

**THE QUALITY OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN HARARE PRIMARY
SCHOOLS: AN EVALUATION OF CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION**

BY

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memories of my parents: the late Mr. John Namasasu (1926-2000) and the late Mrs. Emily Rusike Namasasu (1936-1965). They nurtured me to be what I am.

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The students I taught on the Bachelor of Education (Primary) degree programme of the Department of Teacher Education because this study is a culmination of the interaction I had with them. I say this because it motivated me to go out to the field and find out how citizenship education was actually taught and learnt in primary schools.

ABSTRACT

The marked decline in positive civic behaviour among young Zimbabweans that was reported by the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education of 1999 prompted me to investigate the quality of citizenship education that was implemented in schools through social studies - a subject that I lectured in at the University of Zimbabwe.

The investigation took the form of a case study of three primary schools that comprised a former Group A school, a former Group B school and a Trust school in the city of Harare. I examined the official syllabus document that was intended for use in schools and how it was actually implemented at classroom level with particular reference to content, pedagogy, school ethos and climate. I used an interpretive ethnographic research design that involved a full school year of participant observation, triangulated with detailed document analysis and in-depth interviews with school heads, teachers and pupils. The thesis is based on what I heard from participants, studied in the documents that they used, observed in classrooms and schools and what I, as a participant-observer, synthesised and reflected on.

I found that the intended curriculum as represented by the official social studies syllabus of 1982 had considerable potential for citizenship education. While it required updating to incorporate post-1980 developments, it did not require a complete overhaul for it to promote citizenship education. The evaluation of the primary school social studies curriculum led to the conclusion that the problem was largely at implementation level. Distortion first occurred during textbook writing, official approval and publishing. This was then amplified at school and classroom level because of the dominance of the textbook as a teaching aid and the failure to make significant links to the actual environments and contexts in which pupils lived. An examination-driven curriculum helped perpetuate a low quality implemented citizenship curriculum largely characterised by rote learning and limited practical citizenship-oriented activities. The pupils themselves, when given the opportunity, were very keen on citizenship education. The ethos and climate of the school also had an important input into how young children experienced citizenship education.

FIELDS OF STUDY

- 1. Citizenship Education**
- 2. Curriculum Evaluation**
- 3. Social Studies Education**

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CHAPTER ONE

PURPOSE, MOTIVATION AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate the quality of citizenship education in the social studies curriculum in Harare primary schools. Citizenship education is the provision of knowledge, concepts, skills, values and attitudes for the purpose of developing socially and morally responsible citizens and this is one of Zimbabwe's curriculum policy goals. The Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture of Zimbabwe seeks to develop "citizens who understand and appreciate their civic and moral responsibilities within society" and has designated social studies to be the main vehicle for achieving this at primary school (Curriculum Policy: Primary and Secondary Schools, Secretary's Circular Number 3 of 2002 in Appendix 1). This curriculum policy goal clearly calls on schools to provide citizenship education. However, a curriculum policy goal is not an indicator of what actually goes on in schools. This is best determined through an evaluation of the curriculum policy goal's implementation at school level. To put it differently, one has to evaluate how a subject that is intended to be a vehicle for citizenship education is actually taught and learnt in the classroom and within the school.

1.2 Motivation and Background

For my Bachelor's and Master's degrees, I majored in geography and education, and took options in economics and political science. I was a secondary school geography teacher for five years and a writer in political economy in the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture for two years before joining the University

of Zimbabwe as a lecturer in geography education in 1987. My involvement in primary school social studies started fortuitously in 1995. At that time, the Faculty of Education had very few lecturers with expertise in social studies. Social studies is interdisciplinary and draws its content from the social sciences. Because of my background in geography, economics and political science, which provide much of the content of social studies, I was selected for staff development in social studies education and offered a three-month exchange fellowship at Concordia University in Montreal (Appendix 2). I deepened my understanding of curriculum issues in social studies education during a month long attachment to the University of London (Appendix 3).

After my return to the University of Zimbabwe, I was invited to participate in lecturing on the Bachelor of Education (Primary) degree programme offered by the Department of Teacher Education and given the opportunity to design and teach social studies education courses. I taught these courses for six years. My students were primary school teachers who held a diploma from a college of education and had a minimum of two years teaching experience before enrolling on the degree programme. Because the programme was still relatively new, the majority of primary school teachers in Zimbabwe at the time of my research had similar qualifications to those held by the students I was teaching.

What made me become particularly interested in the field of citizenship education was the Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training that was chaired by Dr. C. T. Nziramasanga. A wide cross-section of Zimbabweans interviewed by the Commission complained that the country's school system lacked appropriate citizenship education (*Zimbabwe: Report of the Presidential Commission*, 1999). I found this disturbing because, in the general literature on social studies that I had consulted,

citizenship education was cited as one of the main reasons for teaching the subject in schools. I wondered how citizenship education was treated in the social studies curriculum at primary school in Zimbabwe and decided to make this a seminar topic in my social studies courses.

The topic generated lots of vibrant discussion as students reflected on their own experiences of citizenship education when they were still at colleges of education and primary schools before enrolling on the Bachelor of Education (Primary) degree programme. Although I introduced students to trends and developments in citizenship education in my lectures, I also learnt from them since their training and teaching experience was different from mine. The feedback I received from students was very positive and reinforced my interest in citizenship education.

1.3 Scope of the Study

At the time of the study, the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture expected citizenship education to be largely covered in three subjects: social studies at primary school, civics education at secondary school, and national and strategic studies at teachers' colleges. Other subjects in the curricula of schools and teachers' colleges were expected to play complementary roles. Social studies and national and strategic studies were already at implementation stage, while civics education had just passed the design stage but was yet to be tried out in schools. The evaluation of the implementation of citizenship education therefore could have been done in either social studies in schools or in national and strategic studies in teachers' colleges and polytechnics or in both subjects.

Evaluating the implementation of citizenship education in both subjects in the same thesis would however have been inappropriate for two reasons. First, it would have made the task unwieldy. My research was a case study and not a comparative survey. Second, as explained under motivation and background, I had been teaching social studies education in the Department of Teacher Education for a long period, and had in the process developed a keen interest in how the subject was taught in schools. I did not have similar exposure to national and strategic studies in teachers' colleges. It was therefore preferable to investigate the quality of what was being implemented in schools through an evaluation of citizenship education in the social studies curriculum.

The depth and detail of the study necessitated a focus on either primary or secondary education, but not both sectors. The choice of primary school social studies over secondary school geography, my initial area of specialisation, was based on my observation that the former had a greater citizenship orientation in its syllabus goals, objectives and content than the latter. It, therefore, made more sense to evaluate the implementation of citizenship education in primary school social studies. At the time of the research, the main carrier of citizenship education at secondary school was intended by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture to be an envisaged new subject - civics education rather than geography which together with other secondary school subjects were expected to provide only supporting roles.

In choosing to undertake an evaluation of the implementation of citizenship education in primary school social studies I therefore took into account the intentions of its syllabus, particularly the extent to which it was designed for citizenship education. It would have been less meaningful to evaluate the implementation of an aspect that was outside the

intended scope of a subject's official syllabus. Social studies appeared to devote the greatest attention in the primary school curriculum to citizenship matters. It also appealed to me because of my background in geography education. It is through social studies, as an interdisciplinary subject, that human geography is taught at primary school in Zimbabwe. The investigation was limited to a case study of one of the 13 districts used by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture for the administration of education in Harare. Three primary schools were chosen. These represented the different school types in the city, namely: former Group A schools, former Group B schools and Trust schools, corresponding to low-density suburban schools, high-density suburban schools and private schools respectively. I chose these school types because I considered them likely to present different teaching and learning environments for citizenship education arising from their different social, economic and historical characteristics. Although the research was limited to primary school social studies and only to schools included in the case study, prolonged engagement at the research site ensured that significant insights into the quality of citizenship education would be obtained.

The research focused on four indicators of quality: (i) syllabus, (ii) content, (iii) learning and teaching, and (iv) school ethos and climate. These were studied at the level of implementation at school level. These indicators are further discussed under **1.4 Criteria for Examining Quality** (pp. 5-8) and **1.6 Research Questions** (pp. 14-15).

1.4 Criteria for Examining Quality

The dictionary definition of quality is the standard of excellence of an object, implying that quality is inherent in an object. However, the researcher's notion of what constitutes quality in education is also important. As Clift, Nuttal and McCormic (cited in Goddard

and Leask, 1992) point out, “Quality in education is somewhat problematical: like beauty, it lies in the eye – or rather the mind – of the beholder” (p.3). This view is shared by Sayed (1997) who argues that: “The ‘concept’ is elusive and like the words justice and democracy, it is frequently used but never defined” and “its usage often carries with it multiple meanings and reflects different ideological, social and political values”(p. 21).

While no universally accepted definition of quality in education has so far emerged, two main approaches to the concept are discernible in research literature (Barnett, 1992; Bunting 1993; Sallis, 1993). First, there is the idealist approach which sees quality as an attribute, a characteristic or a level of achievement that can be measured against other phenomena. It is, however, up to the researcher to decide on the specific attributes to include and the standards to be used. Second, there is the relativist or “fitness for purpose” approach which sees quality as the extent to which a phenomenon fits the purpose for which it is intended - for example, the extent to which a curriculum intended to teach citizenship actually does so. This approach still leaves it up to the researcher to decide on the criteria to be met. Although there is a degree of overlap between the two approaches the research evaluated the primary social studies curriculum in terms of its “fitness for (the) purpose” it was designed.

A wide range of criteria to establish “fitness for purpose” has been suggested in the literature. The Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture of Zimbabwe (2010) gives three attributes of quality in education, namely:

1. The satisfaction of parents, students and society;
2. The provision of skills that contribute to the building of a happy, cohesive and dynamic society; and

3. The improvement of the quality of life.

These attributes are at a general level and need to be made more specific for purposes of curriculum evaluation. Navaratnam (1997) lists school facilities, teachers, school head, fellow students, learning materials, teaching methods, assessment and technology, as well as the surrounding economy, community and the political system. Hawes and Stephens (1990) include “efficiency in meeting set goals, relevance to human and environmental needs and conditions and ‘something more’ in relation to the pursuit of excellence and human betterment” (p11). What Hawes and Stephens refer to as “something more” underscores the elusiveness of the concept “quality”.

Pigozzi (2003) identifies six comprehensive dimensions that need to be taken into account when judging quality in education, namely the capacity to:

1. Take into account learner characteristics;
2. Provide relevant and up-to-date content;
3. Use learner-centred methods and life skills approaches;
4. Provide a physical, social and psychological environment for learning
5. Reach all learners; and
6. Manage, administer and support effective learning.

UNESCO (Education for Citizenship, on web <http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.>) gives three broad indicators of quality in citizenship education, namely:

1. Curriculum, teaching and learning;
2. School ethos and climate; and
3. Management and development.

I combined and reformulated Pigozzi’s six dimensions, UNESCO’S three indicators and one of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture’s attributes of quality and came

up with four basic criteria for evaluating the quality of citizenship education offered through social studies in Harare primary schools, namely:

1. Syllabus (UNESCO's 1st criterion);
2. Content (Pigozzi's 2nd dimension);
3. Teaching and learning (UNESCO's 1st criterion; Pigozzi's 3rd dimension; Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture's 2nd attribute); and
4. School ethos and climate (UNESCO's 2nd and 3rd criteria; Pigozzi's 4th and 6th dimensions).

Under *syllabus*, I evaluated the document produced by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture outlining the goals, scope, nature and sequence of the citizenship education material that it expected to be covered in social studies. This document is referred to as a curriculum framework or a scope and sequence chart in some of the curriculum studies literature. Under *Content*, I evaluated the provision of relevant and up-to-date facts, concepts and skills in the implemented curriculum. Under *Teaching and learning*, I evaluated the use of learner characteristics, learner-centred methods and life skills approaches in the teaching and learning of citizenship education. Under *School ethos and climate*, I examined how the school's aims, principles and expectations, general management practices including unofficially stated aspects of school life - the *hidden curriculum*, affected the physical, social and psychological environment for citizenship education. The *hidden curriculum*, as Gatawa (1990) has argued, can result in "the actual curriculum (being) significantly different from the official curriculum (p. 13)." The quality of citizenship education was therefore judged by the extent to which *the social studies syllabus, content, learning and teaching, school ethos and climate* promoted citizenship education.

1.5 Statement of the Research Problem

Kerr (2000) has observed that in many countries there is a “lack of interest in and involvement of young people in public and political life” and an apparent inability, among the youth, to deal with citizenship issues like “pluralism, multiculturalism, ethnic and cultural heritage and diversity, tolerance, social cohesion, collective and individual rights and responsibilities, social justice, national identity and consciousness, and freedom among others” (p. 208). Incidents of anti-social behaviour such as racism, xenophobia, murder, vandalism, rape and assault are becoming increasingly common, particularly among today’s youth.

The racist murder of a black Briton in 1998 was widely covered in the British press. Osler and Starkey (2003) blame the incident on, among other factors, the lack of citizenship education. *Agence France Presse*, in a story carried by *The Herald* newspaper, reported that “A Senegalese student was murdered in Saint Petersburg by a racist killer armed with a swastika-decorated gun, authorities said, in the latest incident of violence aimed at foreigners and non-whites in Russia” (“Senegalese student murdered,” 2006, p. 5). Closer home in Africa, a commentary in *The Lesotho Times* lamented the occurrence of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa as follows: “We are painfully aware of the madness and chaos that engulfed neighbouring South Africa in May when hordes of bloodthirsty and unwashed youths from the black townships turned on foreigners, killing them and burning down their homes” (“Root out Xenophobia,” 2008, p. 12). Violent and anti-social behaviour has also been reported within school premises themselves. In the United States, on 20 April 1999, two Columbine High School students armed with long rifles and clad in cowboy leather outfits, usually worn in cowboy films, shot dead 12 fellow students and injured 24 others (Mufuka, 2006).

