked. For Grade 8, historical contents remained largely the same, with minor reorganization of instructional units<sup>116</sup>. While these modifications were small and had no impact on the overall shape of the syllabus, it is of special significance for the current research that, in dealing with the «Population of Zambia», there were no longer any references to the formation of the Zambian nation or to the role of such concepts as “One Zambia, One Nation”, or “national unity”<sup>117</sup>.

Similar re-arrangements had taken place in Grade 9. Indeed, the anti-colonial stance of the syllabus was reinforced, with terms such as «discovery» and «European expansion» replaced by «European invasion»<sup>118</sup>. Most importantly, some units related to the struggle for independence and to post-independence Zambian history were removed, and the focus shifted primarily to Zambia's industrial and urban development since 1964. Finally, a unit on the political and economic organizations of Africa was included, but the emphasis was more on economic aspects than on the historical links between independent African countries<sup>119</sup>.

In conclusion, while the differences between the two editions of the syllabus were minor, the space given to History was significantly reduced in the final 1987 version. Indeed, whereas History

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<sup>114</sup> D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development*, cit., p. 236.

<sup>115</sup> Examination Council of Zambia, *Basic Education. Social Studies Syllabus. Grades 3-9*, Lusaka, Curriculum Development Centre, 1987, p. iv.

<sup>116</sup> Some Central African societies were eliminated and included in the Zambian history section (e.g., Bemba, Lunda), while some Southern African societies were added (Zulu, Swazi, Sotho). See *ivi*, pp. 34-36.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>118</sup> *Ivi*, p. 43.

<sup>119</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 44-46.

and Geography had two macro-sections each in the 1985 syllabus (B and C, respectively), in 1987, only four of the seventeen overall units for Grades 8 and 9 were devoted to the study of History, while three units combined historical and geographical topics. This further suggests a strong contemporary focus, given that the geographical units were primarily concerned with the post-1964 development of Zambia (industrial, agricultural, energy, and so on). Furthermore, it is important to highlight that the revised curriculum omitted several post-colonial national history topics and any explicit references to the use of history as a means for nation-building. This suggests a shelving of the project of actively using history to foster a cohesive national identity and unity. Finally, as the syllabus for Grades 8-9 took on the structure of Grades 3-7, including its piecemeal treatment of History and lack of chronological order, this could have further undermined the students' historical understanding.

### 3.3 New governments, old challenges

In December 1990, President Kaunda reintroduced multipartyism in Zambia. This transition was shaped by a complex interplay of both domestic and international factors. On the domestic front, UNIP's inability to address pressing economic issues had sown discontent among different civil society groups, who began to voice their concerns and demands for greater political freedom and multiparty elections. At the same time, the international scenario was changing, as the end of the Cold War was reshaping global dynamics and influencing political paradigms. Moreover, Zambia's external creditors, including international financial institutions and donor countries, were becoming increasingly concerned about the country's economic mismanagement and exerted pressure for economic and political reforms<sup>120</sup>. As a result, less than a year later, in October 1991, the first multiparty elections were held, and Frederick Chiluba, the leader of a newly formed party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), replaced Kaunda as President of the Republic of Zambia. This, as well as the new ruling party's commitment to political and economic liberalization, heralded a new era in the life of the nation<sup>121</sup>. This political shift had an impact on the country's educational sector, leading to the replacement of the previous education policy, *Educational Reform* (1977), with a new one called *Focus on Learning* in 1992<sup>122</sup>.

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<sup>120</sup> On the Zambian transition to multipartyism, see: L. Rakner, *Political and economic liberalisation in Zambia 1991-2001*, Uppsala, Nordic Africa Institute, 2003.

<sup>121</sup> B. Carmody, *Education in Zambia*, cit., pp. xi and 131.

<sup>122</sup> From 1992, the Ministry returned to its original name of Ministry of Education (MoE) and reunited the functions of the former Ministry of General Education, Youth and Sport and of the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology. Thus, it returned to be the only Ministry responsible for all forms and aspects of education in the country.

This policy change was deemed necessary to emphasize the country's evolving democratic values, as well as its respect for human rights and dignity, and to promote political participation<sup>123</sup>. Moreover, under this policy, the goal of providing nine years of basic education for all was replaced with a focus on offering seven years of education to every child, in order to enhance the quality of the education provided<sup>124</sup>. Thus, among its top priorities, the document included the expansion, development and rehabilitation of primary schools and the provision of textbooks and other educational materials<sup>125</sup>.

As regards secondary and higher education, the document stipulated that, under the current circumstances, ongoing projects would be completed but no new ones would be inaugurated. This included basic schools, whose development was to be halted for at least a couple of years. Indeed, their rapid proliferation had created a two-tier system of secondary schooling, with well-endowed secondary schools and poorly equipped basic schools, described as a «educational nightmare», thus perpetuating educational inequality<sup>126</sup>. Furthermore, the new educational policy was characterized by a pronounced decentralization and pluralism in the provision of education through the involvement of communities, private organizations and religious bodies so as to make the school the reflection of «a more pluralistic society»<sup>127</sup>. This shift in educational policy marked a definitive break with the old government's view that the responsibility for education rested solely with the state and its centralized system of control and management of schools<sup>128</sup>.

*Focus on Learning* also foresaw some of the possible negative outcomes of the new policy, especially as regards cost sharing and the increasing role of private schools. In particular, it warned against the danger that increasing demands for school-related payments might lead some families to withdraw children, especially girls, from school<sup>129</sup>. Despite these early warnings, this is precisely what happened. Indeed, many Zambian parents, already impoverished by rampant inflation, proved unable to bear the additional and rising costs<sup>130</sup>. As a result, primary school enrolment declined from 96% in 1985 to 85% in 1994<sup>131</sup>; in 1995 it was estimated that 20% of the 7–13-year-old age group

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<sup>123</sup> MoE, *Focus on Learning*, cit., p. 6.

<sup>124</sup> Ivi, pp. iv and xiv.

<sup>125</sup> Nonetheless, the new policy acknowledged that double sessions would have to be retained for Grades 1 to 4. See ivi, pp. v-vi and 19.

<sup>126</sup> Ivi, pp. xii-xiii and 72-73. As we have seen in the previous paragraph, this also had detrimental effects on curricular reforms.

<sup>127</sup> Ivi, pp. xiv and 65.

<sup>128</sup> The centralization of school education in the hands of the Government had reached such an extent that, in 1989, out of 3,493 primary schools only 44 were privately owned, while out of 430 secondary schools only 47 were private, that is, 1% and 7.5%, respectively. See ivi, pp. 14, 115 and 120.

<sup>129</sup> Ivi, pp. 65-66.

<sup>130</sup> Primary school fees rose from K20 in 1992 to K1,000 in 1994. See: P.J. Henriot, *Zambia. A Case Study of Economic Reform and the Impact on the Poor*, Lusaka, Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, 1996, p. 6.

<sup>131</sup> B. Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, cit., pp. 57-58.

were not in school (that is, about 300,000 children)<sup>132</sup>. Therefore, through the policy of privatization, the pivotal ideal of equity that had been so central to post-Independence thinking was undermined<sup>133</sup>.

Given all these criticalities just a couple of years after the publication of *Focus on Learning*, the Ministry began to reformulate its educational policy. The first outcome was a draft entitled *National Education Policy*, issued in August 1994<sup>134</sup>, whose ideas were later developed and published in *Educating our Future* (1996). *Educating our Future* was presented as the country's first comprehensive, funded initiative addressing the entire formal education system (*Focus on Learning* had been solely focused on primary schooling). The policy rejected the centralized provision of education, which had been criticized for its negative impact on the quality, efficiency and effectiveness of education, and stipulated that the new principles that guided education in Zambia would be «liberalization, decentralization, equality, equity, partnership and accountability»<sup>135</sup>. Nevertheless, despite decentralization, the MoE retained responsibility for key national functions, such as making legislation, formulating policies, planning at the national level, resource mobilization and allocation, setting national standards and developing the national curriculum<sup>136</sup>. Moreover, despite the introduction of cost-sharing measures, no tuition fees were authorized in basic schools, and the Ministry took into account the situation of the poor and vulnerable to ensure their access to education<sup>137</sup>.

One of the most significant differences between *Educating Our Future* and *Focus on Learning* was the rehabilitation of the nine years of basic education, which were reinstated as the fundamental structure of the education system<sup>138</sup>. Thus, despite having rejected the educational policy carried out by UNIP, the MMD government revived basic schools, one of the main pillars introduced by the 1977 reform, and retained the two parallel, unequal, education systems, one comprising basic schools and the other – usually for better equipped children – regular secondary schools<sup>139</sup>.

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<sup>132</sup> Zambia Education Rehabilitation Programme, *Zambian Perspectives on Education. The ZERP Policy Studies*, Lusaka, Ministry of Education, n.d., pp. 1-6, 39-42, quoted in M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education*, cit., p. 260.

<sup>133</sup> B. Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, cit., pp. 57-58.

<sup>134</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *National Education Policy. Draft*, unpublished, August 1994.

<sup>135</sup> Ministry of Education, *Educating Our Future. National Policy on Education*, Lusaka, Ministry of Education, 1996, pp. 129 and 4.

<sup>136</sup> Ivi, p. 126.

<sup>137</sup> Ivi, pp. 164-165.

<sup>138</sup> This restructuring also led to a change in nomenclature: Grades 1-4 were referred to as Lower Basic, Grades 5-7 as Middle Basic, and Grades 8-9 as Upper Basic. See: Ivi, pp. 10-12. Indeed, parents had not seen favourably the halt to basic school imposed by *Focus on Learning* and there was a national outcry to keep children longer in school in order for them to gain more knowledge and skills to better cope with life after school. See: Republic of Zambia, Education Sector Ministries, *Educating the Nation. Strategic Framework For Implementation of Education for All*, 2005, p. 12.

<sup>139</sup> A.L.H. Moonga, M. Changala and S. Lisulo, *Development of Education in the Third Republic: Policies and their Implications*, in G. Masaiti (ed.), *Education in Zambia*, cit., pp. 25 and 33.

In 1999, in order to implement the national policy on education expressed in *Educating Our Future*, the Government launched another basic education sub-sector programme, the *Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Plan* (BESSIP), for the period 1999-2003<sup>140</sup>. BESSIP aimed to increase primary school enrolment, to reverse the decline in enrolment ratios and to improve academic achievement at basic level, especially in literacy and numeracy<sup>141</sup>. In addition, the policy intended to provide more textbooks, revise the basic school curriculum and teach initial literacy in mother tongues as opposed to English<sup>142</sup>.

During Levy Mwanawasa's presidency (2002-2008), the educational policy in Zambia remained largely consistent with the 1996 *Educating Our Future* policy. However, new initiatives and long-term plans were developed. The most significant long-term plan was *Vision 2030*, which was launched in December 2006. *Vision 2030* aimed to transform Zambia into a prosperous middle-income nation<sup>143</sup> and its objectives and targets were to be made operational through development plans, starting from the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP, 2006-2010)<sup>144</sup>. As regards education, *Vision 2030* recognized its importance in driving social-economic development but acknowledged that educational standards in the country were not yet commensurate with sustainable development. Therefore, it set the following targets: to put in place a comprehensive and diversified curriculum that was responsive to the social and economic needs of the individual and the community; to increase the literacy and net enrolment rates; and to improve pupil/teacher and pupil/textbook ratios<sup>145</sup>.

Moreover, to address the need for improved access to education, under Mwanawasa presidency, the Free Basic Education (FBE) policy was implemented for students in Grades 1-7. This policy removed all fees associated with attendance, lifted the requirement of school uniforms, and established that the enrolment of pupils was to be unconditional and not linked to contributing items such as reams of paper and hoes<sup>146</sup>. This decision opened the doors of opportunity for hundreds of thousands of children and access to primary and basic education improved significantly<sup>147</sup>. However, the sudden implementation of the FBE policy raised concerns, as it was not accompanied by a proper

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<sup>140</sup> Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Centre, *A Study on Views of Stakeholders Outside the Education Sector on the Basic School Curriculum*, Lusaka, MoE, 2000, p. ix.

<sup>141</sup> RZ, Education Sector Ministries, *Educating the Nation*, cit., p. 14.

<sup>142</sup> M. Mwalimu, *Access, Quality and Opportunity*, cit., pp. 17-18.

<sup>143</sup> L.P. Mwanawasa, *Foreword*, in Republic of Zambia, *Vision 2030. "A Prosperous Middle-Income Nation by 2030"*, December 2006, p. v.

<sup>144</sup> M. Mwalimu, *Access, Quality and Opportunity*, cit., p. 19.

<sup>145</sup> RZ, *Vision 2030*, cit., p. 32.

<sup>146</sup> See: M. Mwalimu, *Access, Quality and Opportunity*, cit., pp. 19-20, and P. Mwanza, *An Assessment of Major Educational Policies in Zambia from 1964 to 2015: Lessons for the Future*, in G. Masaiti (ed.), *Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 99.

<sup>147</sup> *Education in Zambia 2002*, p. 7, cit. in B. Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 66.

legal framework or sufficient financing commitment from the government. This lack of preparation resulted in a loss of revenue for schools and a decline in the quality of education due to inadequate resources. In fact, the Zambian education system was still confronted with problems such as dilapidated infrastructure, overcrowded classrooms, insufficient teaching and learning materials and teacher supply<sup>148</sup>. Moreover, additional costs beyond tuition fees, such as transportation, meals, and maintenance fees, were not considered, further burdening parents<sup>149</sup>.

In response to these challenges, both the FNDP and the subsequent Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP, 2011-2015<sup>150</sup>) focused on improving the quality of education through teacher recruitment, the provision of teaching and learning materials, and infrastructural development<sup>151</sup>. The SNDP particularly shifted the priority to secondary and tertiary education over primary education<sup>152</sup>. Most importantly, the SNDP provided for the revision of the Education Act of 1966, which had governed the education system until then<sup>153</sup>. This reform resulted in the new Education Act of 2011. This updated law reaffirmed the authority of the Minister to determine the national policy on education<sup>154</sup>. However, it also provided legal recognition to all the reforms that had been implemented in the education system and policy since the birth of the multi-party Third Republic in 1991.

The Act formalized the decentralized nature of the education system and acknowledged its new structure, which now included early childhood care, basic education, high school, and tertiary education<sup>155</sup>. Additionally, confirming FBE, it recognized free basic education as a right of all children<sup>156</sup>. Moreover, the Act acknowledged that the MoE was not the sole provider of education, recognizing an equal right for public, private, community and aided educational institution and detailing the conditions for the opening and functioning of their schools<sup>157</sup>. As regards the curricular domain, the Act reaffirmed the right of the Minister to «specify the curriculum, syllabi, books and other materials to be used at an educational institution» and that, in order to enhance the effectiveness

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<sup>148</sup> RZ, Education Sector Ministries, *Educating the Nation*, cit., pp. 14-16.

<sup>149</sup> P. Mwanza, *An Assessment of Major Educational Policies*, cit., p. 99.

<sup>150</sup> The plan was later revised and extended to 2016 (R-SNDP). See: Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistical Bulletin 2014*, Lusaka, MoE, 2014, p. 10.

<sup>151</sup> Ministry of Education, Government of the Republic of Zambia, *Education Sector: National Implementation Framework 2008-2010. Implementing the Fifth National Development Plan*, Lusaka, 2007, pp. 14-15, and Republic of Zambia, *Sixth National Development Plan, 2011-2015. Sustained economic growth and poverty reduction*, Lusaka, 2011, p. 91.

<sup>152</sup> RZ, *SNDP, 2011-2015*, cit., p. 93.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*. This reform had been already called for by *Educating Our Future*. See: MoE, *Educating Our Future*, cit., p. 128.

<sup>154</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Education Act, 2011*. No. 23 of 2011, Part II, Section 5 (1).

<sup>155</sup> Ivi, Part II, Sections 6 and 7 and Part III, Section 12 (1).

<sup>156</sup> Ivi, Part IV, Section 15.

<sup>157</sup> Ivi, Part III, Section 13 (1); Part VI, Sections 47 (1) and 48; Part VII, Section 72 (1); Part VIII, Section 81 (1); Part VI, Sections 49 (1) and 50 (1-2); Part VII, Sections 73 (1) and 75 (1); Part VIII, Sections 81 (2); 82 (1, 4); Part VI, Section 54 (1-g); Part VII, Section 76 (1-g); Part VII, section 76 (1-b); Part X, Section 109.

and quality of education, it had to ensure that the approved curriculum was «comprehensive, balanced, integrated, diversified and relevant»<sup>158</sup>. Moreover, the Act established that public, community and aided school would use the same national curriculum, while private educational institutions could use a different curriculum and language of instruction, under ministerial approval<sup>159</sup>. Nonetheless, any public, community, aided or private school could introduce in the curriculum a maximum of two subjects that reflect the local environment<sup>160</sup>. Regarding the language of instruction, the Act clearly established that «the language of instruction at any level of the education system shall be English». However, the legislative text provided significant room for individual school education boards to choose another language of instruction, particularly in the early years of schooling<sup>161</sup>.

The socio-political and economic changes that occurred in Zambia after the return to multipartyism and the election of Chiluba as President also led to curricular reforms. The new education policy, *Focus on Learning*, identified several weaknesses in the existing primary school curriculum, including: overemphasis on cognitive and factual knowledge; rigid organization based on distinct subject areas; centralized development without sufficient input from teachers or communities; lack of flexibility; contents overload; and use of English as the medium of instruction from Grade 1 onwards<sup>162</sup>. To address these shortcomings, *Focus on Learning* aimed to reduce rigid subject boundaries; emphasize reading, writing, and numeracy; foster independent thinking and problem-solving skills, while rejecting the idea of schools as productive units; involve communities and teachers in curriculum design; establish local languages as the basic medium of instruction in Grades 1-4; and centre the curriculum on the student to promote active participation and democratic principles, in line with the new political climate<sup>163</sup>.

Moreover, an important aspect of the new curriculum would have been the recognition of the importance of understanding and appreciating Zambia's past. As explained in *Focus on Learning*:

Understanding little about their past, many Zambians today have an uneasy sense of homelessness and rootlessness [...]. The education system will reverse this trend and will encourage a healthy appreciation for one's own and other cultures and an ability to be creatively critical of the contributions and deficiencies of each. By giving a more prominent role to

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<sup>158</sup> Ivi, Part IX, Section 95 (1), 95 (2-a).

<sup>159</sup> Ivi, Section 101 (1 and 3)

<sup>160</sup> Ivi, Section 97.

<sup>161</sup> Ivi, Section 98 (1-2).

<sup>162</sup> MoE, *Focus on Learning*, cit., pp. viii and 27.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibidem*.

local languages, expressions, rites, symbols and arts, the schools will endeavour to ensure that the living cultural traditions of Zambia are safeguarded from further erosion and that opportunity is provided for their enrichment and refinement<sup>164</sup>.

Building on these recommendations, a review of the basic education curriculum began in 1993<sup>165</sup>. It focused on quality improvement and on the incorporation of emerging issues of national concern, such as: education for democracy and human rights, gender issues, environmental education, population education, HIV and AIDS education<sup>166</sup>. These could not be turned into separate subjects and were thus introduced in the Social Studies syllabus, which was finally published in 1996.

However, a comparison between the 1987 and 1996 Social Studies syllabi in Zambia reveals that, while there were some changes, the overall structure and content remained quite similar. The 1996 syllabus followed the same concentric structure, progressing from the local environment to broader dimensions, including national, African and global perspectives. It also addressed the same topics (with the addition of the aforementioned “emerging issues”) and pursued the same objectives, retaining the emphasis on the motto “One Zambia, One Nation” and the concept of national unity, reflecting the importance of fostering a sense of national identity and cohesion among students<sup>167</sup>.

Regarding the teaching of History in primary schools, the references to historical topics continued to be sporadic and sparse. Historical contents were now always included in the section entitled «living together», but there was no chronological order or any clear indication of historical progression. So, for example, pupils were required to describe how people in the district (Grade 4) or province (Grade 5) lived in the past<sup>168</sup>. In Grade 5, there was a more specific chronological framework (1880-1991) for discussing the history of different ethnic groups in the province and the history of Zambia<sup>169</sup>. The most significant historical section was to be found in Grade 6, where students were asked to explore «the causes and the course of Bantu Migrations from 1000 to 1800» and «discuss the history of Zambia from 1890-1964», covering topics like the Lochner concession, Rhodes and the BSAC, the Copperbelt strikes, Trade Unions and Political Parties, Federation and Independence<sup>170</sup>. Finally, in Grade 7, there was a partial reference to world history, where students were required to

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<sup>164</sup> Ivi, p. 9.

<sup>165</sup> Republic of Zambia, Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Social Studies Syllabus. Grades 1-7*, Lusaka, CDC, 1996, p. v. Quite surprisingly, given that *Focus on Learning* proposed to halt the expansion of basic schools, the new curriculum was directed to basic education.

<sup>166</sup> International Bureau of Education, Ministry of Education, *The Development of Education. National Report of Zambia*, IBE-UNESCO, April 2000, p. 16.

<sup>167</sup> RZ, CDC, *Zambia Basic Education Course*, cit., pp. viii-x.

<sup>168</sup> Ivi, pp. 11 and 15.

<sup>169</sup> Ivi, p. 15.

<sup>170</sup> Ivi, p. 20.



«identify selected leaders who had an influence on major world issues», such as «Hitler, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela»<sup>171</sup>.

Even this brief survey reveals how the primary school curriculum continued to marginalize History, and how the focus remained on studying the past of one's own district or province rather than presenting a unified view of the national history. Moreover, the curriculum mainly covered the period of colonial rule up to independence, leaving out crucial historical events and developments that could have helped shape the nation's identity, such as pre-colonial kingdoms and post-colonial history. This lack of emphasis on projecting the national dimension backward in History education may be historically accurate, but it also reflects a missed opportunity to use History as a means of fostering a sense of national identity and unity. The latter task was mainly assigned to the teaching of Civics. So, for example, students in Grade 3 were asked to draw the Zambian flag and sing the National anthem, while Grade 4 students had to interpret the colours of the National flag and the Coat of Arms<sup>172</sup>. Other criticisms were raised by Chishimba and Simukoko, according to whom the 1996 Social Studies syllabus was too factual and wide, lacking depth, and promoting memorization over critical thinking. Indeed, despite aiming for a child-centred approach, it often remained teacher-centred, hindering the students' active participation. The absence of resources further compounded the challenges<sup>173</sup>.

Unfortunately, the Grades 8 and 9 syllabi could not be located in the National Archives, the CDC, or Jacaranda Combined School during the field research conducted in April-May 2023. However, the table of contents of a textbook compliant with the 1996 syllabus suggests there were not many variations from the 1987 syllabus, particularly concerning the teaching of History as a separate subject.<sup>174</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that History continued to be taught as a separate subject indicates that there was some recognition of the importance of historical knowledge and understanding in the curriculum. However, without access to the actual syllabi, it is problematic to assess the extent to which History was emphasized in the curriculum, and whether it adequately covered key historical events and developments relating to Zambia's past.

When the new educational policy *Educating Our Future* replaced *Focus on Learning*, a new curricular review was deemed necessary to reflect the changes in the education system<sup>175</sup>. The curriculum in force was criticized for being «compartmentalized, overloaded, and inflexible», geared largely to the

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<sup>171</sup> Ivi, p. 28.

<sup>172</sup> Ivi, pp. 7-11.

<sup>173</sup> C.P. Chishimba, R.K. Simukoko, *Social Studies in Zambia*, cit., pp. 288-297.

<sup>174</sup> Y. Chondoka (ed.), G. Arnold, L. Ntalasha, *Junior Secondary History for Zambia*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia, 2003 [2001]. The analysis of this text will be carried out in the next chapter.

<sup>175</sup> MoE, *Educating Our Future*, cit., p. 11

memorization of facts, simply for the purpose of passing final exams<sup>176</sup>. On the contrary, the new curriculum aimed to place the child at the centre of the education process, focusing on relevance, flexibility, and periodic reviews. It emphasized literacy, English, Zambian languages, and scientific subjects, while integrating areas of national concern across the curriculum<sup>177</sup>. This signalled that the MoE's attention to History and Social Studies, which had never been particularly significant, was declining further. Moreover, in *Educating Our Future*, the language of instruction was a subject of debate. To be sure, English was recognized as crucial «in promoting a sense of national unity», its “alien” status notwithstanding, and was thus confirmed as the official medium. Nevertheless, teachers in Grades 1-4 were allowed to use any language understood by the majority of students for better learning outcomes<sup>178</sup>. This policy – which was applied countrywide from 2003<sup>179</sup> and which was, as we have seen, recognized by the Education Act, 2011<sup>180</sup> – simply recognised and endorsed a teaching practice that, particularly in rural areas, had been used all along<sup>181</sup>. Finally, despite the liberalization and privatization policies that had been implemented from the late 1980s, and then strengthened in the 1990s, *Educating Our Future* stated that, even under the new decentralized system, the Ministry headquarters remained responsible for developing the national curriculum, though stakeholders would be involved in the decision-making process<sup>182</sup>.

Building on these recommendations and under the BESSIP umbrella, in 1999, a curriculum reform project was launched. Its intention was to create a basic school curriculum that would be relevant, effective and aimed at improving teaching and learning outcomes<sup>183</sup>. As a result of this reform process, in 2003, the new Basic Education curriculum was published<sup>184</sup>. The curriculum was outcome-based, learner-centred and continuous assessment-oriented; it also provided for the use of a familiar language for initial literacy. It included five learning areas: Literacy and Languages, Mathematics, Integrated Science, Creative and Technology Studies, and Social and Development Studies. A sixth learning area called Community Studies was introduced to respond to localized curriculum needs. Moreover, as in the 1996 curriculum, it integrated cross-cutting issues and themes of national concern, which were included in the Social and Development Studies syllabus<sup>185</sup>.

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<sup>176</sup> Ivi, pp. 26-27.

<sup>177</sup> Ivi, pp. 28-29, 32-33 and 45-46.

<sup>178</sup> Ivi, pp. 26 and 39.

<sup>179</sup> B. Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 108.

<sup>180</sup> RZ, *Education Act, 2011*, cit., Part IX, Section 98 (1-2).

<sup>181</sup> D. Banda, J. Simwinga, *Language in Education Policy in Zambia*, cit., p. 263.

<sup>182</sup> MoE, *Educating Our Future*, cit., p. 126.

<sup>183</sup> MoE, CDC, *A Study on Views of Stakeholders*, cit., p. 2.

<sup>184</sup> RZ, Education Sector Ministries, *Educating the Nation*, cit., p. 42.

<sup>185</sup> They were: HIV/AIDS, human rights, democracy and citizenship, substance abuse, life skills, education for development, environmental issues and spiritual and moral education. See: Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *Zambia Basic Education Syllabi. Grades 1-7*, Lusaka, CDC, 2003, pp. v-viii.

This syllabus retained a concentric organization of topics, starting from the student's immediate environment and expanding outward. The different topics were organized in areas such as living together, spiritual and moral education, food, environment, and communication and transport, which were repeated each year and were mainly focused on issues pertaining Zambia. The objectives no longer emphasized national unity, but rather aimed at developing an understanding of various factors influencing social development, including historical factors<sup>186</sup>. The teaching contents were similar to the 1996 syllabus, with some minor changes and additions. For example, topics related to Zambian national symbols were introduced in earlier grades, and in Grade 3 pupils were also asked to «explain why Zambia celebrates independence»<sup>187</sup>. Moreover, in Grade 6 any indication on the different topics to be covered when addressing the history of colonial Zambia disappeared, likewise any historical content was removed from Grade 7.

To conclude, in this syllabus, History appears to play an even more marginal role than in the past, as it is embedded within the broader subject of Social and Development Studies. Moreover, the removal of any reference to the promotion of nation-building from the teaching objectives further reinforces the idea that History was now being treated merely as a subject destined to impart factual knowledge, rather than as a tool to shape a common national identity and understanding of Zambia's past. Finally, the elimination of more precise references to national history (included in the 1996 syllabus) further indicates a diminishing focus on Zambia's past. Indeed, without specific guidance on how exactly to teach the nation's history, and given the shortage of educational materials, teachers may have had less incentive to prioritize and delve into the complexities of the country's history.

Moreover, the implementation of the new curriculum faced various obstacles hindering its success. These included the slow pace of reform, the inadequate supply of textbooks, the discrepancies between the curriculum in Basic Colleges of Education and the reformed curriculum at the school level, as well as issues related to teacher qualifications and motivation, and management capacity at the school and district level<sup>188</sup>. However, the main flaw in this reform was that, in all likelihood, the curriculum for Grades 8-9 was never published. Indeed, when, in 2006, the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP, 2006-2010) was issued, it called for the development of a basic school curriculum and syllabus for Grades 8-9 and for the review of the curriculum framework for Grades 1-7<sup>189</sup>. Accordingly, an independent review of the MoE Sector Plan conducted in 2007

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<sup>186</sup> Ivi, p. 97.

<sup>187</sup> Ivi, pp. 100, 102 and 104. Other additions were: in Grade 5, pupils were asked to «discuss names of historical cultural sites and their significance» and «discuss the roles of men, women and children during the Iron Age»; in Grade 6 they were requested to «describe the Laws enacted by the colonial government. See: Ivi, pp. 106 and 108.

<sup>188</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Education Sector: National Implementation Framework III 2011-2015. Implementing the Sixth National Development Plan*, GRZ, Lusaka, 2011, pp. 36-37.

<sup>189</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Fifth National Development Plan, 2006-2010. Broad based wealth and job creation through citizenry participation and technological advancement*, Lusaka, 2006, pp. 150-151. This same point was made by the

interviewed CDC officers, who admitted that the reform had been implemented haphazardly, so much so that the Grade 8-9 curriculum framework was still being written<sup>190</sup>.

### 3.4 Policy shifts and curriculum reforms under the Patriotic Front government

In September 2011, Zambia witnessed a shift in political leadership as Michael Sata, a former member of the MMD who had formed his own party, the Patriotic Front (PF), in 2001, was elected President after defeating incumbent president Banda, Mwanawasa's successor. Sata's PF supported a populist agenda, symbolised by his slogan of «lower taxes, more jobs, more money in your pockets» and characterised by rejection of elites and support for high levels of state intervention, which appealed first and foremost to the urban poors and members of the Bemba ethno-linguistic group<sup>191</sup>.

This change once again impacted on the country's education policy<sup>192</sup>. In particular, the most significant change in the education system was the restructuring from nine years of basic school, followed by three years of high school, to seven years of primary education (Grades 1-7) and five years of secondary education (Grades 8-12). This change was motivated by the recognition that *Educating Our Future's* plan to transform all the primary schools into basic schools, and all the secondary schools into high schools, had failed. Moreover, the majority of basic schools did not have the appropriate infrastructure and some of them did not have suitably qualified teachers for Grades 8-9<sup>193</sup>. Furthermore, the National Implementation Framework (NIF III) of the SNDP highlighted the lack of emphasis on quality and relevance in education during the previous National Plan<sup>194</sup>. Finally, despite a notable increase in pupil enrolment, there were still 10% of children not attending school,

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operational tool of the FNDP, that is the National Implementation Framework. See: MoE, GRZ, *Education Sector: National Implementation Framework 2008-2010*, cit., p. 15.

<sup>190</sup> Ministry of Education, *Review of the Ministry of Education Sector Plan*, MOE/PLAN/SECTOR/CONS/001/2006, Independent Review 2006, Final Report – May 2007, p. 23.

<sup>191</sup> See: D. Resnick, *Populist Strategies in African Democracies*, WIDER Working Paper, n. 114, 2010, pp. 7-14. On the political discourse of the MMD and PF and the differences in voting behaviour between rural and urban Zambia, see: M. Larmer, A. Fraser, *Of cabbages and King Cobra: Populist Politics and Zambia's 2006 Election*, «African Affairs», 106.425, 2007, pp. 611–637.

<sup>192</sup> RZ, *Education Sector: NIF III 2011-2015*, cit., p. i. Just like the SNDP, the NIF III was also revised and extended to 2016, see: RZ, MoE, *Educational Statistical Bulletin 2014*, cit., p. 10. The SNDP also provided for the merging of the two ministries that, during the FNDP, had directed education, that is, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Vocational Training. The new ministry now assumed the name of Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education (MESTVEE). Then, in 2016 the GRZ split again the education ministry into two: the Ministry of General Education (MoGE) and the Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE). The first is responsible for all issues related to Early Childhood Education, Primary and Secondary Schools, and Youth and Adult Literacy Education, while the MoHE is responsible for tertiary education, Post-school Technical and Vocational Education and Training, and Science, Technology and Innovation. However, to avoid confusion, in both cases (MESTVEE or MoGE), we will continue to use the acronym MoE.

<sup>193</sup> RZ, *Education Sector: NIF III 2011-2015*, cit., p. xi.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibidem*.

and the progression from Grade 7 to Grade 8 remained low. At the same time, the pupil-teacher ratio, especially in Grades 1-4, had worsened during the previous years<sup>195</sup>. To address all these issues, the new PF government – giving substance to its populist agenda – re-introduced free and compulsory education from Grade 1 to Grade 12, upgraded primary schools to provide Grades 1-7, and focused on improving the quality of education. Additionally, a two-tier education system was developed in secondary schools, one focusing on academic education and the other on skills development<sup>196</sup>.

Later, in 2017, under President Edgar Chagwa Lungu, Sata's PF successor from 2014, the Seventh National Development Plan (7NDP, 2017-2021) was published, in line with the long-term objectives outlined in *Vision 2030*<sup>197</sup>. The Plan recognized the unmet targets from the SNDP, in terms of net enrolment ratio and completion rates, and aimed to address them, viewing education as vital for responding to social and economic development challenges<sup>198</sup>. Broadening access to education, particularly for marginalized populations, was prioritized through investments in infrastructure and innovative educational methods, such as advanced information and communications technologies (ICT)<sup>199</sup>.

In the same year, 2017, the *Education Sector and Skills Plan* (ESSP) was published, serving as a roadmap to implement and achieve the goals set in the 7NDP and *Vision 2030*<sup>200</sup>. It aimed to re-establish education as a key catalyst for national development by improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the system through decentralization, by enhancing the quality of education and learning outcomes, by improving access to education in line with population growth, and by promoting equity in the school system<sup>201</sup>. ESSP also called for the revision of the national education policy, *Educating Our Future*, as well as the Education Act of 2011. This legal reform was seen as necessary to address the specific needs of general education and ensure alignment with the changing policy landscape<sup>202</sup>.

Notwithstanding these reforms of the education system, the most significant change carried out under the Patriotic Front government was the curriculum revision, which was finally implemented in 2013.

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<sup>195</sup> Ivi, pp. xiv, 9 and 35.

<sup>196</sup> Ivi, pp. xii-xix.

<sup>197</sup> E.C. Lungu, *Foreword*, in Republic of Zambia, *7 National Development Plan. 2017-2021. "Accelerating Development Efforts towards Vision 2030 without Leaving Anyone Behind"*, Vol. I, Lusaka, Ministry of National Development Planning, 2017, p. i

<sup>198</sup> RZ, *7 National Development Plan*, Vol. I, cit., p. 22.

<sup>199</sup> Ivi, pp. 99-101.

<sup>200</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of General Education and Ministry of Higher Education, *Education and Skills Sector Plan 2017-2021*, Lusaka, 2017, p. 2.

<sup>201</sup> Ivi, pp. xiv, 2, 3, 5, 16, 43, 89, 90, 93, 95.

<sup>202</sup> Ivi, pp. 36 and 102. To date, June 2023, there has been no developments on the publishing of a new Act governing education in Zambia.

This reform was long overdue, as the last comprehensive review of the secondary school curriculum dated back to the early 1970s<sup>203</sup> – although both in the 1980s and 1990s curricula for basic schools had been published. The primary school curriculum had been reviewed in the early 2000s, but, as we have seen, it had borne no fruits. The need for this reform was highlighted in both the SNDP and the NIF III<sup>204</sup>. Indeed, according to both documents, the main objectives of the curriculum reform were to promote the teaching of local languages at the primary level, make the curriculum more relevant and responsive to national aspirations and educational needs, and give priority to the teaching of science subjects at all educational levels<sup>205</sup>. On the contrary, the previous curriculum was criticized for being examination-oriented, focusing solely on factual information, using a language alien to most learners in the early grades, being excessively overloaded and inflexible, and ignoring emerging technological and social developments. The new curriculum aimed to address these flaws and provide learners with a more desirable education<sup>206</sup>.

To guide the reform process, the Zambia Education Curriculum Framework (ZECF) was published in 2013. The document, prepared by the CDC, emphasized patriotism among its principles and values, and it aimed, among other aspects, at educating learners to appreciate Zambia's ethnic cultures, customs, and traditions and to uphold national pride and unity<sup>207</sup>. Nonetheless, it is clear from the ZECF objectives that the emphasis was mainly on science and technology subjects. The document established several changes that were to be implemented in the curriculum. First, Zambian languages were to become the official languages of instruction in preschools and early grades (Grades 1-4), while English would take over from Grade 5 onward<sup>208</sup>. However, challenges soon arose due to the large number of local dialects in the country and the inadequate resources for developing instructional materials in all seven official languages<sup>209</sup>. Second, ZECF established that all the contents of the different learning areas (including Social Studies) had to be reviewed, but Social Studies would continue to include cross-cutting issues of national concern within its contents<sup>210</sup>. Third, it decided that new curriculum would emphasize Outcome-Based Education (OBE), an

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<sup>203</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education, *Zambia. Education Curriculum Framework 2013*, Lusaka, CDC, 2013, p. 4.

<sup>204</sup> RZ, *Education Sector. NIF III 2011-2015*, cit., p. xviii and RZ, *SNDP, 2011-2015*, cit., pp. 93 and 95.

<sup>205</sup> RZ, *Education Sector. NIF III 2011-2015*, cit., pp. xii and xviii.

<sup>206</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education, *Ministerial Statement Presented to Parliament on the Revised National Education Curriculum Framework by the Honourable Minister of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education*, 21<sup>st</sup> February, 2014, p. 3.

<sup>207</sup> RZ, MESVTEE, *ZECF 2013*, cit., pp. ix and 8-9.

<sup>208</sup> Ivi, p. 19.

<sup>209</sup> G. Masaiti, T. Njobvu and P. Kakupa, *Education and Learning Post-Third Republic: Opportunities and Challenges*, in G. Masaiti (ed.), *Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 69.

<sup>210</sup> These issues were: special educational needs; careers guidance and counselling; environmental education and climate change; life skills; governance; gender; human rights, population and family life education; reproductive health and sexuality; HIV/AIDS; health and nutrition; entrepreneurship education and training; financial and anti-corruption education; road safety education. See: RZ, MESVTEE, *ZECF 2013*, cit., pp. x, 8, and 21-25.

approach which linked education to real-life experiences and which aimed at providing learners with skills for critical analysis and practical application of knowledge<sup>211</sup>. In line with this approach, teachers were encouraged to use various teaching methods to promote active learner participation and interaction<sup>212</sup>. Finally, as for the different sub-sectors, ZEFEC established that, in primary schools, the focus was to be on literacy, numeracy, life skills, and ICT. Nevertheless, Social Studies remained a core subject at both lower and upper primary<sup>213</sup>. As for secondary schools, ZECF confirmed the new school structure with seven years of primary education followed by five years of secondary education, introducing two career pathways at this level: academic and vocational, as indicated in NIF III<sup>214</sup>. Moreover, at this level Civics, History and Geography were to be integrated into Social Studies, which was declared a compulsory subject in both pathways<sup>215</sup>.

The Social Studies syllabus for primary schools was finally published in 2013. It aimed at developing students' knowledge, skills, and positive values related to political, social, economic, cultural, environmental, religious, and civic issues, as well as promoting entrepreneurial skills<sup>216</sup>. Hence, History seemed to have a secondary role in this syllabus. Its structure followed the same concentric pattern as the previous primary school syllabi. It progressed from the particular to the general, from the local to the global, and included themes that were repeated each year, such as Living Together, Spiritual and Moral Values, Food, Environment, and Communication and Transport<sup>217</sup>. The 2013 syllabus was more detailed in specifying the topics to be covered, including specific outcomes, content knowledge, skills, and the values that students should acquire<sup>218</sup>. However, the contents of the syllabus were very similar to those of previous decades, with a significant decrease in the emphasis on History and a stronger emphasis on national symbols. Indeed, students were to be introduced to the national anthem in Grade 1, which they were expected to sing in a local language and, later, in English in Grade 3, in order to develop «patriotism to the symbols of national identity»<sup>219</sup>. They were also asked to explain the meaning of the national flag in Grade 2 to demonstrate «patriotism towards the nation»<sup>220</sup> and the symbols of the coat of arms in Grade 4<sup>221</sup>.

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<sup>211</sup> Ivi, p. 16.

<sup>212</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education, *Social Studies Syllabus, Grade 1-7*, Lusaka, CDC, 2013, p. viii.

<sup>213</sup> RZ, MESVTEE, *ZECF 2013*, cit., pp. 30-33.

<sup>214</sup> See: RZ, *Education Sector. NIF III 2011-2015*, cit., pp. xviii-xix.

<sup>215</sup> RZ, MESVTEE, *ZECF 2013*, cit., pp. 35-38.

<sup>216</sup> RZ, MESVTEE, *Social Studies Syllabus, Grade 1-7*, cit., p. x.

<sup>217</sup> Ivi, p. vi.

<sup>218</sup> Ivi, p. 2.

<sup>219</sup> Ivi, pp. 2 and 8.

<sup>220</sup> Ivi, p. 5.

<sup>221</sup> Ivi, p. 12.

References to the ethnic make-up of the country were present as well, with students expected to discuss the cultural identity of the people living in their district or province, including races, ethnic groupings and chiefdoms. They were also required to name and describe historical and cultural places in their surroundings<sup>222</sup>. The only references to the past, however brief, were found in Grades 5 and 6, where the student was asked to describe past social, economic, cultural and political structures at the district and provincial level, respectively<sup>223</sup>.

Overall, the 2013 syllabus continued the trend of diminishing the significance of History in the Social Studies syllabus for primary schools in Zambia. Moreover, in this case, the nation-building effort, although strengthened, was delegated solely to civic education. No History topic was connected to national history, and students only studied the history of their own district/province.

In secondary schools, History was integrated into the Social Studies curriculum, following the same concentric structure as in primary school. Similarly, the contents followed a thematic rather than chronological order, though in Grades 8 and 9 more space was devoted to History. Indeed, cross-cutting issues were not integrated in the syllabus, which dealt only with historical, geographical and civic issues. As regards historical contents more specifically, they were quite similar to those addressed in the 1987 syllabus: the focus was on Zambia and Central Africa, to the detriment of global events, which were not taken into account.

In Grade 8, the syllabus covered topics such as: prehistory; pre-colonial societies in Zambia – with a focus on the origins and movements of the Bantu speaking people and on the historical locations of different Bantu ethnic groups in Zambia<sup>224</sup> –; the spread of farming and iron-working; and the study of centralized and decentralized societies in Zambia, with their political, social, economic and cultural features<sup>225</sup>. As we know, this latter topic had already been included in the 1987 basic school syllabus for Grades 8 and 9. What changed now was that more peoples were included in the new syllabus. Moreover, it is worth highlighting that the key value to be acquired at the end of this unity was a «sense of belonging»<sup>226</sup>. The fifth unit of Grade 8, entitled «Political Development in Zambia», was mainly devoted to Civics. Nonetheless, it took up all the national symbolism (such as the national flag and the coat of Arms) already addressed in the primary school syllabus, and

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<sup>222</sup> Ivi, pp. 15 and 20.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>224</sup> In this regard, the syllabus specifies the different groups and their location: «From the Luba and Lunda Empires and the Lakes Region of East Africa into Zambia; Northern: Bemba, Mambwe; Muchinga: Namwanga, Bisa; Luapula: Lunda; North-western: Luvale, Lunda, Kaonde; Western: Aluyi; Central: Lenje, Swaka; Lusaka: Soli; Copperbelt: Lamba; Southern: Tonga, Ila, Toka-Leya; Eastern: Chewa, Nsenga, Tumbuka». Thus, it includes many more ethnic groups than previous syllabi. See: Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education, *Social Studies Syllabus, Grade 8-9*, Lusaka, CDC, 2013, pp. 12-13.

<sup>225</sup> Centralised societies: Bemba, Luyi, Lunda, Chewa, Ngoni; decentralised societies: Tonga, Ila, Lenje, Soli.

<sup>226</sup> RZ, MESVTEE, *Social Studies Syllabus, Grade 8-9*, cit., pp. 13-14.



students were required to describe them and to explain their value, in order to develop appreciation and respect for them. Moreover, in this same unit, pupils studied «Zambia's path to independence» covering the period 1890-1964<sup>227</sup>. The decision to include the history of Zambian independence here is rather surprising, given that pupils had previously solely studied the country's pre-colonial dynamics. Although the curriculum did not follow a strictly chronological order, but rather a thematic one, this contents' structure runs the obvious risk of confusing students.

The increased focus on the study of pre-colonial societies in the current syllabus is a positive development, as it allowed students to gain a more detailed understanding of the country's historical trajectory. By delving deeper into the various populations and their customs, the syllabus sought to raise awareness of Zambia's rich ethnic past. However, it is important to note that the emphasis was on different populations rather than on state structures. This seems to suggest that the aim was simply to make students well aware of their communities' past, rather than to locate Zambia's antecedents in the region's pre-colonial kingdoms.

Grade 9 syllabus – as was the case in 1987 – began with the first contacts with Europeans and took an anti-colonialist stance, albeit in comparatively weaker terms, emphasizing the consequences of Western European colonialism<sup>228</sup>. First, the syllabus covered topics such as the slave trade, its effects on African societies and the people who fought against the slave trade and slavery<sup>229</sup>. Then, it focused on the «exploration» (whereas the 1987 syllabus spoke of «invasion») by Europeans, the aims of their imperialism and its social, political, economic and religious consequences on Central Africa, asking pupils to identify the main tools of the European occupation of the region: missionaries, hunters and concession seekers, Rhodes and the BSAC. The syllabus then left ample room for African agency, focusing on the study of African (primary and secondary) resistance to colonialism and the struggle of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi for independence. The unit ended with the Central African Federation (1953-63), the reasons for and against it as well as its success and failure<sup>230</sup>.

This is the last historical unit in the JS syllabus, which means that students complete this cycle having learnt very little about the colonial history of their country, given that this topic is addressed only in the broader African context, and, worse still, knowing nothing about world historical events (no mention of World Wars or the Cold War, for example) or their country's history after independence. This last critique is tempered in part by the fact that, as previously stated, Zambia's attainment of independence was handled in a Civics unit in Grade 8, while Zambia's social and

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<sup>227</sup> Ivi, pp. 20-21.

<sup>228</sup> Ivi, p. 24.

<sup>229</sup> Curiously, this unit was entitled «Foreign Influence in Zambia», but all the themes to be addressed deal with Africa in general.

<sup>230</sup> RZ, MESVTEE, *Social Studies Syllabus, Grade 8-9*, cit., pp. 24-25.

economic progress after 1964 was explored in a geography unit. Nonetheless, the lack of a cohesive and chronological approach to Zambia's history might prevent students from developing a comprehensive understanding of their nation's past and how it relates to the broader global history.

In addition to these critical issues related to teaching contents, the curricular reform in Social Studies has faced a number of other obstacles. One major problem was the lack of teacher involvement in the discussions regarding the future of Social Studies, which compromised the quality of the curriculum's aims and goals<sup>231</sup>. Additionally, the implementation of the competency-based curriculum was hindered by the teachers' lack of knowledge of competency-based teaching and learning approaches, as well as the shortage of graduate teachers in Social Sciences<sup>232</sup>. Furthermore, the removal of History as an independent subject at the junior level received mixed reactions<sup>233</sup>.

In conclusion, it could be said, using Masaiti's words, that the «implementation of the new curriculum remains an ongoing task that will extend well into the foreseeable future»<sup>234</sup>. And indeed, both the 7NDP and the ESSP published in 2017 still described the implementation of the new curriculum as one of the ongoing strategies set out to improve the quality of education<sup>235</sup>. However, it may be some years before the new curriculum has a significant impact on learning outcomes<sup>236</sup>. This is all the more so, because, as research conducted by Musilekwa in 2019 revealed, the majority of Social Studies teachers had not yet had access to the syllabus<sup>237</sup>.

### 3.5 Conclusion

Zambia's education sector has undergone significant transformation since the country's independence in 1964. The country's political leadership – albeit with some initial uncertainties – aimed to distance itself from the colonial educational model, seeking to rectify its exclusiveness and to adapt it to the evolving political climate. Therefore, in the 1960s and 1970s, attempts were made to create a school system in line with the national philosophy of Humanism, especially after the transition to the so-called “One-Party Participatory Democracy”. Similarly, after the return to multipartyism in 1991, efforts were made to make schools reflect a more pluralistic society. However, these reforms were

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<sup>231</sup> F. Mbeba, *Challenges Related to the Zambian History Curriculum*, cit., p. 161.

<sup>232</sup> See: Y.M. Kabombwe, N. Machila, P. Sikayomya, *Implementing a History Competency Based Curriculum*, cit., pp. 20-21 and G. Masaiti, *Education as Currently Provided in Zambia*, in G. Masaiti (ed.), *Education in Zambia*, cit., p. 40.

<sup>233</sup> F. Mbeba, *Challenges Related to the Zambian History Curriculum*, cit., p. 160.

<sup>234</sup> G. Masaiti, *Education as Currently Provided*, cit., p. 39

<sup>235</sup> RZ, *7 National Development Plan*, Vol. I, cit., p. 100; and RZ, MoE, MHE, *ESSP*, cit., p. 55.

<sup>236</sup> RZ, MoE, MHE, *ESSP*, cit., p. 55.

<sup>237</sup> S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development*, cit., p. 59. The research was carried out among 91 teachers in the urban area of Lusaka.

heavily conditioned by the deep economic crisis that severely affected the country from the late 1970s onwards, undermining most attempts at improvement.

While successive governments displayed an almost frenetic activity at school policy level, curriculum reform was always much slower and often undermined by lack of coordination and the poor distribution of syllabi and textbooks. Nevertheless, what the above survey brings out unmistakably is the gradual decrease in the importance of History teaching within the curriculum. The first signs of this marginalization manifested themselves in as early as the 1960s, with the introduction of Social Studies in primary schools; the same thing happened in the 1980s in basic schools and, finally, in secondary schools as well in 2013.

This, as well as the contents of History teaching, show that, in Zambia, History was hardly used as a nation-building tool. This is surprising because one of the primary goals of school reforms since the 1960s has always been to cultivate a shared sense of national identity. In contrast, in school curricula, especially in primary schools, students mainly studied the history of their own locality and province. This is not to say that national history was not covered: on the contrary, almost all syllabi addressed pre-colonial kingdoms and societies, British rule and Independence. What was missing, however, was a coherent and univocal narrative that, by projecting Zambia's origins into a distant past, was then carried through to the years after independence.

This clearly differentiates the Zambian from the Senegalese case. In Senegal, as we have seen, the effort to trace the origins of national history back to important historical figures and colonial kingdoms served the purpose of fostering a strong sense of historical continuity and identity. The absence of such a comprehensive narrative in Zambian syllabi could be attributed to various factors. On the one hand, the pre-colonial past might have been perceived as potentially divisive or controversial due to the ethnic diversity and complexity of Zambia's historical landscape. Thus, highlighting specific historical figures or kingdoms could have inadvertently emphasized differences among various ethnic groups, potentially undermining the goal of fostering a unified national identity<sup>238</sup>. On the other hand, such a narrative was also impeded by the thematic and concentric approach adopted by almost all the syllabi under review, which meant that historical topics were scattered throughout the syllabi rather than being treated in a coherent chronological order. To be sure, Zambian schools *were* regarded as an instrument of nation-building. But this role was increasingly assigned to civic education, with its growing emphasis on the study of national symbols, such as the flag, the national anthem and the coat of arms, contributing to the ongoing construction of Zambia's national identity.

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<sup>238</sup> On the perceived 'dangerousness' of the past in the new African nations, see the article by R. Reid, *States of Anxiety: History and Nation in Modern Africa*, «Past & Present» 229.1, 2015, pp. 239-269.

What emerges from the foregoing analysis is that Zambian national identity was forged mainly through Civic rather than History education. As the nation navigated a complex post-colonial trajectory, Civic education emerged as the key agent for nurturing a sense of unity, creating a narrative that spoke more to the present and future than to the distant past. Zambian curricula, in sum, do not embody a backward-looking identity predicated on a search for distant historical precedents. On the contrary, they epitomize a forward-looking national identity that, while acknowledging its ethnic past, is being moulded around the symbols and emblems of independent Zambia.

## 4. History and Social Studies textbooks in independent Zambia

This chapter conducts an in-depth examination of History and Social Studies textbooks adopted in Zambia, spanning the extensive period from the 1960s to the 2020s. It begins with a sub-chapter that provides an overview of the Zambian educational publishing market. Following this introduction, the chapter unfolds in four sections, aligning with the chronological structure established in Chapter 3. Each section embarks on a thorough content analysis of textbooks tailored for primary and secondary schools. Similar to the approach adopted in the corresponding Senegalese chapter (Chapter 2), the primary focus of this analysis is on Zambian history. Specifically, the scrutiny centres on key themes explored in the analysis of curricula. These themes encompass the representation of the pre-colonial past, the colonial era, and the struggle for independence. Additionally, the examination extends to the incorporation of post-independence history, the depiction of symbols representing national identity, and a nuanced exploration of the concepts of nation and ethnicity.

### 4.1 Zambian educational publishing market

The nationalization and centralization of educational provision that occurred after the attainment of independence also invested the textbooks' sphere. Indeed, in order to mark a break with colonial education and to serve the goal of nation-building, it became necessary for the government to ensure that textbooks were written, designed, published and distributed locally<sup>1</sup>. However, at that time, commercial publishing had still not been fully established in the country. Thus, it was the newly independent Zambian state that took up the responsibility of developing, printing and distributing textbooks through the Primary Centre, in the first place, and later through the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation (KKF), established in 1966<sup>2</sup>. This comprised two subsidiary companies, namely, the National Educational Company of Zambia Limited (NECZAM), a publishing company, and the National Educational Distribution Company of Zambia Limited (NEDCOZ), a marketing and distribution company<sup>3</sup>. These were responsible for publishing and distributing the textbooks, respectively<sup>4</sup>. In the meantime, the development of textbooks was entrusted to a Curriculum Development Centre. Indeed, after its establishment, in 1970, it was decided that it should give top priority to the writing and publication of appropriate materials of all kinds for teachers and pupils,

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<sup>1</sup> S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development*, cit., pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1968*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1971, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *National Book Policy*, Lusaka, 1998, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> J.M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education*, cit., p. 243.

based on the new syllabuses<sup>5</sup>. Thus, the textbooks policy, functioned as followed: the CDC personnel wrote textbooks following the general orientation developed by subjects' committees and the ministerial policy<sup>6</sup>. Then, the Centre submitted all the developed manuscripts to the KKF, which published and distributed them through NECZAM and NEDCOZ, respectively. The KKF and the CDC, in other words, enjoyed a nearly monopolistic position in the development and publishing of textbooks and retained it until the 1990s<sup>7</sup>.

This quasi-monopolistic situation, coupled with the limited size of the existing book market and the lack of foreign exchange on account of the country's depleted reserves from the mid-1970s, triggered off the departure from Zambia of multinational publishing companies and left no room for private entrepreneurs to operate a successful business in publishing or bookselling<sup>8</sup>. Nonetheless, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the national economy was still sound, the KKF successfully managed to publish an average of seventy-five titles per year up to 1975, which almost satisfied the school population. However, no sooner did the national economy decline in the mid-1970s than the national budgetary allocation of funds for textbooks dropped. This, in turn, adversely affected the performance of the KKF as the national publisher<sup>9</sup>. The vulnerability of having one monopolising educational publishing house dependent on state funding became obvious when stocks completely ran out and there was no alternative source of supply, as it happened beginning from 1979<sup>10</sup>.

The GRZ was well aware of, and seriously concerned with, the unavailability of textbooks, which, according to the Permanent Secretary of the MoE, «was becoming very much pronounced in all subject areas and at all educational levels»<sup>11</sup>. To address this problem, the government adopted different strategies. Firstly, it relied on the Educational Broadcasting Services (EBS). This was a department of the MoE, established in the late 1960s, which transmitted programmes for primary and secondary schools to be listened in class through radio and televisions purchased by the government<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Curriculum Development in Zambia. The Search for Relevance, 1964-1974. A Special report Published by the Curriculum Development Centre in conjunction with the Inspectorate*, Lusaka, MoE, 1974; RZ, MoE, *National Education Policy*, cit., p. 20; A.B. Shankanga, *The Role and Functions*, cit., p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> A.B. Shankanga, *The Role and Functions*, cit., p. 175.

<sup>7</sup> RZ, MoE, *National Book Policy*, cit., pp. 2 and 9.

<sup>8</sup> See: K.A. Chali, C.H. Chirwa, *A Study on Textbook Provision in Zambia and Feasibility of Co-Operation Among SADC Countries*, Paris, Unesco, 1993, p. 20; and RZ, MoE, *National Book Policy*, cit., p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> RZ, MoE, *National Book Policy*, cit., p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> K.A. Chali, C.H. Chirwa, *A Study on Textbook*, cit., p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> RZ, *Ministry of Education and Culture. Annual Report for the Year 1978*, cit., p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report for the Year 1975*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1978, pp. 18-19. On the history of EBS, see: Republic of Zambia, Ministry of General Education and Culture, *Education Broadcasting Services in Zambia. Handbook*, Lusaka, n.d. (but ca. 1986). The Social Studies programme was one of the first to be aired (in 1965) and one of the most popular still in the mid-1980s. The Radio Services were followed by 2000 primary schools and 120 secondary schools in the late 1970s. Still in the 1980s approximately 60% of primary schools used the programmes on a regular basis, together with the teacher's notes that accompanied the radio and TV lessons. The analysis of these booklets has revealed that they largely complied with the official syllabus and the CDC's ZPC books, analysed in the following sections. See: RZ, *Ministry of Education and Culture. Annual Report for the Year 1978*, cit., p. 12; RZ, MoE, *Education Broadcasting Services*, cit., pp. 6 and 11-12; RZ, MoE, *National Education Policy*, cit., pp. 8

Secondly, since the mid-1970s, Zambia received international aid for the development and distribution of textbooks, particularly from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)<sup>13</sup> and the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA)<sup>14</sup>. However, as Brook pointed out, these foreign aid programmes tended to prioritize certain subjects over others, with English, Science and Mathematics generally enjoying a higher status than Social Sciences<sup>15</sup>.

These interventions, however, did not overcome the textbooks' famine that Zambia was experiencing at the time. Indeed, according to the MoE *Annual Report* for 1985, even the locally produced textbooks were unavailable (for example, in the early 1990s, the pupil/Social Studies textbook ratio in primary schools was 20 to 1<sup>16</sup>), which meant that most pupils still completed school without access to textbooks or other reading materials<sup>17</sup>. Only those who were able to buy personal copies had access to them, since the cost of purchasing textbooks had been progressively passed on to the parents' shoulders<sup>18</sup>. However, as Kelly underlined in 1991, «The expectation that parents buy some educational materials cannot always be met, partly because such materials are not available, partly because the cost of materials, though small in absolute terms, is large in relation to family incomes»<sup>19</sup>. This lack of instructional and learning materials had, of course, a negative impact on the quality of education. Indeed, the poverty and paucity of instructional materials reduced learning to listening, copying, recitation and rote memorization<sup>20</sup>.