In Zimbabwe, a local daily newspaper, *The Herald*, has on several occasions reported cases of socially unacceptable behaviour such as bullying and gender related violence in schools. A few examples can be cited. On 11 February 2006, it reported that two Prince Edward School prefects severely assaulted a 14-year old pupil causing him to sustain serious spinal injuries (“2 PE prefects accused of battering pupil”, 2008). On 24 July 2007, it reported that the police were investigating the case of a Harare Grade 3 primary school girl who was allegedly gang-raped in the playground during break time by four boys believed to be from a nearby high school (“Harare school girl gang-raped during break,” 2007). On 17 August 2009, it reported a similar case but this time concerning a Chegutu Grade 3 primary school girl who was allegedly locked up in a classroom and sexually assaulted by nine primary school boys while the teacher was in a meeting (“Nine pupils accused,” 2009). On 29 July 2010, it reported another related case but this time involving a teacher – the case of a Chitungwiza Grade 7 primary school girl who was allegedly assigned to carry books to a house during lunch break by a male teacher, who subsequently followed her, locked her up in a room and raped her (“Teacher accused of raping minor,” 2010, p. 4). On 10 August 2010, it reported that a 47-year-old man appeared before a Harare magistrate also on accusations of raping a Grade 7 primary school girl (“Grade 7 pupil raped,” 2010, p. 2). On 9 August 2010, it reported that a 15-year-old boy appeared before a Chitungwiza magistrate and admitted to having consensual sexual intercourse with a 13-year-old girl and impregnating her. The two had been having an affair from the time the boy was 14 and the girl was 12. In mitigation, the boy pleaded: “I don’t want to go to jail. I still want to go to school,” to which the magistrate responded: “But instead of doing your books you have been busy doing girls at your age!” (“Girl (13) impregnated,” 2010, p. 2) These examples illustrate the dire need for attention to be devoted to the teaching and practice of responsible behaviour at an early age in schools.

Public spiritedness and civic virtues such as doing something for the common good and concern for public facilities and infrastructure seem to be fast disappearing. Zimbabwe, in particular, has in recent times witnessed unprecedented levels of thefts and vandalism of public telephone booths, street-name signposts, bus stop signs, roofing sheets on bus termini, electric cables and oil from transformers at electric power sub-stations. Many of the stolen products are sold to the public on the black market. An editorial comment of *The Herald* on the rampant theft of copper cables aptly captures this phenomenon:

The tragedy is that millions of people in the country are affected by the thefts. In telecommunications, thousands of telephone users are currently without service because of the high copper cable thefts. ZESA (Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority) Holdings is experiencing a similar phenomenon. The company has been robbed of many kilometres of copper cable, which has resulted in power blackouts. Train passengers have also suffered. There are many instances where train accidents have happened owing to the theft of cables used in signal systems. The NRZ (National Railways of Zimbabwe) has also been forced to suspend services as a result of the thefts. It is, indeed, a national problem that must be halted. ("Create anti-copper theft squad," 2006, p. 8).

Cynics have attempted to attribute rampant vandalism to the poor state of the national economy and rampant unemployment. Such arguments have little merit, because it is only a person devoid of any sense of civic mindedness that can strip national assets for short term individual gain and in the process put the general public of which he/she is an integral part in life-threatening danger. There is an African proverb which says no matter how dire a situation might be one does not marry off one's mother in order to cash in on the dowry payment. No amount of economic hardship can warrant national self-destruction.

In his address on the occasion of Zimbabwe's 26th independence celebrations held on 18 April 2006 at the National Sports Stadium in Harare, President Robert Mugabe appealed to citizens to report incidents of vandalism:

Rampant theft and vandalism of cables, signalling and track infrastructure have continued to upset the gains made in improving railway transportation and telecommunications. *Mbavha...dziri kuba mawaya dzanyanya, ngadzibatwe, tibatsirei kudzibata.* (There has been an increase in cable thefts; the thieves must be apprehended; help us apprehend them.) ("Let's remain united, peaceful," 2006, p. 7).

Indeed the scourge of vandalism cannot be halted through policing alone. It is every citizen's concern. As noted by Albert Muyambo, the chief executive of Zimbabwe National Water Authority (Zinwa):

Bad public behaviour has led us (to) spending what we should be using to secure infrastructure. Our wish is for the public to behave responsibly especially where private or public property is concerned ("Zinwa to curb vandalism" 2008, p. 12).

In an interview with Newsnet, a division of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, President Mugabe was asked the question: Is the moral fibre in Zimbabwe failing? The answer he gave is pertinent for its citizenship content:

That is a question you and I should answer, our families, and the parents should answer that question, managers in business should answer that question...Yes I think there is a lot of rotten fibre... all is not lost of course, but the frequency, the incidence of corruption must worry everybody, everybody wherever we are ...it's happening quite frequently, theft in business, theft and corruption in

Government...Let's all work to revive our morality now. ("National question," 2006, p. 9).

The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training of 1999 heard people from all walks of life in Zimbabwe, complain of a "decline in positive civic behaviour characterised by recent acts of vandalism, lawlessness, anti-social behaviour, lack of respect for authority," (Zimbabwe: Report of the Presidential Commission, 1999, p. 353) and a surge of negative behaviour and attitudes, especially among young Zimbabweans. Combating violence, vandalism, theft, corruption and other types of irresponsible behaviour requires the kind of public-spiritedness or civic consciousness generally associated with citizenship education.

On the one hand, school subjects such as social studies, among others, have citizenship education as one of their stated goals. Yet on the other hand, it would also appear that many young people have not become responsible citizens, despite having completed their primary, secondary and, in some cases, even tertiary education. This begs the question: Is citizenship education actually being taught at school? To answer the question, we have to examine the quality of citizenship education in the curriculum.

It is, however, not possible for a case study to cover the full spectrum of citizenship education. The evaluation of the implementation of citizenship education focused on social studies at primary school and concerns over its quality constitute the research problem.

1.6 Research Questions

The research problem noted above was recast into four main research questions centred on the criteria used to examine the quality of citizenship education in social studies as follows:

1. Syllabus

What goals, skills, concepts, attitudes and values in the official syllabus document pertained to citizenship education and how were these incorporated into teachers' schemes of work at school level?

2. Content

Was the citizenship education content that was actually taught and learnt in schools, relevant, accurate and up-to-date?

3. Teaching and learning

Were the teaching methods and learning activities that were used in citizenship education in schools appropriate?

4. School ethos and climate

Was citizenship education supported by the school ethos and climate?

The research sought answers to these four questions and involved a full school year of participant observation triangulated with detailed document analysis and in-depth interviews at the research site. Non-participant observation where the researcher observes “from a distance” and does not interact with participants was not used. Indeed truly non-participant observation is only possible in highly contrived situations like laboratories. As O'Reilly (2009) has aptly remarked “all ethnographic observation involves a minimum of participation” and “Even trying to act as if we are not there would have effects” (p. 154). Vakalisa (1995) also makes the same point that a researcher's sitting through an actual lesson and observing the learning activities taking place automatically makes him/her a participant observer, albeit not a complete participant. The nature and extent of participant observation that was used in this research is discussed in detail in **Chapter 3:**

Methodological Perspectives and Procedures under **3.10.1 Participant Observation** (pp. 104 -111).

1.7 Significance of the Study

Policy makers and curriculum planners are, understandably, often unable to fully predict the context in which a curriculum will be implemented and the modifications which will be needed to meet contextual demands. A gap thus almost always exists between what is found in official curriculum pronouncements and what is actually required in the classroom. An evaluation of the implementation of an existing curriculum is essential before judgment on its quality can be made.

This thesis provides a basis for discussing whether or not citizenship education in social studies needs to be improved, and, if it does, where and how that should occur. It adds, to the discourse on citizenship education, an interpretive ethnography of citizenship education at primary school and thus brings fresh qualitative insights to curriculum evaluation. To my knowledge, no interpretive ethnographic evaluation of citizenship education in social studies has ever been done before in Zimbabwe. The thesis research is thus an original effort to fill this lacuna in educational evaluation in the country.

Although evaluations of citizenship education have been made before, particularly in Europe and North America, they have largely been quantitative in nature, and even where some qualitative aspects have been included these have largely been peripheral and not central to the methodologies used. They have also tended to focus on what can be readily surveyed, namely the product or end-knowledge acquired by pupils rather than on the

details of what goes on at school, and in the classroom during the implementation process itself.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

A case study approach was used. Geographically, the study was limited to three primary schools in Harare. Resource constraints ruled out a large-scale evaluation of the implementation of citizenship education. The aim of the study was to develop deeper insights into a specific case, and not to provide universal generalizations. In terms of what Yin (1994) calls “statistical generalization” where “an inference is made about a population (or universe) on the basis of empirical data collected about a sample,” this could be a limitation of the study (pp. 30-31). However, Yin (1994) warns that “a fatal flaw in doing case studies is to conceive of statistical generalization as the method of generalizing the results of the case” (ibid). Davies (1999) has pointed out that “this is inappropriate as a criterion for an interpretative, or idiographic, field” (p. 90). As Stake (1995) has pointed out, “The real business of a case study is particularization” (p. 8).

Interviews, document analysis and participant observation, which are the hallmark of qualitative research, were the main data collection methods used. Questionnaires typically used in quantitative research were excluded. Although questionnaires have their merits especially in survey research, the depth and detail of the case study, as well as the nature of the research questions that guided it, necessitated greater reliance on qualitative than quantitative methods. There was a need to capture the complexity of human behaviour by studying learners, teachers and school heads in their natural setting and to interpret citizenship education in terms of their own experiences and perceptions over a prolonged period of participant observation. An extensive use of statistics to capture these

experiences and perceptions would have been redundant in the light of the several direct quotations and thick description provided by the research. In this particular study, therefore, heavy reliance on quantitative methods would itself have been a limitation. That case studies do have some limitations is not in doubt. However, these are outweighed by the many strong points in their favour. These include their strength on reality, their accessibility to non-professionals in terms of the language used, their ability to speak for themselves, to catch unique features that would otherwise be lost in large-scale data, to incorporate unanticipated events and uncontrolled variables and, more importantly, their ability to provide insights into other similar situations and cases thereby facilitating the interpretation of other similar cases (Nisbet and Watt, 1984). Last but not least, the case study approach adopted also meant that I, a single researcher with limited resources, instead of a full research team with a huge budget, could undertake the investigation.

1.9 Definition of Terms and Constructs

Some terms and constructs need to be defined in order to explain the particular meanings they carry in this thesis. These are citizenship education, curriculum, former Group A schools, former Group B schools and Trust schools. In the past, the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture used to refer to government schools simply as Group A and B schools. It has now added the prefix *former* to underline a common policy for all public schools. Nonetheless, the disparities between school types continue to be as marked as ever. The three school types reflect the racial, class and economic dynamics that have characterised Harare in the last two to three decades, and would be expected to offer contrasting environments for the learning of citizenship education.

1.9.1 Citizenship Education

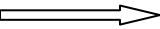
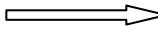
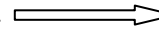
As pointed out earlier, citizenship education is the provision of knowledge, concepts, skills, values and attitudes for the purpose of developing socially and morally responsible citizens. Citizenship education occurs both within the school and outside the school. The family, peer groups, social clubs, community and national organizations as well as the media are important sources of citizenship education outside the school. However, the onus of providing a deliberate, systematic and structured citizenship education programme for young people rests with the school. This is because the school specialises in education; it employs professionals; and it can access public and private funds to a much greater extent than non-school sources. More significantly, many non-school sources represent specific interest groups and therefore tend to have built-in biases. A carefully designed citizenship education programme at school can help youths to reflect on what various sources say concerning responsible citizenship, and to be rational in their decision-making. The nature and scope of citizenship education is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

1.9.2 Curriculum

The word curriculum has its origin in the days of the Roman Empire when it was used to refer to a *course covered* during chariot races. Today, it is part of everyday vocabulary as in *curriculum vitae* where it means the *course of activities covered* in one's life or in a *school curriculum* where it loosely means *courses or subjects covered* at school. Carter Good's *Dictionary of Education* defines the word as 'a systematic group of courses or sequences of courses of subjects required for graduation or certification in a major field of study, for example (the) social studies curriculum (Good, 1973, p. 157).' Within the curriculum studies literature, the term has been defined in various ways, for example:

- All the experiences children have under the guidance of teachers (Caswell and Campbell, 1935, p. 66);
- A plan for learning (Taba 1962, p. 11);
- The formal and informal content and process by which learners gain knowledge and understanding, develop skills and alter attitudes, appreciations, and values under the auspices of that school (Doll, 1989, p. 8); and
- The entire culture of the school – not just subject matter content (Gay, 1990, p. 62).

Ndawi and Maravanyika (2011) show four different versions of *curriculum* as:

1. 	2. 	3. 	4.
That Intended (by planners)	That Received (by the teacher)	That Transmitted (by the teacher)	That Experienced (by the pupil)

Source: Ndawi and Maravanyika (2011 p. 69)

After analysing several definitions of *curriculum*, Beane, Toepfer and Alessi (1986) identify four categories under which most of them fall, namely:

1. *Curriculum as Product*

A document such as a syllabus that lists items such as aims, objectives, skills and content to be covered which is the product of deliberate planning and development is taken to be the *curriculum*. This definition has the advantage of presenting the *curriculum* in concrete terms since it draws people's attention to a specific document with a rationale, structure, aims, objectives, suggested activities, content and assessment. However, it has the disadvantage of limiting the *curriculum* to what is

contained in this document and leaves out other possible learning events that can occur within the school.

2. *Curriculum as Intended Learnings*

The skills, content, attitudes and behaviours that children are supposed to learn at school are considered to be the *curriculum*. How children are to learn this *curriculum* is left out as belonging to the realm of *instruction*. This definition has the advantage of presenting the *curriculum* as a concept rather than a product. Its disadvantage is that the how and what of learning cannot be separated if a comprehensive view of learning is sought. In other words, *curriculum* and *instruction* are two sides of the same coin.