A major turning point in Zambian textbook policy was marked by the EFA conference, in 1991, which opened the door to textbook liberalization, a shift consistent with the policies being implemented at the level of educational provision<sup>21</sup>. This new course was also confirmed by the new education policy – *Focus on Learning* – adopted in 1992 by the Zambian government after the return to multi-party democracy and the coming to power of President Chiluba. This document set the enhancement of textbooks' availability as one of the main priorities of the new educational policy, in

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and 38 and MoE, *Educating Our Future*, cit., pp. 81-82. The booklets analysed were: Republic of Zambia, *School Broadcasts. Teachers' Handbook. Term I 1969*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1969; Republic of Zambia, *School Broadcasts. Teachers' Handbook 1970*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1970; Republic of Zambia, *School Broadcasts. Teachers' Handbook 1971*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1970; Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *School Broadcasts. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies for Grades V, VI and VII. Term 2: 1972*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1972; Republic of Zambia, Ministry of Education, *School Broadcasts. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies for Grades V, VI and VII. Term 3: 1972*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1972.

<sup>13</sup> See: RZ, *Ministry of Education and Culture. Annual Report for the Year 1980*, cit., pp. 6 and 14 and RZ, *Ministry of General Education and Culture. Annual Report for the Year 1985*, cit., p. 3; P. Nkhoma, *Aid Administration*, cit., p. 94.

<sup>14</sup> P. Nkhoma, *Aid Administration*, cit., pp. 102-103.

<sup>15</sup> D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development*, cit., pp. 239-240.

<sup>16</sup> K.A. Chali, C.H. Chirwa, *A Study on Textbook*, cit., p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> G. Lungwangwa, *Policies and Strategies*, cit., p. 67.

<sup>18</sup> RZ, *Ministry of General Education and Culture. Annual Report for the Year 1985*, cit., p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> M.J. Kelly, *The Financing and Costing*, cit., p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> Ivi, p. 89.

<sup>21</sup> National Task Force on Education For All, *National Conference on Education for All. Volume I. Conference Report*, Lusaka, National Education For All Task Force, 1991, pp.8-12, quoted in M.J. Kelly (ed.), *The Origins and Developments of Education*, cit., p. 202.

order to improve the quality of education<sup>22</sup>. In the meantime, thanks to the ongoing joint FINNIDA-SIDA project, Zambia Primary Course (ZPC) textbooks were being reprinted<sup>23</sup>. However, this also meant that CDC's Social Studies textbooks, produced in the early 1970s, continued to be used in Zambian schools up to the early 1990s<sup>24</sup>. Nevertheless, according to *Focus on Learning*, even if CDC textbooks still dominated the market, in the long run, they would gradually give way to a more open-market situation for textbook development. To this end, the MoE encouraged privately produced textbooks by lending strong support to independent authors and publishers, by assuring a fair access to the market for school material, by terminating KKF's – now renamed Zambia Educational Publishing House (ZEPH) – privileged status as supplier of books and materials for schools, and by a government review of taxation on raw materials for book production<sup>25</sup>. In the meantime, steps needed to be taken in order to reorganize ZEPH's operations so that it could become an effective and efficient supplier of books, and these could also include the privatization of the company.

The liberalisation of the textbook market was further confirmed by the new educational policy, *Educating Our Future*. According to this, private publishers assumed responsibility for book initiation, development, production and marketing, while the Ministry would be responsible for the development, publication and distribution of course syllabi and supplementary materials. The aim was to provide each school with a choice of books available on the market on each subject<sup>26</sup>. Finally, *Educating Our Future* established that, in line with the decentralization of the education system, the procurement of textbooks would be decentralized, too. Hence, Education Boards would be directly responsible for procuring the equipment and materials required by the syllabus, as specified by the CDC<sup>27</sup>.

This liberalization resulted in a number of private publishing companies taking up the role of developing textbooks for schools in Zambia: all of them were free to develop textbooks using the approved CDC syllabus as a guide. This also marked the re-entry into Zambia of multinational publishing houses<sup>28</sup>. However, despite the liberalization of the market, the CDC remained responsible

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<sup>22</sup> MoE, *Focus on Learning*, cit., pp. vi-vii and 31.

<sup>23</sup> Ivi, pp. viii-ix and 146.

<sup>24</sup> Ivi, pp. 32 and 34.

<sup>25</sup> Ivi, p. ix.

<sup>26</sup> MoE, *Educating Our Future*, cit., pp. 83-84.

<sup>27</sup> Ivi, p. 84.

<sup>28</sup> The main private publishers operating in Zambia were Bookworld Publishing House, East African Educational Publishers Ltd., GM Publishers Limited, Initiative Publishers, Longman Zambia Limited, Macmillan Publishers Zambia Limited, Maiden Publishing House, Multimedia Publication, MK Publishers, Oxford University Press, Times Printpak Zambia. See S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development*, cit., pp. 6, 15 and 23-24, and K.A. Chali, C.H. Chirwa, *A Study on Textbook*, cit., pp. 22 and 25-26.



for the approval of textbooks to be used in government and aided schools on behalf of the MoE<sup>29</sup>. But the CDC evaluation did not necessarily imply an improvement in the quality of textbooks. On the contrary, some educational stakeholders expressed concern over the quality of learners' textbooks in the country<sup>30</sup>, characterised as they were by poor quality materials, incorrect contents and inadequate book supply due to the higher cost of copies<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, the liberalisation of the market, did not solve altogether the problem of the paucity of textbooks. Indeed, according to the most recent data available, in 2017, five primary students shared one or less textbook for each of the following subjects: 1 for Maths, 0.9 for English and 0.9 for Science (data on Social Studies are not available)<sup>32</sup>. For secondary schools the ratio was: 0.3 in English, 0.1 in Life skills, 0.2 in Maths<sup>33</sup>. Additionally, the almost total absence of libraries in schools meant that education began and ended with the contents of textbooks or with what the teacher expounded, with very limited opportunity for the learner to expand their understanding through additional resources<sup>34</sup>.

## 4.2 The 1960s and 1970s. The building of a national narrative

### 4.2.1 A landmark publication: the Zambia Primary Course textbooks

In 1971, the publication of the first Social Studies syllabus for primary schools laid the foundation for the subsequent development of experimental textbooks by the CDC, later to be published by NECZAM<sup>35</sup>. In line with the syllabus, Grade 3 textbooks did not address historical contents; instead, they emphasized national symbols, such as the national anthem and flag, presenting them as «a sign of patriotism – the love for their country by Zambians and their willingness to fight for it»<sup>36</sup>. Likewise,

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<sup>29</sup> MoE, *Educating Our Future*, cit., pp. 83-84; S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development*, cit., p. 47. This power of the MoE was later confirmed by the Education Act, 2011. See: RZ, *Education Act, 2011*, cit., Part IX, Sections 102 and 103 (1).

<sup>30</sup> S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development*, cit., p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Ivi, p. 81.

<sup>32</sup> RZ, MGE, MHE, *ESSP*, cit., p. 55.

<sup>33</sup> Ivi, p. 63.

<sup>34</sup> Ivi, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1970*, Lusaka, Government Printer, 1973, p. 20. According to a source in the CDC interviewed by the writer in May 2023, these textbooks had continued to show the sign "Experimental version" on their front cover well into the next decade. No official explanation was found for this.

<sup>36</sup> English Medium Centre, *New Zambia Primary Course. Grade III, Terms 1-3, Units 1-33. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1971, pp. 48-53.

the study of national holidays such as Independence Day and Africa Freedom Day were presented in a patriotic light, connecting them to the students' sense of national pride<sup>37</sup>.

Historical contents gradually gained prominence from Grade 4 onwards, where pupils studied the «tribes» in their province and their costumes<sup>38</sup>. This was consistent with the concentric structure of the syllabus and with its overall attitude of acknowledging the ethnic past and cultural differences of Zambian peoples. At the same time, the teachers' guide also emphasised how these different affiliations must take a back seat to national unity. «Everybody works for the good of the country and nation – **our** nation. As long as we live in Zambia, we shall belong to one big family whether we are Kaonde, Bemba, Lozi, Nyanja, Tonga, European, Indian or African»<sup>39</sup>.

It was in Grade 5 that a more comprehensive approach to History teaching emerged. The Term I textbook embarked on a comprehensive exploration of Zambia's history, extending well beyond the syllabus' intended scope. The focal point was the history of the Copperbelt region, which served as a litmus test for national history. The authors delved into the copper industry's origins, tracing its transformation over time due to interactions with Arab trade and European innovations<sup>40</sup>. The narrative then shifted to the diverse peoples inhabiting the Copperbelt province, and students were encouraged to explore their origins, settlements and key activities<sup>41</sup>. A significant segment of the Grade 5 textbook was dedicated to the «angry miners»<sup>42</sup>, focusing on the miners' harsh working conditions and their calls for improved living standards, wages and other basic amenities during the BSAC and British colonial administrations. The text highlighted the establishment of the African Mine Workers' Union, led by figures like Lawrence Katilungu, as well as the role of Welfare Societies and Harry Nkumbula's African National Congress (ANC)<sup>43</sup>, underscoring African agency.

Within this exploration of colonialism and the Zambian struggle for independence, there were surprising nuances. The textbook, in particular, cautioned against portraying all Europeans as uniformly negative figures, and instead emphasized that some European influences had had a positive impact on Zambia and its people<sup>44</sup>. On the other hand, the textbook positioned the ongoing struggle

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<sup>37</sup> Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade IV, Terms 1-3, Units 1-33. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, pp. 69-70.

<sup>38</sup> Ivi, p. 20. Similarly, in geographical units, the students were introduced to the different provinces of Zambia and the textbook listed the different tribes residing in each one of them See, Ivi, pp. 38-48.

<sup>39</sup> Ivi, p. 66. Boldface in the original.

<sup>40</sup> Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade V, Term I, Pupils' Book. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, pp. 22-27. Zambia Primary Course textbooks did not have a single textbook for each school year. Instead, for each subject, there were normally three textbooks for each grade, one for each term of the Zambian school year.

<sup>41</sup> They were: Batwa, Lamba and Lima peoples. See Ivi, pp. 49-50.

<sup>42</sup> Ivi, p. 59.

<sup>43</sup> Ivi, pp. 64-66 and 68-71.

<sup>44</sup> Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade 5, Term 1, Units I-II. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, p. 43.

against the segregationist states of the south as the real challenge<sup>45</sup>. This approach spoke to President Kaunda's anti-racial policy, which sought to create a united and inclusive nation that transcended racial divisions, and reflected Zambia's foreign policy, which placed the country at the forefront of the struggle against lingering colonialism in the south. As regards the last steps taken towards independence, the authors acknowledged the political divisions that existed within the ANC and that had led to the birth of UNIP. Nevertheless, the focus was on the shared goal of opposing the Central African Federation and creating an independent Zambia. The subsequent victory of UNIP in the 1964 elections further consolidated Zambia's path to independence<sup>46</sup>.

Since the Grade 5's Term I textbook focused solely on the Copperbelt, the task of exploring the country's remaining provinces was delegated to the Term II and III textbooks. Each province was covered, highlighting its main ethnic groups, their settlements and activities, and their post-Independence evolution<sup>47</sup>. The approach taken by the textbooks' authors is noteworthy, as it demonstrated their intention to acknowledge Zambia's rich ethnic history by including as many ethnic groups as possible in the historical narrative. However, there was a potential drawback to this approach. Creating a direct and simplistic link between modern-day provinces and ethnic groups might have oversimplified the intricate history of people's movements and interactions over time, hindering the students' comprehension of the complexities involved in Zambia's historical and ethnic dynamics. Moreover, several educational stakeholders criticized the privileged position allocated to the Copperbelt among Zambia's provinces<sup>48</sup>. However, this emphasis was not about exalting its ethnic background over others, but rather about highlighting the history of trade unionism and of the political movements that had emerged in the region and that had been central to the Zambian struggle for independence.

The arrival of Arabs, Portuguese and Europeans to the different Zambian provinces was also addressed, with a noticeable distinction between the negative depiction of the first two groups and a more favourable portrayal of Europeans, who came to Zambia, «to teach and to build hospitals», «to be government officers», «to stop the people buying and selling slaves», «to look for minerals», and «to make farms»<sup>49</sup>, thus taking up the typical colonial justifications used to explain their presence in Africa.

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<sup>45</sup> Ivi, p. 45.

<sup>46</sup> CDC, ZPC. *Grade V, Term I, Pupils' Book. Social Studies*, cit., pp. 72-74

<sup>47</sup> See: Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade V, Term 2, Pupils' Book. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, pp. 6-13; 28-31; 48-53; 69-73; Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade V, Term 3, Pupils' Book. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1973, pp. 3-5, 17-24, 34-38.

<sup>48</sup> NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9411 – 015, *Social Studies comment on Mr. Mehl's reaction to the S.S. Zambia Primary Course*.

<sup>49</sup> CDC, ZPC. *Grade V, Term 2, Pupils' Book. Social Studies*, cit., p. 33.

Finally, the Grade 5 Term III textbook made a significant effort to encapsulate Zambia's history in a concise chapter, covering key milestones from ancient times to Independence. This included the arrival of Bantu-speaking people, interactions with Arabs and Portuguese, the arrival of Zulu-related peoples from the South, the establishment of the BSAC, the birth of Zambian Unionism and nationalist parties and, finally, the attainment of independence<sup>50</sup>. Despite being very short, this overview provided students with a crucial snapshot of Zambia's history, bridging the gap left by the thematic and spiral approach otherwise adopted in the textbooks.

The Grade 6 textbooks expanded their historical scope to include other African countries and their interactions with Zambia<sup>51</sup>. This broader perspective brought forth several key observations. First, the textbooks presented a nuanced view of European influence in African nations. Indeed, Livingstone was portrayed positively; the term «discovery» was used when addressing Portuguese exploration; the negative aspects of the European slave trade were acknowledged but also counterbalanced by the mention of the introduction of new crops to Africa; and, finally, the authors contrasted Britain's support for African independence with the stances of Rhodesia and South Africa<sup>52</sup>. On the other hand, the authors sharply criticized the contemporary Portuguese presence in Africa, and they also emphasized the growing number of parties striving for independence in Portuguese territories.

Second, the relationship between Zambia and neighbouring countries was also highlighted: Rhodesia was depicted as an adversary, due to UDI, while Zambia's amicable ties with Malawi and Tanzania were emphasized, praising leaders like Nyerere for his philosophy of Ujamaa<sup>53</sup>. Finally, comparisons were drawn between Zambia's stability and Zaire's internal turmoil. Indeed, Zambia «has eight provinces and she is lucky because she has one strong leader who bring all the different peoples and tribes together»<sup>54</sup>. Conversely, «in Zaire, there was no one man who could join together the people of a very big country like Zaire»<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> CDC, ZPC. *Grade V, Term 3, Pupils' Book. Social Studies*, cit., pp. 64-65.

<sup>51</sup> Rhodesia, Malawi, Tanzania and Zaire – whose history was presented in Grade 6, Term I textbook; Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, South Africa, Namibia, Island of Malagasy, island of Mauritius, Kenya, Uganda – addressed in Term II; and, finally, Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt (United Arab Republic), Sudan, North African countries and the African continent as a whole, in Term III textbook.

<sup>52</sup> See: Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade VI, Term I, Pupils' Book. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1973, p. 25; Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade 6, Term I, Units I-II. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, p. 23; Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade VI, Term 2, Pupils' Book. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1973, p. 1; Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade 6, Term 2, Units 12-22. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, p. 42.

<sup>53</sup> CDC, ZPC. *Grade VI, Term I, Pupils' Book. Social Studies*, cit., pp. 27-28; 40-45.

<sup>54</sup> Ivi, pp. 60-61.

<sup>55</sup> CDC, ZPC. *Grade 6, Term I, Units I-II. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies*, cit., p. 72.

In Term III textbook, African history was traced, starting from the first contacts between Africans and Europeans. One interesting aspect was the focus on the origins of African states' borders. Indeed, the authors acknowledged that African pre-colonial polities were not divided by borders, which were only introduced by the Europeans after the Scramble for Africa, which led the different areas to evolve into separate countries<sup>56</sup>. The authors went even further by stating that «these political boundaries did not mean anything to Africans. They were unnatural because in some cases they separated people of the same tribe»<sup>57</sup>. Thus, contrary to what might have been expected, considering that these textbooks were intended precisely to reinforce nation-building, national borders were not sacralised. On the contrary, their problematic origins were highlighted, as were the issues they created in the aftermath of independence, such as conflicts and enmity between newly independent states<sup>58</sup>.

The Grade 7 textbooks departed from the structure outlined in the 1971 syllabus. Instead, they centred around the exploration of «man» and various aspects of his life. The sole historical chapter in the Term I book, entitled «Man and his heritage», focused on pre-colonial African kingdoms, including Egypt, Ghana, Monomotapa, and Shaka the Zulu<sup>59</sup>. On the contrary, in the Term II textbook, historical contents were spread across the chapters. The first chapter, «Man – The Farmer», explored prehistory and Zambia's Stone Age, and the traces it left, like the Broken Hill Man and Gwisho Hot Springs, as well as the spread of agriculture<sup>60</sup>. The second chapter, «Man – The Industrialist», drew parallels between the British industrial revolution and pivotal economic changes in Zambia, like the development of copper mining<sup>61</sup>. In the third chapter, «Man – The Trader», the early trade in Zambia and the slave trade were covered<sup>62</sup>. European explorers and missionaries were also presented in chapter four, «Man – the Explorer». David Livingstone was given particular attention, with a dedicated unit emphasizing the positive effects of missionaries in Central Africa and Zambia. Taking up the notorious colonial justifications, they were credited with having contributed to the abolition of the slave trade, aided the end of tribal conflicts, abolished cruel customs, established schools and hospitals, promoted development and introduced Christianity<sup>63</sup>.

Unfortunately, the only teaching guides to have been located for Grade 7 pertains to Term I and II. Nonetheless, valuable insights into Term III History teaching can be inferred from the analysis

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<sup>56</sup> Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade 6, Term 3, Units 23-33. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, p. 68.

<sup>57</sup> Ivi, p. 100.

<sup>58</sup> Ivi, p. 101

<sup>59</sup> Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade 7, Term I, Units I-II. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, pp. ii-iii.

<sup>60</sup> Curriculum Development Centre, *Zambia Primary Course. Grade 7, Term 2, Units 12-22. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies. Experimental Version*, Lusaka, Neczam, 1972, pp. 4 and 9-13.

<sup>61</sup> Ivi, pp. 38-39.

<sup>62</sup> Ivi, p. 60.

<sup>63</sup> Ivi, p. 77.

of the EBS booklet designed for this Term. This primarily addresses the challenges faced by independent African nations, including the threat posed by settler states in the south and the lack of national unity in some states<sup>64</sup>. To counter these challenges, the booklet prompted the teacher to «stress the importance of national unity and hard work if a country is going to develop and enjoy the fruits of its independence»<sup>65</sup>. Furthermore, the teachers should «emphasise the importance of Zambia’s national slogan of “One Zambia, One Nation” which is the key to our national unity»<sup>66</sup>.

In conclusion, in keeping with the syllabus’ structure, the Social Studies textbooks for ZPC succeeded in emphasizing national unity while acknowledging Zambia’s diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The history of the different peoples that made up the country was presented, but their precolonial kingdoms and polities did not serve as historical precedents for modern-day Zambia. Rather, the colonial origin of Zambian borders was acknowledged, and its present identity predicated on recent the struggle for independence and on the ongoing anti-colonial and anti-racist stance that characterized the new-born country. This was further confirmed by the frequent reference to Zambia as a frontliner for the liberation of neighbouring colonial and apartheid countries. Quite surprisingly, however, some elements typical of the colonial historical narrative persisted in the textbooks, such as the use of the term «discovery» and the nuanced assessment of British presence in the territory, which, however, could also be related to Kaunda’s openly anti-racial policy.

These Social Studies textbooks wielded significant influence within the Zambian educational landscape, effectively dominating the primary school textbook market until the 1990s<sup>67</sup>. Despite encountering some distribution challenges, they served as the principal instructional materials in the majority of schools, and teachers relied heavily on them for lesson preparation<sup>68</sup>. This had several notable consequences. Firstly, it resulted in the textbooks largely ignoring the new Social Studies syllabi that were introduced in the 1980s. Secondly, their contents remained static, with the historical narrative concluding at the point of Zambia’s attainment of independence in 1964, with the exception of the country’s foreign policy and its relationship with neighbouring states.

#### 4.2.2 *Alternative and contrasting textbooks for primary schools*

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<sup>64</sup> RZ, MoE, *School Broadcasts. Teachers’ Handbook. Social Studies for Grades V, VI and VII. Term 3: 1972*, cit., p. 37.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>66</sup> Ivi, p. 38.

<sup>67</sup> G. J. Williams, *Books in Zambia: The Developing Hunger*, «The African Publishing Record», 12.4, 1986, p. 206; D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development*, cit., p. 217.

<sup>68</sup> See: NaZam, EDU 2/36 – 9505 – 006, *Social Studies Annual Report and Schedules, December 1975*, file 43 and Republic of Zambia, *Ministry of Education. Annual Report, 1974*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1977, p. 10; NAZam, EDU 2/15 – 9411 – 015, *Introduction to Curriculum and Syllabuses*, cit.; A.B. Shankanga, *The Role and Functions*, cit., p. 161.

While the CDC textbooks maintained their stronghold as the primary educational materials in Zambian schools, a few alternative textbooks remained in circulation, albeit on a smaller scale. One example is the *Social Studies for Zambia* series, authored by Judith M. Temple. This series, initially published in 1963 and later reissued in 1966, offered an alternative source of content and insights for Zambian teachers to supplement their instructional material, especially at Grades 4 and 5<sup>69</sup>. Though these textbooks were introduced before the official formulation of the Social Studies syllabus, they closely aligned with its structure and aims. Consisting of four books, the series followed a concentric approach, guiding students from exploring their immediate environment to gradually expanding their knowledge to broader historical contexts. The first book centred on the child's local surroundings, progressing to province (Book II), nation (Book III) and, finally, neighbouring countries (Book IV).

In book II, intended for Grade 4, Temple approached the subject by focusing on each province's history and heritage. However, recognizing the problems involved in fitting specific local histories into a standardized curriculum, the author provided general historical insights applicable across provinces. Thus, pupils studied the first inhabitants of their province in the Stone Age, until the arrival of the Bantu<sup>70</sup>; the arrival of the first explorers and traders was next addressed. In this latter case, the author made only brief mention of the slave trade, seeming to attribute sole responsibility for it to the Arabs and Portuguese, which involved local people in their traffics<sup>71</sup>. By contrast, the arrival of missionaries and BSAC agents was presented in positive terms. As regards the former, they were described as brave people, who came to Zambia following Livingstone's example and who felt compassion for the conditions in which the locals lived: «they heard about wars between tribes; about people being captured and sold as slaves; about fear and hatred and sickness»<sup>72</sup>. Once in Africa, they wrote down local languages, opened schools, built hospitals and spread Christianity<sup>73</sup>. Thus, although there were no particularly disparaging descriptions of indigenous societies, the colonial *topos* endured of locals living in barbaric conditions until the arrival of European civilisation. The same kind of narrative underpinned the section of the text dedicated to the arrival of the BSAC representatives. According to the author, the latter always asked the permission of local chiefs to work in their areas and search for minerals. In return,

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<sup>69</sup> These textbooks were recommended to Grade 4 and 5 teachers by the CDC. See: CDC, *ZPC. Grade 5, Term 1, Units I-II. Teachers' Handbook. Social Studies*, cit., p. 73.

<sup>70</sup> J.M. Temple, *This is My Province. Social Studies for Zambia. Book II*, London, Lutterworth Press, Revised Edition, 1966 [First edition 1963], pp. 84-86. Judith M. Temple was a Social Studies tutor at the David Livingstone Teacher Training College in Kafue, which, at the time (late 50s – early 60s), was directed by her husband, David Gifford Temple, a methodist missionary and teacher.

<sup>71</sup> Ivi, pp. 87-90.

<sup>72</sup> Ivi, p. 90.

<sup>73</sup> Ivi, p. 91.

Soldiers were sent to areas where slave trade still flourished, to compel the slave traders to stop capturing and selling slaves. Engineers were sent to make better roads, build bridges, put up telegraph wires, and in some Provinces to build railways. Other people, who became the first District Commissioners, were sent to restore law and order in places where the chiefs no longer had authority over the people<sup>74</sup>.

In sum, the overall image conveyed by the textbook was that of a benign and positive British presence in Zambia. Finally, despite the text being revised in 1966, the attainment of Zambia's independence did not rate a single mention.

In Grade 5, the focus shifted to the history of Zambia. However, Temple's approach took the form of a travel itinerary through different regions of the country. For each region, the textbook provided information about geographical features, local inhabitants, and key economic activities. The text thus briefly presented the history of different Zambian ethnic groups up to the colonial era<sup>75</sup>. The richest accounts, in which oral myths and the names of chiefs were also mentioned, concerned the Bemba, the Lunda, the Ngoni, the Lozi and the Kaonde<sup>76</sup>. However, the book was less concerned with weaving these elements into a cohesive national narrative and more about presenting distinct regional perspectives.

A different approach emerged in the series authored by Gerald de Domenico and published by Longman Zambia. The Grade 5 textbook stood out for its narrative style. Set up as a grandfather's storytelling, it conveyed the histories of various Zambian provinces through legends and tales, often revolving around the actions of local chiefs or kings. Notably, these tales often portrayed these leaders as having resisted foreign influences, such as Portuguese interlopers or the BSAC. Each story ended with a moral lesson connecting the past with contemporary ideals and concerns. In the case of the Luapula Province, for instance, the history of the first two Mwata Kazembes, their departure from the central Lunda empire and settlement in Zambia was recounted, together with the story of their successor. The strength of these rulers was magnified, as were their possessions and riches. Mwata Kazembe III Ilunga Lukwesa was also praised for having «stopped the Portuguese from getting his kingdom». Drawing a parallel with more recent experiences, the author concluded: «This was one of the many times when Zambians tried to stop strangers who came to rule our country»<sup>77</sup>. Similar stories emphasized the resistance of Mpezeni, the chief of the Ngoni of the Eastern Province, and his son

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<sup>74</sup> Ivi, p. 92.

<sup>75</sup> They were: Soli, Tonga, Ila, Valley Tonga, Lenje, Lima, Swaka, Batwa, Lamba, Lala, Bemba, Bisa, Mambwe, Lungu, Swahili, Mukulu, Chishinga, Ng'umbo, Aushi, Lunda, Shila, Tabwa, Soli, Nsenga, Chewa, Nyanja, Ngoni, Tumbuka, Senga, Lenje, Kaonde, Nkoya, Lozi, Makololo, Matabele, Toka, Kwangwa, Mbunda, Mawiko, Lovale, Luchazi, Chokwe. See: J.M. Temple, *This is My Country. Social Studies for Zambia. Book III*, London, Lutterworth Press, Fifth Impression, 1971 [First edition 1963, revised in 1966], pp. 25-164.

<sup>76</sup> Ivi, pp. 76-78; 95-96; 108-109; 133-140; 156-157; 162-164.

<sup>77</sup> G. de Domenico, *Social Studies for Zambia. Grade 5*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia Ltd, 1974, p. 34.



Nsingu against the BSAC, which, however, resulted in defeat<sup>78</sup>. Despite this failure, the author drew the following lesson:

This story shows how some Zambian people fought against the British soldiers. They fought to stay free [...]. Other Zambians also fought the British and nobody wanted them to rule us. This battle was one of many. Although the Ngoni lost this battle, Zambians went on fighting until they won Independence<sup>79</sup>.

This reiterated appeal to history reinforced the idea that Zambia's fight for independence was rooted in the past, thereby providing legitimacy and depth to the country's aspirations. Furthermore, it was the first time that the opponent was clearly identified as British, and not just, vaguely, as members of the BSAC. If the British began to be presented as "enemies", the author was nonetheless quick to point out that this did not apply to everyone. Indeed, some of them «loved Africa and its people. One of these was David Livingstone»<sup>80</sup>, whom the author considered a champion of Humanism<sup>81</sup>.

Finally, an entire (and final) chapter was devoted to Kenneth Kaunda, recounting his story from childhood to the presidency. Not only was he praised because «he helped Zambia to get independence and he has helped Zambia to grow strong after Independence», but the author also extolled certain characteristics and qualities that were to serve as role models for all Zambians<sup>82</sup>. Kaunda was thus exalted for his bravery and his determination to fight for Zambian independence and to improve the life of all Zambians, but also for denouncing «the bad things that the rulers of Rhodesia and South Africa» were doing. In this way, the role of Zambia – and Kaunda – as a frontliner for African independence was, once more, emphasized<sup>83</sup>.

Overall, despite their limited influence, these "alternative" textbooks added layers of complexity to the Zambian educational landscape during the 1970s. Both series of textbooks acknowledged the depth of Zambia's ethnic heritage and dedicated considerable attention to this aspect. The approaches taken by Temple's and de Domenico's textbooks were hardly identical, though. Temple's textbooks, while recognizing the ethnic diversity of Zambia's past, struggled to weave these elements into a coherent fabric. Instead, they reprised narratives rooted in colonial-era perspectives. By contrast, de Domenico's textbooks utilized the tales and chronicles from pre-colonial and colonial eras as conduits for modern-day lessons and insights. By contextualizing the nation's history within a broader and long-term perspective, these textbooks succeeded in bridging historical

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<sup>78</sup> Ivi, p. 39.

<sup>79</sup> Ivi, p. 42.

<sup>80</sup> Ivi, p. 43.

<sup>81</sup> Ivi, pp. 43-47.