3. *Curriculum as Programme*

The programme(s) of study offered by a school are viewed as the *curriculum*. This definition alludes to the fact that children also learn from activities that occur outside the classroom, for example in school grounds, halls and during days and events that are commemorated at school. Like the definition of *Curriculum as Product*, it allows the *curriculum* to be viewed in concrete terms but, unlike that definition, its concept of the *curriculum* is much broader in that it recognises that learning occurs in various settings in the school. Its disadvantage is that it confines the *curriculum* to what is contained in the plans of the various programmes of study presented by the school.

4. *Curriculum as Experiences of the Learner*

The experiences of the learner constitute the *curriculum*. This definition is a significant departure from the other definitions discussed above in that the *curriculum* is not necessarily something planned before but what actually happens during the teaching-learning situation. Its advantage is that it takes into account both the planned and unplanned experiences of the learner. In this sense, it accommodates what is sometimes referred as the *hidden curriculum* that covers aspects such as teacher

enthusiasm when teaching particular topics, omissions and additions during teaching, and values and attitudes that are consciously and unconsciously promoted or discouraged in learners. Its disadvantage is that it can make the curriculum so broad as to include virtually everything that occurs within a school.

For purposes of evaluating the implementation of a curriculum, the four categories of definitions described above are not mutually exclusive. In this thesis, therefore, the term *Curriculum* encompasses *Product*, *Intended Learnings*, *Programme* as well as *Experiences of the Learner*. It refers to the aims, objectives, content, competencies, attitudes and expected behaviours contained in a syllabus document. This is the curriculum *intended* by the designers of the syllabus document. It also refers to an educational programme or programmes offered by a school as characterised by the *actual experiences* of teachers and learners, including the *overt* and *hidden curriculum*. This is the curriculum *implemented* in social studies lessons and within the school.

1.9.3 Curriculum Evaluation

Curriculum evaluation is the systematic assessment of the worth or merit of a curriculum (Scriven, 1967; Glass, 1969; Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 1986; Lewy, 1977, Ndawi and Maravanyika, 2011). It seeks information on a curriculum's characteristics such as relevance to learners' and society's needs, intended and unintended outcomes, validity and significance of curriculum materials, efficacy of teaching and learning approaches, nature of content, skills, competencies, values and attitudes. It has many different stages such as determination of general aims, planning, tryout, field trial, implementation and quality control (Lewy, 1977). This thesis is an evaluation of curriculum implementation. In other words, it largely focuses on the implementation stage when the general aims of social

studies have already been determined, its official syllabus document has already been planned, tried out, published and is currently in use in schools throughout the country. The evaluation approach that it uses is discussed in detail under **Chapter 3: Methodological Perspectives and Procedures**.

1.9.4 Former Group A Schools

These are public schools located in low-density suburbs many of which are former white residential areas of the colonial period. Heavily funded in the past, they remain relatively better off than their counterparts in high-density suburbs in terms of resources and infrastructure. Although colonial privilege has long been discontinued, parent associations comprising middle to high-income residents now significantly complement government funding for these schools.

1.9.5 Former Group B Schools

These are public schools located in high-density suburbs many of which are former black residential areas or the townships of the colonial period. Underfunded in the past, they remain lacking in resources and infrastructure despite efforts by the post-independence government of Zimbabwe to reduce inequalities in educational provision. They are largely dependent on the meagre resources they get from government since parent associations, where they exist, comprise mostly of low-income residents.

1.9.6 Trust Schools

These are elite schools that emerged soon after the country's independence and are run by private trusts. They are largely located in low-density suburbs. They were spurred by four interrelated factors: first, the enrolment of black pupils in previously all-white schools that

led to the withdrawal of some children by white parents who harboured racial prejudices and their subsequent enrolment at newly established private schools; second, the emergence of a black middle class that also wanted its children to enjoy the privileges previously limited to white children and thus also withdrew their children from public low density schools and enrolled them at the newly established private schools; third, the relative decline in government support for schools in low density schools as it sought to implement its one school policy; and fourth, the government policy of enrolling pupils from low-income families in formerly privileged low density schools also meant a low revenue base for the parent associations that now provided the bulk of the funding to these schools thereby leading some high income parents to transfer their children to trust schools where they believed they would get higher value for their money. Trust schools are thus a post-independence effort to provide elite education for those who can afford it. Because they charge fees well above what most residents can afford, they end up enrolling mostly the children of Harare's elite such as business owners and the top management of both private and public companies. Unsurprisingly, these schools tend to have considerably more teaching and learning resources than their former Group A and Group B counterparts.

1.10 Overview of the Chapters

1.10.1 Chapter One: Purpose, Motivation and Scope of the Study

Chapter One states the purpose of the study, narrates the researcher's motivation and background, outlines the scope of the study, lists the criteria for examining quality, states the research problem, poses the research questions, shows the significance of the study, identifies its limitations and defines key terms and constructs.

1.10.2 Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

Chapter Two reviews related literature on citizenship education in considerable detail. It explores the concept of citizenship and outlines its historical development over time. It analyses the nature and scope of citizenship education, models of citizenship education, citizenship education through social studies, international and Zimbabwean approaches to citizenship education, as well as related research findings.

1.10.3 Chapter Three: Methodological Perspectives and Procedures

Chapter Three discusses the choice of a naturalistic and participant-oriented evaluation approach with particular emphasis on the interpretive ethnographic research design that guided the study. It explains the researcher's role as research instrument, gaining access to the natural setting, purposive sampling and data collection methods.

1.10.4 Chapter Four: Data Presentation and Analysis

Chapter Four presents and analyzes data obtained from documents, interviews and observations by the researcher in the field. It is in four parts. Part I gives brief profiles of participants. Part II presents and analyzes documentary data: the official social studies syllabus document, teachers' schemes and records of work, pupils' and teachers' textbooks, pupils' exercise books, grade seven general paper examination questions and a citizenship education exercise written by grade seven pupils. Part III presents and analyzes data from interviews and discussions with heads, teachers and pupils and interprets them from their perspectives as participants. Part IV presents and analyzes data from observations, documents, interviews and discussions with participants in terms of the criteria for evaluating quality in citizenship that were presented in Chapter One and interprets them from the perspective of the researcher as a participant-observer.

1.10.5 Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions and Implications

Chapter Five summarises the evaluation of the quality of citizenship education implemented at primary school through social studies and discusses the conclusions and implications of the research findings as presented in Chapter Four.

1.11 Summary

I began by stating the purpose of the study, which was to investigate the quality of citizenship education in the social studies curriculum in Harare primary schools. I proceeded to describe what motivated the investigation and to provide a brief biographical background to how I developed an interest in citizenship education through social studies at primary school. After describing my motivation and background, I outlined the scope of the study and explained why it was limited to social studies at primary school and did not include geography and civic education at secondary school or national and strategic studies in teachers' colleges. I then discussed how the research problem arose from widespread concerns over the quality of citizenship education and how I arrived at the four criteria that I used to examine quality in citizenship education, i.e. its syllabus, content, teaching and learning and school ethos and climate. It is these criteria that I used to formulate the research questions that guided the study.

This was followed by a presentation of the significance of the research, an acknowledgement of its limitations and a defense of the case study approach adopted. I then defined key terms and constructs that I felt needed to be defined early in the thesis in order to indicate the particular meanings that they have in the ensuing chapters. Finally, I gave an overview of the five chapters that make up the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In reviewing literature for the thesis, I sought to cover major trends and developments in the area I was studying. I was also aware that I could not possibly review everything that had been written on citizenship education. This chapter is thus deliberately a review of related literature rather than a general literature review.

The review of related literature evolved and took shape as the research progressed. At the beginning of the study, details of what literature would be relevant to my research had not yet emerged. The details were, of course, dependent on the data and themes I was to encounter in the field. Bogden and Biklen (1992) caution against completing the literature review before fieldwork and point out that it “might be too influential in determining themes and a focus and curtail inductive analysis – an important advantage of the qualitative approach” (p. 75).

I therefore decided that, if I was to provide deep insights on the quality of citizenship education in social studies in Harare primary schools, I had to avoid undue influence from the concerns and priorities of previous writers on citizenship education. I was not content with merely verifying established orthodoxies without attempting to offer fresh insights on citizenship education. My approach therefore was to let field data, as well as the themes emerging from them, guide me as to which literature was related to my study. I did not ignore themes identified by earlier writers. Rather, I simply started with themes most closely related to what I saw and experienced and only later compared them to what existed

in the general literature. This way, I was able to include, in my review of related literature, concepts and issues not usually covered by many writers on citizenship education. An example of this is the African concept of responsible citizenship – *hunhu/ubuntu* – that is discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter. Its inclusion arose as I, together with participants, tried to find the best way of expressing the notion of responsible citizenship in Shona, the language in which some of the interviews were conducted. We took a responsible citizen to be *munhu ane hunhu*: a person who possessed the quality of *hunhu/ubuntu*. Put differently, a responsible citizen was a member of a community who showed practices, values and attitudes consistent with having *hunhu/ubuntu*. Now *Hunhu/ubuntu* is not just a Bantu word. Although this word subsumes the notion of humanity, it cannot directly be translated into another language and cultural context. In fact it has no English equivalent since it represents a whole cultural experience and world outlook. Literature on *hunhu/ubuntu* therefore became related to my study of the quality of citizenship education despite the fact that earlier researchers did not previously link it to citizenship education. This example shows how a naturalist methodology can help minimise the *follow-your-leader* syndrome that plagues much contemporary educational research. *Follow-your-leader* is a children's game common in Zimbabwe in which children imitate whatever their leader decides to do.

I began by reviewing the meaning and evolution of citizenship as a basic concept, regardless of the field in which the term was used. I looked at the various historical contexts through which it has evolved and noted how it continues to evolve as new contexts emerge. I then moved to citizenship education and the subjects that carry it in the school curriculum. I gave particular attention to citizenship education in social studies in the Zimbabwean context. International perspectives on citizenship education were reviewed

last. I was thus able to review literature related to themes that emerged in the field rather than from themes already pre-determined as pertinent to citizenship education by previous writers. In the end I came up with themes and a focus which, when compared to the existing research literature, are uniquely mine.

2.2 The Concept of Citizenship

Few writers on citizenship education bother to define the basic concept of citizenship. Their focus is on how children can learn to be good citizens and not on what citizenship itself entails. In the process, they tend to ignore the historical development and evolution of the concept of citizenship. I felt that if I was to obtain a deeper understanding of citizenship education, it was important to first understand both what the concept citizenship means and how it has evolved over time, before examining how it has been applied in an educational context.

Basically, citizenship refers to a person's membership and loyalty to a community which entitle him or her to certain rights. A generic definition of the term community is given in the book *Geography in the Teaching of Social Studies*:

A community is any group or society of people who live in a definable geographic space; who possess sufficient historic values and customs in common to hold the community together; who face common problems; who have devised solutions (mechanisms, institutions, laws, customs) to these problems that are workable and are somewhat unique to the people who inhabit the terrain of that community; who have developed means of communication throughout the community space; and who acknowledge that they belong, have membership in the community (Hanna, Sabaroff, Davies and Farrar 1966, pp. 78-79).

The community can be as small as the family, the local village or suburb or as large as the city, province, nation, continent or even the entire planet. The Report of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (*Zimbabwe: Report of the Presidential Commission*, 1999) uses the term to refer to the set of relationships covering rights and responsibilities that exist between an individual and his or her community. Citizenship is, nonetheless, a contested concept because of the plethora of views on what constitutes a good citizen which, in turn, depends on the values and practices upheld by any given society.

In a democratic society, citizens have the “right to be heard and to participate in their own governance, the right to equal protection before the law, and the right to basic freedoms such as those of religion, speech and the press”, and the “responsibility to participate in the governance of the state by voting, holding office, joining political parties and interest groups” (Engle and Ochoa, 1988, p. 16). Citizenship in a democratic society entails, as pointed out by Aristotle, participation in “ruling and being ruled in turn” (*Politics* III xiii, 12 cited in Heater, 1991, p. 5). Similarly, in a non-democratic society citizenship entails participation in being ruled but not in ruling in turn. A democratic society has three important characteristics:

1. Its government has to be derived from and accountable to public opinion;
2. This public opinion has to be openly and freely expressed; and
3. Where various sections of public opinion differ, it is the majority opinion that prevails.

Logically, democracy should imply and involve majority rule. However, rule by the majority need not result in the oppression and disenfranchisement of the minorities. To underline this point, some people prefer to qualify the term democracy and talk of liberal-

democracy. Liberal-democracy is expected to operate in and to tolerate an environment of autonomous, spontaneous and voluntary associations that believe that each enshrines values and interests that are dear to its members. This means that the minorities should be given the opportunity and status to convert the majority or to become the majority themselves. There are also some people who use the term democracy and liberal-democracy interchangeably. They may have a point since a non-liberal-democracy sounds a contradiction in terms.

Most European and American literature traces the origin of the concepts of citizenship and democracy to ancient Greece and Rome, when city-states such as Athens and Sparta did away with monarchical rule - with Athens pioneering a participatory mode of citizenship, and Sparta emphasizing disciplined loyalty to the city-state (Heater, 1991, 1992). Patriotism and devotion to duty and the law were cherished Spartan virtues. In the ancient Greek city-states, it was a citizen's right to make decisions and to speak in public gatherings. A system of direct democracy existed.

However, a point often overlooked by many western writers on citizenship and democracy is that women and slaves were not considered citizens in Athens and Sparta. During the Roman Empire, the Romans extended citizenship to some of the people they conquered, and also subdivided it to include a second-class category of citizens who were merely subjects or *civitas sine suffragio* (citizens without franchise). Full citizens were often part of the educated and wealthy elite and could elect senators to represent them in the government of the Roman Empire. A system of representative government, at least for full citizens, emerged. Mere subjects could live in the Empire, even adopt its values and traditions, but had no say in its governance. As in Athens and Sparta, women and slaves

were not considered citizens. The ancient Greeks and Romans were therefore not democratic in the sense the word is used and understood today.

The fall of the Roman Empire and the onset of what is referred to in European history as the Dark Ages marked a setback in the development of citizenship. There was, however, considerable reflection on citizenship during the European Renaissance and Enlightenment periods. Many thinkers such as Machiavelli, Montesqui and Rousseau longed for a return to an idealised Graeco-Roman past. Machiavelli, for instance, stressed the civic virtue of the love of freedom, especially from foreign oppression and complained that “in peoples, we do not find the same love for liberty as there then was” (Machiavelli, II, ii as cited in Heater, 1992, p.150). He argued that since people were not naturally endowed with the virtues of citizenship, they had to be moulded to desire it, and kept that way through education, religion and fear of the consequences of failing to discharge their civic obligations. Rousseau equated true freedom to selfless self-government in which every citizen contributes to the good of the community as a whole. Montesqui underlined that, the stability of a democratic state was based on popular participation and the civic virtue of its citizenry and not on force and might as was largely the case under monarchic or despotic rule.

The democratic ideals expressed by Rousseau and Montesqui, among others, found resonance in the French and American Revolutions of the 18th century. It was the denial of citizenship to ordinary people that sparked the French Revolution. With the American Revolution, Americans refused to continue to be subjects of the British Crown. They fought for the right to sovereignty and to be free to make decisions for themselves.

Yanacouplos and Raju (2004) capture the essence of the French revolution very succinctly when they say:

Citizenship was the underlying force of the French Revolution, reflected in the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (sic) and Citizen, which emerged from the revolution, highlighted the acceptance of the inalienable rights with which “all men” were endowed. Inalienable rights are rights that human beings have on the simple basis that they are human – such rights are the predecessors of what we now understand to be “human rights” and are closely related to citizenship. These basic rights include *liberty* (freedom from enslavement), *equality* (all persons are equal before the law and in relation to each other) and *fraternity* (a sense of brotherhood, that each individual is part of a larger group). These rights were used as the basis of citizens’ rights. Instead of being the *subjects* of the King with no rights, the people of the new French republic became *citizens* of France with rights, and the opportunity to influence decisions that affected their lives (p. 11, emphasis in the original).

And even then, women in France, as in much of Europe, were only allowed to vote after the Second World War.

The Constitution of the United States of America, including its Amendments, is the embodiment of their inalienable rights. However, as was the case with the Greek city-states and the Roman Empire, the French and American Revolutions did not recognize slaves and women as citizens and did not extend to them the rights contained in the *Declaration of the Rights of Man (sic) and Citizen* and in the *American Constitution*.

Ironically:

450 of the 650 workers who built the White House and the Capitol were African slaves. Because the White House and the Capitol are the two most visible symbols of American democracy, it is important to inform all school children in our globalised world that these institutions are the results of the sweat and toil of mostly (forced and unpaid) African workers. This must also be an acknowledgement of the debt America owes Africa (Emeagwali, 2006, p. 6).

It required a civil war, the civil rights movement and public protests, long after the American Revolution, for citizenship rights to be extended to previously enslaved African-Americans. As recently as the 1960's, the late Martin Luther King Junior lamented that one hundred years after the signing of the proclamation of their emancipation from slavery by Abraham Lincoln, African-Americans were still denied citizenship rights in the country they called their home. In the historic "I have a dream" speech that he delivered to hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in Washington, the American nation's capital, on 28 August 1963 in which he longed for a time when African-Americans would be judged according to their character and not their skin colour, he said:

We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodgings in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he (sic) has nothing for which to vote. No,

no, we are not satisfied, and will not be satisfied until “justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream” [Amos, 5:24]. (American Rhetoric, on web <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihadream.htm>).

This speech was an important milestone in the struggle for democracy in the United States - a factor which social studies in that country cannot afford to ignore and still remain relevant to African Americans.

In Africa and Asia, European colonialism did not extend full citizenship rights to the people they colonised. These were attained often after protracted and bitter struggles for independence. It is in this sense that some leaders of Africa’s independence struggles declare that it is Africa that has the moral authority to teach Europe the true meaning of democracy and not the other way round. These leaders have justifiably asked the question: Where was Europe’s sense of democracy and justice when it enslaved and colonised Africa? For example, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe recently told the 3rd Africa-European Union Summit that:

In Africa, our ... struggles for freedom from colonialism are well known, as are the brutalities that were perpetrated against Africans. Europeans, therefore, cannot take a moral high ground and develop amnesia when it comes to the brutalities that Africans suffered in the colonial period. It is for Africans to design and build their own democratic institutions. (“Democracy, an internal development process,” 2010, p.8)

Chivaura (1998, p.2) makes a similar point that “colonised Africans and black slaves waged bitter struggles and wars of liberation to free themselves from their white masters” and, in the process, “made some gains and won important victories” for human rights and democracy.

While considerable progress has been made since the times of slavery and colonialism, a lot still needs to be done in the areas of democracy and justice. As Heater (1991) points out “many millions of people today are classified as ‘citizens’ in terms of legal nationality but live in such unjust regimes that the title is meaningless in terms of civil rights” (p. 4).

The ideals espoused by the Greek city-states, the Roman Empire, French and American revolutions have contributed to the development of the concept of citizenship. Unfortunately, much of the literature on citizenship seems to imply that the ideas of citizens’ rights and responsibilities originated exclusively from Europe and America. Yanacouplos and Raju (2004) remind us that:

Governance structures and processes existed in pre-colonial times in all developing countries. India had a feudal system with village councils and public gatherings in which all present had an opportunity to speak. In the Indian feudal system, people were only allowed to address the ruler or ruling council, and then only selected individuals in the community had the right to speak in such gatherings. Other groups, such as the Yoruba who resided in what is now western Nigeria, and in neighbouring countries such as Benin and Togo, also had village gatherings and councils to govern them. Members of the community had an opportunity to petition village elders and leaders or rulers as a means of airing grievances and raising concerns and issues (p. 14).

Citizenship is therefore a universal concern. No nation can therefore claim to have invented it, or to have always fully recognised the rights of all its citizens. It has evolved over time and continues to be refined as human society becomes more enlightened.

In some respects, contemporary human society is still unenlightened. A few examples can be cited. Savage wars that disregard the human rights of non-combatants in “enemy” nations are still being waged. Some “advanced” nations treat immigrants as if they are aliens from a different planet and deny them some of their human rights. Yet all human beings, irrespective of their nationality, should be treated as fellow citizens of the planet Earth. Hence even in the current era of the “global village”, the notion of a truly global citizenship remains elusive although it is fundamental for global peace and international understanding.

The main elements of citizenship, as largely understood today, are encapsulated in Marshall’s (1950) seminal work *Citizenship and Social Class*. He identified three elements of citizenship: *civil, political and social* which are at the basis of democracy. It is instructive to quote him at length:

The *civil* element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom – liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts and the right to justice. The last is of a different order from the others because it is the right to defend and assert all one’s rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law. This shows us that the institutions most directly involved with civil rights are the courts of justice. By the *political* element I mean the right to exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body. The corresponding institutions are Parliament and councils of local government. By the *social* element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of social welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing

in the society. The institutions most closely connected with it are the education system and the social services (Marshall, 1950, pp.10-11, emphasis added).

Citizenship is thus multi-faceted. It is much more than an entitlement to a nationality or the possession of an identity document, important though these may be. In practical terms, a citizen should enjoy a number of *civil* rights like freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom of expression, assembly and worship and the right to a fair trial, *political* rights like the right to vote freely and without intimidation, and, if one so chooses, to contest in elections for public office without fear of victimisation, and *social* rights like guarantees to a minimum level of education, health and means of livelihood by the state, if the concept is to have any real meaning to him/her.

2.3 The Nature and Scope of Citizenship Education

Citizenship education has a number of basic features that have been outlined by, among others, Nziramasanga (1991), Remy (1979) and Osley and Starkey (2000).

Nziramasanga (1991) argues that citizenship education makes the youth know:

- How to relate to each other;
- The best forms of social and political participation;
- The rules and laws governing them;
- The operation of economic and government systems in their communities; and
- Their own rights and responsibilities, to and within their society and nation.

It encompasses decision-making, involving political, economic, social and moral choices at various levels including the individual, family, community and nation and thereby teaches group governance. Pupils, who are in fact young citizens, learn to govern

themselves first and the groups they are part of, “formulating and making rules governing behaviour, relations, distribution of resources among the individuals and within the groups” and “implementation plans affecting each and all the citizens for better or worse” (ibid, p. 5).

According to Remy (1979) citizenship education prepares learners to address three fundamental questions:

1. Under what conditions should I (as a citizen of a family, or a city or a nation of the global community) be loyal to and be proud of my group and when should I be critical?
2. Under what conditions should I (as a citizen of a given group) comply with the laws, rules or norms of that group and support its political authorities, and when should I defy rules and authorities?
3. Under what conditions should I (as citizen of a given group) actively participate in the political life of the group and if necessary sacrifice for the common good and when should I defend or assert my private interests or withdraw to nurture my private life? (p. 9).

Nziramasanga (1991) identifies four key components of citizenship education related to the questions posed by Remy (1971). These are:

1. Citizen confrontation with the need for choice and an occasion for making such choice;
2. The determination on the part of the citizen, of important values, goals, attitudes and factors affecting the decisions;

3. A citizen's identification of alternative courses of action within the framework of the laws of that society or nation; and
4. The way in which the citizen can predict the positive/negative consequences of the alternatives in view of the need to decide national or individual goals. (Nziramasa, 1991 p. 7).

Citizenship education “requires an understanding and an acceptance of human rights” to “provide the framework for political and social interaction in democracies by ensuring the equality of all individuals before the law and in respect of their rights to dignity and to the fundamental freedoms” (Osley and Starkey, 2003, p. 4). Spencer (2003) says citizenship education should include values whose legitimacy and acceptance go beyond a single religion or local authority. She argues that:

International human rights standards provide that framework of values. They have an authority beyond any code of ethics agreed at national level and, being a balanced package of rights and responsibilities, entirely fit the objectives of education for citizenship (Spencer, 2003, p. 23).

2.4 School Subjects and Citizenship Education

Although citizenship education is a priority learning area in many countries of the world, it comes under a wide variety of subject names. Some of the names used in schools are “citizenship, civics, social sciences, social studies, studies of society, life skills and moral education” and there are links to subjects such as “history, geography, economics, law, politics, environmental studies, values education, religious studies, languages and science” (Kerr, 1991, p. 202). Approaches and terminology used in citizenship education are shown in Table 1.

Civics and citizenship are often used interchangeably in some of the literature on citizenship education. Strictly speaking, they should not (Kerr, 2000). Civics relates to knowledge of institutions of government and duties expected of citizens. Citizenship education is more comprehensive. It subsumes knowledge, competencies, skills, attitudes, values and practice that pupils need to become informed and active citizens.

Table1: Approaches and terminology used in citizenship education

Country	School Level	Approach	Subjects Used
Botswana	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Integrated Optional, Separate Integrated	Social Studies Social Studies, Geography, History
England	Primary	Compulsory, Cross-curricular	Education for Citizenship
France	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Separate, Integrated Compulsory, Separate, Integrated	Civics: Discovering the World Civics, History, Geography
Italy	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Integrated Compulsory, Separate, Integrated	Social Science Civics, History, Geography
Japan	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Separate, Integrated Compulsory, Separate, Integrated	Social Studies, Living Experience, Moral Education History, Civics, Geography Social Studies,
Korea	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Separate Compulsory, Integrated	A Disciplined Life, Moral Education, Social Studies, Moral Education
Singapore	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Separate, Integrated Compulsory, Separate	Civics, Moral Education Civics, Moral Education
Switzerland	Primary Secondary	Optional, Integrated Optional, Integrated	Social Studies Social Studies
U.S.A.	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Integrated Compulsory, Separate, Integrated	Social studies Social Studies, Civics, Government
Zambia	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Integrated Compulsory, Integrated	Social Studies, Civics
Zimbabwe	Primary Secondary	Compulsory, Integrated Compulsory, Separate Compulsory, Separate	Social Studies, Religious and Moral Education History Civics Education (Planned)

Source: Kerr (2000, pp. 212-214), Embassies and Ministry of Education Sport, Arts and Culture.

As a school subject, citizenship education can be optional or compulsory, separate or integrated with other subjects, or be taught across the curriculum. Proponents of separate subject approaches point to the rigour and scholarship associated with traditional disciplines like geography and history. Proponents of integrated approaches point out that real progress is often made by combining different disciplines, that achieving a focus on citizenship education is comparatively easy when using integrated subjects and that “children, especially at school level, do not naturally observe the world through the perspectives of the academic disciplines” (Mehlinger, 1981, p. 61).

2.5 Citizenship Education through Social Studies

Social studies, the focus of this research, is one of the most widely used subjects in the provision of citizenship education. There are two views of social studies. The first sees it as an amalgam of different subjects selected for teaching in schools and is typified by Wesley’s definition of the subject as “the social sciences simplified for pedagogic purposes” (Wesley and Wronski, 1958, p. 3). It is however a distinct subject on the school timetable. The second also sees it as an integrated subject, but includes separate subjects as long as they have an interdisciplinary perspective. This view is typified by Merlinger’s definition as “courses of study at the primary and secondary levels of schooling presenting components of history, geography, economics and moral and civic education, prescribed and taught either as an integrated discipline or separate curriculum subjects with an interdisciplinary emphasis” (Mehlinger, 1981, p. 4). There may not be a subject specifically called social studies on the school timetable, but various citizenship-related subjects corresponding to specific disciplines. Under this view, geography and history can also be referred to as social studies.

The first view is characteristic of social studies as currently taught in schools in the United States of America and countries that have borrowed from American social studies where “it stands for a separate field of study that draws upon history, the social sciences, and other fields of knowledge for its content but combines these for purposes of helping students confront important social and personal problems” (Mehlinger and Tucker, 1979, p. 2).