<sup>82</sup> Ivi, p. 75.

<sup>83</sup> Ivi, pp. 76-77.

epochs. This approach resonates with the concept of using History education as a means of fostering national unity, paralleling the approach taken in Senegalese textbooks.

#### *4.2.3 Textbooks for Anglophone Africa Secondary schools: the persistence of colonial History teaching*

As already observed, the CDC did not produce any secondary school History textbooks in line with the syllabus. Therefore, textbooks produced by international publishing houses were suggested to teachers and used in schools<sup>84</sup>. One such series, the T.R. Batten series on Tropical Africa, gained prominence as a resource for Junior Secondary School (JSS) students in Anglophone African countries, including Zambia. This consisted of four volumes which, however, were devoid of specific references to Zambia, and presented African history through a European and Eurocentric lens. This perspective was evident in the author's portrayal of Africa's progress from ancient to modern times. According to him, as we read in the series' first volume,

A hundred years ago people in many parts of Tropical Africa were nearer the ancient than the modern way of life. Now, owing to their being in touch with Western civilization, they are quickly taking an important place among the peoples of the world<sup>85</sup>.

It is a sentence fully imbued with the European sense of superiority over African civilisations and which reflected the colonial context in which the first edition of the book appeared (1953). The series also carried echoes of the "white man's burden" rhetoric, particularly in chapters discussing figures like David Livingstone<sup>86</sup>. Livingstone's depiction as a catalyst for European intervention in Africa served to frame European and British involvement as a Christian duty to civilize and convert pagans<sup>87</sup>. Even the Scramble for Africa was portrayed in a somewhat positive light, emphasizing the supposed end of slavery and tribal conflicts as positive outcomes, despite some acknowledged acts of injustice<sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> MoE, *Junior Secondary (External Form III). Syllabuses (1971 Edition)*, cit., p. 19.

<sup>85</sup> T.R. Batten, *Tropical Africa in World History. Book 1. The Foundations of Modern History. Second Edition*, London, OUP, Fourteenth Impression, 1971 [First edition 1939, Second Edition 1953], p. 21. Thomas Reginald Batten was senior Lecturer in the Institute of Education at London University and had worked for many years at Makerere, where he became Vice-Principal.

<sup>86</sup> T.R. Batten, *Tropical Africa in World History. Book 3. Africa in Modern History after 1800. Fourth Edition*, London, OUP, Fifth Impression, 1969 [First edition 1939, Fourth Edition 1964], pp. 35-56.

<sup>87</sup> Ivi, p. 46.

<sup>88</sup> Ivi, pp. 73-74.

Although references to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) were sparse, the series briefly covered the BSAC and its impact. The author acknowledged the company's involvement in Southern and Northern Rhodesia due to mineral resources. While the author underlined the positive contributions of the Company in stopping the slave trade, building railways and developing copper mining, it omitted the harsh living conditions and economic exploitation endured by the local population under the colonial administration<sup>89</sup>. The chapter on Central African independence was rather brief and devoid of any reference to resistance movements or struggles against British colonial rule, thus downplaying the active role played by African populations in their own liberation struggles<sup>90</sup>. In line with the approach described so far, the final volume of the series addressed industrial, economic and social developments in Africa before and after independence, crediting British rule for introducing positive improvements in the infrastructural, educational, and political fields<sup>91</sup>.

In conclusion, the T.R. Batten series serves as a notable illustration of the complexities and constraints associated with procuring appropriate History textbooks for Zambian secondary schools. While these international publications provided historical contents and served to address the lack of appropriate educational materials at this level, they tended to showcase Africa's history through a Eurocentric lens, foregrounding European influence and marginalizing the role of indigenous populations in shaping their own histories. Moreover, the absence of Zambia's history detracted from the potential of History education to actively contribute to the process of nation-building.

#### 4.2.4 *The difficult balance in historical narrative: between colonial and nationalist stances*

Apart from Batten's work, which was specifically recommended to Zambian teachers, other textbooks were developed in the 1970s for the Zambian educational market, aiming to address History in JSSs. These textbooks provided specific perspectives on History teaching in Zambia, reflecting different approaches and historical sensibilities.

One of the earliest textbooks in this category was *Early Man in Zambia*, by S. Johnston. Although first published before the release of the 1970 syllabus, this book found its way into Zambian JSSs. Despite never being officially updated according to the curriculum, it went through six reprints until 1982, indicating its circulation in schools that lacked official textbooks. The textbook centred on prehistory and the period of Bantu migrations, placing a strong emphasis on human evolution and

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<sup>89</sup> Ivi, pp. 96 and 127.

<sup>90</sup> T.R. Batten, *Tropical Africa in World History. Book 4. The Modern World. Fifth Edition*, London, OUP, 1968 [First Edition 1940, Fifth Edition 1966], p. 125.

<sup>91</sup> Ivi, p. 116.

archaeological evidence. This focus was particularly pronounced in the case of Zambia's prehistory and its archaeological sites<sup>92</sup>. However, the detailed and technical language deployed by the author may have proved difficult to understand for Grade 8 students. The most intriguing chapter, from this research's perspective, was the one dedicated to Bantu migrations. It detailed the formation of different Zambian ethnic groups and their arrivals in the region<sup>93</sup>. The author also highlighted such oral accounts and legends as appeared to explain these migrations and emphasized the commonalities between these various groups, including language, traditions and ways of life<sup>94</sup>.

However, if in this first part the author seemed to dignify and even celebrate the richness of Zambian peoples' past, this approach changed altogether when addressing their situation on the eve of the arrival of Europeans.

Nearly everywhere the tribes were fighting one another, raiding for slaves, burning villages and stealing crops. In the east Arabs and Ngoni were disturbing their neighbours. In the west it was the Makololo and the Lozi. In the north there were the raids by Bemba and Arabs. In the south the Matabele were a constant danger and slave-raiding also took place [...]. Livingstone believed that it was his duty to expose the evils of what was happening in Central Africa [... and] open the way for missionaries, traders and European government. The missionaries would spread the Christian belief of love for every human. This would help to overcome tribal wars. The traders would encourage the development of an ordinary trade in goods. This would gradually force the slave-traders out of business. European government would bring officials, laws and soldiers to enforce the laws [...] That would bring fighting and slave-raiding to an end<sup>95</sup>.

The contrasting narratives within the textbook might reflect the complexities that British authors encountered when they attempted to formulate a cohesive approach to History instruction in the emerging post-colonial context. It appears that, when dealing with the more distant past, historical accounts were approached with a certain degree of celebration, appreciating their richness and complexity. However, as the narrative moved closer to more recent times, especially concerning the arrival of the British in Zambia, the author seemed to revert to old colonial-era narratives. In this shift, European intervention was often justified by portraying the local populations as uncivilized or in need of European guidance. This kind of narrative, therefore, sought to legitimize European colonization by depicting it as a mission of enlightenment and civilization, even if it meant overriding local cultures and practices.

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<sup>92</sup> S. Johnston, *Early Man in Zambia*, Nairobi, OUP, 1982 [First Edition 1970], pp. 19-25. This focus on archaeological discoveries and tools may be explained by the fact that Johnston was himself an archaeologist.

<sup>93</sup> Ivi, pp. 67-79.

<sup>94</sup> Ivi, p. 70.

<sup>95</sup> Ivi, pp. 80-81

A completely different narrative approach was presented by Fergus Macpherson in *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian Nation Was Made*, published in 1977 for Zambian secondary schools. The title itself suggests a focus on the formation of the Zambian nation. Interestingly, the textbook began not with ancient history but with the arrival of Europeans. Because of this choice, the history of the Zambian nation ended up overlapping with the resistance to European penetration, first, and the struggle for independence, later, both inextricably linked to the figure of Kenneth Kaunda, defined as «a true national leader, faithful, honest and sincere [...]. A man of destiny»<sup>96</sup>. The colonial origins of the Zambian nation were thus emphasized, with the author writing that «Zambia's frontiers were fixed, not by Zambian kings and chiefs, but by European people who were all trying to get as much land as possible»<sup>97</sup>. Moreover, Macpherson challenged the humanitarian and civilizing justifications often used to explain European involvement in Africa, revealing the true motivations of European powers in seeking control of land and minerals<sup>98</sup>.

Thus, Macpherson's approach offered a counter-narrative to colonial history, discussing exploitation, deception and the violent conquest of the land to the north of the Zambesi by the British. Unlike some other textbooks, he did not romanticize figures like Cecil Rhodes, but rather highlighted his role in military conquest<sup>99</sup>. Consistently with his critical approach to colonial domination, the textbook extensively explored the harsh treatment suffered by the Zambians under the rule of the BSAC and the British government<sup>100</sup>. He delved into the imposition of taxation and forced labour, the public and physical punishment for transgressions, land seizures, and the lack of investment in healthcare and education for the local population. The pervasive racism and the colour bar policies were highlighted, shedding light on the deeply discriminatory practices that Africans endured<sup>101</sup>.

The second part of the textbook was dedicated entirely to Zambian resistance against colonial oppression. It traced the origins of resistance in Welfare societies and political parties, giving less emphasis to the miners' union than we have seen in CDC books. The focal point of the struggle for independence was Kenneth Kaunda, whom Macpherson defined «the Gandhi of Africa»<sup>102</sup>. While the author's perspective was clearly aligned with Kaunda's viewpoint, he did not overlook the internal

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<sup>96</sup> F. Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee. How the Zambian Nation Was Made*, Lusaka, OUP, 1977, p. 1. Fergus Macpherson was a Church of Scotland missionary in Zambia and Malawi and historian. In 1946, he moved to Northern Rhodesia, where he worked as a minister and as a manager of schools. After independence he became a research historian at UNZA and directed the KKF. He was a personal friend, as well as the biographer, of President Kaunda. See: F. Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man*, Lusaka, OUP, 1974.

<sup>97</sup> Ivi, p. 2.

<sup>98</sup> Ivi, pp. 2-4.

<sup>99</sup> Ivi, pp. 4-7.

<sup>100</sup> Some of this material would later inform Macpherson's more academic *Anatomy of a Conquest: The British Occupation of Zambia, 1884-1924* (Harlow, Longman, 1981).

<sup>101</sup> F. Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee*, cit., pp. 9-14.

<sup>102</sup> Ivi, p. 53.

conflicts within the ANC, particularly between Nkumbula and Kaunda<sup>103</sup>, or Kaunda's clash with the Lozi royal establishment and the Lumpa Church. However, he also voiced suspicions that figures like Welensky, Tshombe and Nkumbula might have exploited Lenshina's followers for their own interests<sup>104</sup>.

Likewise, in depicting Zambia's landscape after independence, Macpherson addressed the challenges faced by the new Zambian government – such as uniting diverse groups within the nation and tackling «tribalistic ill-feeling»<sup>105</sup> within UNIP – and also opposition from parties like the ANC and the United Progressive Party (UPP), founded by Simon Kapwepwe and other UNIP dissidents. Macpherson highlighted the government's concerns about potential interference from neighbouring colonial and racist countries, which (so the official argument went) prompted its decision to ban opposition groups deemed as a threat<sup>106</sup>. To be sure, Macpherson did not shy away from discussing the growing popular dissatisfaction with UNIP's operations and governance, as evidenced by the low voter turnout (39%) in the first one-party elections of 1973. However, notwithstanding these tenuous signs of impartiality, Macpherson's narrative appeared to align with Kenneth Kaunda's perspective that a one-party political framework could enhance participatory democracy and expand freedom rather than limit it<sup>107</sup>. Regarding Zambia's foreign policies, Macpherson delved into the impact of the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia, the closure of the southern border, the influx of refugees from neighbouring states and Zambia's steadfast support for the liberation struggle against racial oppression in these countries, thereby emphasizing the country's role at the forefront of the battle for African independence<sup>108</sup>.

In summary, Macpherson's textbook provided a thorough account of Zambia's historical trajectory. It encompassed the nation's arduous struggle against colonial rule, its relentless pursuit of independence and the intricate challenges encountered during the post-independence era. Significantly, it conveyed a nationalist narrative that diverged from the conventional colonial narratives that still prevailed in many other History textbooks designed for JSSs. The inclusion of post-independence history, albeit with a discernible bias, is significant, as it contrasts with subsequent textbooks, which – as will be seen – would gradually omit this period on account of the deteriorating political and economic situation of the country.

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<sup>103</sup> Ivi, pp. 32-33, 37-38, 56.

<sup>104</sup> Ivi, pp. 54 and 59.

<sup>105</sup> Ivi, p. 67.

<sup>106</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>107</sup> Ivi, pp. 68-70.

<sup>108</sup> Ivi, pp. 75-79.

Finally, one last textbook published in the 1970s for *Zambian JSSs* and upper primary was *The Peoples of Zambia*, by Sally Aldridge. In this case, too, the textbook did not comply with the official syllabus, although it was published in association with Neczam<sup>109</sup>. In the initial sections of her textbook, Aldridge offered a comprehensive overview of African history, spanning from ancient times to the challenges faced by African countries after achieving independence<sup>110</sup>. Her approach was openly anti-colonial, emphasizing the economic motives behind the partition of Africa and the brutal dispossession of African lands. Aldridge also dedicated space to highlighting African resistance movements, shedding light on the struggle against colonial domination<sup>111</sup>.

However, Aldridge's approach shifted when addressing Zambia's own history. While she followed a chronological order when discussing African history as a whole, she adopted a thematic and anthropological approach when delving into Zambia's past. In doing so, she focused on specific themes rather than a strict timeline. One of the themes she explored was the various waves of migration that crossed the Zambian territory and the impact they had on Zambian languages<sup>112</sup>. In another intriguing chapter, Aldridge delved into the diverse forms of social organization that have existed in Zambia throughout history. She explored the evolution of village and clan structures, tracing their origins and explaining how they continue to thrive in modern times. Additionally, Aldridge examined the various types of governance and organizational systems that were established by the different peoples inhabiting Zambia<sup>113</sup>.

By adopting this thematic and anthropological approach, Aldridge provided learners with a unique perspective on Zambia's history, emphasizing the intricate dynamics of migration, language, and social organization, which, as we have seen, had been oversimplified in CDC's textbooks for primary schools. However, such an approach, being devoid of any chronological order, might have prevented the formation of an overall understanding of the country's past.

In conclusion, the 1970s witnessed the publication of several History textbooks which, although designed for Zambian secondary schools, were not compliant with the official syllabus. These diverse textbooks showcased varying approaches, a consequence of the absence of a coherent coordination mechanism for the production of secondary school textbooks. As a result, while some texts, most notably Macpherson's, supported the nation-building endeavour despite not adhering strictly to the prescribed syllabus, others concentrated on specific facets of African and Zambian

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<sup>109</sup> S. Aldridge, *The Peoples of Zambia*, Lusaka-Ibadan-Nairobi, Heinemann Educational Books, in association with Neczam, 1978. Sally Aldridge lived and worked in Zambia for eight years, first at Mpika Boys Secondary Schools and later as Head of the History Department at Kalonga Secondary School in Kabwe.

<sup>110</sup> Ivi, pp. 24-47.

<sup>111</sup> Ivi, pp. 36-42

<sup>112</sup> Ivi, pp. 53-73.

<sup>113</sup> Ivi, pp. 110-114.

history, potentially leading to a fragmented historical comprehension among students. This production of textbooks, whose actual impact on and circulation within Zambian classrooms warrant further investigation, underscores the difficulties involved in harmonizing the promotion of national identity with the tricky task of departing from entrenched colonial educational models.

#### 4.3 Historical narratives at a crossroads: navigating the textbook void of the late 1970s and 1980s

As we have seen in chapter 3.2, in the late 1970s, Zambia found itself in the grip of a severe economic crisis that had far-reaching consequences across various sectors, including education. A significant casualty of this crisis was the availability of textbooks, a crucial tool in shaping the educational landscape of any nation. Particularly affected was the ambitious school syllabus that had been introduced in 1987, which sought to provide a unified curriculum for basic schools ranging from Grade 3 to 9. Due to the economic turmoil, the full implementation of this curriculum faced insurmountable challenges. As a result, the concept of a unified curriculum remained largely on paper, never fully materializing in practice. At the JSS level, subjects such as History, Geography, and Civics, which were meant to be integrated under the Social Studies banner, continued to be taught as separate entities.

At the same time, the scarcity of suitable textbooks became a pressing concern for educators and students alike. This issue was vividly highlighted by the correspondence between school headmasters and the CDC at the time. Letters from these educators painted a dire picture of the situation, beseeching for access to History and Social Studies textbooks and syllabuses. This fervent appeal was driven by the stark reality that many schools had either no textbooks at all or were relying on outdated and unsuitable materials<sup>114</sup>. However, if at the primary level this problem was partly addressed through the reprinting of the ZPC books, the problem was especially pronounced at the secondary level. Within the realm of Social Studies, this scarcity manifested prominently in the absence of a dedicated textbook for JSSs. By the mid-1980s, it was reported that no Social Studies textbook had been published specifically for this level of education<sup>115</sup>. This gap was so significant

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<sup>114</sup> NaZam, EDU 2/15 – 9412 – 021, Letter from P.S.C. Mumba, Head of the History Department at the Secondary School in Chama, to the CDC Director, 27<sup>th</sup> January 1977, ED/13, 46. (Here Mr. Mumba wrote that the only textbook they had was Ward, *History of Central Africa*, deemed unsuitable for the syllabus.) NaZam, EDU 2/15 – 9412 – 021, Letter from C.B. Chomba, Head of History Department at the Secondary School in Mporokoso, to Mr. B-C. Chikopa, Head of History department at the CDC, 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1977, 132/HIST/SYL, 44. (In this letter he asked for «pamphlets containing history notes» for Junior Secondary Schools, thus confirming that, at least until the late 1970s, there were no History textbooks compliant with the official syllabus available in secondary schools).

<sup>115</sup> D.L. Brook, *Social Studies and National Development*, cit., p. 217.



that urgent measures were taken to acquire relevant materials, including reaching out to English publishing houses for the purchase of History textbooks intended for other markets<sup>116</sup>.

One example of a textbook for the Central African market that did make its way into Zambian secondary schools was *From Iron Age to Independence. A History of Central Africa*<sup>117</sup>. Originally published by Longman in 1974 and revised in 1984, this textbook provided a comprehensive exploration of the region's history. Despite not strictly adhering to the syllabus and not focusing exclusively on Zambia, the textbook dedicated significant space to Zambia's history within the context of Central Africa's dynamics.

The textbook began its narrative with the arrival of Bantu and Iron Age peoples in Central Africa, shedding light on early settlements in Zambia, notable archaeological sites and the development of larger political entities like chiefdoms and kingdoms<sup>118</sup>. These political entities, including the Luba and central Lunda states, the eastern Lunda kingdom of Kazembe and the Bemba, Bisa and Lozi polities were presented with a keen focus on their political, economic, and religious systems<sup>119</sup>. The textbook also delved into interactions with Portuguese and Swahili traders and explored the impact of the Mfecane, which brought the Kololo and Ngoni peoples from the south into Zambia<sup>120</sup>.

Notably, the colonial era was presented with a nuanced portrayal of David Livingstone. Unlike conventional depictions that often focused solely on his role as a Christian missionary, this textbook acknowledged Livingstone's broader ambitions as an explorer who aimed to facilitate European commerce and development in Central Africa, highlighting his influence on European colonial interests<sup>121</sup>. Moreover, the textbook did not shy away from portraying the European conquest of Africa in a critical light. It discussed the methods employed, including wars (such as those involving Mpezeni's Ngoni, the Kazembe, the Bemba and Swahili traders<sup>122</sup>) and deceit (as seen with king

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<sup>116</sup> Indeed, in the mid-1980s the Permanent Secretary of the MoE wrote a number of letters to the general manager and the sales manager of the NEDCOZ, requesting the purchase of several thousands of copies of such textbooks as: H.L. Peacock, *History of Modern Europe*; Id., *Europe and Beyond*; G.S. Were, *A History of Southern Africa*; J.O. Sagay and D. Witson, *Africa: A Modern History*; B. Catchpole, *A Map History of our Times*. See: NaZam, EDU 2/27 – 9480 - 003, Letter from the Permanent Secretary of the MoE, Vincent Marko Tembo, to the NEDCOZ General Manager, Mr. G. Z. Sibale, 18th November, 1984. MGEC/101/7/17, 192, and NaZam, EDU 2/27 – 9480 - 003, Letter from the Permanent Secretary of the MoE, Vincent Marko Tembo, to the NEDCOZ Sales Manager, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1984, MGEC/101/7/17, 108.

<sup>117</sup> This was one of the textbooks requested from teachers to address the shortage of suitable books in Secondary schools. See: NaZam, EDU 2/27 – 9480 - 003, Letter from E.C. Lupeta, Head of History Department at Kabundi Secondary School in Chingola, to the Permanent Secretary of the MoE, 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1984, MGEC/101/7/17, 158. In the same folder, located in the National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka, there are at least four other similar letters from History teachers writing to the Ministry to request more textbooks and lamenting the shortages in their schools.

<sup>118</sup> D.E. Needham, E.K. Mashingaize, N. Bhebe, *From Iron Age to Independence. A History of Central Africa. New Edition*, Harlow, Longman, Twenty-sixth impression 2010 [First edition 1974, revised in 1984], pp. 5-13. Dr Elleck Mashingaidze and Dr Ngwabi Bhebe are both renowned Zimbabwean historians and academics.

<sup>119</sup> Ivi, pp. 20-34.

<sup>120</sup> Ivi, pp. 64-65 and 72-85.

<sup>121</sup> Ivi, p. 95.

<sup>122</sup> Ivi, pp. 147-151.

Lewanika<sup>123</sup>). The devastating consequences of colonization, including land occupation, discriminatory practices, and the economic exploitation of copper resources in Zambia, were explored in depth<sup>124</sup>.

Another significant departure from previous textbooks produced by foreign publishers was the emphasis on local perspectives. The impact of European dominance was presented through the experiences and resistance efforts of indigenous African populations. The textbook highlighted the emergence of early forms of African passive resistance and the influential role of mission schools in shaping modern political protest<sup>125</sup>. It also traced the growth of nationalist movements, especially in the Copperbelt area and the post-World War II period, when African veterans returned with a broader outlook and a greater appreciation for education and unity<sup>126</sup>. This was the era when real national movements began, with the birth of the Federation of Welfare Societies, of the ANC and the African Mineworkers Union, both of which engaged in the battle against Federation<sup>127</sup>. The era of Federal rule in Zambia, characterized by discrimination and political suppression, fuelled the growth of nationalist movements. This period witnessed the split of the ANC and the formation of UNIP under Kenneth Kaunda, who advocated for independence through non-violent means<sup>128</sup>. The textbook also addressed the political turmoil that marked the end of the Federation and Zambia's emergence as an independent republic in 1964. It briefly mentioned internal opposition to UNIP rule from Lozi with secessionist leanings and from the Lumpa Church<sup>129</sup>.

The final chapter highlighted post-colonial Central Africa, with a particular focus on Zambia. It discussed the economic and manpower challenges left by the Federation and how the new government addressed them. The textbook praised Zambia's foreign policy for supporting continental liberation and Kenneth Kaunda's leadership<sup>130</sup>. Yet, it provided limited coverage of Zambia's economic struggles and its transformation into a one-party state.

In conclusion, although not exclusively centred on Zambia, the textbook traced the nation's evolution from prehistory to the post-independence era, contextualizing it within the broader dynamics of Central Africa. Notably, the text delved into Zambia's historical narrative by foregrounding resistance against colonial rule, the fight for independence, and the country's role in liberating other African nations. This underscored the text's resolute anti-colonial stance, spotlighting the action of Africans' in shaping their destinies. Yet, this orientation had its drawbacks. While the

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<sup>123</sup> Ivi, pp. 130-135.

<sup>124</sup> Ivi, pp. 155-165.

<sup>125</sup> Ivi, pp. 159-160.

<sup>126</sup> Ivi, pp. 169-177.

<sup>127</sup> Ivi, pp. 170 and 175-179.

<sup>128</sup> Ivi, pp. 182-189.

<sup>129</sup> Ivi, pp. 192-193.

<sup>130</sup> Ivi, p. 201.

textbook magnifies African agency, accentuating its proactive role in shaping the continent's future, it inadvertently sidesteps the contemporary difficulties faced by both Africa and Zambia.

While textbooks from Longman and other European publishers were the recommended choices by the CDC and the MoE's permanent secretary, it is important to note that alternative textbooks did exist. In the course of field research in Zambia, two books published by Zambian publishers for Zambian JSSs during the period under consideration were found, one for Grade 8 students and the other for both Grade 8 and 9: *In Search of the Zambian Past*, by Multimedia Zambia, and *Junior Secondary History*, by Times Printpak. Although not perfectly consistent with the 1987 syllabus, they broadly covered themes addressed in it. They explored the origin of humanity, the presence of Stone Age and Iron Age civilizations in Zambia, and the migrations of Bantu-speaking groups. Detailed histories of various groups were presented, delving into their origins, material culture, economy, social and political structures, religious beliefs and eventual decline<sup>131</sup>. Notably, the emphasis was now almost exclusively on «kingdoms» and their rulers, rather than on the variety of existing forms of social and political organisation<sup>132</sup>.

*In Search of the Zambian Past* presented in this regard some intriguing aspects that deserve special attention. The author, in particular, was clearly “tempted” to project the Zambian state back into the past. This approach was highlighted by such choice of words as «the Stone Age in Zambia» and by the use of modern-day Zambia maps when depicting the routes of Bantu migration<sup>133</sup>.

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<sup>131</sup> See: K.K. Dasgupta, *In Search of the Zambian Past*, Lusaka, Multimedia Publication, Second Impression 1989 [1986], pp. 31-76. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta is an Indian historian, he has worked for many years as a teacher and, in the late 1980s, was the Head of the History Department at Helen Kaunda Secondary School in Kitwe; and G. Haantobolo, P. Ng'andu, *Junior Secondary History*, Ndola, Times Printpak Zambia Limited, Third Impression 1997 [1992], pp. 1-9 and 16-18. Godfrey Haantobolo is a Zambian historian and obtained a PhD from the University of the Witwatersrand. According to the back cover the textbook has been approved by the MoE for use in Secondary schools.

<sup>132</sup> See: K.K. Dasgupta, *In Search of the Zambian Past*, cit., pp. 52-56, 64, 74-76; and G. Haantobolo, P. Ng'andu, *Junior Secondary History*, cit., pp. 23-44.

<sup>133</sup> See, for instance: K.K. Dasgupta, *In Search of the Zambian Past*, cit., pp. 28, 32 and 26.

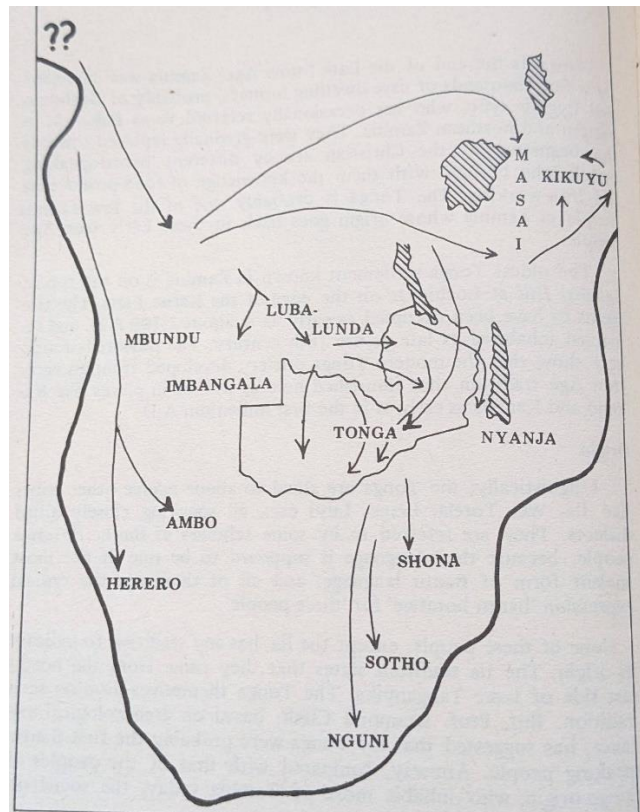


Figure 9. Possible movements of Bantu-speaking people, in K.K. Dasgupta, *In Search of the Zambian Past*, cit., p. 32.

Moreover, the timeline included at the end of the textbook, entitled «Some important dates in the Early History of Zambia», mentioned as its first significant date 1770, the year when Chitimukulu Mukuka, of the Bemba, was said to have gained power. This seemed to imply that Zambia's historical roots were tied to processes of pre-colonial state building during the 18th and 19th centuries. And indeed, in the «Zambian» timeline extending to 1900, key events from the political history of several pre-colonial kingdoms were documented. Yet, despite these obvious distortions, the textbook refrained from directly portraying pre-colonial polities as modern Zambia's forerunners. Moreover, the narrative did not allocate any significant space to the figures of kings and chiefs from that era, thereby reintroducing a degree of detachment between the pre-colonial period and modern nation-building efforts.

The *Junior Secondary History*, also aimed at Grade 9 students, extended its remit to include the first contracts between Europe and Africa, initiated by the Portuguese along the coastal regions. Although the authors used the Eurocentric term «voyages of discovery»<sup>134</sup>, they explicitly linked these initial encounters with Europeans to the onset of the Atlantic slave trade. Moreover, they went on to explore the profound human, political and economic consequences that that same trade had had

<sup>134</sup> G. Haantobolo, P. Ng'andu, *Junior Secondary History*, cit., p. 68.

on Africa<sup>135</sup>. However, when discussing European explorers, particularly David Livingstone, the authors departed from the nuanced image presented in Needham, Mashingaize and Bhebe's textbook. Instead, they adhered to the traditional portrayal of the British explorer, emphasizing his interest in converting Africans to Christianity, ending the slave trade and facilitating the entry of missionaries and traders<sup>136</sup>. Nevertheless, the authors provided a balanced assessment of missionary activities in Africa. While acknowledging their contributions in establishing hospitals and education, they also presented the missionaries as agents of colonialism<sup>137</sup>.