The second view is characteristic of the United Kingdom where emphasis is on teaching geography and history separately, even at primary school. Regarding the two views of social studies, Zimbabwe appears to have adopted the American view at primary school and the British view at secondary school.

In America, social studies is a distinct but integrated subject that has a long tradition of teaching citizenship. Its mission “since its inception, has been to develop informed and active citizens” (National Council for the Social Studies, 2001, p. 240). Banks (1990) argues that the subject is “the only area that has the development of civic competencies and skills as its primary goal” (p. 3). Nonetheless, this does not make it the only subject concerned with citizenship education. Shaver (1981) cautions “that citizenship education is not the exclusive domain of social studies” for “Teachers in other subject areas are also concerned with helping students to be ‘good citizens’” (p. 105). Citing Shakespeare, Mehlinger and Tucker (1979) ask, rhetorically:

“What’s in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet?” To be “social studies,” it need not carry that label. In Germany it may be called political education; in England, development studies. What matters are the purposes, content, and goals of instruction (p. 2).

To extend the metaphor, citizenship education by any other name, would still be citizenship education. A more inclusive view of social studies helps bring on board more people committed to citizenship education but who work within separate disciplines. As Lambert and Machon (2001) have shown in the case of geography and Arthur, Davies, Wrenn, Haydon and Kerr (2001) in the case of history, citizenship education can be learnt through separate disciplines without necessarily integrating them into one subject. Citizenship education can also be taught through integrated subjects like development studies as is done in Lesotho and Tanzania.

There is merit in subjects complementing each other in teaching for citizenship – complementarities between various actors being some of the hallmarks of good citizenship. Many subjects offered in schools around the world probably contain more citizenship education than is implied by the names of the subjects. I decided to conduct a detailed evaluation of the implementation of citizenship education through social studies despite the fact that the subject was not called citizenship education. The citizenship goals, skills, activities and content in the official social studies document were more important to me than what the subject was called.

2.6. Background to the Zimbabwean Primary School Social Studies Curriculum

In 1980 Zimbabwe's Ministry of Education and Culture accepted the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into African Primary Education that was released in 1974, six years prior to the attainment of the country's independence. This report (also known as the Lewis Report since it was constituted under Professor L.J. Lewis) found pre-independence "history syllabuses too remote from the child's experience, that the stories included failed either to interest the pupils or to provide them with examples of the type of behaviour

which they were supposed to exemplify” (*Report of Inquiry into African Primary Education*, 1974, p. 13). It therefore recommended the replacement of separate syllabuses of geography and history with a new integrated social studies syllabus in which topics considered irrelevant were eliminated and new topics were added. A spiral curriculum model (Brunner, 1960) in which topics were to be continuously revisited in increasing detail and complexity from the first to the seventh grade was suggested.

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into African Primary Education of 1974 greatly influenced the official syllabus document that was released in 1982. The writers of the official syllabus document followed most of the Report’s recommendations; they eliminated topics perceived as irrelevant areas of study and added topics perceived as more relevant; they dispensed with history and geography syllabuses and replaced them with topic-centred approaches. The previously disparate subjects of geography and history were reorganized and integrated with new subjects such as law, politics, economics, and sociology to give rise to the new subject of social studies.

Topics in the discarded geography and history syllabuses were not revisited. It is possible that some topics of value to the development of pupils’ critical faculties could have been lost in this way. For example, the pre-independence geography syllabus covered Zimbabwe and selected countries such as Zambia, Malawi, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Although the countries were admittedly covered from a European and colonial perspective rather than an African and post-colonial perspective, the syllabus was not too inward looking. On the other hand, the social studies syllabus introduced in 1982 and in use during the period of the research focused almost exclusively

on Zimbabwe. As a researcher, I wondered if this did not compromise the development of international perspectives among pupils.

Undoubtedly, the introduction of social studies widened the scope of the primary school curriculum beyond what was possible under geography and history alone. However, on checking what was discarded in coming up with the social studies syllabus, I found some content that certainly could not be described as irrelevant to citizenship education.

What is striking is that none of those who have written on the findings and recommendations of the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into African Primary Education of 1974 has asked why its scope did not cover European Primary Education. Its scope and terms of reference covered only African Education. Its recommendations were thus not originally intended for European primary school pupils. Before 1980, European Education was offered and administered separately from African Education. It is rather strange that only African pupils were expected to study the proposed new integrated subject. European pupils, it can reasonably be inferred, would have continued studying geography and history as separate subjects had segregation not ended in 1980. The syllabus writers should, perhaps, not have relied too heavily on the recommendations of the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into African Primary Education of 1974.

In some circles, particularly in Europe, integrated subjects such as social studies are perceived to be “soft” options for the less capable, while traditional subjects based on single disciplines are considered “hard” and for the more capable. For example, in her study of education in England, Shafer (1981, pp. 87-88) found that “secondary students in the lower segment of the academic range in schools” were the ones who were allocated

subjects such as social studies, general studies, social education and personal development. Although this type of thinking is based more on prejudice than on anything else, it is necessary to acknowledge its existence in order to counter the prejudice.

In pre-independent Zimbabwe, education for the majority of African pupils was deliberately designed to be terminal at Grade 7 through highly selective and discriminatory end-of-year examinations which had to be written only by the permitted age group and which could not be re-written even if an African pupil failed but wished to continue with education. On the other hand, all European pupils proceeded to secondary school without the need to sit selective nation-wide examinations at the end of primary school. Interestingly, the social studies curriculum was planned for primary school level only. The Report of Inquiry into African Primary Education of 1974 did not recommend that it be studied at secondary school level, let alone at university level.

Colonial authorities could have seen the new subject as an opportunity to limit what was being taught to African primary school pupils - particularly topics that could nurture nationalist and anti-colonial sentiment. After all, it was going to be much easier to remove and add topics in a new integrated subject than in one with old and already established views on what its subject matter should be.

In any case the lack of “positive and acceptable behaviour in the community” that the new subject sought to address could not have applied to Africans only. The colonial administration was not indifferent to the rising tide of African nationalism. The Report of the Southern Rhodesia Education Commission of 1962 had warned that:

Unless they (i.e. African primary school children) are taught something of their privileges and responsibilities as citizens, there is a grave danger, already perhaps

evident, that they will fall prey to the blandishments of every political opportunist and agitator. In a society in which a political awakening is occurring outside the school, there is an undeniable danger that partisan views may be put to the children.... Those for whom standard 6 is the present terminus should leave school with an inquiring mind and the beginnings of an ability to discriminate between what is merely expedient and what is for the communal good (*Southern Rhodesia Education Commission Report*, 1962, p.51).

Thus it is possible that the introduction of social studies was originally intended to introduce political education into the curriculum to counter the political awakening that was occurring outside the school.

The elimination of certain history and geography topics and the addition of new ones could have been motivated by political rather than educational considerations and more by the need to make way for additional subject topics in the new social studies syllabus rather than their presumed irrelevance. Politically sensitive topics in the pre-independence period could easily have been eliminated under the guise of making way for new civics content in the proposed social studies syllabus.

One topic that can be cited as an example is *current affairs*. This topic formed part of the pre-independence African primary school history syllabus, but was excluded from the proposed social studies syllabus. As a primary school pupil, I vividly remember my teacher talking about the attainment of independence by Zambia and what it meant for Africa in a history lesson under *current affairs*. Today, the coverage of historical developments and events in the official social studies syllabus used in primary schools does not go much further than the attainment of independence in 1980. Yet many significant

political, economic and social developments with a bearing on citizenship education occurred after 1980. As a researcher, I wondered if teachers referred to contemporary developments in their teaching despite the fact that the content in the official social studies syllabus document is confined to what happened in the eighties.

Strangely, African history was given wider coverage in the pre-independence primary school history syllabus than in the social studies syllabus that replaced it. Two examples of pertinent topics that were discarded in the post-independence social studies syllabus can be cited: the *Partition of Africa* and the *Slave Trade*. Pre-independence primary school history pupils learnt about the scramble for and partitioning of Africa by European powers as well as the decolonisation process which was beginning in West Africa and appeared to be spreading to the rest of the continent. Earlier on they would have learnt how the continent lost a considerable portion of its population through the slave trade. The slave trade was extensive and very few countries totally escaped the slave trade and its associated violation of human dignity - not even Zimbabwe. During the era of the slave trade, Portuguese traders obtained slaves from southern African countries that formed the hinterland of their enclaves along the Mozambican coast. Zimbabwe was part of that hinterland. The slaves were exported to the sugar plantations of Indian Ocean islands such as Madagascar, Reunion and Mauritius, and even as far afield as Brazil in the Americas. Linguistic evidence of this is found in the current use of some words of southern African origin such as *kachasu* (traditional gin) by Brazilians (personal communication with a Brazilian of African descent). It is probable that the omission of the *Partition of Africa* and the *Slave Trade* from the official social studies syllabus document was intended to stop the growing pan-African consciousness among African learners which the colonial administration felt threatened the status quo that prevailed before independence.

By the time Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, the proposed new subject of social studies had not yet been finalised. In a strange twist of fate, the recommendations made in the Report of Inquiry into African Primary Education of 1974 for reforming African primary schools provided the incoming government with justification, not only to introduce a common social studies curriculum in all schools but also a curriculum that reflected its own concerns and priorities in the first few years of independence. It used this window of opportunity to develop a syllabus in line with its own aspirations, and to do away with racially divided curricula. It took the view that if social studies was good for African pupils, it was also good for European pupils. Thus the report of the Committee of Inquiry into African Primary Education generally became the basis of the national social studies syllabus published in 1982.

Colonial plans to introduce a social studies curriculum that was exclusive to African primary schools were thus thwarted by the advent of majority rule in 1980. Although the general features of the proposed subject of social studies were retained, its aims were reformulated so that it now covered national consciousness, unity, self-reliance, patriotism and responsible citizenship and was targeted at all learners irrespective of race and class.

2.7 Interpretations of Citizenship Education

There are several interpretations in the literature on citizenship education regarding how it can be taught. These highlight different aspects although, here and there, areas of overlap may be found. However, what is important is that the use of a particular interpretation can impact positively or negatively on the quality of citizenship education offered.

According to Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977), “the social studies is an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education (p. 70).” They identify three traditions of teaching citizenship, namely *transmission*, *social science* and *reflective inquiry*. Although the three traditions agree on the need for citizenship education they are not in harmony as they operate from “radically different philosophical bases” (ibid p. 71). *Transmission* passes on approved values, facts and concepts largely using textbook-and-teacher-centred methods. *Social science* encourages pupils to master concepts and processes of either integrated or separate social science disciplines to gather and verify knowledge. *Reflective inquiry* emphasizes problem identification, inquiry, self-reflection and decision-making.

Engle and Ochoa identify two interpretations of citizenship education, firstly “*socialization* – the process of learning the existing customs, traditions, and practices of a society”; and secondly “*countersocialization* – the process of expanding the individual’s ability to be a rational, thoughtful, and independent citizen of a democracy” (Engle and Ochoa, 1988, p. 29).

Nziramasanga divides citizenship education into two realms: *citizenship as behaviour* and *citizenship as compliance*. *Citizenship as behaviour* “argues that whatever the school, community or nation gives to its youth, should result in a specific and acceptable form of behaviour relevant to that society” and emphasizes the “acquisition of explicit knowledge regarding rules and beliefs about what each citizen should and might do, such as voting, serving on civic boards, committees or organizations” (Nziramasanga, 1991, p. 9). Its aim is to develop “citizens who can positively participate in the affairs of their nations, and ...also participate individually and/or collectively...in decision-making processes at both

macro and micro levels” (ibid, p. 10). As pupils learn of their rights and responsibilities as citizens, this should also be reflected in their *behaviour* both within and outside the school. *Citizenship as compliance* cultivates in learners supportive attitudes for national development projects and policies. Pupils “learn that to obey laws, pay taxes, report crimes and criminals is positive compliance...in the law making and implementation processes in their country” (ibid p.11). There is, however, a danger that *citizenship as compliance* can be misinterpreted to mean uncritical and merely supportive citizens and be used to deny learners the freedom of critical analysis and decision-making. Pupils need to understand and freely appreciate the need for compliance. Although a *reflective inquiry* approach to citizenship issues can sometimes “be pervasive and unsettling to the *status quo* and national traditions,” it helps avoid blind compliance as “citizen action, participation and criticism become instruments of solving social and economic problems” and “young citizens change their self-interest image to one of common purpose and action” (Nziramasanga 1991, pp.10-11).

Rowe (1994) has analyzed six different perspectives on citizenship education. These are: *the consensus model* which “avoids controversy and concentrates on ‘safe’ or consensus areas where pupils will encounter little or no value conflict” (p. 3); *the parental model* which “leaves explicit citizenship education to parents, who are thus free to promote their own values and beliefs” (p.3); *the patriotic model* which “exists to encourage a positive concern for and loyalty to one’s own society and employs various means including a selective use of history or patriotic devices such as ‘saluting the flag’”(p. 4); *the religious model* which “takes the view that religious means are the best means to teach the civic virtues of service to others and the community” (p.4); *the school ethos model* which highlights the “role of school organization and ethos as modelling a good or just society”(p.

5); and *the value conflict model* “where value conflict is utilized to encourage more adequate and sophisticated moral reasoning and to develop democratic attitudes within a pluralist framework”(p. 6).

The various interpretations identified above are by no means mutually exclusive but often overlap. As Fair (1977, p.108) has pointed out, with regard to Barr *et al*’s three traditions, “*transmission* for an open society which respects human dignity and aims for social justice has a good deal in common with *relative inquiry* and surely needs the strength of the *social sciences*” (my *italics*).

McLaughlin (1992) places the various interpretations of citizenship education on a continuum ranging from a minimal to a maximal interpretation. An example of such a maximal-minimal continuum of teaching citizenship is shown in Table 2.

Table2: A maximal-minimal continuum of teaching citizenship

MAXIMAL	MINIMAL
Activist.....	Elitist
Citizenship education.....	Civics education
Difficult to achieve and measure.....	Easy to achieve and measure
Inclusive.....	Exclusive
Interactive.....	Didactic
Participative.....	Formal
Process-led.....	Content-led
Values-led.....	Knowledge-based
Thick.....	Thin

Adapted from Kerr (2000, p. 209).

Minimal interpretations generally provide and transmit content-and-teacher-led information with little interaction by students. Maximal interpretations tend to not only inform students

about citizenship, but also to develop the capacity to consciously participate in citizenship-oriented activities.

2.8 Selected Examples of International Perspectives on Citizenship Education

The concern with citizenship education is not unique to Zimbabwe or to emerging nations but is, as shown in the ensuing discussion of selected examples of international perspectives, truly an international concern. Even countries that initially took citizenship education to be largely an individual and family responsibility and did not insist on its inclusion in the school curriculum are now showing a keen interest in it.

2.8.1 Europe

For much of the second half of the twentieth century Europe was ideologically divided between capitalism in the west and socialism in the east. In Western Europe, citizenship education was intended to foster support for a democratic type of government in a capitalist environment. In Eastern Europe, citizenship education was designed to promote socialist ideals. Socialism no longer exists in Europe but once existed in Eastern Europe in countries such as the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Socialists also hold that their type of government is democratic – hence the inclusion of the term democratic in some of the names of socialist countries.

In the GDR citizenship education through subjects such as civics, geography, history and political economy was intended “to enable the students to make decisions, to possess values, and to draw conclusions in keeping with the interest of the working class and to be so well-grounded in Marxist-Leninist thought as to be able to attack imperialist and

revisionist ideologies” (Neuner, cited in Shafer, 1981, pp. 84-85). In the USSR, in addition to inculcating nationalism and patriotism, citizenship education introduced pupils to the following:

1. “Elementary Marxism-Leninism,” an account of the philosophical bases of communist doctrine;
2. “Socialism,” an outline of the theory of Soviet government and law;
3. “The Communist Party,” dealing with the Party’s organisation and role;
4. “From Socialism to Communism,” an outline of the aims and problems of the ... Party programme;
5. “The Twentieth-Century – the Century of the Triumph of Communism,” a survey of world revolutionary and anti-colonial movements; (Grant, 1979, p.195).

If the twentieth century was the century of the triumph of Communism, it was also the century of the triumph of the capitalist ideology over the socialist ideology in Europe. The 1990s witnessed the widespread demise of socialist governments in Eastern Europe and their replacement with Western European style governments, a phenomenon that was dramatically symbolised by the fall of the Berlin Wall – a wall that had divided the city of Berlin between the former West Germany and the GDR for close to half a century. All citizenship education in Europe is now oriented towards the ideals of democracy in a capitalist environment.

The Council of Europe has declared that it seeks to reaffirm democratic attitudes and values in the face of three major challenges:

- Intolerance, acts of violence and terrorism;
- The re-emergence of the public expression of racist and xenophobic attitudes and

- The disillusionment of many young people in Europe, who are affected by the economic recession and are aware of the continuing poverty and inequality in the world; (Starkey, 1991, p. 1).

It sees citizenship education as playing a central role in countering these vices. It also believes that the European Convention, which is derived from the United Nations Convention on Human Rights and which countries forming the European Union have themselves ratified, should guide citizenship education in Europe. The relevant articles of the Convention can be summarised as follows:

Article 2. Right to life.

Article 3. Freedom from torture and inhuman or degrading treatment.

Article 4. Freedom from slavery, servitude and forced labour.

Article 5. Right to liberty and security of person.

Article 6. Right to a fair trial within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial tribunal.

Article 7. No prosecutions under retroactive criminal legislation.

Article 8. Right to respect for private and family life, including one's home and correspondence.

Article 9. Freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

Article 10. Freedom of expression and opinion.

Article 11. Freedom of peaceful assembly and association, including the right to form and belong to a trade union.

Article 14. No discrimination in the enjoyment of rights and freedoms on account of sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status. (Cited in Starkey, 1991, p. 21).

Spencer (2003) argues that the Convention should be used as a vehicle to teach young people to ensure that everyone is given a fair hearing (Article 6); to listen to other people's views even when they disagree with them (Article 10); to respect other people's privacy (Article 8) and other people's religious beliefs even if they differ from theirs (Article 9); to protest peacefully (Article 11) to presume innocent until proven guilty anyone who is charged with an offence (Articles 5 and 6) and to reject racism and all other forms of discrimination (Article 14). The Council of Europe therefore seeks to use citizenship education to strengthen human rights, pluralism and democracy.

A 1999 civic education study of 28 countries (24 of them in Europe) by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement showed that European pupils generally had no interest in political activities; four in five had no intention of participating in conventional political activities like joining a political party, writing letters to the press, or standing as a candidate for any political office (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald & Schulz, 1999). Around the same time, curriculum developers in England lamented the "worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about public life" (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998, p. 8). As asked by Bernard Crick in *The Independent* newspaper of 27 September 2002:

Why, indeed has it taken so long for England, unlike every other democratic regime in the world, to make citizenship a statutory subject? Well, we obviously thought we didn't need to. After all, were we not "the mother of parliaments"? (Cited in Comments on citizenship in schools: Teaching citizenship in higher education, http://www.southampton.ac.uk/citizened/activities/making_citizens/blunkettcrick_newpage.html.)

A speaker of the British House of Commons, Bernard Weatherill, called for citizenship to be deliberately taught in schools when he said:

I believe that citizenship, like anything else has to be learned. Young people do not become good citizens by accident anymore than they become good nurses or good engineers or good bus drivers or good computer scientists. My concern (is) whether we offer enough encouragement to our young people to become good citizens (cited in Fogelman, 1991, p.6).

In response to this concern, the Advisory Group to the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, chaired by Bernard Crick, in its report made public in 1998 and titled *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (also called the Crick Report) identified three strands which should run through all education for citizenship:

1. ***Social and moral responsibility.*** Children learning from the very beginning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other.
2. ***Community involvement.*** Learning about and becoming helpfully involved in the life and concerns of their neighbourhood and communities, including learning through community involvement and service to the community.
3. ***Political literacy.*** Pupils learning about the institutions, problems and practices of our democracy and how to make themselves effective in the life of the nation, locally, regionally and nationally through skills and values as well as knowledge – this can be termed political literacy, seeking for a wider term than political knowledge alone. (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998, p. 4)

and the attendant benefits as:

for pupils: an entitlement in schools that will empower them to participate in society effectively as active, informed, critical and responsible citizens of our democracy and of the wider world;

for teachers: advice and guidance in making existing citizenship provision coherent, both in intellectual and curriculum terms, as part of stronger, coordinated approaches in schools;

for schools: a firm base to coordinate existing teaching and activities, to relate positively to their neighbourhood and local communities and to develop effective citizenship education for all pupils;

for society: an active and politically-literate citizenry convinced that they can influence government and community affairs at all levels. (ibid p. 4)

The Crick Report recommended that the teaching of citizenship and democracy was so important for schools and the British nation that there had to be a statutory requirement to ensure that it was part of the entitlement of all pupils. It stated that:

No child should leave primary school without some knowledge of the nature and value of democratic institutions, and with the skills and attitudes needed to take part in discussion of social problems and moral dilemmas. A continuity of citizenship learning could greatly help pupils in the often difficult transition between primary and secondary school (ibid p.3).

The British Government accepted the Crick Report's recommendation and citizenship education became a compulsory element of the curriculum after 2002. Before 2002, citizenship education had been optional in England although compulsory in most of

Europe. The importance of citizenship education appears to have been previously underestimated by education authorities in the United Kingdom.

The basis for citizenship education in France is encapsulated in the famous dictum generally attributed to the 17th century philosopher Spinoza: *On ne naît pas citoyen, on le devient* (Citizens are made, not born.) (Cited in *l'Éducation à la citoyenneté* and retrieved on 5/7/11 from web <http://www.ac-nancy-metz.fr/Citoyen/pdf/editorial.pdf>). The French Government has recognized for a long time that responsible citizenship is not an innate attribute that develops spontaneously but one that has to be instilled and cultivated. An important means of doing so is citizenship education. It is used to transmit the values of the French Republic, namely liberty, equality, fraternity, secularism and non-discrimination. As expressed by François Fillon, the French Minister of National Education, Higher Learning and Research:

Notre devoir est d'instruire et de souder la communauté nationale. L'instruire, c'est lui rappeler comment elle s'est constituée. La souder, c'est expliquer aux jeunes qu'ils en seront demain, collectivement, les acteurs. L'appartenance nationale, c'est la conscience d'une destinée partagée.

(Our task is to educate and unite the nation as a community. Educating the nation means reminding it about what makes it a nation. Uniting the nation means explaining to the youth that, collectively, they are the actors of tomorrow. National belonging means the awareness of a common destiny.)

(ibid).

2.8.2 United States of America

As far back as the 1800s, many states in the United States of America passed laws requiring citizenship education in the school curriculum for “Americanization of immigrants and inculcation of patriotism and a sense of duty” (Michaelis, 1992 p.18). Posner describes citizenship as a recurring educational aim in his analysis of five commission reports published in the U.S.A. between 1918 and 1947. Citizenship issues are widely covered in social studies as can be seen from the country’s curriculum standards (National Council for the Social Studies, 1994). For example, under the theme civic ideals and practices, American social studies pupils doing early grades (the equivalent to junior primary school in Zimbabwe) are expected to:

- a.** Identify key ideals of the United States’ democratic republican form of government, such as individual human dignity, liberty, justice, equality, and the rule of law, and discuss their applications in specific situations.
- b.** Identify examples of rights and responsibilities of citizens;
- c.** Locate, access, organize, apply an issue of public concern from multiple points of view;
- d.** Identify and practice selected forms of civic discussion and participation consistent with the ideals of citizens in a democratic republic;
- e.** Explain actions citizens can take to influence public policy decisions;
- f.** Recognize that a variety of formal and informal actors influence and shape public policy;
- g.** Examine the influence of public opinion on personal decision-making and government policy on public issues;
- h.** Explain how public policies and citizen behaviours may or may not reflect the stated ideals of a democratic republican form of government;

- i. Describe how public policies are used to address issues of public concern; and
- j. Recognize and interpret how the “common good” can be strengthened through various forms of citizenship action. (National Council for the Social Studies, 1994, p. 30).

2.8.3 Africa and the Caribbean

Many African countries such as Angola, Kenya, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan and Zimbabwe, to mention but a few, have experienced, at one time or another, periods of intense conflict marked by internal and external displacement of citizens, destruction of property and physical infrastructure and loss of human lives. In many of these conflicts loyalty has been to race, clan, tribe, language and region rather than to the nation state. While African policy makers cannot change the colonial history that sowed many of the seeds of present-day ethnic clashes, they can however help to develop loyal, peaceful and democratic citizens through appropriate citizenship education policies.

The emergence of democracy in South Africa marked the end of an educational system that had assisted the apartheid state to deny full citizenship rights for over a century to the majority on the basis of race. A new national curriculum entitled *Curriculum 2005* was introduced in 1997 to, among other goals, “contribute to developing responsible citizens in a culturally diverse, democratic society within an interdependent world” (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1997, p. 49). It designated the following specific outcomes for human and social sciences:

1. Demonstrate a critical understanding of how South African society has changed and developed;
2. Demonstrate a critical understanding of patterns of social development;

3. Participate actively in promoting a just, democratic and equitable society;
4. Make sound judgments about the development, utilization and management of resources;
5. Critically understand the role of technology in social development;
6. Demonstrate an understanding of interrelationships between society and the natural environment;
7. Address social and environmental issues in order to promote development and social justice;
8. Analyse forms and processes of organisations; and
9. Use a range of skills and techniques in the human and social sciences context.

(Williams, 2001, p. 37).

Curriculum 2005 seeks to mould youths into skilled, responsible and tolerant citizens and thereby help advance development, democracy, human rights and the peaceful resolution of disputes in the new South Africa.

According to Ajibaye (2009) and Mhlauli (2010), citizenship education in Botswana is largely taught through social studies and is intended to promote

1. *Kagisano* (social harmony);
2. *Popagano* (unity) self-reliance; and
3. Nation building.

Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) suggest that the actual practice of citizenship education is a far-cry from these expectations. Mhlauli (2010) points out that what is actually taught is mostly elementary civics and current and global trends in citizenship education are ignored.

The thrust of Sierra Leone's *New Education Policy* document (cited in Commonwealth Secretariat and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Government of Sierra Leone 2004, pp. 23-24) is to build:

- a free, just and peace loving society;
- a democratic and harmonious society; and
- a moral and disciplined society;

by taking account of:

- the right of each individual/child to basic education
- character development and the cultivation of desirable attitudes and
- the need to correct gender imbalances;

and emphasizing:

- equity in education by enforcing the policy of non-discrimination in all schools and monitoring the standards and quality of education with the aim of ensuring that they are similar in all schools for all children, regardless of where they attend school; and
- development (in children) of relevant skills, attitudes and values that will enable the individual to be an effective and responsible citizen.

The document *A Framework for Citizenship Education in Sierra Leone* states that:

If...citizenship education is about character development, nation building, gender sensitivity, cultivation of desirable attitudes, internalisation of values, moral discipline, respect for human rights and the rule of law, and if realizing all of these noble goals means focusing a large proportion of a country's resources on young children, then education is best suited to be the single biggest mode of delivery.

(Commonwealth Secretariat and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of the Government of Sierra Leone, 2004, p. 24).

Ghana's Ministry of Education has a citizenship education syllabus for primary schools that is designed to assist pupils to:

1. Build attitudes and values needed to solve personal and societal problems;
2. Develop critical thinking skills;
3. Develop a sense of national consciousness, unity and development;
4. Acquire desired characteristics of a Ghanaian patriot; and
5. Develop an appreciation for peace and always work towards it

(Agyemang Prempeh & Adika 2009, p. i).

This syllabus introduces pupils “to critical and reflective thinking, decision-making, positive attitudes and value building” and emphasizes the “personal and civic responsibility, as well as the rights that go with it” (ibid.).