The text also addressed the causes of the Scramble for Africa and the colonial conquest within a broader Central African context, as stipulated by the syllabus. Similar to other textbooks, the authors highlighted how the BSAC resorted both to diplomacy and violence during the occupation of Northern Rhodesia. The actual colonial phase was only briefly covered, starting from 1924. However, more attention was given to the formation of the Federation, presenting both supportive and opposing perspectives on its creation<sup>138</sup>.

African resistance was addressed in several separate chapters, with a focus on primary resistance by groups like the Ngoni and the Bemba and the significance of African churches as anti-colonial movements<sup>139</sup>. While recognizing the crucial role of these early forms of opposition, the authors acknowledged that Central Africa's nationalism gained strength during the Federation period. Interestingly, they provided a definition of nationalism as «the desire of people with common history to be united and gain their independence in a given territory»<sup>140</sup>, although they did not offer any further detail on the historical commonalities that ostensibly united Zambia's diverse peoples. Finally, the authors covered the formation of political parties, the internal divisions within the ANC, and the rise of UNIP under Kaunda. They also referenced «violent actions in the streets of Lusaka [...] known as ChaChaCha»<sup>141</sup>. However, their treatment of these topics was relatively brief and did not provide a comprehensive explanation of how the ChaChaCha campaign fitted into Zambia's struggle for liberation. Similarly, the attainment of independence was addressed briefly and linked to the dissolution of the Federation<sup>142</sup>.

In summary, the textbooks from this era, especially those issued by Zambian publishing houses, had certain limitations. They frequently concluded their narratives with Zambia's independence in 1964, neglecting to address the challenges and transformations that the country

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<sup>135</sup> Ivi, p. 71.

<sup>136</sup> Ivi, p. 85.

<sup>137</sup> Ivi, p. 93.

<sup>138</sup> Ivi, pp. 96-115.

<sup>139</sup> Ivi, pp. 117-119.

<sup>140</sup> Ivi, p. 125.

<sup>141</sup> Ivi, p. 126.

<sup>142</sup> Ibidem.

underwent in the following decades. Adherence to the curriculum, which shifted post-independence developments to the realm of Geography, meant that students completed their Junior Secondary School education without knowledge of their nation's recent history. Furthermore, unlike CDC textbooks, these books placed more emphasis on exploring pre-colonial kingdoms. While these entities were not explicitly portrayed as the direct historical antecedents of modern Zambia, the focus on their statehood and political centralization emerged as a prominent theme in these texts.

## 4.4 Teaching the nation under the Third Republic: from Bantu origins to the independence struggle

### 4.4.1 New textbooks for primary schools: building a shared heritage

As we have seen in the previous sections, until the early 1990s, primary school Social Studies textbooks in Zambia were in short supply, with only ZPC textbooks from the mid-1970s continuing to be reprinted and used in schools<sup>143</sup>. This situation began to improve in the mid-1990s following the 1996 curriculum reform and the liberalization of the textbook market. As a result, new pupil's textbooks and teacher's guides were developed to align with the revised syllabuses<sup>144</sup>. Three main series of Social Studies textbooks emerged during this period: *Our World*, published by Macmillan; *Living in One World*, by Longman Zambia; and *Social Studies*, by the CDC in collaboration with Longman Zimbabwe. These new textbooks were designed to comply with the revised syllabuses both in terms of their chapter structure and their contents they presented.

The introduction of historical contents in these textbooks began in Grade 4, with a focus on everyday life in Zambia during prehistoric times and the arrival of the Bantu people<sup>145</sup>. In Grade 5, the textbooks delved further into history, covering the history of Zambia's provinces and their ethnic groups. The textbooks, however, did not deal with each province individually but rather provided a

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<sup>143</sup> C.P. Chishimba, R.K. Simukoko, *Social Studies in Zambia*, cit., p. 291.

<sup>144</sup> IBE, MoE, *The Development of Education. National Report of Zambia*, cit., p. 16.

<sup>145</sup> See: L.S. Ntalasha, F.M. Songiso, G.N. Sumbwa, L.M. Brown, *Longman Social Studies For Zambia. Living in One World. Grade 4 Pupils' Book*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia Ltd, 1999, pp. 1-2; Lillian Shepande Ntalasha has authored other textbooks for Zambian schools, mainly on Geography, and was Principal Curriculum Specialist at the CDC. G.N. Sumbwa is a Zambian historian and academic, working at UNZA and has authored other Longman Social Studies textbooks. F.M. Songiso and L.M. Brown have authored other Longman Social Studies textbooks. Its back cover states that the textbook was approved by the MoE in 1998. See also: P.H. Manda, T.M. Bwalya, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Education Project. Our World 4. Our District*, Lusaka, Macmillan Publishers (Zambia), 1995, pp. 21-25. T.M. Bwalya has authored other Geography textbooks for Zambian schools; Prisca Simbeya is a Zambian Social Studies teacher and author of other Social Studies textbooks; P.H. Manda has authored other Social Studies textbooks for Macmillan Zambia. The front cover indicates that the textbook was approved for use in schools.

broad perspective on the ethnic backgrounds of Zambia's population. They emphasized the common ancestral roots of Zambia's diverse population, highlighting their shared heritage as Bantu groups<sup>146</sup>. Indeed, all the Grade 5 teachers' guides encouraged the teacher to stress that, «in spite of the different cultural aspirations, all these groups accept each other's way of life and live together peacefully» and to «emphasise harmonious relationships in the province and the country as a whole»<sup>147</sup>. This approach sought to foster a sense of unity among Zambians and might also explain why both the CDC and Longman Zambia textbooks offered limited coverage of the different kingdoms and polities that emerged in the country.

Among the Grade 5 textbooks analysed, the CDC's was the only one to focus on Zambia's history from 1890 to 1991. This chapter opened with the seizure of power by the BSAC, then it briefly summarized colonial rule and the attainment of independence in 1964. The authors simply explained that Africans were dissatisfied under both the BSAC and British rule because they aspired to self-governance, which they eventually achieved through hard work<sup>148</sup>. However, one of the most compelling aspects of this textbook was its treatment of post-independence history, a topic often overlooked in previous textbooks. Notably, the authors highlighted the existence of multipartyism following independence, characterised by the presence of UNIP and the ANC, but also of the UPP and the United Party (UP). The decision to ban opposition parties and establish one-party participatory democracy under President Kaunda was attributed to ongoing conflicts among these parties. While the decision itself was not criticized, the authors gave voice to the harsh criticisms that the UNIP government had faced during the Second Republic (1972-1991). Indeed, the authors referred to the dissatisfaction of Zambian people, as evidenced by the looting of shops in the Copperbelt and Lusaka in 1986 and 1990, as well as by two failed coups in 1980 and 1990. According to the authors, these protests were driven by high prices and a desire to return to multipartyism. This led to the formation of the MMD in 1990, with the authors attributing the party's origins to the will of the people, as if it represented the entire nation. Finally, the authors briefly covered the 1991 vote and the election of Chiluba as President<sup>149</sup>.

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<sup>146</sup> L.S. Ntalasha, A.B.K. Nzala, H. Moloka, B.M. Shimangwala, A.L. Kasoma, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Social Studies 5. Pupils' Book*, Lusaka-Harare, CDC-Longman Zimbabwe, 1998, pp. 4 and 11. Absolom B.K. Nzala and Harold Moloka were Curriculum Development Specialists at the CDC; Blammar M. Shimangwala was Headteacher at the Mungu Basic School in Kafue; Anastazia L. Kasoma is a Zambian historian and author of History textbooks for Secondary Schools, she was a teacher at the Olympia Basic School in Lusaka.

<sup>147</sup> L.S. Ntalasha, A.B.K. Nzala, H. Moloka, B.M. Shimangwala, A.L. Kasoma, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Social Studies 5. Teacher's Guide*, Lusaka-Harare, CDC-Longman Zimbabwe, 1998, p. 6. Similar points were made by L.S. Ntalasha, F.M. Songiso, M.C. Musonda, G.N. Sumbwa, L.M. Brown, *Longman Social Studies For Zambia. Living in One World. Grade 5 Teacher's Book*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia Ltd, 1997, p 2. M.C. Musonda has authored other Longman Social Studies textbooks.

<sup>148</sup> L.S. Ntalasha, A.B.K. Nzala, H. Moloka, B.M. Shimangwala, A.L. Kasoma, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Social Studies 5. Pupils' Book*, cit., p. 12.

<sup>149</sup> Ivi, p. 13.

Interestingly, despite this detailed presentation of post-independence political history, the teacher's guide suggested focusing primarily on «the major events that led to the struggle for Independence»<sup>150</sup>. This approach reaffirmed the significance of the anti-colonial struggle as the core of Zambian history and national identity. The guides also proposed activities, including inviting a political leader to discuss major independence events, singing a patriotic song and creating charts of prominent independence leaders. This was the first attempt to establish a pantheon of national heroes, all labelled as «freedom fighters», further emphasizing the importance of the independence struggle<sup>151</sup>.

The historical contents addressed in the Grade 6 textbooks tended to partly overlap with what was contained in Grade 5 books, especially the one by CDC. Indeed, in line with the syllabus requirements, the Grade 6 textbooks first dealt with the history of Bantu migrations and subsequently explored Zambia's history from 1890 to 1964. While Grade 5 had already introduced the topic of Bantu migrations, Grade 6 textbooks expanded on this subject. They went further by discussing the Luba-Lunda kingdoms in Zaire and placing emphasis on various aspects of Bantu culture, including socio-political organization, religious beliefs, and primary activities within Zambia<sup>152</sup>. The treatment of these diverse ethnic groups as a single collective entity was intended to underscore their shared Bantu heritage. This approach, however, risked overshadowing the unique contributions and histories of that kingdoms that had emerged on Zambian territory<sup>153</sup> and of the groups who had migrated from the South, such as the Kololo and Ngoni, which received comparatively less attention. Indeed, they were only briefly mentioned at the beginning of the chapter on the history of Zambia, as ones of the peoples who reached the country in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, together with Swahili, Arabs and Europeans<sup>154</sup>.

The Grade 6 textbook also provided a more detailed account of the BSAC and British colonial rule, as compared to the Grade 5 textbook. For instance, here the authors explained how the BSAC succeeded in seizing power in Zambia by tricking Lewanika to sign the Lochner concession, by signing treaties with other chiefs and by engaging in war with peoples who resisted it, such as the Bemba and Ngoni<sup>155</sup>. Moreover, the textbook explored the rise of African opposition to colonial rule, fuelled by factors such as participation in welfare associations and unions, the experiences in two

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<sup>150</sup> L.S. Ntalasha, A.B.K. Nzala, H. Moloka, B.M. Shimangwala, A.L. Kasoma, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Social Studies 5. Teacher's Guide*, cit., p. 15.

<sup>151</sup> The “prominent leaders” mentioned in the guide were: Kenneth Kaunda, Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula, Donald Siwale, Dauti Yamba, Lawrence Katilungu, Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika, Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, Ruben Kamanga, Grey Zulu. See *ibidem*.

<sup>152</sup> P.H. Manda, T.M. Bwalya, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Education Project. Our World 6. Zambia and Her Neighbours*, Lusaka, Macmillan Publishers (Zambia), 1997, pp. 22-26. The front cover indicates that the book is approved for use in schools.

<sup>153</sup> The only exception was a case study on the Lunda of Kazembe. See: Ivi, p. 27.

<sup>154</sup> Ivi, p. 30.

<sup>155</sup> Ivi, pp. 33-34.



World Wars and education in mission schools. These factors collectively sparked political consciousness and activism among the local population<sup>156</sup>.

Finally, the Grade 6 syllabus and corresponding textbook did not cover post-colonial Zambian history, but it did discuss contemporary African issues. One notable chapter addressed civil and ethnic conflicts occurring across the continent, attributing their origins to the arbitrary nature of colonial borders, which did not consider the ethnic composition of regions. The importance of unity under the motto “One Zambia, One Nation” was stressed as a means of mitigating such conflicts<sup>157</sup>. Thus, the authors did not pretend that Zambia was exempted from these dangers, nor they ignored Zambian ethnic past. However, their proposed solution centred on strengthening the significance and loyalty to Zambia’s contemporary identity, presented as a shared framework that could encompass and unite all individuals, fostering a sense of belonging and commonality. Moreover, this identity was further reinforced by the symbols of national unity, such as the flag or the coat of arms, that were introduced in Grades 3 and 4. These symbols were presented as elements that fostered a sense of belonging and unity among Zambians<sup>158</sup>.

Grade 7 focused mainly on Civics and Geography, with only scattered historical references. The international organizations joined by Zambia, such as the OAU and UN, were briefly mentioned<sup>159</sup>. However, important global events like the World Wars and the Cold War were not covered in these textbooks.

#### 4.4.2 *New syllabus, old challenges: the scarcity of JSS textbooks*

A noticeable disparity existed in the availability and content of textbooks between primary and secondary education, even after the 1996 curricular reform. Unlike the primary level, which saw the release of several new textbook series in line with the new syllabus, the secondary level had a more limited offering. Only one textbook published after 1996 could be identified; interestingly, it was a History textbook, rather than a Social Studies one, contrary to the curricular reform’s intentions<sup>160</sup>.

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<sup>156</sup> Ivi, pp. 34-40.

<sup>157</sup> Ivi, p. 44.

<sup>158</sup> See: P.H. Manda, T.M. Bwalya, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Education Project. Our World 4. Our District*, cit., p. 3; and L.S. Ntalasha, F.M. Songiso, G.N. Sumbwa, L.M. Brown, *Longman Social Studies For Zambia. Living in One World. Grade 4 Pupils’ Book*, cit., pp. 4-5.

<sup>159</sup> L.S. Ntalasha, F.M. Songiso, G.N. Sumbwa, L.M. Brown, *Longman Social Studies For Zambia. Living in One World. Grade 7 Pupils’ Book*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia Ltd, 1999, pp. 78-81.

<sup>160</sup> Y. Chondoka (ed.), with G. Arnold and L. Ntalasha, *Junior Secondary History for Zambia*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia, Second Impression 2003 [2001]. Yzenge Chondoka is a Zambian historian and academic; Guy Arnold was a British writer mainly on African history and politics. He worked in Zambia at the eve of Independence as adviser of Kaunda, where he helped creating the National Youth Service. The textbook was approved by the MoE.

The contents of this post-1996 secondary school History textbook bore strong resemblances to its predecessors. It adhered to a concentric structure, beginning with precolonial history in Zambia, encompassing the Stone Age and Iron Age, the arrival of Bantu peoples and the emergence of centralized and decentralized political structures. From the advent of European contacts onward, the scope of the textbook expanded to include Africa, with a particular focus on Central Africa. The topics addressed by the authors in this second part were: Portuguese interests in Central Africa, the European and the Arabs slave trades and their abolition, the Scramble for Africa, the birth of the Federation and, finally, post-independence Africa, with its problems and the political and economic organisations it created. Without going into detail on all these topics, which have already been dealt with extensively in the course of this analysis, it is necessary to emphasise certain peculiarities in the narrative proposed by the textbook under consideration.

In terms of precolonial history, this book covered various precolonial kingdoms and polities that had emerged in Zambia in the aftermath of the Bantu migrations. Unlike previous secondary school textbooks, it acknowledged the presence of non-centralized societies like the Tonga and Lenje. However, there appeared to be a bias towards centralized polities in the narrative. These were portrayed as more advanced, and indeed were the focus of detailed accounts of their history, political structures, key leaders, economic activities, expansion and decline. Interestingly, the book referred to all of them as «kingdoms»<sup>161</sup>.

Secondly, this book took a clear anti-colonial stance. Indeed, despite mentioning «voyages of discovery», it highlighted the negative effects of the colonial system on the lives of local African people, including the brutality and discrimination they faced<sup>162</sup>. Likewise, European exploration and missionary activities were portrayed in a critical light, emphasizing how they contributed, knowingly or unknowingly, to the colonization of Africa. The authors also highlighted these actors' prevailing beliefs in European cultural and civilizational superiority over African cultures<sup>163</sup>.

Another notable aspect is the discontinuity in the book's historical narrative. The authors faced challenges in crafting a cohesive storyline that smoothly integrated Central Africa and Zambia's struggle for independence into the broader African context. For instance, it shifted its focus from African states achieving independence back to the Federation of Central Africa<sup>164</sup>. Similarly, the chronological account was interrupted to deal with the colonization of Zambia, moving from the

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<sup>161</sup> These were: Luyi kingdom (also under Kololo domination); Lunda kingdom of Mwata Kazembe; Bemba kingdom; Undi's kingdom. See: Ivi, pp. 33-44.

<sup>162</sup> Ivi, pp. 45 and 131.

<sup>163</sup> Ivi, p. 98.

<sup>164</sup> Ivi, p. 140.

BSAC rule to British rule and delving into the origins and developments of Zambian nationalism leading up to independence<sup>165</sup>.

Notably, the textbook dedicated a paragraph to post-independence Zambia. It discussed the initial optimism following independence, with rising copper prices and President Kenneth Kaunda's popularity both domestically and internationally, as he positioned himself as a leading figure in the politics of black-white confrontation. Kaunda's policies, including the nationalization of the copper mines and the transformation into a one-party state, were mentioned. However, the authors also acknowledged the ensuing challenges, such as the economic difficulties caused by Zambia's landlocked status, the border closure with Rhodesia and Namibia and its overdependence on copper exports. This led to a dramatic economic decline in the 1970s and 1980s, marked by rising unemployment and stagnation, which in turn led to the growth of opposition against UNIP and President Kaunda. His attempts to suppress strikes and implement austerity measures resulted in further opposition and the demand for a return to multiparty democracy. Despite the government's resistance, elections were held in 1991, leading to Chiluba's presidency<sup>166</sup>. This paragraph is important, since it was one of the few instances in which the textbooks addressed post-independence Zambia's history, highlighting its challenges and contradictions.

Towards its conclusion, the textbook explored regional and international organizations, along with the contemporary problems facing independent Africa. The authors – as was the case in the Grade 6 textbook – delved into issues of ethnicity and military coups, acknowledging the role of European colonization in contributing to these problems by dividing ethnic groups across different states or forcing them into a single nation. In this regard, they recognized Kaunda's efforts to emphasize a shared Zambian identity among diverse ethnic groups to mitigate ethnic divisions and foster a sense of belonging to Zambia<sup>167</sup>.

#### *4.4.3 The 2003 syllabus and primary school textbooks, the consolidation of a shared national narrative*

In 2003, the Zambian education system witnessed the introduction of a new curriculum. Private educational publishing houses, which had gained dominance in the textbook market, responded by releasing various textbook series complying with this new syllabus. However, as we have seen in the previous chapters, the curriculum for JSSs was never published, and so new textbooks were produced

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<sup>165</sup> Ivi, pp. 143-148.

<sup>166</sup> Ivi, pp. 148-149.

<sup>167</sup> Ivi, p. 167.

for primary school only. Some of the most notable series included *Basic Social and Development Studies*, by Macmillan, *Stepping Stones*, by Maiden in partnership with Heinemann Southern Africa, *MK Social and Development Studies*, by MK publishers, and *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies*, by Longman Zambia.

The 1996 and 2003 Social Studies syllabi shared many similarities. One notable difference was the greater space now allocated to symbols of national unity, such as the national anthem and flag, which were introduced in earlier grades<sup>168</sup>. The Macmillan teacher's guide provided some indications on how these topics were to be addressed in class, emphasizing that the national anthem played a vital role in establishing national identity and unity, and thus encouraging pupils to understand that singing the anthem was a way to show respect for Zambia and pride in being Zambian<sup>169</sup>. Similarly, one of the aims to be attained at the end of this Grade was, according to the Maiden teachers' guide, to «understand that patriotism and love for one's country are keys to nationwide unity and harmonious living together»<sup>170</sup>. Clearly, then, these early-grade materials aimed not only to teach pupils about Zambia's symbols but also to instil a sense of pride and belonging. This idea was further reinforced in Grade 3. Here, students were expected to learn the meaning of the national flag and to understand why Zambians celebrated Independence Day. To explain its importance, the textbooks briefly mentioned Zambia's colonial past, highlighting the discrimination endured by Zambian people under British rule and their struggles for independence and self-rule. In this light, Independence day should be celebrated to honour those who sacrificed their life for it, and also «because they [people in Zambia] are one big family and they are free. All races live together happily. They speak many languages, but belong to the same nation»<sup>171</sup>. This emphasis on unity

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<sup>168</sup> See: E.C.B Mushiko, S. Zulu, C.M. Tembo, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 2. Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book*, Lusaka-Sandton, Maiden Publishing House-Heinemann International Southern Africa, 2005, pp. 7-8 (the back cover states that the textbook was approved by the MoE for use in Zambian schools); N.G. Bwembya, G.E.N. Nsubuga, J. Mulimira, *MK Zambia Primary Education Course. Social and Development Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 2*, Lusaka, MK Publishers Ltd, 2012, pp. 16-18 (Nsama Gershom Bwembya had authored other Zambian textbooks, mainly for Civics; the textbook was approved by CDC); P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 2*, Lusaka, Macmillan Zambia, 2005, pp. 18-19 (the back cover explains that the textbook was written by Social and Developments Studies experts, CDC staff and Zambian teachers. The front cover states that the textbook was approved by the MoE to be used in schools).

<sup>169</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Teacher's Guide 2*, Lusaka, Macmillan Zambia, 2005, pp. 46-48. According to the front cover, the book was approved to be used in schools by the MoE.

<sup>170</sup> E.C.B Mushiko, S. Zulu, C.M. Tembo, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 2. Social and Development Studies. Teacher's Guide*, Lusaka-Sandton, Maiden Publishing House-Heinemann International Southern Africa, 2005, p. 1. In the back cover is indicated that the book has been approved to be used in Zambian schools by the MoE.

<sup>171</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 3*, Lusaka, Macmillan Zambia, 2006, pp. 34-38. In the front cover is indicated that the textbook has been approved for use in schools by the MoE. On this topic, see also: C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 3*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia, 2006, pp. 22-24. All the authors have authored other Longman Social Studies textbooks. Approved for use in Zambian schools by the MoE in 2006.

through the celebration of Independence Day was further reinforced in the Macmillan book by incorporating powerful images and sketches, such as the one below:

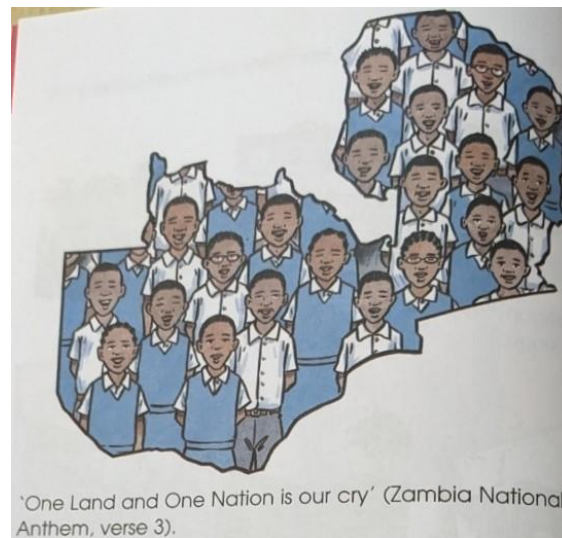


Figure 10. R. Hichens, A. Plant, 'One Land and One Nation is Our Cry', in P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 3*, cit., p. 38.

Thus, the primary goal of these early-grade materials was for pupils to appreciate the sacrifices made by Zambian people in their struggle for independence and to nurture patriotism, as suggested by one teacher's guide<sup>172</sup>.

Explicitly historical contents were introduced more substantially from Grade 5 onwards. Textbooks for this Grade began by addressing the history of different ethnic groups inhabiting Zambian provinces and their lives in the past. However, as was the case with 1996 textbooks, these books provided a general overview of the migration patterns that had given rise to the different ethnic groups in Zambia, rather than presenting the history of individual provinces as separate entities<sup>173</sup>. The main focus was, once again, on Bantu migrations, and, in particular, on the movements of people from the Luba and Lunda kingdoms, from which many of today's ethnic groups claim to have descended<sup>174</sup>. One richer account was provided by the Maiden textbook, which reinforced the idea of

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<sup>172</sup> C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies 3. Teacher's Guide*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia, Second Impression 2007 [2006], p. 37. Approved for use in Zambian schools by the MoE in 2006.

<sup>173</sup> See: P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 5*, Lusaka, Macmillan Zambia, 2005, pp. 6-7 (approved for use in schools by the MoE); N.G. Bwembya, G.E.N. Nsubuga, J. Mulimira, *MK Zambia Primary Education Course. Social and Development Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 5*, Lusaka, MK Publishers Ltd, Revised edition, 2013 [2012], p. 3. Approved by CDC.

<sup>174</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 5*, cit., p. 5; E.C.B. Mushiko, S. Zulu, C.M. Tembo, M.M. Wamulume, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 5. Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book*, Lusaka-Sandton, Maiden Publishing House-Heinemann International Southern Africa, 2005, pp. 2-3. Approved for use in Zambian schools by the MoE.

a common Luba-Lunda ancestry for the majority of Zambians, but also acknowledged the migrations of the Ngoni and Kololo peoples from the south at a later date. Interestingly, the textbook also mentioned that some Zambian people had Asians or Europeans origins, further emphasizing the diverse roots of Zambia's population<sup>175</sup>.

Grade 6 textbooks further expanded the scope of historical contents, looking beyond the immediate environment from a national perspective. This grade revisited the topic of Bantu migrations and delved into Zambia's history from 1890 to 1964, thus partially overlapping with topics already addressed in Grade 5<sup>176</sup>. As regards Bantu migrations, the Grade 6 textbooks provided a more detailed account of the topic, as compared to Grade 5. The authors made an effort to name as many ethnic groups as possible, indicating their origins and settlement areas within Zambia. Furthermore, they explored the causes behind Bantu migrations and focused on the history of the Luba and Lunda kingdoms<sup>177</sup>. However, the kingdoms formed on Zambian territory after the Bantu migrations continued to be largely overlooked<sup>178</sup>. Instead, the textbooks concentrated on the everyday life and social and political organization of Bantu societies in general, emphasizing their centralized nature<sup>179</sup>. Other forms of social and political organization were largely ignored, as were ethnic groups originating from the south, confirming a trend that had already emerged in 1996 primary textbooks.

Regarding the history of Zambia, the syllabus covered the period from 1890 to 1964, with the aim of fostering «nationalism», as explained in the MK teaching guide<sup>180</sup>. However, by focusing on this particular time frame, the textbooks largely omitted crucial moments in Zambian history, such as the consolidation of kingdoms before European arrival, initial contacts with foreign peoples, and post-colonial history. Both the Macmillan and Longman textbooks attempted to address this gap by

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<sup>175</sup> E.C.B Mushiko, S. Zulu, C.M. Tembo, M.M. Wamulume, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 5. Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book*, cit., pp. 2-3.

<sup>176</sup> Interestingly, the syllabus mentioned Zambia's history first and Bantu migrations later, a sequence that most textbooks adhered to, despite the chronological and logical order of historical events. The only exception being the Macmillan book, which began with Bantu migrations. See: P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, Lusaka, Macmillan Zambia, 2006. Approved for use in schools by the MoE.

<sup>177</sup> See: Ivi, pp. 2-6; L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book*, Lusaka-Sandton, Maiden Publishing House-Heinemann International Southern Africa, 2006, p. 10 (approved for use in schools by the MoE); C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia, 2006, pp. 7-8. Approved by the MoE in 2006.

<sup>178</sup> The Macmillan textbook was the only one that dealt with Zambian precolonial kingdoms, presenting a case study on the Lunda of Kazembe, including the history of its origins and economic activities. See: P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 7.

<sup>179</sup> Ivi, pp. 8-9; L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., p.13. The fact that Lenje, Tonga and Ila were decentralised societies was only briefly addressed in the Maiden teaching guide. See: L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Social and Development Studies. Teacher's Guide*, Lusaka-Sandton, Maiden Publishing House-Heinemann International Southern Africa, 2006, p. 6. Approved for use in schools by the MoE.

<sup>180</sup> N.G. Bwembya, G.E.N. Nsubuga, J. Mulimira, *MK Zambia Primary Education Course. Social and Development Studies. Teacher's Guide. Grade 6*, Lusaka, MK Publishers Ltd, 2012, p. 1.

including paragraphs about «outside influences» on Zambia and changes within Africa during the 19th century<sup>181</sup>. Interestingly, the Macmillan authors included the arrival of Kololo and Ngoni people in this category, labelling them as foreign interlopers, instead of integral parts of the Zambian population<sup>182</sup>; a pattern already seen in the Macmillan book for Grade 6 published in 1997<sup>183</sup>.

All the textbooks under consideration acknowledged the BSAC's occupation of Zambian territory, noting that it occurred through treaties, sometimes obtained through deception, and, in some cases, by force<sup>184</sup>. They also highlighted the harsh treatment of certain Zambian groups by British forces<sup>185</sup>. However, the primary emphasis was placed on providing an overview of the BSAC, British and Federation rule, highlighting both their positive and negative outcomes. However, if some positive outcomes – such as the construction of railways, hospitals and schools or the abolition of the slave trade<sup>186</sup> – recalled the typical European justification for colonial rule, some textbooks, like Macmillan's, addressed them from a critical perspective, suggesting that these developments were motivated by profit rather than benevolence<sup>187</sup>. A firmer anti-colonial stance was usually adopted when discussing colonial laws in Zambia, a topic addressed by all textbooks in a separate chapter and in which the author stressed the discrimination Zambians had to endure during the colonial period<sup>188</sup>.

Despite this nuanced assessment of colonisation, the authors also emphasized African resistance. The textbooks detailed the creation of Welfare Associations, Miners' Unions, and political parties, as well as the organization of petitions, strikes, and riots as means to assert Zambians' rights and demands. Nonetheless, they also acknowledged political divisions within the ANC, particularly the split between Nkumbula and Kaunda<sup>189</sup>. In any case, they all agreed that the intensification of

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<sup>181</sup> See: C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, cit., pp. 2-3 and P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 11. On the contrary, Maiden textbook began with the BSAC rule. See: L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., p. 1.

<sup>182</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 11.

<sup>183</sup> P.H. Manda, T.M. Bwalya, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Education Project. Our World 6*, cit., p. 30.

<sup>184</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 13; C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, cit., p. 3. One notable exception was the Maiden book, which did not mention that Lewanika had been misled when signing the Lochner concession and seemed to attribute to him the responsibility for the subsequent war between the BSAC and the Ndebele. See: L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., p. 2.

<sup>185</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 13.

<sup>186</sup> See: Ivi, p. 14; C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, cit., p. 4; L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., pp. 4-5.

<sup>187</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 14.

<sup>188</sup> See: C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, cit., pp. 33-34 and L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., p. 33.

<sup>189</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., pp. 16-19; L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., pp. 5-7. One notable exception was the Longman textbook which completely ignored the formation of the ANC and the role it

African resistance under UNIP leadership was a crucial factor leading to Zambia's independence<sup>190</sup>. Finally, to reassert once again the centrality of resistance and the independence struggle to Zambian national identity, pupils were required to «identify the political leaders who helped in the struggle for Zambia's independence in 1964»<sup>191</sup>, and their photos were often showed in this generation of textbooks, in order to create a pantheon of national heroes.

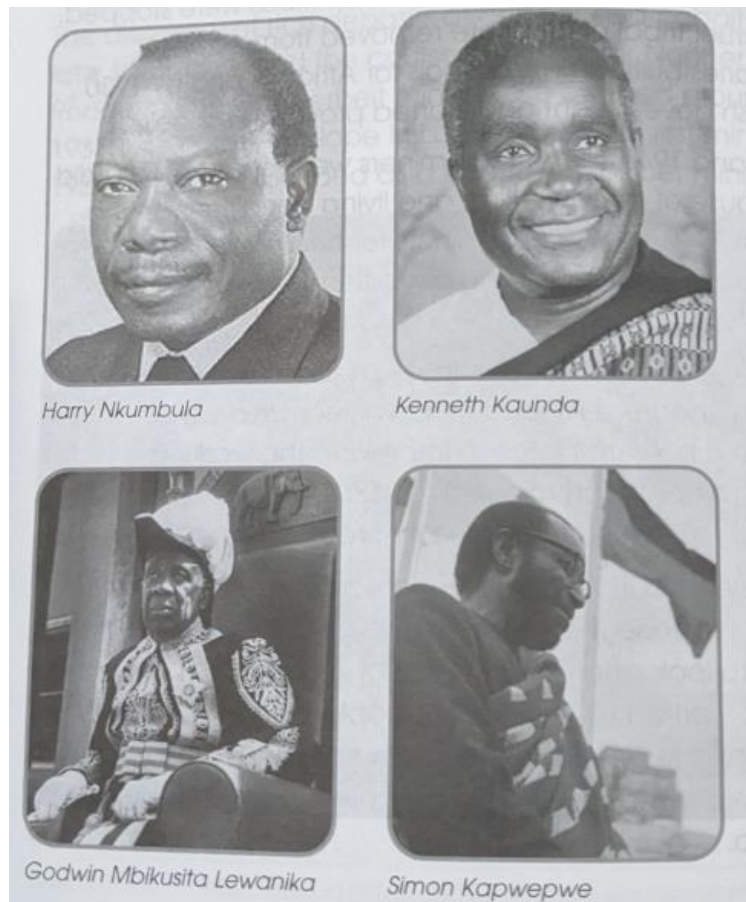


Figure 11. Harry Nkumbula, Kenneth Kaunda, Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika, Simon Kapwepwe, in L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., p. 6.

As previously noted, post-colonial history was largely omitted from both the syllabus and the corresponding textbooks. Scattered information could be found in the Geography chapter on Zambia's development and in Civics units discussing democracy. It was in the Civics chapters that the textbooks

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played in resistance to colonial rule, naming only the UNIP. See: C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, cit., p. 5.

<sup>190</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 20; L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Pupil's Book*, cit., p. 7.

<sup>191</sup> N.G. Bwembya, G.E.N. Nsubuga, J. Mulimira, *MK Zambia Primary Education Course. Teacher's Guide. Grade 6*, cit., p. 2.



briefly mentioned Zambia's transition from a one-party state to a multi-party democracy in 1991<sup>192</sup>. The Maiden teaching guide provided further details, mentioning Chiluba's attempt to run for a third term and the formation of other political parties, which, having broken away from the MMD, went on to contest the 2001 elections<sup>193</sup>. Despite providing some insights into Zambia's political history, it is noteworthy that this was the only excerpt dedicated to events beyond 1964. Thus, the entire period of Kenneth Kaunda's presidency, which extended for almost three decades, was completely omitted in these textbooks. Students relying solely on them would have been naturally hard-pressed to gain a comprehensive understanding of post-independence political developments in Zambia.

Finally, it is worth noting that these Grade 6 textbooks included chapters on Zambian traditions, such as traditional prayer and worship, proverbs and religious stories<sup>194</sup>. Although these topics might not be considered as strictly historical, they aimed to draw upon Zambia's traditional, cultural and historical heritage to instil a sense of belonging and rootedness in children. As the Macmillan book concluded: «Just as being part of a family helps people feel they belong to a group, so having a culture or tradition helps Zambians feel they belong to Africa»<sup>195</sup>.

In line with the syllabus, Grade 7 textbooks did not include historical contents, exception made for some brief information on the two World Wars to explain the context in which the UN was founded<sup>196</sup>. Thus, Zambian textbooks continued to be primarily focused on local, national, and African history, at the expenses of significant global occurrences.

In conclusion, the post-1991 historical narrative revolved around two key themes: Bantu migration and national history from colonization to independence. Concerning the first theme, the authors primarily highlighted the common Bantu origin of the Zambian peoples, with a specific emphasis on the descendants of those who had migrated from the Luba-Lunda kingdoms. However, this approach carried some drawbacks. Firstly, it led to the exclusion of certain ethnic groups, particularly those who had arrived from the south in the 19th century and sometimes got assimilated with European and Arab influences as “foreign”. Secondly, this focus tended to neglect the pre-colonial kingdoms and polities that had emerged within Zambia's territory; these, however, were addressed more thoroughly in secondary school textbooks.

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<sup>192</sup> See: P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 22; and C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, cit., p. 40.

<sup>193</sup> L. Ntalasha, S. Kingsley, M. Kingsley, *Zambia Basic Education Course. Stepping Stones. Grade 6. Teacher's Guide*, cit., p. 17.

<sup>194</sup> See: P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., pp. 59-69; C.M. Mayondi, M.C. Musonda, S. Simasiku, *Breakthrough to Social and Development Studies. Grade 6*, cit., pp. 60-67.

<sup>195</sup> P.H. Manda, B.C. Mweene, P.M. Simbeya, *Basic Social and Development Studies. Pupil's Book 6*, cit., p. 68.

<sup>196</sup> N.G. Bwembya, G.E.N. Nsubuga, J. Mulimira, *MK Zambia Primary Education Course. Social and Development Studies. Teacher's Guide. Grade 7*, Lusaka, MK Publishers Ltd, 2012, pp. 30-32.

As regards the second theme, that is, the history of Northern Rhodesia from colonisation to independence, the authors consistently placed the struggle waged by Zambians against European colonial rule and their quest for independence at the heart of the narrative. While the Bantu migrations served to explain the common origins of the Zambian people, the struggle for independence became the defining element of their modern identity. This emphasis on the struggle for independence aimed to construct a shared national identity among students. The authors achieved this by highlighting crucial historical events, showcasing national heroes, commemorating Independence Day celebrations, and emphasizing national symbols such as flags and anthems. The significance of these symbols and events in shaping a collective national imaginary is evident in the increasing amount of space dedicated to them. However, it is noteworthy that the detailed analysis of this struggle also portrayed its failures, challenges and internal divisions, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of this crucial period in Zambian history.

A similarly comprehensive approach was also evident in the treatment of the post-independence period. While the relevant sections were generally relatively brief, the authors did attempt to cover the post-independence hopes, the economic challenges faced by the country, the shift to single-party governance, the crisis during Kaunda's rule and the eventual transition to multi-party politics. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that this part of Zambian history remained relatively under-addressed in both the syllabi and corresponding textbooks. Only one primary textbook from 1996 and a secondary textbook engaged with this period, leaving students with a limited understanding of their country's recent history and of the world as a whole. Indeed, if, on the one hand, Zambian textbooks managed to break away from a Eurocentric narrative and periodisation, placing a strong emphasis on national and African history, on the other, this national history seemed somewhat detached from significant global events, which were rarely addressed. This underlines the need for a balanced and comprehensive history education that acknowledges both local and global dimensions.

## 4.5 Post-2013 textbooks. A final blow to History teaching

### *4.5.1 Towards the disappearance of national history?*

In 2013, Zambia adopted a new outcome-based curriculum, prompting publishing houses active on the Zambian educational market to develop entirely new series of Social Studies textbooks, even if their contents were similar to those included in the 1996 and 2003 syllabi<sup>197</sup>.

However, in these textbooks the emphasis on national symbols was further increased. These were introduced as early as in Grade 1 and were extensively covered up until Grade 4. The most extensive exploration of this topic was included in OUP textbooks for Grades 3 and 4. In a ten-page section, the authors showcased the flag and the coat of arms, engaging students in activities such as drawing the flag and singing the national anthem<sup>198</sup>. The anthem's text was included, too, along with explanations of when and how it was sung. The most interesting aspect regarded the accompanying illustrations which heavily featured the national flag, fostering a strong visual association with Zambia's national colours. So, for example, in the space of ten pages, the national flag recurred six times, accompanied also by sketches of people singing the anthem in different occasions<sup>199</sup>.

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<sup>197</sup> The main series issued after the 2013 reform were: *Success Primary Social Studies*, by East African Educational Publishers, Ltd (EAEP); *Primary Social Studies*, by Bookworld Africa; *Let's do Social Studies*, by OUP; *Longman Social Studies*, by Longman Zambia; *Excel in Social Studies*, by Longhorn; and *MK Primary Social Studies*, by MK Publishers.

<sup>198</sup> M. Chilele, G. Mubiana, J. Neethling, *Let's Do Social Studies. Grade 3*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Ninth Impression 2022 [First edition 2016, Second edition 2017], pp. 17-18. Mary Chilele was a Curriculum specialist at the CDC in Lusaka. The textbook was approved by the MoE.

<sup>199</sup> Ivi, pp. 11-21.

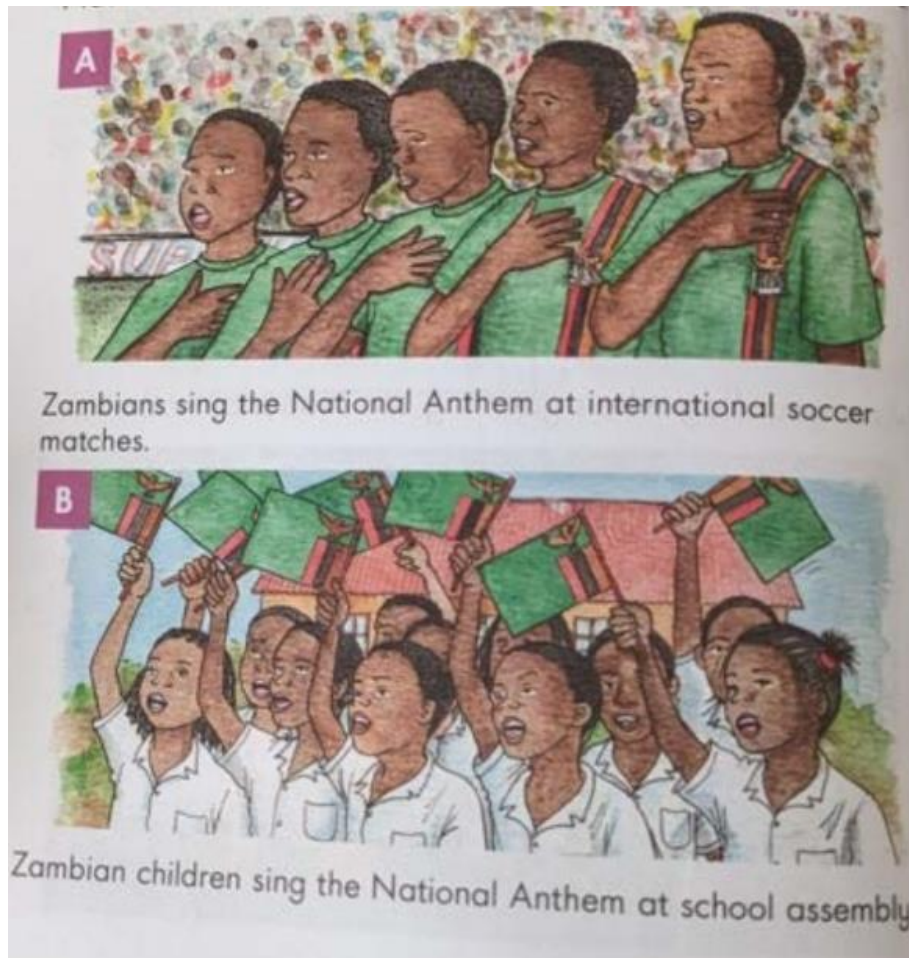


Figure 12. J. Dean, R. Erasmus, T. Gill, C. Grant, A. Prins, C.R. Webb, A. Rousseau, A. van Zyl (illustrators), in M. Chilele, G. Mubiana, J. Neethling, *Let's Do Social Studies. Grade 3*, cit., p. 18.

A similar approach was taken in the explanation of Independence Day, which was discussed within the context of festivals in Zambia. The use of an iconographic apparatus, featuring recurring images of the national flag and depictions of people engaged in Independence Day celebrations, served to reinforce the importance and significance of these symbols and events<sup>200</sup>. Finally, the coat of arms and its meaning were introduced in Grade 4. In this regard, the authors stressed the importance of the motto “One Zambia, One Nation” as a reminder for its 73 ethnic groups to be united as one people<sup>201</sup>. The use of the iconographic apparatus was once again noteworthy. Indeed, the chapter effectively engaged students on an emotional and symbolic level, emphasizing the theme of unity among Zambia’s diverse population, through the inclusion of the following images and poem.

<sup>200</sup> Ivi, pp. 76-77.

<sup>201</sup> J. Mkandawire, G. Mubiana, J. Neethling, *Let's Do Social Studies. Grade 4*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Ninth Impression 2022 [First edition 2016, Second Edition 2017], pp. 1-14. Jungu Mkandawire was the author of other OUP textbooks for Zambian schools. Approved by the MoE.

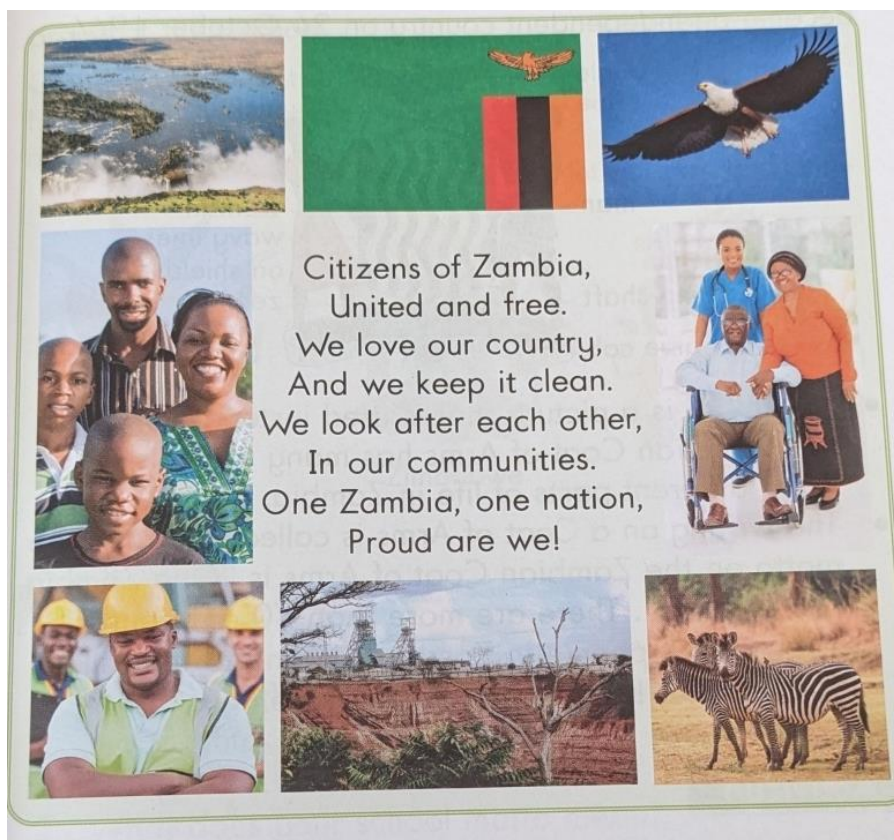


Figure 13. D. Pichugin/Dreamstime, P. Pryluski/Shutterstock, J. Swanepoel/ Shutterstock, H. Zhang/Dreamstime (x3), N. Link/Dreamstime, Smellme/Dreamstime, in J. Mkandawire, G. Mubiana, J. Neethling, *Let's Do Social Studies. Grade 4*, cit., p. 1.

Historical contents were introduced in Grade 5, when, according to the syllabus, pupils were expected to study the social, cultural, economic and political structures of the district in the past and its ethnic make-up. However, the two textbooks analysed for this level, one by Longman and one by OUP, adopted two different approaches to deal with this topic. In the Longman textbook, historical content was relatively limited. The text touched upon key historical periods, such as the Stone Age, the Iron Age, and – with a considerable time-leap – the slave trade. The evolution of economic activities in Zambia, including farming, construction and mining, was outlined, though the impact of colonisation on the mining industry was not discussed<sup>202</sup>. A unique aspect of the Longman textbook was its approach to the composition of the Zambian population. Indeed, the authors introduced the idea that Zambians were descendants of various groups from Africa, Europe, and Asia. However, no mention was made of the Bantu peoples, a central focus in the previous generation of textbooks. Instead, the authors associated each of the Zambian ethnic groups with a specific modern African country. For instance, authors wrote that: «the Chewa came from Malawi and Mozambique. The Goba

<sup>202</sup> M. Brown, G. Chikapa, L. Hofmeyr, M. Musonda, L. Ntalasha, S. Simasiku, F. Songiso, G. Sumbwa, *Longman Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 5*, Lusaka, Longman Zambia, Sixth Impression 2018 [2015], pp. 4-9. The textbook has been approved by the MoE.

came from Zimbabwe. The Chikunda came from Mozambique»<sup>203</sup>. Such an approach presented a succinct view of Zambia's history and demographics. While this might have been intended to make the subject matter more accessible to students, it risked oversimplifying and inaccurately depicting the intricate history of population movements and migrations in Zambia and the interplay between ethnic communities. Finally, the authors presented all the different Zambian districts, divided by province. For each of them they briefly mentioned main ethnic groups, economic activities, traditional ceremonies and cultural sites<sup>204</sup>.

The OUP book adopted a completely different approach. It only presented a concise table with all the Zambian districts divided by province and then dealt with the general features of Zambian past. Taking up the approach adopted in the previous generation's textbooks, the authors delved into the Bantu migrations, explaining that these gave rise to the majority of present-day Zambian peoples. The authors also gave a brief outline of political and social structures, economic activities and gender roles common to most of the peoples who inhabited Zambia in the past<sup>205</sup>. Thus, unlike the Longman text, which provided separate overviews of each ethnic group and district, the OUP textbook aimed to create a unified and comprehensive narrative of Zambia's ancient history, highlighting the commonalities shared by the various ethnic groups that have inhabited Zambia over time. Another interesting insight was included at the end of the paragraph, when addressing the historical and cultural sites. Here the authors explained that they were important not only for attracting tourists but also because:

1. They give people a sense of identity. Having a sense of identity means that people know about their history and things that are important to their culture. People can be proud of things that their culture has achieved and learn from the successes and mistakes of the past.
2. Historical and cultural sites recognise different ethnic groups. They provide status (importance) for these groups. It also helps people understand the differences and similarities of different cultures. This helps us to understand and respect other people<sup>206</sup>.

This passage is significant as it showed how the authors effectively navigated the delicate balance between fostering a national, collective identity, while acknowledging and respecting ethnic diversity at the same time. The coexistence of these two aspects is vital for a multi-ethnic and culturally diverse country like Zambia. The textbook achieved this delicate balance by, on the one hand, emphasizing the common heritage of Zambia's diverse population, particularly through their shared Bantu

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<sup>203</sup> Ivi, p. 7.

<sup>204</sup> Ivi, pp. 12-42.

<sup>205</sup> M. Chilele, J. Mkandawire, *Let's Do Social Studies. Grade 5*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Sixth impression 2022 [First edition 2015, Second edition 2017], pp. 9-13. Approved to be used in Zambian schools by the MoE.

<sup>206</sup> Ivi, p. 20.

ancestry. On the other hand, it recognized and celebrated the cultural diversity of Zambia by acknowledging various ethnic groups, their traditions, and cultural sites.

Finally, in the chapter devoted to transport and communication, the authors of both textbooks traced their history in Zambia. Curiously, however, no mention was made of the colonial impact in this field<sup>207</sup>. Thus, in both the textbooks analysed, the colonial presence in Zambia was completely overlooked.

Grade 6 textbooks took a broader approach by shifting their focus from districts to provinces. Here, pupils were required to describe social, economic, cultural and political structures of the province in the past and the cultural composition of its people. Once again, the textbooks under consideration differed in the way they addressed these contents. So, for example, the Longman textbook dedicated one chapter each to Zambia's ten provinces, offering province-specific information on physical characteristics, primary ethnic groups and various social, cultural, economic and political activities. Reference to history were very brief and scattered throughout the text, and mainly involved past political structures and organizations. One distinctive feature of this textbook was the significant space dedicated to illustrating traditional ceremonies from each province, presented as vital markers of cultural heritage and as a way for students to connect with their provincial roots<sup>208</sup>. Although this approach effectively showcased Zambia's cultural diversity and its rich tapestry of traditions, it is important to acknowledge that the heightened focus on cultural practices and ceremonies within each province might inadvertently reinforce a stronger sense of provincial and ethnic identity, diverting attention away from the cultivation of a unified and cohesive national identity.

The MK textbook adopted a different approach by providing general information about social, cultural, economic and political organization that could be applied universally across all Zambian provinces. It then entrusted the teachers with the task of adapting this information to their specific local environments. However, it is worth noting that, when discussing historical political structures in Zambia, the authors only acknowledged the existence of chiefdoms and kingdoms (without specifying any by name), thereby overlooking the significance of non-centralized societies<sup>209</sup>. By contrast, the OUP textbook, which adopted a similar approach, did include decentralised societies and

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<sup>207</sup> Ivi, pp. 104-107.

<sup>208</sup> O. Malabo Njobvu, *Excel in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 6*, Nairobi, Longhorn, 2016, pp. 1-61. The back cover clarifies that the book was written by a team of experienced Social Studies experts. The front cover states that the textbook was approved by CDC.

<sup>209</sup> C. Nsyatakimi Mwanakatwe, M.J. Milimo, *MK Primary Social Studies Course for Zambia, Learner's Book, Grade 6*, Lusaka, MK Publishers Ltd., 2014, p. 11.

often made reference to some of the major ethnic groups to draw examples<sup>210</sup>. Nevertheless, centralised societies were clearly attributed greater importance, as testified by a section devoted to the «four kingdoms in Zambia», namely: the Bemba, Lozi, Lunda of Kazembe and Chewa, in which their origins, political organisations and traditional ceremonies were briefly presented<sup>211</sup>. However, as already pointed out, such an approach potentially overlooked or downplayed the diversity of historical political entities in Zambia.

At Grade 7 both the syllabus and the corresponding textbooks did not include any historical content<sup>212</sup>. This meant that Zambian students, upon completing their primary education, were essentially devoid of any knowledge regarding their own country's history. Indeed, throughout their primary schooling, students may have encountered sporadic morsels of historical information, primarily centred around the precolonial past at the district and provincial levels. However, this cursory exposure provided them with no insight into the broader historical tapestry of Zambia. Crucially, these young students were left in the dark about vital chapters of their nation's history, including the colonial period, the struggle for independence and the significant events and developments that have unfolded in Zambia since 1964. This observed trend served to underscore a gradual erosion of the importance accorded to History within the framework of Zambia's primary-level Social Studies syllabus. This relegation of History to the periphery of primary education should be a matter of concern, as it can potentially lead to a disconnection between younger generations and their own national heritage and identity.

#### 4.5.2 Social Studies in Secondary Schools

The most notable impact of the 2013 curriculum reform, was observed at the Junior Secondary level, particularly in the subjects of History, Geography, and Civics, which for the first time were effectively merged into one single subject: Social Studies. This necessitated the development of Social Studies textbooks by private publishers like EAEP, OUP, and Initiative Publishers<sup>213</sup>.

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<sup>210</sup> J. Mkandawire, S. Waluka, *Let's Do Social Studies. Grade 6*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Seventh Impression 2023 [First edition 2015, Second edition 2017], pp. 11-12 and 15-17. In the back cover is indicated that the textbook has been approved to be used in Zambian schools by the MoE.

<sup>211</sup> Ivi, pp. 18-20.

<sup>212</sup> See: G. Nsama, A. Nankhoma Singine Nyendwa, *MK Primary Social Studies Course for Zambia, Learner's Book, Grade 7*, Lusaka, MK Publishers Ltd., 2019 [2016], (Gershom Nsama has authored other Zambian textbooks for Civics and Social Studies; Agnes Nankhoma Singine Nyendwa is chief editor at MK Zambia; in the front cover is indicated that the textbook has been approved by CDC); and J. Mkandawire, S. Waluka, M. Mitchell, *Let's Do Social Studies. Grade 7*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Eight Impression 2022 [First Edition 2015, Second edition 2017]. In the back cover is indicated that the textbook has been approved to be used in Zambian schools by the MoE.

<sup>213</sup> While OUP and EAEP books are proper textbooks, the Initiative Publishers issue is a book aimed at preparing students for the JSS leaving examination.



In these new textbooks, History played a more prominent and comprehensive role compared to its treatment in primary schools. They closely aligned with the 2013 syllabus and adopted a structure similar to former Zambian JSS History books, analysed in the previous sections. This structure involved a chronological examination of historical periods, starting with prehistory, the pre-colonial era and early interactions with Europeans within a Zambian context (Grade 8). The scope of historical exploration then expanded to encompass the broader African context, with a particular emphasis on Central Africa, especially when addressing topics such as colonization and the struggle for independence (Grade 9).

Notably, the Grade 8 textbooks began with an explanation of the importance of «learning about the past», as mandated by the 2013 syllabus. Among the interesting points made by the authors, the EAEP textbook emphasized that «*History provides identity*» and that «history that tells national experiences is meant to help citizens understand national values and a commitment to national loyalty»<sup>214</sup>. EAEP authors also highlighted that History «helps us emulate good morals». Indeed, according to them, reading the stories about prominent individuals «such as Kenneth Kaunda [...] helps us to learn and practise the moral values that such people practised»<sup>215</sup>. Similarly, the Initiative Publishers author wrote:

History also allows us to have respect for our ancestors. When we learn of the struggle for independence in Zambia, we acquire respect for freedom fighters like Mama Kankasa, Julia Chikamoneka and Kenneth Kaunda. When we know our history, we know our identity and where we belong<sup>216</sup>.

Such statements show that the authors of the textbook were well aware of the nation-building role that History – and the history of the struggle for independence, in particular – could play, including using historical figures as heroes and role models. Another notable aspect was the introduction of female figures among the national heroes and leading figures of the independence struggle.

The Grade 8 textbooks then introduced proper historical contents, beginning with prehistory, the Stone Age, and the Iron Age<sup>217</sup>. They went on to discuss pre-colonial society in Zambia, covering

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<sup>214</sup> J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8. Learner's Book*, Nairobi-Lusaka, EAEP, 2022 [2014], p. 1. Italics in original. Jason Mashekwa is a Zambian teacher in Ndola and author of other school textbooks; Christine Malitano is a Zambian teacher, educationist and author of Social Studies textbooks for Zambian schools. The textbook was approved by CDC.

<sup>215</sup> Ivi, p. 2.

<sup>216</sup> M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind. Social Studies Junior Secondary. 8-9 Exam Success Series*, Lusaka, Initiative Publishers, 2019, p. 1. Mutale Tinamou Mazimba-Kaunda is a Zambian historian and writer.

<sup>217</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 7-20; and L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Third Impression 2015 [2014], pp. 8-16 (Lazarous Mutale is a Curriculum specialist and writer at CDC; Lorraine Innes is an Academic Associate at the Department of Geography at the University of South Africa. Textbook approved by the MoE); M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., pp. 8-9.

Bantu migrations, their main routes, economic activities and the emergence of ethnic groups and polities in Zambia resulting from their settlement<sup>218</sup>. However, they attempted to link these ethnic groups to modern Zambia's provinces, which risked overlooking minority groups as well as cross-provincial interactions between different peoples<sup>219</sup>. This link was reinforced through the use of maps, such as the one below:

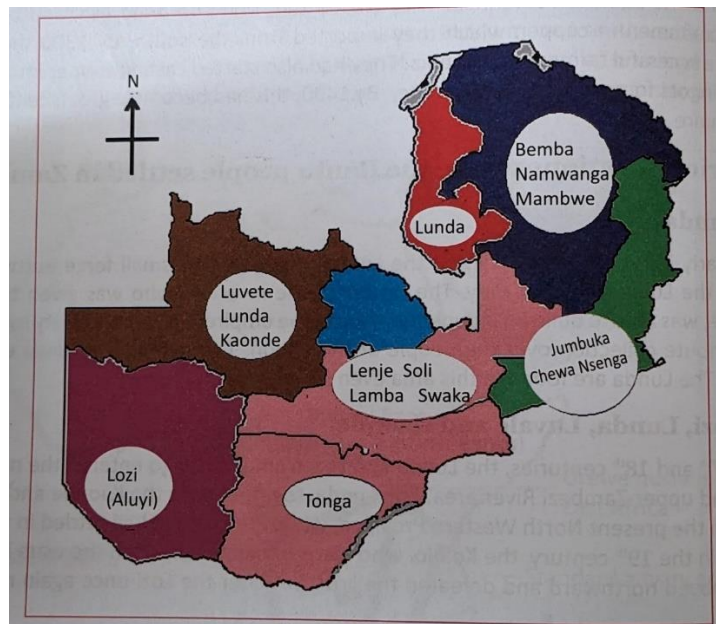


Figure 14. The location of various Bantu speaking groups in Zambia, in J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., p. 44. Note that while the Ngoni were presented in the text, they were not included in the map. A similar map was included also in the OUP textbook. See: L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Third Impression 2015 [2014], p. 58.

Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that all the textbooks presented the different political organisations existing between the various ethnic groups in Zambia, dividing them between decentralised and centralised societies<sup>220</sup>.

What distinguished these manuals from their predecessors was the inclusion of a chapter on Zambia's struggle for independence in Grade 8, which brought it in line with the syllabus requirements. However, this introduced a chronological leap for students, as they transitioned from studying pre-colonial society to the mid-twentieth century without any prior knowledge of the colonial period. To bridge this gap, the Grade 8 textbooks briefly outlined the rule of the BSAC,

<sup>218</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 41-44; L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 51-57.

<sup>219</sup> See: L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., p. 59; M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., p. 17.

<sup>220</sup> J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 47-58; L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 61-70 and M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., pp. 18-19 and 21, 25-28.

British administration and the Federation in Northern Rhodesia before delving into African resistance<sup>221</sup>. The Initiative Publishers' textbook introduced this topic in an especially compelling way.

Do you remember in topic two we learnt that Zambia was ruled by kings such as Chitimukulu and Mwata Kazembe? These kings ruled Zambia in different parts and never thought of themselves as one country [...]. Now we will explore how these kings were brought under one country and ruled by a foreign country. Then we will look at what the black people did to free themselves of this foreign rule<sup>222</sup>.

This introduction carried significant importance, as it underscored the idea that Zambia's existence as a country was a product of colonial circumstances. In the same vein, the author stressed how the country only began to exist in 1911, when North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia were amalgamated in Northern Rhodesia<sup>223</sup>. These remarks undoubtedly raised awareness among students about the legacy of colonialism and its enduring impacts on the nation. However, they did not imply that Zambia's modern identity was a mere construct imposed during colonial times, but rather a result of shared experiences in challenging foreign domination.

It was the OUP textbook which provided the richer account of the colonial period, since it revealed the economic motives behind European domination, the initial resistance of local groups, the discrimination resulting from the imposition of the colour bar, and how colonial rule was essentially based on Northern Rhodesia's exploitation to the advantage of British and other white settlers<sup>224</sup>. However, these textbooks did not comprehensively explain how Europeans and Africans came into contact and why Europeans were interested in Africa, thereby leaving a notable gap in historical comprehension. Indeed, their main focus was on African resistance, exploring the creation of welfare societies, unions and political parties, until the attainment of independence<sup>225</sup>.

A further change from previous generation's textbooks was that, at the end of the chapter on independence, the authors included a section on the national flag, coat of arms, and anthem and their meanings, as required by the syllabus<sup>226</sup>. These symbols were presented as crucial for instilling pride, belonging, and patriotism, reminding people of their common values and ideals and giving them

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<sup>221</sup> J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 122-123.

<sup>222</sup> M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., p. 66.

<sup>223</sup> Ivi, p. 67.

<sup>224</sup> L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 129-139.

<sup>225</sup> See: Ivi, pp. 131-133; J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 123-124; M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., p. 68.

<sup>226</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 124-126; L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 134-135.

something to identify themselves with<sup>227</sup>. Their introduction in JSSs textbooks confirmed once again how these symbols – together with the struggle for independence - were at the centre of the Zambian national identity in the making.

Finally, post-independence history was not part of the historical content but was briefly discussed in Civics chapters on political organization. All the textbooks referred to the one-party political system established in Zambia in 1972 and the return to multipartyism due to popular demands and protests led by the MMD<sup>228</sup>. Interestingly, the authors presented the vantages and disadvantages of both systems, asking pupils to make their own mind<sup>229</sup>. Thus, the one-party system was not negatively judged; in fact, OUP justified it as a means to encourage national unity in African countries with many ethnic and religious groups<sup>230</sup>.

Grade 9 textbooks expanded the historical exploration to the African context, starting from the first contacts with Europeans, thus filling the gap left by Grade 8 books. However, as we will see, they did not strictly adhere to a chronological order. They began by addressing the slave trade, focusing on the Atlantic and triangular trade, its motives, social and political impacts on African societies, and trade routes<sup>231</sup>. The next topic covered was the scramble for Africa and European political, economic, social, and humanitarian goals were discussed. The EAEP book, in particular, critically examined these objectives, shedding light on how humanitarian goals often concealed economic interests and carried a racist perspective that depicted Africa as a «dark and primitive continent with no record of historical achievement» in need of civilization<sup>232</sup>. The exploration of Africa by Europeans - discussed in the textbooks only *after* the scramble for Africa – was introduced by highlighting the political, economic, and missionary motivations behind it<sup>233</sup>. However, the textbooks primarily presented this topic from the European perspective, offering detailed accounts of European explorers and their endeavours<sup>234</sup>. Another noteworthy aspect in this regard was the

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<sup>227</sup> See: L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., p. 134; J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., p. 126; M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., pp. 69-71.

<sup>228</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., p. 144; L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., p. 154; and M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., p. 91.

<sup>229</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 145-146; and L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., pp. 154-155.

<sup>230</sup> L. Mutale, G. Nsama, L. Innes, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 8*, cit., p. 154.

<sup>231</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 9. Learner's Book*, Nairobi-Lusaka, EAEP, 2022 [2015], pp. 4-10; K. Mukuka, L. Mutale, P. Sakala, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 9*, Cape Town, OUP, ORBIS, Third Impression 2015, pp. 1-13 (in the back cover is indicated that the textbook has been approved by the MoE); and M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., pp. 117-118.

<sup>232</sup> J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 18-20.

<sup>233</sup> K. Mukuka, L. Mutale, P. Sakala, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 9*, cit., p. 20.

<sup>234</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 21-27; K. Mukuka, L. Mutale, P. Sakala, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 23-26. The OUP book notably included Mary Kingsley among European explorers, signalling once again a more inclusive approach to historical representation.

presentation of the spread of Christianity as a positive outcome of European colonisation of Africa. The OUP textbook even linked this to Zambia's constitution which officially recognized the country as a Christian nation<sup>235</sup>. The prominent role of religion in Zambian public life possibly contributed to the generally positive portrayal of missionaries, despite acknowledging their role in colonization.

After presenting colonialism in Northern Rhodesia, the textbooks discussed African resistance, distinguishing between primary and secondary resistance. All the textbooks briefly described how this latter form of resistance emerged in Zambia, mentioning the Federation of Welfare Societies, Mine Workers Union, ANC, and the final stages of the struggle for independence<sup>236</sup>. The most interesting aspect was included in the EAEP book, which devoted a chapter to the «people who contributed towards the struggle for independence», thus creating a pantheon of national heroes. Among them, the authors cited, a part from Kaunda: Harry M. Nkumbula, Simon M. Kapwepwe, Julia Mulenga Nsofwa, Mbikusita Lewanika, Mainza Chona, Kapasa Makasa, Mama Chibesakunda Kankasa<sup>237</sup>. To each of them (with the exception of Lewanika and Makasa), the authors devoted one paragraph, detailing their lives and efforts in the struggle for independence. The most notable introduction was on the role of women in the struggle, as testified by the presence of both Mama Chikamoneka and Mama Kankasa, further evidence of a renewed sensitivity to gender-balance in historical narration.

Finally, ignoring once again the chronological order of events, after having discussed the attainment of independence by Central African countries and Zambia, the authors of the textbooks devoted a chapter to the Central African Federation. Both OUP and EAEP textbooks underlined the reasons for and against the Federation and gave a nuanced assessment of it, acknowledging both successes and failures, particularly focusing on economic growth, urbanization, and the strengthening of African nationalism<sup>238</sup>.

As already seen in previous textbooks, post-colonial history was largely overlooked, leaving students with a significant knowledge gap concerning their country's recent past. Even more recent global events were conspicuously omitted, with only brief references to the Second World War and its consequences found in chapters relating to the UN and other international organizations that Zambia had joined<sup>239</sup>. One notable exception to this trend was the Initiative Publishers textbook, which provided a brief explanation of President Kaunda's decision to establish a one-party

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<sup>235</sup> K. Mukuka, L. Mutale, P. Sakala, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 9*, cit., p. 29.

<sup>236</sup> See: J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 42-47; K. Mukuka, L. Mutale, P. Sakala, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 38-42; and M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., p. 126.

<sup>237</sup> J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 47-52.

<sup>238</sup> See: Ivi, pp. 55-57; and K. Mukuka, L. Mutale, P. Sakala, *Progress in Social Studies. Learner's Book. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 45-46.

<sup>239</sup> J. Mashekwa, C. Malitano, *Achievers Junior Secondary Social Studies. Grade 9*, cit., pp. 144-145 and 202-203.

participatory democracy. This was presented in the context of rising ethnic tensions, violence among emerging political parties, and internal conflicts within UNIP. The textbook justified this move by emphasizing its goal of stabilizing the political and economic climate, and by arguing that «political organization during this period was not mature enough to follow multi-party system of governance<sup>240</sup>».

In conclusion, the introduction of these textbooks marked a positive development in the teaching of Social Studies in Zambia. It represented a significant step forward by making secondary school textbooks compliant with the curriculum, thereby integrating History, Geography, and Civics into the Social Studies subject. However, this shift also resulted in a diminished focus on the study of History compared to when it was taught as a standalone subject. From a content perspective, these textbooks did not introduce substantial changes, except for adopting a more thematic rather than chronological approach. While this change could potentially undermine students' historical comprehension, it continued to emphasize the struggle for independence as a central element in the historical narrative. This emphasis served the purpose of constructing a national identity and establishing a pantheon of national heroes. One glaring issue with this syllabus and its corresponding textbooks was the absence of post-colonial history, which was entirely overlooked, even in primary school. As a result, students completed their first nine years of schooling without any knowledge of the last fifty years of their country's history.

Moreover, the quality of these textbooks faced criticism and concerns from various quarters<sup>241</sup>. Notable issues included the dissatisfaction expressed by David Mabumba, the then Minister of General Education, who commented on the substandard quality of the textbooks<sup>242</sup>. Additionally, during the Ministry of General Education Joint Annual Review Technical Meeting of 2016, many educational stakeholders raised concerns about the inadequate quality of textbooks being used in Zambian secondary schools. A study conducted by Mwanza in 2017 revealed that secondary school teachers in Lusaka held the same view<sup>243</sup>. These problems were largely attributed to the rushed and uncoordinated nature of the curriculum change and textbook development processes, which left publishing houses with only five to six months to produce their final manuscripts and pushed the CDC to approve the textbooks without comprehensive verification<sup>244</sup>. Content errors were also identified in the new textbooks, and there was a lack of effective integration and balance among the three subject areas (History, Geography, and Civics), with history receiving a smaller portion of the

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<sup>240</sup> M.T. Mazinda-Kaunda, *Knowing the Examiner's Mind*, cit., p. 130.

<sup>241</sup> S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development*, cit., p. 2.

<sup>242</sup> Ivi, pp. 3-4.

<sup>243</sup> C. Mwanza, *Teacher Involvement in Curriculum Development*, cit., p. iv.

<sup>244</sup> The textbooks' development was carried out simply using the *Zambia Education Curriculum Framework* and the syllabus as a guide. See, S. Musilekwa, *An Analysis of the Development*, cit., pp. 57-97.

content<sup>245</sup>, thus confirming a trend of decreasing attention to historical topics that had already started in previous decades.

## 4.6 Conclusion

The examination of *Zambian History and Social Studies* textbooks reveals a narrative framework that consciously departed from Eurocentric perspectives, placing a heightened emphasis on local, *Zambian* and national histories. This narrative encompassed essential elements, such as prehistory, Bantu migrations, the emergence of ethnic groups and polities within *Zambia*, the era of colonization and the struggle for independence. The Eurocentric historical lens, which – as we have seen – characterized *Senegalese* textbooks, gradually faded away, thanks to the influential role of the *CDC* textbooks published in the 1970s. However, closer inspection of these textbooks reveals a more nuanced and fragmented narrative. This complexity arose from the thematic and concentric approach prevalent in most syllabi and textbooks. While the aforementioned historical themes are prevalent in almost all the textbooks, the narrative often extended beyond and above the national level, encompassing districts, provinces as well as the entire African continent. This approach, although informative, risked hindering students' comprehension of national history by providing a less than linear perspective on *Zambia's* historical journey, from prehistory to the present day.

Furthermore, the integration of History into the Social Studies curriculum, beginning as early as the 1970s in primary schools and in 2013 at the secondary school level, has resulted in the diminishing significance of History, which, over time, has progressively lost its standing within the curriculum. This trend became particularly noticeable in textbooks published from the 1990s onwards. The introduction of cross-cutting issues in Social Studies and the increased emphasis on religious topics have led to History occupying a peripheral position, which, coupled with the thematic approach adopted, greatly contributed to a fragmented and less coherent narrative. Nonetheless, it is essential to underscore distinctive aspects of *Zambian* history that set it apart significantly from the *Senegalese* context. Unlike *Senegal*, where the nation's ethnic past was often downplayed, *Zambia's* textbooks consistently acknowledged the country's rich tapestry of ethnic diversity. Authors have made diligent efforts to incorporate numerous ethnic groups, spotlighting their unique histories and cultural expressions. However, unlike *Senegal*, these groups and the polities they formed were not presented as precedents or templates for the development of *Zambia's* statehood. On the contrary, several textbooks explicitly acknowledged the colonial origin of *Zambian* borders and emphasized

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<sup>245</sup> Ivi, pp 66-69.

the presence of numerous ethnic groups within them. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, even in this case, authors, especially those of more recent textbooks, tended to emphasize the commonalities shared by these ethnic groups, particularly emphasizing the common Bantu ancestry of the majority of the population.

However, it was not the precolonial past, but rather the struggle for independence that emerged as the true unifying element in Zambia's history, a theme that featured prominently in almost all the textbooks analysed. Despite the diverse ethnic origins of the Zambian populace, their collective fight for national sovereignty and resistance against European colonialism unified them into a singular people. This shared struggle has been pivotal in shaping Zambia's national identity. It is no coincidence that the pantheon of national heroes consists exclusively of individuals who played vital roles in the struggle for independence. Notably, their different ethnic background was hardly mentioned, reflecting the inclusivity of the independence movement and reinforcing the idea that the struggle transcended tribal divisions.

While this struggle played a central role in the historical narrative, post-colonial history received minimal coverage, mirroring the situation in Senegalese textbooks. Recent history was only addressed in a few textbooks and eventually disappeared altogether from more contemporary publications. One possible explanation for this trend lies in the challenges that Zambia faced, particularly from the mid-1970s onwards, in the economic and social domain. These likely contributed to a decline in the initial enthusiasm of the post-independence era and might have made it increasingly difficult to construct a positive narrative based on recent history. Moreover, after the return to multi-party rule in 1991, the new MMD leadership likely chose not to scrutinize and stigmatize the previous regime through historical education, in order to avoid potential political divisions that could have disrupted the already delicate political and institutional transition. In this context, recent history might have been perceived as a potential source of divisions or controversies, rather than a resource for nation-building in Zambia.

Consequently, as recent history receded into the background, the responsibility for fostering national unity has increasingly been attributed to the realm of national symbols, such as the flag, anthem, coat of arms, Independence Day and motto. These symbols were integrated in Social Studies textbooks since the 1970s and have progressively gained prominence over the years, often at the expense of History education. In essence, these national symbols offer a simplified, emotionally resonant and inclusive narrative of unity and shared identity. They transcend the complexities and potential divisions that can arise from a more detailed examination of history. Instead, they provide a unifying thread that binds the diverse people of Zambia together under a common vision and set of values. Through these symbols, Zambia's commitment to coexisting as "One Zambia, One Nation"



remains steadfast, transcending the limitations of History to foster a strong and enduring sense of national unity.



## Conclusions

The foregoing exploration of the educational trajectories of Senegal and Zambia has provided insights into how these nations strategically employed History education in schools as a tool for the delicate process of nation-building. This thorough examination brought to the fore a significant dichotomy in the developmental paths, responses to external influences and the envisioned roles of national history between the two African countries.

An exploration of their educational systems brought to light the starkly different circumstances these countries faced at the dawn of their independence. Senegal, centrally positioned within the AOF administration, boasted a relatively advanced education system in comparison to its West African counterparts. Conversely, Zambia found itself in a precarious situation, with many schools still run by various church denominations and an overall underdeveloped educational infrastructure. These different colonial legacies played a pivotal role in shaping the early contours of their educational landscapes, each influenced by distinct premises that underscored their initial forays into educational reforms.

In Senegal, despite vocal support for the Senegalisation and Africanisation of the education system to underpin nation-building efforts, the country remained essentially tethered to the French model, refraining from implementing significant structural alterations. The influential relationship with the former colonizer, exemplified in forums like the conferences of Francophone African education ministers, played a major role here, shaping educational policies across the region during the 1960s. Moreover, the strong imprint of the Pan-African ideal was palpable. And so school policies in the immediate post-independence era were more influenced by a desire for continuity with the French system and by the promotion of pan-African unity than by purely national concerns. President Senghor, with his pan-African and universalist vision, left an indelible mark on the contours of the Senegalese school system.

Zambia's response to educational needs was profoundly different. While recognizing the pivotal role of schooling in nation-building, the paramount focus of Zambia's political elite was the rapid expansion of educational access. In this context, the limited attention paid to reforming the education system was not a result of the influence of the former colonizer or of a perceived need for uniformity with neighbouring countries, as observed in Senegal. Rather, it was motivated by the imperative to address labour shortages. Consequently, the reforms spearheaded by President Kaunda's government in the 1960s focused on centralizing and nationalizing the school system, while abolishing religious and racial barriers. These changes were in keeping with simultaneous processes

of economic and political centralization within the country. Notwithstanding the seemingly limited role played by foreign influences, Zambia's expansion of educational facilities was consistent with the recommendations of international organizations, particularly UNESCO, which emphasised the maximization of school facilities to ensure widespread access, prioritizing quantitative over qualitative reforms of education. Furthermore, not unlike in Senegal, the political elites in Zambia, products of colonial education, advocated for minimal reforms in the structure of the school system due to its enduring prestige and credibility among the population.

The enduring colonial legacy was vividly reflected in the choice of the language of instruction, which stood out as a persistent similarity between Senegal and Zambia. Given the complex linguistic landscape of both countries, Senegal retained French and Zambia maintained English as the language of instruction. This was no mere happenstance, but a strategic decision rooted in the historical context of both countries. The absence of a lingua franca within their diverse populations prompted a cautious approach. The fear was that the adoption of one of the local languages at the national level might provoke ethnic tensions among the various groups, potentially jeopardizing the delicate nation-building processes underway in both Senegal and Zambia. Hence, French and English were more than simple mediums of instruction; they became instruments of unity, bridging linguistic diversity and contributing to the forging of a national identity. Despite periodic challenges and debates surrounding this language policy in both countries over the years, the foundational decision to uphold French and English has endured, underscoring the lasting impact of colonial influences on the educational landscapes of Senegal and Zambia.

Despite the disparate origins and influences that shaped the trajectories of Senegal and Zambia, a noteworthy similarity manifested itself during the initial decade following their independence: both states displayed a marked inability to institute a comprehensive reform of their educational systems. In turn, this meant that educational landscapes of both Senegal and Zambia, despite facing distinct contextual hurdles, retained hierarchical and selective characteristics as well as a pyramidal structure. This configuration rendered them ineffective tools for facilitating social mobility, ultimately falling short of fulfilling the aspirations of their citizenry. The catalyst for substantial reforms emerged precisely from the disillusionment of the populace, who understood that their initial post-independence hopes were being betrayed. In response, both Senegalese and Zambian governments prompted the initiation of comprehensive reform measures in the late 1960s. This reformist drive received further impetus from coeval political crises, as both Senghor and Kaunda grappled with escalating crises of personal legitimacy. Fearing that discontent from the education sector might burgeon into widespread protests capable of undermining political legitimacy, both countries embarked on processes of reform.

In Senegal, the 1971 reform, despite its professed intentions to reshape the educational system in keeping with national and nationalist objectives, fell short of achieving its goals. The reform proved inadequate in addressing the fundamental crisis embedded within the education system. This inadequacy was exacerbated by persistent concerns and reservations – especially from President Senghor – regarding a possible break with the French school model, ultimately leading to deadlock. The reform process in Zambia was more complex. Indeed, the country was undergoing a profound political transformation at the time, since in 1972 President Kaunda declared the country a One-Party Participatory Democracy. As a consequence, he proposed a socialist and humanist transformation of the education system, in line with the broader aim of transforming Zambia into a socialist and humanist society. To prepare for school reform, delegates studied the education systems of other African nations and socialist countries like Cuba and China. Moreover, a delegation joined the 1974 Dar es Salaam conference on alternatives for African education, which criticized the hitherto dominant international approach to education, arguing that it hindered genuine reforms and neglected the needs of the common people. Responding to these internal and external stimuli, Zambia published a radical draft of school reform entitled *Education for Development* in 1976. However, the public debate that followed revealed a reluctance among the general population and educational stakeholders to deviate significantly from the colonial-style school system, mirroring the situation in Senegal. In 1977, a much watered-down blueprint for reform was published which reaffirmed the existing selective, pyramidal, centralized and academic nature of the school system. Furthermore, the impact of this new reform, already minimal in itself, was further undermined by a severe economic crisis in Zambia from the mid-1970s onwards. Agreements with the IMF and the WB led to a drastic reduction in the funds allocated to education. Thus, despite the distinct motivations that prompted Senegal and Zambia to seek to transform their education systems, in both cases, the reformist endeavours of the 1970s ended up in failure. This shared failure underscored the complexities and intricacies involved in attempting to reshape deeply ingrained structures within the education systems of post-colonial nations.

The second wave of educational reforms took place in both countries on the back of significant political changes. The first notable shift occurred in Senegal in 1980, when Senghor's long presidency came to an end, ushering in the era of President Abdou Diouf. Seeking to break away from the colonial legacy and the Senghorian education system established after independence, and with the aim of addressing the escalating crisis in the school system, Diouf initiated the General States of Education. This initiative laid the groundwork for the *Ecole Nouvelle* school reform. The reform's architects envisioned transforming the French-inherited school system into a new national, democratic and popular institution, aiming to shape the new Senegalese individual by promoting specific national

values and culture. However, the timing of the reform proved unfortunate. It coincided with Senegal implementing economic stabilization programs under the guidance of international financial institutions and the World Bank, which imposed stringent spending restrictions on the education sector. Consequently, the reform, only implemented in 1991, fell short of resolving the structural problems within education or mitigating the ongoing crisis. On the contrary, the economic situation exacerbated its challenges. Moreover, even the *Ecole Nouvelle* did not amount to a comprehensive reform of the education system in a strictly national sense. While the law emphasized the need to ground young people in national values and raise awareness of their culture and identity, it simultaneously called for the promotion of African unity and a sense of belonging to the broader community of Francophone African countries. Once again, despite repeated attempts at reform, the overarching orientation of Senegalese schools retained an outward-looking character. Moreover, this reform, despite having been confirmed in subsequent decades – even when the forty years of socialist party rule came to an end –, has never been universally implemented, with the result that the education system has continued to operate at two different speeds, further constraining the role of schools as instruments of nation-building.

In Zambia as well, a pivotal reform of the education system unfolded in 1991, coinciding with the end of the Kaunda presidency and the restoration of multi-party rule, marked by the election of President Chiluba. Encouraged by donor countries and international agencies, Zambia embarked on a series of internal reforms characterized by economic liberalization and administrative pluralism and decentralization. These overarching policies extended into the realm of education, particularly since Zambia had actively participated in the World Conference on Education for All, which had advocated for increased pluralism in the financing and management of education to facilitate universal access. In 1992, Zambia implemented an education reform to promote democratic values, human rights and active political participation. In this context, decentralization and pluralism became central, encouraging community and private involvement in the provision and financing of education. The most serious unintended consequence of the reform, however, was increased education costs for parents, leading to declining school enrolment. To address this, President Mwanawasa introduced Free Basic Education, easing immediate enrolment concerns but exacerbating structural and economic challenges. Despite these problems, this policy was further expanded by President Sata which, in line with his populist agenda, extended compulsory and free schooling up to Grade 12.

The analysis of the attempted reform of the Senegalese and Zambian school systems has revealed some common trends. Both countries struggled to break free from the colonial educational model post-independence; in both instances, it was pressure from below that triggered initial reform endeavours; in both cases such reforms proved vulnerable to internal political shifts, particularly in

Zambia, and to the constraints imposed by participation in SAPs. But there were also important differences. In Senegal, despite efforts to Senegalise the education system, the influence of the colonial model persisted, as did the for uniformity with other Francophone African countries. Every attempt at reform had therefore a limited impact, and the education system failed to respond to internal developments within Senegalese society. Instead, it continued to rely on external reference points. Conversely, Zambia's political leadership, despite initial uncertainties, actively sought to distance itself from the colonial educational model. The objective was to rectify exclusivity and align the system with the evolving political climate. In the 1960s and 1970s, concerted efforts were made to establish an education system resonant with the national philosophy of Humanism, particularly following the transition to the One-Party Participatory Democracy. After the return to multipartyism in 1991, reform endeavours were directed at ensuring that schools reflected a more pluralistic society. To this extent, Zambia's educational reforms did demonstrate greater responsiveness to internal changes. Their success, however, remains questionable, partly on account of the importance of external influences. Adherence to SAPs and the emphasis on decentralization and liberalization in the economic and political realms took their toll on the education system. These factors collectively constrained the scope and impact of reforms, posing challenges to the envisioned transformation of Zambia's educational landscape. In conclusion, the educational trajectories of independent Senegal and Zambia reflect the intricate interplay of historical legacies, political shifts, economic constraints and external influences. The persistent struggle to shape education as a tool for effective nation-building underscores the complexities involved in reforming deeply rooted systems within the post-colonial context.

The analysis of History syllabi also brought forth notable distinctions in how Senegal and Zambia employed History in their nation-building endeavours.

In Senegal, History education was seen as instrumental in shaping a collective identity, — specifically, instilling a sense of belonging in the youth rather than nurturing a critical mindset. The sources of this identity did not remain unchanged, however. Initially anchored in the relationship with the former colonial power, it was then located in a pan-African framework, and, eventually, focused on the nation itself. In the early post-independence period, there was a concerted effort by African elites in Senegal to maintain curricula that mirrored those of the former colonial metropolis while incorporating an African dimension. This inclination was particularly evident at the junior secondary school level, where shared syllabi for History and Geography were established across sixteen francophone African countries and Madagascar. This decision underscored the impact of transnational connections, exemplified by the conference of Francophone African ministers of education, in

shaping both school policies and the teaching of History in Senegal during the 1960s. It also spoke to a broader political agenda, emphasizing pan-African over national unity, a sentiment mirrored in the content of History education. Indeed, such syllabi primarily focused on pre-colonial African history, especially the great kingdoms and empires, to provide continuity and legitimacy to the vision of African unity. In contrast, post-colonial history, marked by the balkanization of Africa into numerous independent states, received scant attention. National history found a place, albeit a minor one, in primary schools during the 1960s, where it was a standalone subject and a compulsory part of the curriculum.

The recognition of History as a pivotal discipline in the formation of national identity emerged more clearly in a later period, specifically during the 1970s-1980s. This shift occurred against the backdrop of Senegalisation and a resurgence of nationalism, leading to a gradual transition from openness to the African dimension in curricula towards a more entrenched focus on the national context. Initially, this transformation was especially prominent in primary school syllabi, while secondary school ones remained firmly rooted in African history. However, from the year 2004 onwards, a discernible trend emerged wherein secondary school syllabi increasingly emphasized national history, dedicating more space to its exploration.

National history as proposed by these syllabi centred predominantly around two crucial historical junctures: the era of Senegalese pre-colonial kingdoms and the resistance against French colonization. These crucial moments, elevated from their regional contexts, underwent a process of nationalization, evolving into the wellsprings of Senegalese identity. Kings, heroes, and, notably from the 1980s onward, religious leaders who had resisted colonization were all given prestigious positions within the pantheon of national heroes. These figures were presented to the youth as exemplars of values and conduct, contributing to the construction of a collective national ethos. Within this narrative evolution, a significant development unfolded in 1987, with the inclusion of Aline Sitoe Diatta in this pantheon. A leader of the resistance in Casamance, she was now portrayed as a national heroine. It is noteworthy, however, that the “resurrection” of Diatta coincided precisely with the period of the MFDC rebellions. Thus, the timing of Diatta’s recognition suggested a deliberate effort to incorporate her into the national heroes’ roster to parry ongoing regional challenges and to address contemporary issues. While the pre-colonial era and resistance are the central *topoi* of History syllabi, post-colonial history occupies an entirely marginal role. This intentional narrative choice may be attributed to the difficulties involved in mobilizing post-colonial history to support nation-building efforts. In other words, the avoidance of this period in History syllabi appears to be a strategic decision, intended to eschew the discussion of recent, and therefore sensitive and potentially divisive, issues.



A noteworthy characteristic of Senegalese History syllabi was the portrayal of the national space as an immanent entity, one that had ostensibly existed throughout history, with its origins projected back into distant times. This portrayal took the form of naturalizing the national space into an amorphous concept, smoothing over tensions, social, cultural and political conflicts, as well as contradictions and spatial unevenness. However, as observed, this constructed homogeneity often excluded or isolated peripheral regions of the country from this idealized national entity. This situation gave rise to a paradox in the Senegalese state's endeavour to construct a cohesive national identity. On the one hand, there was the deliberate denial of ethnic diversity, framing the nation as ethnically homogeneous. This perspective emerged in the post-independence period, when Senegalese leaders consciously rejected ethnicity as a defining criterion for the nation, considering it an obstacle to the consolidation of national consciousness. On the other, this outward homogeneity masked the dominance of the Islamo-Wolof component, strategically employed as the primary reference point for national consolidation. Even with the gradual inclusion of the southern and eastern kingdoms in the curriculum, starting with the 1979 reform, a careful examination reveals that these regions were consistently presented with a distinct emphasis on their ethnic and religious characteristics. This emphasis accentuated their difference from the rest of the country, which was ostensibly depicted as ethnically and religiously neutral. This intentional highlighting of differences brought to the fore the intricacies involved in reconciling diverse cultural and regional dynamics within the broader narrative of a unified Senegalese nation.

Another notable aspect of History syllabi reforms was their consistent re-alignment with broader educational system reforms, often occurring concurrently due to pressures from grassroots movements or internal political shifts. However, these reforms frequently encountered challenges in materializing, with curriculum changes often remaining incomplete, characterized by experimental initiatives and innovations that failed to see practical implementation in classrooms. This trend was particularly evident in secondary school curricula. In the early 1970s, attempts were made to reform secondary school History syllabi. The aim was to foreground national history, in keeping with the coeval reform of the overall education system and primary school curricula. However, a critical oversight emerged, as no corresponding attention was directed towards the development of accompanying textbooks. Consequently, the envisioned changes in secondary school syllabi remained merely theoretical, revealing a gap between the intended reforms and their execution. Moreover, a significant trend over the decades was the gradual sidelining of History within the curricular framework, with a discernible shift in emphasis towards the scientific disciplines. This marginalization reached its zenith in 2012, when History was incorporated, together with Geography and Science and Technology, into the broader discipline of Social and Science Education. In the new

scheme of things, History found itself relegated to a sub-domain named «Discovery of the World». This transformation underscored a broader societal prioritization of scientific subjects over humanities, reflecting evolving educational priorities and preferences.

The two aforementioned aspects, namely the lack of synchronized curriculum reforms and the gradual marginalization of History education, suggest intriguing parallels between the educational landscapes of Senegal and Zambia. Similar to the Senegalese scenario, Zambia witnessed a sluggish pace of curriculum reform, often hindered by a lack of coordination and by difficulties in the distribution of syllabi and textbooks. Moreover, in Zambia, too, the role of History underwent a progressive marginalization. In the 1960s, History was incorporated into Social Studies at the primary school level, being taught alongside Geography and Civics. Subsequently, in the 1980s, this integration was extended to basic schools. The curriculum underwent further changes in 1996, with the opening of Social Studies to so-called «emerging issues of national concern»<sup>1</sup>. The culmination of this trend occurred in 2003, when the subject underwent a comprehensive transformation, adopting the name Social and Development Studies. Strikingly, History as an independent subject was eliminated from secondary schools following the 2013 curricular reform, as it was amalgamated into the broader domain of Social Studies. This evolution in both Senegal and Zambia underscored a shared trend, namely, the diminishing emphasis on History within the curriculum over time.

It should be noted that the role of History education as a tool for nation-building was consistently more marginal in Zambia than in Senegal. On this score, it is important to remember that Zambia, like Senegal, experienced supranational influences in shaping its initial post-independence educational programs. Zambia participated in the African Social Studies Programme, an organization established in the late 1960s with the goal of adapting Social Studies teaching programmes to African needs and traditions, promoting a student-centric approach. However, unlike the Francophone countries' group, this association did not advocate for a unified teaching programme for all member countries. Instead, it resolved that individual nations should develop their primary school curricula within a shared conceptual framework. Nevertheless, particularly in primary schools, the focus remained on studying the history of students' localities and provinces. This localized approach to History education persisted even after the 1980s reform, a period marked by the declining popularity and credibility of the UNIP. During this reform, there was a discernible effort to utilize History education to evoke sentiments of attachment to the homeland. While this intention was evident in the teaching objectives, which emphasized the need for students to cultivate positive attitudes towards the motto "One Zambia, One Nation", substantive changes in teaching content were not apparent. In essence, Zambia's historical education, despite experiencing reform and attempts to instil a national

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<sup>1</sup> IBE, MoE, *The Development of Education. National Report of Zambia*, cit., p. 16.

identity, continued to maintain a localized focus, revealing a divergence from the more nationally oriented History education witnessed in Senegalese syllabi.

This does not imply that Zambian national history was neglected; quite the opposite, as almost all syllabi delved into the movements of the Bantu peoples, the emergence of kingdoms and pre-colonial societies, the era of BSAC and British rule, and the attainment of Independence. The sole exception is to be found in the 2013 primary syllabus, where national history is conspicuously absent. However, what appears lacking is an endeavour to construct a pantheon of national heroes and a cohesive narrative that, by locating Zambia's origins into antiquity, seamlessly extends to the post-Independence years. Various explanations may account for the absence of such a comprehensive narrative in the Zambian syllabi. One plausible explanation is that the pre-colonial past was seen as divisive or controversial due to the ethnic diversity that characterized Zambia's historical landscape. Highlighting specific historical figures or kingdoms might inadvertently underscore the differences between various ethnic groups, thereby undermining the objective of fostering a unified national identity. However, this reasoning is belied by the fact that Zambian syllabi, unlike their Senegalese counterparts, do not deny the ethnic factor; rather, they accentuate it, acknowledging the richness and diversity of the national past. It is therefore more likely that, unlike in Senegal, the architects of the Zambian syllabi sensed that no pre-colonial polity offered a sufficiently robust and expansive precedent to the modern nation-state. This must have contributed to the growing emphasis on populations rather than political structures. This perspective aligns with the findings presented by Reid in his essay concerning the utilization of history as a means of nation-building in certain Anglophone African nations. The author suggests that efforts to identify national identities rooted in a common historical narrative proved elusive and carried the risk of revealing its superficiality, leading to their eventual abandonment<sup>2</sup>. Another explanation for the absence of a comprehensive historical narrative might lie in the thematic and concentric approach adopted by almost all the syllabi under scrutiny. This approach meant that historical topics were dispersed throughout the syllabi instead of being presented in a coherent chronological order. This feature highlights a significant parallelism between the teaching of History in Zambia and the United Kingdom, where History instruction tends to follow a thematic rather than a chronological approach. While this approach distances Zambian syllabi from a Eurocentric chronology, it might simultaneously hinder students from developing a comprehensive understanding of their nation's past.

Finally, while the approaches to national history in Zambian and Senegalese syllabi were starkly different, a shared characteristic was the systematic sidelining of post-independence History, possibly due to its perceived sensitivity and potential for divisiveness. Despite the absence of post-

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<sup>2</sup> R. Reid, *States of Anxiety*, cit., p. 250.

1964 history in Zambian syllabi, the country's symbols loomed large. Notably, Civic education in Zambian curricular reforms was progressively assigned a pivotal role in nation-building, with a heightened focus on the study of national symbols such as the flag, national anthem and coat of arms. This contributed significantly to the ongoing construction of Zambia's national identity. In essence, Zambian syllabi did not encapsulate a regressive identity rooted in the exploration of remote historical events. On the contrary, they embodied a forward-looking national identity while, at the same time, acknowledging the richness of the Zambian peoples' past. In this regard, Zambia stands apart from other African nation-states where the tendency to forget the past and look toward the future is primarily driven by a wish to distance themselves from a precolonial history deemed too sensitive, painful, or divisive. On the contrary, Zambian national identity, as incapsulated in the analysed syllabi, while recognizing and acknowledging the ethnic history of the nation, was actively shaped around the symbols and emblems that represented an independent Zambia. In other terms, the intentional focus on Civic education suggested a strategic choice to cultivate a unifying and inclusive identity based on contemporary and forward-facing elements rather than delving extensively into the intricacies of historical events.

The different use of national history in Senegal and Zambia is partly reflected in their respective textbooks. However, the translation of pedagogical and ideological intentions from the curricula to the textbooks unfolded in significantly different manners within these two countries. In fact, the idiosyncrasies of the school publishing markets in Senegal and Zambia contributed to bring about disparities between the outlined curricular guidelines and the actual contents of school textbooks, a phenomenon especially pronounced in Senegal. Following independence, Zambia took a centralized and nationalized approach to textbook production, particularly for primary schools. This strategy ensured that textbooks aligned closely with the stipulated intentions and directions of the curriculum. Even after the liberalization of the publishing market in 1991, publishing houses in Zambia were requested to develop textbooks that adhered to the syllabi outlined by the CDC, which in turn retained responsibility for their approval. Consequently, in Zambia, there was a closer fit between curriculum objectives and the contents disseminated through textbooks, despite facing significant challenges that resulted in a shortage of books, particularly in JSSs. Contrastingly, Senegal opted for an immediate embrace of the free market, with the state refraining from immediate interventions in the sector. This led to the continued circulation of textbooks of colonial origin or those designed for a broader African market, not specifically tailored for Senegal. These textbooks persisted for numerous years after independence, contributing to a substantial disjunction between the educational intentions articulated by the government and the actual narrative presented to students in classrooms.

This pattern was evident as far back as the 1960s. The curriculum specified that primary schools should focus on national history, while secondary schools delve into the history of Africa. In practice, however, this directive was never implemented, and the national narrative was conspicuously absent from the educational landscape, with contemporary textbooks largely sidestepping the prescribed emphasis on national history. This discrepancy arose partly from the fact that some textbooks were essentially adaptations of textbooks from the former AOF, as seen in primary school materials. Additionally, textbooks designed for secondary schools all aligned with the shared Francophone African syllabus that emphasized a global pan-African perspective rather than a specific focus on national history. More disconcertingly, a significant number of primary school textbooks, as well as those of the IPAM collection, frequently perpetuated colonial-era stereotypes and distortions. These distortions manifested in various ways, including a periodization that tended to fragment Africa's history based on its interactions with Europe. Furthermore, the narratives within these textbooks often propagated the notion of the "white man's burden" and presented colonization as a positive force, emphasizing its purported "benefits". In line with this narrative, figures like Faidherbe were portrayed as Senegalese heroes, while the French were depicted as unifying forces in Senegal. Contrastingly, individuals highlighted in the syllabus as national heroes, that is those who resisted French penetration, were depicted as bloodthirsty tyrants who terrorized local populations and were involved in the slave trade.

Not all textbooks adopted in Senegal during this period adhered to this prevalent narrative. A distinct category, labelled "anti-colonial" textbooks, emerged, explicitly designed to challenge and dismantle the colonial perspectives embedded in History education. While these textbooks were not custom-tailored for the Senegalese market and, consequently, did not align perfectly with its curriculum either, they played a crucial role in shaping a post-colonial narrative. Their significance is apparent in their attempt to break away from Euro-centric periodization, seeking alignment with African historical trajectories. However, despite their importance, these "anti-colonial" textbooks were somewhat at odds with the explicit nation-building agenda outlined in the primary school syllabus. Instead of delving into the origins of states or the intricacies of nation-building, these textbooks advocated strongly for the idea of African unity. Moreover, these books continued to circulate in Senegal in subsequent decades, partly due to limitations within the local publishing landscape. This meant that these textbooks continued to advocate for a supranational identity even when, as was the case from the 1970s, official school curricula came out strongly in favour of a more nationally oriented approach to History teaching. The contradiction becomes evident in the treatment of pre-colonial kingdoms. While the syllabi envisioned these kingdoms as pivotal to national history, the "anti-colonial" textbooks portrayed them in a somewhat unfavourable light, emphasizing the

extent to which they had contributed to the internal divisions that had ultimately facilitated European colonization. Paradoxically, it was the colonial-derived textbooks, with their questionable affiliations, that acknowledged and delved into the colonial origins of African nation-states.

Contrary to the situation with primary school textbooks, 1960s junior secondary school textbooks in Senegal did follow the pan-African syllabi in force. These textbooks enjoyed considerable success and essentially monopolized the secondary school textbooks' landscape in Senegal, maintaining their influence until the 1990s and even beyond. Their endurance would, once more, result in a discordance between official curricula and the actual teaching materials adopted in classrooms. Following the "nationalist" shift in the school system during the 1970s, which prompted an increased emphasis on national history in secondary school curricula, the textbooks adopted in Senegalese secondary schools continued to adhere to pan-African perspectives and to neglect national history. This divergence significantly restricted the potential for History to serve as a tool for nation-building, despite this being a primary objective of Senegal's political leadership. This gap between theory and practice accounts for a distinctive feature of the Senegalese textbooks' landscape: teachers themselves undertook the production of teaching booklets to compensate for the absence of adequate textbooks.

While secondary school textbooks basically remained the same since the 1960s, primary school textbooks underwent notable changes, taking a strong national focus from the 1970s. This shift took two distinct forms. Adhering closely to ministerial directives, state-sponsored textbooks endeavoured to depict Senegal as an immanent and unified entity, whose roots were to be found in pre-colonial kingdoms. This perspective was symbolized by the pantheon of national heroes, which included kings, military leaders, religious actors and anti-colonial activists. The presentation of these exemplary figures to students was aimed at instilling in them a sense of love and pride for their historical legacy. Consequently, these textbooks intentionally omitted discussions of the country's ethnic past, eluding the question of how the Senegalese nation had evolved from a diverse array of peoples. This underscores the model of national identity advocated by Senegalese elites, as articulated in the syllabi and mirrored in state-sponsored textbooks — a model centred on an exclusive and homogeneous identity that negates the acknowledgment of local identities or affiliations. In contrast, other textbooks published between the 1970s and 1990s, and particularly those released after the 2012 reform, often delved into Senegal's ethnic history. However, this exploration did not diminish the significance of the nation-state; instead, it reflected an understanding that these two aspects were not inherently contradictory. Here, the nation was not perceived as an innate entity that had always existed; rather, it was viewed as an ongoing project. The identity of the nation, in this perspective,

was not rooted solely in the past but was envisioned as a trajectory towards the future, propelled by a shared aspiration to coexist harmoniously.

Both of these narratives, however, shared two significant characteristics. Firstly, both tended to downplay or relegate Casamance and the eastern regions, pushing them to the periphery of historical discourse. This was consistent with the observed trend towards the Wolofization and Islamization of Senegalese history. Regardless of the chosen narrative approach, these regions appeared as exceptions that did not seamlessly integrate into the nation-building narrative. The second notable feature was the complete sidelining of contemporary history, presumably perceived as laden with sensitive issues that could potentially sow division and disrupt the carefully crafted positive historical image. Notably absent in the examined textbooks were discussions about the economic, political and social challenges that emerged in the country post-1960. These educational materials did not even mention contemporary historical personalities or important national symbols like the flag or national anthem, with the exception of recent introductions focusing on key political figures in the decolonization movement. It followed that the chosen narrative in History textbooks continued to centre around pre-colonial kingdoms and resistance heroes, possibly viewed as less divisive and more conducive to the nation-building process. The overarching impression was that a deliberate effort had been made to present a grand, positive narrative of the national past, emphasizing coherence and continuity. This narrative aimed to project an image of a seamless national history stretching from pre-colonial kingdoms to independence, omitting any elements that might potentially undermine the narrative's coherence. This pursuit of continuity and coherence was so pronounced that, in the latest publications in accordance with the teaching syllabus, the colonial era, often presented as a mere interlude between an illustrious pre-colonial era and the struggle for independence, was nearly completely expunged from the narrative.

The idea of the nation that emerged from the examination of Zambian textbooks differed significantly. Notably, due to active state involvement in the textbook sector, the primary school textbooks published from the 1970s onward in Zambia adhered closely to the syllabus, following its structure, content and, crucially, its values and ideological orientation. This adherence to the syllabus had a profound impact, leading to the swift disappearance of the colonial-style historical narrative in Zambian textbooks, particularly at the primary school level, contrary to what was obtaining in Senegal. In contrast, the scenario was different for secondary school textbooks, where there was no state intervention, and no textbooks aligning with the syllabus were produced. Instead, during the 1970s, general textbooks intended for Anglophone Africa continued to circulate. Some of these had first been conceived during the colonial era, and therefore carried inherent distortions and mystifications. These secondary school textbooks posed challenges to their British authors, who had

to navigate African history within the post-colonial context. Their tendency was often to highlight the richness of the pre-colonial past. However, when delving into more recent events linked to European rule in Africa, these textbooks grappled with distortions reminiscent of the colonial era, invoking themes like the “white man's burden” and depicting African peoples as needing civilized guidance due to their perceived infantilism.

This is not to say that primary school textbooks in Zambia did espouse a blatantly anti-colonial stance. Rather, in the early manuals published by the CDC, there was a discernible and nuanced presentation of the colonial era. This approach involved highlighting both the positive aspects and negative consequences of colonialism and cautioning against painting all Europeans as adversaries. This nuanced stance was not so much a result of the lingering influence of the colonial narrative or the sway of European publishing houses in Zambia (which, in fact, had ceased their activities in the country). Instead, it primarily reflected the anti-racial policy championed by Kenneth Kaunda. In his efforts to forge a united and inclusive nation that transcended racial differences and divisions, he indirectly influenced the narrative presented in these textbooks. The nuanced portrayal of colonialism aligned with Kaunda’s vision, where the identification of an out-group was not directed against the British but, rather, against the segregationist states in southern Africa. This distinction underscored Zambia’s special position as an advocate for the liberation of African peoples and its rejection of the divisive racial policies that characterized neighbouring states. The textbooks, in this context, played a role in fostering a national identity grounded in the concept of unity in diversity, which downplayed racial and ethnic divisions.

Indeed, Zambian and Senegalese textbooks diverged significantly in the nature of the national narrative they presented. In contrast to Senegal, where the ethnic dimension of the nation was often downplayed, Zambian textbooks consistently acknowledged and celebrated the rich tapestry of ethnic diversity within the country. The authors consistently strove to incorporate various ethnic groups, shedding light on their unique histories and cultural expressions. This inclusive approach, however, carried the potential risk of oversimplifying the link between (majority) ethnic groups and current provinces. Also, there was a concern that, rather than promoting the idea of unity in diversity, this approach might inadvertently reinforce a sense of local belonging. Likewise, unlike in Senegal, Zambian textbooks did not depict these ethnic groups and their historical polities as precursors to the development of Zambian statehood. Instead, several textbooks explicitly acknowledged the colonial origins of Zambia’s borders, thereby demystifying them, and underscored the presence of numerous ethnic groups within them. Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that, especially in more recent textbooks, authors tended to highlight the commonalities among these ethnic groups, placing a particular emphasis on the shared Bantu and Luba-Lunda ancestry of the majority of the population. While this



may have reflected an intentional use of the past to underscore the historical unity of the Zambian people, it also ran the risk of marginalizing the role of peoples who arrived from the south, potentially treating them as separate entities within the national narrative.

However, it was not the pre-colonial past but the fight for independence that emerged as the true unifying force in Zambian history—a theme that featured prominently in nearly all the examined textbooks. In this rendering, and despite the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the Zambian population, it had been their collective quest for national sovereignty and resistance against European colonialism that had forged them into a unified people. Notably, unlike Senegalese texts, which aimed for a coherent, cohesive and positive narrative, Zambian textbooks also addressed internal political divisions during the struggle for independence. This approach gave voice to the different components of the struggle, all the while affirming the legitimacy of the quest for independence. The shared struggle for independence played a pivotal role in shaping Zambia's national identity. The exclusive inclusion of individuals who played crucial roles in the fight for independence in the pantheon of national heroes underscored this. Remarkably, these heroes' diverse ethnic origins were scarcely mentioned, reflecting the inclusivity of the independence movement and reinforcing the idea that the struggle transcended ethnic divisions.

While the struggle for independence held a central position in Zambia's historical narrative, postcolonial history was allocated minimal coverage. However, in contrast to Senegalese texts, where postcolonial history was entirely absent, Zambian textbooks did contain some scattered and succinct references to it. These references touched upon Zambia's post-independence economic challenges, the shift to a one-party system, and, in texts written after 1991, the protests that had led to the adoption of multipartyism. However, it is noteworthy that these elements did not consistently feature in the national history narrative. They appeared briefly and were present in only a subset of the analysed manuals, regardless of their publication dates. One plausible explanation for this trend is the formidable challenges that Zambia grappled with, particularly from the mid-1970s, in the economic and social domains. These challenges, which certainly contributed to dampen the initial post-independence enthusiasm, might have made it progressively arduous to construct a positive narrative based on recent history. Furthermore, following the reinstatement of multipartyism in 1991, the new leadership of the MMD likely opted against scrutinizing and stigmatizing the preceding regime through historical education. This strategic choice might have aimed at sidestepping divisive political issues that could disrupt the already delicate political and institutional transition. In this context, recent history might have been perceived not as an asset for nation-building in Zambia but rather as a potential source of division or controversy, prompting its marginal treatment in educational narratives.

A notable difference from Senegal was the relatively limited evolution of *topoi* over the decades under scrutiny. In Senegal, syllabi and textbooks demonstrated a progression from a heightened emphasis on African unity to a later focus on national history, aimed at instilling a sense of belonging in younger generations. This evolution was accompanied by shifts in recurring themes, such as the increased inclusion of peripheral regions following rebellions in Casamance. Conversely, in Zambia, the narrative and themes remained relatively consistent throughout the past six decades, with minor variations that did not alter the core substance. However, the seemingly linear nature of this narrative was deceptive; it was, in fact, more nuanced and fragmented. This complexity arose from the prevalent thematic and concentric approach seen in most syllabi and textbooks. The narrative often extended beyond – and below – the national level, encompassing districts, provinces and the entire African continent. This approach grew more pronounced over the decades, leading to a significant development: in the primary school textbooks that followed the 2013 syllabi, national history was entirely eclipsed, and students delved exclusively into the history of their district and province. While informative, this approach risked hindering students' comprehension of national history, presenting a non-linear perspective on Zambia's historical trajectory, in stark contrast to Senegalese textbooks. The introduction of cross-cutting themes in Social Studies during the 1990s, coupled with an increased emphasis on religious topics, relegated History to a peripheral position. This, combined with the thematic approach adopted, substantially contributed to a fragmented and inconsistent narrative. Consequently, Zambian textbooks, unlike (the majority of) their Senegalese counterparts, lacked a logical, coherent and unified narrative of national history spanning from pre-colonial times to the contemporary era.

In Zambian textbooks, the absence of a comprehensive national history narrative was not solely the result of the chosen thematic approach. It could also be traced to the predominant role assigned to Civic education as the primary driver of nation-building in schools. Civic education, not History, took centre stage, cultivating a sense of national identity through explicit and patriotic narratives. These narratives unfolded within the chapters of Civic education, intricately weaving together symbols of national unity, such as the anthem, flag and coat of arms, and national holidays. National symbols, characterized by their emotionally resonant simplicity, played a crucial role in crafting a narrative of unity and shared identity. These symbols acted as a unifying force, eschewing the potential complexities and divisions that an in-depth examination of history might entail. Rather than immersing in intricate historical details, these symbols served as powerful channels for cultivating a collective, inclusive identity. They resonated emotionally, presenting a straightforward narrative that bound Zambia's diverse population together under a common vision and set of values. This identity, while rooted historically in the struggle for independence – a pivotal moment in the

formation of the *Zambian nation* – was forward-looking and did not rely on improbable historical precedents. In essence, these national symbols served as a testament to *Zambia's* commitment to coexisting harmoniously under the banner of “*One Zambia, One Nation*”.

In conclusion, the comparative analysis presented in this study revealed significant divergences in the educational trajectories, responses to external influences and the use of national history in *Senegal* and *Zambia*. While both countries grappled with the colonial legacy in education, as evidenced by their choice of the language for instruction, the enduring influence of colonialism was more pronounced in *Senegal*. This influence extended not only to educational policies but also permeated the historical narrative, intertwining with a powerful pan-African ideal that significantly shaped educational policies, syllabi and textbooks in the initial post-independence decades. Even in instances where political elites, under pressure from internal educational stakeholders, endeavoured to redirect educational policies towards a more national orientation, these efforts met with only partial success, primarily due to the challenges involved in producing textbooks that aligned coherently with the newly devised syllabi. Conversely, *Zambia* achieved greater success in eliminating direct colonial influences, particularly in the realm of textbooks. Nevertheless, it was not immune to the impact of international educational norms and the influence of financial institutions, which significantly shaped its domestic educational policies and constrained its ability to qualitatively reform the education system. Consequently, even during periods of dramatic political change, such as in the 1970s and early 1990s, when political elites sought to overhaul the educational system, they invariably encountered external constraints that limited the extent of their transformative efforts.

The challenges faced by both *Senegal* and *Zambia* in articulating independent educational policies, coupled with the economic hardships they had to grapple with, were reflected in their syllabi. One of the most notable findings of the present research is the lack of fit between the syllabi in force and the textbooks in use in the two countries. In the midst of ongoing curricular reforms driven by political changes or societal demands, insufficient attention was given to the development of textbooks that could effectively convey and implement the new educational directives within classrooms. A parallel observation in both nations is the progressive marginalization of *History* within their curricula. In the initial post-independence period, *History* held a central position, serving as a linchpin that supported the nation-building process. However, as both *Senegal* and *Zambia* achieved greater stability and consolidated their state entities, the perceived importance of *History* experienced a decline. This shift was marked by a redirection of focus towards science subjects, now seen as pivotal to the economic development process. This signifies a broader educational realignment in

priorities over the decades, which, in itself, provides a powerful indication of how the role of History evolves in tandem with the changing dynamics and priorities of post-colonial states.

Finally, the analysis underscored profound disparities in the conceptualizations of nationhood between Senegal and Zambia. Despite these divergent trajectories, historical education, among myriad other factors, may have played a role in influencing the stability of these two nations. Senegal's educational syllabi and, to some extent, its textbooks presented a cohesive national narrative that traced its roots to the pre-colonial era and the subsequent rise of kingdoms. This narrative continued through the heroic resistance against colonization, culminating in the attainment of Senegal's independence by 1960. Thus, the legitimacy of the Senegalese state came to rest on this patrimony of historical continuity. What was proposed in textbooks, especially those for primary education published after 1970, was a homogeneous identity, built around the Islamo-Wolof axis. This identity tended to exclude any deviations and could only find reconciliation within a broader pan-African identity, inheriting the ideals of Senghor's Negritude. While the Senegalese narrative closely followed the "classic" model of employing History as a tool for nation-building, a noteworthy observation was the emergence of vehement contestations against the legitimacy of the Senegalese state in regions marginalized by this same historical narrative, notably Casamance. For the rest of the country, the proposed historical narrative appears to have effectively served as a conduit for the development of a national identity. However, in the case of Casamance, Senegal took on the semblance of a theoretical construct with no tangible connection to experiential reality. This divergence in perception raised questions about the effectiveness and inclusivity of the national historical narrative, suggesting that while it may have contributed to the emergence of a cohesive national identity in some regions, it simultaneously engendered disconnection and resistance in others, such as Casamance.

In contrast, the concept of nationhood presented in *Zambian Social Studies* syllabi and textbooks exhibited greater flexibility, striving to introduce a model of unity in diversity. Instead of championing a homogeneous identity, it foregrounded the ethnic and linguistic richness of the country, deriving unity from the collective will to coexist as one people. This unity was not merely an abstract idea drawn from remote historical precedents but was vividly exemplified by the pivotal struggle for independence. During this crucial period, the diverse peoples of Zambia set aside their differences, uniting to form a cohesive national identity, symbolized by the modern state's emblems. This type of historical narrative, which integrated national with ethnic belonging without fostering competition or contradiction, may have played a significant role in positively influencing the stability and relative security of post-independence Zambia. By recognizing and celebrating diversity as a unifying strength, Zambia's approach to nationhood appears to have contributed to a more

harmonious and cohesive national fabric, grounded in the shared experience of the struggle for independence.

However, to substantiate the validity of these assertions, it would be necessary to conduct more extensive on-the-ground research. This would involve delving into classroom practice and engaging in interviews with teachers to gain insights into how History is effectively taught and understood by students. By directly observing the educational environment and soliciting the perspectives of educators, a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play in the transmission of historical narratives could be attained. Moreover, the distinctive aspect of this research lies in its effort to overcome the persistent colonial division between Anglophone and Francophone African historiographies, particularly within the domain of textbook research. Broadening the investigative scope to encompass other countries – even those beyond Africa – that have undergone comparable post-colonial trajectories holds the potential to yield valuable comparative insights. This approach would enable researchers to establish how other countries have dealt with the legacies of the colonial model, which has been shown to have shaped both the education system and the character of historical narratives in Senegal and Zambia. In essence, it provides an opportunity to assess whether other countries follow similar trajectories to Senegal and Zambia or have taken different paths. In either scenario, these research initiatives offer compelling avenues with the potential to furnish valuable insights for subsequent scholarly endeavours. Unravelling the intricacies of History education in diverse post-colonial settings not only enriches academic knowledge but also illuminates the broader implications of historical narratives on national identity and educational systems in the contemporary world.



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