The Malawi Institute of Education has produced two primary school syllabi that cater for citizenship education, that is one for life skills and another for environmental and social sciences. The life skills syllabus expects pupils to:

learn to organise and manage their lives; develop a team spirit regardless of their cultural and religious backgrounds; avoid prevalent diseases such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs) HIV and AIDS; develop positive self-esteem; identify and cope with problems of adolescence and other challenges as well as prepare for the world of work (Malawi Institute of Education 2005, p. 171).

The environmental and social sciences syllabus seeks to “contribute to the development of the learners’ full potential, identity, self-esteem and dignity through tracing their history

and investigating the interrelationships between Malawi and the world on one hand, and the individual, family, society and the environment, on the other” (ibid p. 212).

Angola’s *Instituto Nacional de Investigacao e Desenvolvimento da Educacao* (National Institute of Research and Development in Education) has produced a teaching guide on moral and civic education for primary schools that covers identity, family, community and national heritage, consensus in group decisions, respect for individual differences and, more significantly, the need to treat every person equally and with dignity (Diasala, 2003). The guide emphasizes self introspection rather than text recall. For example, pupils have to answer for themselves questions such as:

Que sou eu? (Who am I?)

O que me distingue? (And what makes me distinct?)

O que me faz igual aos outros? (And what makes me equal to others?)

(Diassala 2003, p. 4)

Across the Atlantic, Caribbean nations also face challenges in citizenship issues. This is largely because of the diverse racial, cultural and religious backgrounds of their citizens. Political parties, for example, tend to be racially based – dividing citizens into predominantly African and Indian blocs; and the distribution of wealth and poverty, employment and unemployment opportunities between the two blocs is often skewed, further heightening tensions in times of strife. One of the ways through which Caribbean nations seek to bring greater stability, tolerance and harmony to their populations is education for democratic citizenship.

For example, the Guyana’s *Education Policy* document aims at:

1. Acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes and values for meaningful participation in national development and a satisfying adult life;
2. Developing a sense of self respect, self-worth, self-esteem, and a spirit of self-reliance;
3. Acquiring the capacity for critical and creative thinking, problem solving and decision-making;
4. Adhering to principles of democracy, justice, peace and accountability;
5. Developing an awareness and appreciation for the preservation of Guyana's national resources, and a commitment to keeping a safe and healthy environment; and
6. Appreciating and tolerating the differences of individuals irrespective of religion, beliefs and opinions, ethnic or cultural practices (Paul, 2002, p. 2).

As stated by a Guyanese social studies module, education should foster “an understanding of the history, culture and practices of the several ethnic groups in Guyana, in an effort to develop an appreciation for each other as a people different, but united” (ibid, p. 14).

2.9 Findings of Related Research on Citizenship Education and Social Studies

In their review of the Crick Report which paved the way for the official introduction of citizenship education as a statutory subject in England and Wales, Osler and Starkey (2003) welcomed it as important for the development of citizenship education but also attacked it for “its representation of minorities and also in its discussion of identity and diversity (where it) falls short in many ways, of a clearly situated human rights perspective” (p. 5). They cited its use of patronizing terms like “our minorities” and overemphasis of the countries of origin of non-white British citizens, for instance, when it refers to “Due regard

being given to the homelands of *our* minority communities and to the main countries of British emigration” (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998, p. 18, emphasis added).

Richardson (2003) and Makarian (2010) examined recent debates in France over the right of female Muslim pupils in France to wear a *hijab* (head scarf) at school, and the racial riots which rocked many cities in France in 2007. Their work shows that even in the land of the French Revolution which ushered a new era of liberty, equality and fraternity, for some citizens at least, *la question citoyenne* (the citizenship question) has not yet been fully addressed. Ironically, the right of Catholic nuns in France to wear a head-to-toe shroud is unlikely to ever become a subject of debate in the predominantly Catholic country. French educational authorities thus have a big task of ensuring that citizenship education gives greater treatment of cultural diversity and the existence of multiple ethnicities and identities within France.

Some researchers like Adejumobi (1976) in Nigeria and Nziramasanga (1992) in America found social studies to be lively, popular, related to day-to-day living and amenable to pupil-centred learning. Others like McNeil (1986) in America and Yildirim (1997) in Turkey described social studies education as dull, mostly based on “talk and chalk”, pupil recitation, and preoccupied with knowledge transmission to the detriment of thinking skills and positive attitudes. It may therefore be dangerous to generalize the characteristics of the subject across different environments and contexts.

Nziramasanga (1992) studied a wide spectrum of social studies curriculum materials prepared and disseminated by the state of Florida’s Department of Education and Dade

County School Board, and the views and attitudes of teachers and school supervisors regarding citizenship education. He found the materials to be rich in citizenship content and activities. All the participants in his survey agreed that “the electoral system, national service, the structure of society, consumer laws and moral character education must be taught in citizenship awareness programmes ranging from the primary school to the teacher training level” (Nziramasanga, 1992, p. 17). Most teachers and supervisors strongly felt that *the nation’s constitution, the structure and function of government, the judiciary system, laws affecting children, the national anthem and pledge of allegiance, and the national economic system* deserved to be compulsory, but were opposed to the inclusion of *governments of other nations, and the structure of political parties* as topics in Florida’s social studies curriculum. The study showed *telling and explaining* and *reading tasks* to be the most frequent teaching methods used, and *case studies* and *games and simulations* to be the least frequent. *NGOs* (non-governmental organizations), *television programmes, newspaper articles, the family or parents* and *pupils’ peers* were rated very effective “out-of-classroom” strategies, while *churches/religion, civic leaders* and *political party rallies* were rated less effective.

Natsa (1984) conducted a questionnaire survey of teachers in 10 primary schools in Harare’s high-density suburbs on the problems they encountered in the teaching of social studies, then a relatively new subject that had only been introduced in Zimbabwean schools in 1982. He indicated that from the responses he obtained: “It was not possible to establish that teachers had developed negative attitudes towards social studies” (Natsa, 1984, p. 93). However, he found evidence that primary school teachers encountered problems in teaching social studies. These included

1. Lack of clear understanding, on the part of teachers, of what the new subject was about;
2. Low opinion of this subject by most pupils when compared to mathematics, science and languages;
3. Resistance by geography and history specialists who feared that their subjects would lose their importance;
4. Teaching of the new subject by inexperienced or untrained teachers; and
5. lack of relevant curriculum materials (ibid.).

In an apparent acknowledgement of the weakness of the questionnaire survey methodology that he used, Natsa cautioned that:

...some of the information supplied to the researcher through the questionnaire was contradictory suggesting that the respondents might not have given their true opinions. In some cases there appeared to be some attempts on the part of the respondents to make false claims in order to create a good impression of themselves in the opinion of the researcher. This makes it rather difficult to come up with categorical statements on the part of the researcher (Natsa, 1984, p. 93).

Chariga (1992) conducted another questionnaire survey of 10 schools in the peri-urban areas of the Harare region on teaching methods used in social studies. She found questioning and “talk and chalk” to be more widely used than inquiry and problem-solving methods; pupils were generally oriented to text materials; and higher level skills like analyzing ideas and developing concepts tended to be ignored.

Natsa (1984) and Chariga (1992) looked at the problems of teaching social studies in general and not specifically those of teaching citizenship. Nonetheless, their findings

indirectly provide information on citizenship education since the area is taught through social studies.

Mahaka (1992) studied how the attitudes of student teachers when deployed on teaching practice and the attitudes of the school heads under whom they worked affected the implementation of the social studies syllabus as a whole. His questionnaire survey of 65 student teachers and 66 school heads showed that most student teachers had difficulty in interpreting the syllabus, even for those who were doing a Curriculum Depth Study project in social studies. School heads placed the responsibility for this state of affairs on teachers' colleges, whom they blamed for not teaching social studies satisfactorily. Student teachers, in turn, blamed school heads for being unsupportive of social studies as a school subject. Such a blame game played out in mailed questionnaire responses strengthens the call for prolonged engagement with teachers and school heads in their school settings when evaluating curriculum implementation. Mahaka's (1992) survey underlines the need for more research on what actually goes on in schools. An ethnographic investigation would undoubtedly have unraveled in detail the nature and cause of the accusations and counter accusations between student teachers and school heads.

Nyagura (1991), Ross and Postlethwaite (1991) and Chung (1999) focused on the quality of education in general at primary school in Zimbabwe. Studies by Nyagura (1991) and Ross and Postlethwaite (1991) showed that primary schools with a high proportion of trained teachers, one textbook per pupil, well equipped libraries, pupils under 13 years at grade 7 level, and committed and professional school heads produced high grade 7 examination passes. Their criteria for quality were those which could be easily quantified such as teacher qualifications and experience, pupil-textbook ratio, library books, pupils' ages,

grade 7 examination passes. They did not use criteria that involved detailed participant observation of syllabus interpretation, content delivery, teaching and learning activities and direct experience of a school's ethos and climate.

Chung's (1999) doctoral thesis was on the overall quality of primary school education in Zimbabwean schools during the first decade after independence. Her study was a large-scale survey encompassing 106 schools throughout the country and covering characteristics of school heads and teachers, examination results, financing, physical infrastructure and the curriculum as indicators of quality. She concluded that:

1. The quality of education was very uneven;
2. Teacher competencies varied according to school type;
3. Teacher motivation and morale was low, especially in light of the conditions offered by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture;
4. Class activities were teacher-centred and examination driven;
5. School administration was poor in half the schools;
6. Educational materials, sitting and writing places were in short supply in all schools; and
7. The curriculum was in urgent need of adjustment.

Although Chung's wide-ranging and well-documented survey is indispensable to an understanding of the quality of Zimbabwean primary education, its breadth did not allow for detailed qualitative examination of individual subjects like social studies and much less individual areas within them, such as citizenship education.

According to Starkey (1991, p. 22), "Human rights is the basis of citizenship." Bourne, Gundara, Dev, Ratsoma, Rukanda, Smith and Birthistle (1997) researched on school-based

understanding of human rights in Commonwealth countries that included Botswana, India, Northern Ireland (Britain) and Zimbabwe. Their study lasted three years and involved a total of 915 pupils in the four countries. They wrote that “in Northern Ireland 93,5% of the secondary school sample said they had not been explicitly told what are the Rights of the Child as set out in the UN Convention to which the United Kingdom is a party” while in Zimbabwe 49% had not (Bourne et al., 1997 p). On the acquisition of basic human concepts such as *law and the administration of justice*, pupils were asked to imagine what might happen if a thief was caught. They found that:

in Northern Ireland the majority did not understand that justice must be seen to be done in public, half of Indian students assumed there would be unlawful action by police, and there were significant minorities in Botswana and Zimbabwe which assumed there would be an element of bribery and that extra-judicial measures would be taken against culprits (ibid, p. 54).

These findings are noteworthy in that they reinforce Osler and Stakey’s (2003) call for greater focus on human rights in citizenship education, not just in the developing world, but even within the developed world itself. With specific reference to Zimbabwe their main findings and recommendations were:

A human rights curriculum should cover all levels, from pre-primary right through secondary to tertiary levels. In designing such a curriculum, strategies need to be devised to address the mismatch between ideals and reality. Cases in point noted in the course of the study included issues of bribery, appointment to jobs, and the exercise of extra judicial powers by the public and the police. Students expressed the need to see human rights reflected both in school practices and “real life”... That for a start, Education for Living could be revived and strengthened ... Education for Living was seen as the single subject which best covered human

rights concepts as defined in this project...That other subjects should also be taught with a human rights orientation (Bourne et al., 1997, p. 48).

A project called *Education for Human Rights and Democracy in Southern Africa* (EHRD) funded by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was started around the same time to:

1. Develop educational materials;
2. Develop teaching methodologies appropriate to the subject; and
3. Train curriculum developers and teacher educators.

The Southern African countries covered by this project were Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The project produced and published a teacher's resource manual in 1991 and a series of pupils' books in geography, history, and religious and moral education for junior secondary school and ordinary level classes in 2001.

A number of workshops to discuss the incorporation of human rights education into school curricula followed. Curriculum developers, teachers, academics (including the researcher) and representatives of NGOs interested in human rights issues participated in them. At one such workshop the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, Hill (1998), made the following pertinent remarks:

Human rights education comes at the right time in Zimbabwe as the country grapples with many political, social and economic problems. The years 1996-1997 have been characterised by civil unrest, demonstrations and food riots. In 1997, many schools experienced violent demonstrations in which pupils demanded the right to have better food, but at low cost. The recent food riots resulted in looting

and the destruction of many shopping centres. While people have the right to demonstrate, how do pupils justify the destruction of school property? How do rioters justify looting from fellow citizens who are also struggling to make ends meet? Many citizens are not aware that by looting, they are violating other people's rights. The Faculty of Education therefore has a mammoth task to educate people on the meaning of human rights, because *if this is not done properly, it might lead to more violent demonstrations, even against those schools, which are being used as the main avenue for human rights education* (p. 5, emphasis added).

Policy makers in government probably shared Hill's fears for they did not immediately rush to implement the recommendations made by Bourne et al. (1997). Human rights education, like political economy in the 1980s, appeared to pose major challenges to curriculum developers, particularly regarding its implementation.

Political economy experienced a lot of public resistance (researcher's experience at the Curriculum Development Unit, 1986; Jansen, 1991). It was widely perceived as anti-business and anti-religion and, therefore, abandoned before implementation in schools. However, some of the subject matter of political economy was introduced into the history syllabus and the public hardly took notice of the introduction. As Zvobgo warns:

Subjects that threaten the preservation of the status quo like 'liberating' political economy ... may not find their way into the curriculum. The masses may become critically rational and understand their rights and so increase demands for change (Zvobgo, 1997, p. 58).

A major lesson from the political economy debacle is that the perception of a new subject by stakeholders should be an important factor in curriculum design, development and implementation.

Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru (2002) studied the preparedness of secondary school teachers for the introduction of human rights education into schools in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe. A questionnaire survey of 225 teachers showed that “54,2% believed that schools in Zimbabwe were ready for the introduction of human rights education” while 45% “felt that schools in Zimbabwe were not ready for the introduction of human rights education” and more significantly “the majority (52,9%) viewed human rights as a donor initiated and funded programme” and “were convinced that once the donor funds dried up, there would be no money to sustain the programme” (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2002, p. 44). Many generally felt that the country’s resource-starved school curriculum was already overloaded. There was some uneasiness over participation in the questionnaire survey as “some teachers were initially hesitant to participate fearing that the government wanted to find out what they thought as individuals, which might lead to victimisation” (ibid. p. 41). Although very few teachers thought that human rights should not be taught at all, those who held that view gave the poignant argument “that pupils who know their rights are difficult to control since they do not always know the responsibilities that go with these rights”(ibid p. 44).

Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace (EIUP) also falls under citizenship education. Nziramasanga and Jaji (1992) surveyed the extent to which EIUP was covered in Zimbabwe’s primary and secondary curricula. They concluded that, key provisions on human rights, fundamental freedoms, peace studies, children’s rights,

political rights, and international understanding were not adequately catered for, particularly at secondary school level. Nonetheless, over 70% of the primary school teachers surveyed felt that the EIUP topics of *population and food resources, international cooperation, racism and political inequality, political rights, children's rights, and handicapped people's rights* featured, at least in some form, in primary school social studies.

As shown above, education for international understanding, cooperation and peace contributes to citizenship education. And so do cultural, historical, political and economic aspects of life. Human rights education is an important aspect of citizenship education, but it is not the only one. All aspects need to be considered in designing a citizenship education curriculum. It is perhaps for this reason that the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture intends to introduce a stand-alone citizenship education subject for secondary schools.

The introduction of citizenship education as a core learning area in schools was one of the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training set up in 1998 to inquire into and report on education and training in Zimbabwe. The Commission reported that:

1. During public and private hearings conducted throughout the country people expressed concern about the absence of citizenship education in the school and tertiary education curricula. They called for the education system to develop a spirit of national consciousness and patriotism through teaching the youth about themselves, their country and its governmental system and functions.

2. They called for the schools to develop a whole and well-rounded person with *unhu/ubuntu*, youths who are loyal, responsible, productive and respectful of the law and institutions of their nation. The majority (of people) believe that citizenship education would develop patriotism, obedience to legitimate authority, and respect for other citizens' views on various social, economic, and political issues.
3. People argued that education for citizenship, that is, civic education for responsible citizens is not an option but a necessity. Through it our youth should develop responsible ways of thinking, believing and acting, as well as positive participation in the affairs of the nation. Due to lack of citizenship education the products of our educational system demonstrate little grasp of the duties and responsibilities that accompany citizenship, nor do they understand the opportunities which citizenship offers to them. (Zimbabwe: Report of the Presidential Commission, 1999, pp. 350-351).

Workshops, in which the researcher was a participant, were held in 2005 and 2006 to develop a junior secondary school civics education syllabus intended to:

- cultivate and sustain *unhu/ubuntu* among learners;
- encourage learners to respect and uphold the norms and values of their society;
- inculcate in learners a spirit of patriotism;
- develop in learners skills of how to relate to each other and to property;
- educate learners about how Zimbabwe is governed;
- prepare learners who can face rapid changes in their socio-economic environment without losing their identity and integrity; and
- develop attitudes, skills and behaviour consistent with sustainable development; (Curriculum Development Unit, 2005, p. 4)

through the following topics: *identity, socialization process, norms and values, national history, nationhood, sovereignty and governance, socio-economic structures, production, distribution and consumption, global awareness, and rights and responsibilities*. Many ideas and concepts from the EUIP and EHRD projects were infused into the proposed new civics education syllabus. In the process, some compromises and adjustments had, of course, to be made. For example, while for some participants, *citizenship education* would have been a more appropriate name for the new subject, the panel as a whole preferred civics education. As shown earlier in the literature review, citizenship education can go under a variety of names. What counts, in the final analysis, is whether it prepares pupils for effective democratic citizenship. A significant feature of the proposed syllabus was the inclusion of *hunhu/ubuntu* as the guiding philosophy for citizenship education.

This philosophy is captured in the *Bantu* expression *Umntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (Ndebele/Zulu) *Motho ke motho ka batho* (Sotho/Tswana) and *Munhu munhu pane vanhu* (Shona) which, as aptly put by Mbiti (1989), says “I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am” (p. 106). This philosophy predates colonialism and underlines the point that concern for responsible behaviour and human rights has strong African roots. As Chisaka (1999) points out:

In fact, it would look like the African through his/her philosophical enterprises, succeeded to create social relations among people that accommodated both individual and collective interests. The concept that a human being’s humanity can only be realized in the context of collective aspirations is very unique to African classical philosophy – this is the philosophy of *Buntu* that seems to run through most *Bantu* social relations. If one behaves in the accepted manner, like greeting elders, giving them way, being helpful to those in need, sharing the little one has,

etc., that person is said to be noble and humane. In the Zimbabwean classical African context they would say: “*Ane hunhu*” or “*Ule (u)buntu*” (p.4).

It is this *hunhu/ubuntu* that impresses many a visitor to Africa. Yet it was not included in the EHRD curriculum materials, as if education for human rights and democracy could be effectively learnt outside Zimbabwe’s and Africa’s values and traditions.

In a working paper titled *Realms of Citizenship Education: Concepts and Perspectives*, Nziramasanga (1991) wrote that the primary social studies syllabus attempted to provide citizenship education, but at a very lowly level. He did not elaborate on this point. In the same paper, he made the following observations:

A cursory observation of our school youths roaming the streets after school hours shows their general attitudes toward the state, public property and services. It is not uncommon to see our youths vandalize public telephone booths, pull down road traffic signs or even throw stones at streetlights. One hears many of the youth occasionally ask: - Why should I attend a political rally instead of studying? Why should I vote in both national and local government elections? Why should I participate in the National Youth Service programme? Why, anyway, is it ever important to know who the Member of Parliament for my constituency is? Why should I care? Isn’t he/she there to earn himself/herself money? These general observations and many others that require a *major research* on its own, show the ignorance school-leavers and some adults have about their national, regional, local and individual rights and responsibilities (Nziramasanga, 1991, p.2, emphasis added).

Moyana (1993) also bemoans the low level of awareness of citizenship issues among young Zimbabweans in her discussion of a mini-survey of Form One and Lower Six pupils that

she conducted at a Harare secondary school while on teaching practice supervision. She asked them what they understood by patriotism, what they thought of the Zimbabwean flag and the national anthem and how they learnt to be patriotic through studying English language and literature.

The results of her brief study showed that the pupils had very little understanding of the concept of patriotism or the significance of the Zimbabwean flag and the national anthem prompting her to call for patriotism to be taught not only in English language and literature classes, but across the curriculum “as a matter of urgency, before things get too much out of hand” (Moyana, 1993, p. 74). Patriotism is, of course, an aspect of citizenship education that is also found in the primary school social studies syllabus. Equally surprising is the finding that Lower Six pupils were even less knowledgeable about patriotism than their counterparts in Form One. Moyana (1993) focused on one important element of citizenship education - patriotism. Even if one were to put aside the other elements of citizenship education the pupils she studied were expected to have learnt at secondary school, another question would still have remained:

Did the pupils not learn about patriotism at primary school?

Or to put the question more broadly:

What is the quality of citizenship education at primary school?

This is the burning question that this thesis attempts to answer in detail.

As the literature review has shown, from as far back as 1982, there have been efforts to introduce aspects of citizenship education into the school curriculum. In addition, there are many areas of similarity between the declared aims of citizenship education in Zimbabwe and those of other countries. On the other hand there is a perception of “the absence of citizenship education” in the curriculum as reported by members of the public to the

Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training. Citizenship, as pointed out earlier in this review, is a contested concept. There are various and, in some cases, even conflicting approaches or models of citizenship education. Proponents of the “absence of citizenship education” perspective have not shown what approach or model of citizenship education they have in mind. More importantly, those who have concluded that citizenship education is absent from the curriculum have not arrived at the conclusion from in-depth evaluations of what actually goes on in schools and classrooms.

In addition, and as shown in the definition of citizenship education in Chapter One, citizenship education is also influenced by what goes on outside the school. Rather than dismiss an existing curriculum offhand, “it is first necessary to know the extent to which the program was actually implemented” (Patton, 1987, p. 68). If after empirical observation of what actually goes on in the classroom and at school, it can be shown that there is a deficit in this or that aspect of citizenship education, one can then move on to find out why, how and what has to be done to correct the situation. Unfortunately this does not appear to be the logic that currently guides curriculum development in Zimbabwe. What happens on the ground and in the school setting is often given minimum attention.

A proposed new primary school social studies syllabus has already been drafted by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture without any research into the implementation of the existing syllabus. This research is the first interpretive ethnographic evaluation of the social studies syllabus that has ever been carried out in Zimbabwe and it is hoped that its findings will be considered by the Ministry before the proposed new syllabus is finalized and adopted for implementation. It involved listening to the perspectives of pupils, teachers and school heads; and observing *in situ* what goes on in the teaching and learning

of a subject such as social studies that has citizenship oriented aims in its official syllabus. It gave me an opportunity to investigate, in actual schools and classrooms, whether the perception of the absence of citizenship education in schools by members of the public was justified or not, and to make recommendations on possible measures to strengthen the presence of citizenship education in schools.

2.10 Summary

In my review of related literature, I first looked at the concept of citizenship and how various writers have explained its evolution and development over time. I then proceeded to examine the nature and scope of citizenship education. I noted that it could be taught across the curriculum or in a specific subject. I was able to identify some of the school subjects that carry citizenship education. The literature showed social studies to be one of the subjects most strongly linked to citizenship education in several countries, including Zimbabwe. I then gave the background to Zimbabwe's primary school social studies curriculum. I identified and reviewed various models and interpretations of how citizenship education is learnt. Using selected examples from Europe, North America, Africa and the Caribbean, I moved on to discuss international perspectives on citizenship education. Finally, I examined the findings of related research on citizenship education and found the interpretive ethnographic evaluation of its implementation to be an under-researched area where my research had the potential to make a significant contribution. In the next chapter I describe the methodological perspectives that guided my study, what attracted me to them, and how I used them in my research design.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES AND PROCEDURES

3.1 Introduction

I started with an area of interest and research questions before deciding on the evaluation approach, paradigm and research design to use. The research methodology I ended up with was in no way pre-ordained. It unfolded and took shape as I reflected on the best way to answer the research questions I had posed.

3.2 Evaluation Approaches

In general, evaluation is “the systematic collection of information on the nature and quality of an object” (Nevo, 1995, p. 27). It can be formative or summative. Formative evaluation helps detect flaws in the developmental phase of a curriculum and provides feedback for improvement, while summative evaluation summarizes the merits and demerits of a curriculum over a given time period (Herman, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon, 1987; Scriven, 1967). This distinction is in practice often blurred and has been criticised by some. However it does serve to provide the general thrust of an evaluation.

There are various approaches to curriculum evaluation. Worthen and Sanders (1987) identify six approaches, namely objectives-oriented, management-oriented, consumer-oriented, expertise-oriented, adversary-oriented and naturalistic and participant-oriented approaches. Although overlaps occur, there are sufficiently distinct emphases to warrant the categorization.

- An objectives-oriented approach examines goals and objectives and the extent to which they have been attained in terms of a programme's outcomes.
- A management-oriented approach is concerned with identifying and meeting the needs of decision-makers.
- An expertise-oriented approach engages experts to judge the quality of a programme.
- An adversary-oriented approach collects divergent views on the worth of a programme and provides a forum for debating them.
- A naturalistic and participant-oriented approach is qualitative and attaches great importance to the views and experiences of participants in their everyday or natural settings.

Because of the research questions posed in Chapter One, I found a naturalistic and participant-oriented approach to be the most appropriate one for my study. A naturalistic and participant oriented-approach appealed to me because I intended to:

- (a) Conduct my research over a prolonged period in a natural setting, namely:
the school and the classroom;
- (b) Be the main instrument in data collection and analysis;
- (c) Collect detailed data from the perspective of the pupils, teachers and school heads and from my own experiences in the respective schools and classrooms;
- (d) Triangulate data from documents, observations and interviews;
- (e) Examine processes of implementation rather than outcomes; and
- (f) Let concepts and constructs emerge from the data rather than be unduly influenced by what other people had said about citizenship education.

My next task was to specify the phase or stage of the curriculum I was interested in. This is because a curriculum can be evaluated at its design stage, at its termination stage, or at various points in between. Lewy (1977) and Stufflebeam and Shinkfield (1986) have provided the most systematic and comprehensive categorization of the stages of curriculum evaluation. They show that curriculum evaluation comprises distinct stages and activities, even if some overlaps do occur here and there. Lewy (1977) identifies six stages: 1. determining of general aims, 2. planning, 3. tryout, 4. field trial, 5. implementation and 6. quality control. Stufflebeam and Shinkfield (1986) identify four stages: 1. context, 2. input, 3. process and 4. product. These stages and the activities associated with them are shown in Table 3 and Table 4.

A weakness of many curriculum evaluations is their failure to specify the stages and activities they actually cover. Hence, readers of the evaluations sometimes end up expecting stages and activities that may actually lie outside the scope of the intended curriculum. The nature of my research questions led me to focus on what Lewy (1977) calls the implementation stage and Stufflebeam and Shinkfield (1986) call the process stage. I did not, however, ignore the related stages of quality control and product where they overlapped with the implementation stage. A naturalistic and participant-oriented approach is particularly appropriate for evaluating curriculum implementation. According to Patton (1987), evaluation at this stage seeks to “understand and document the day-to-day reality of the setting or settings under study” and “is developmental, descriptive, continuous, flexible, and inductive” (Patton, 1987, p. 60). It examines the perceptions and experiences of participants and uses these to provide:

- information on how participants carry out their roles and the extent to which they accept the introduced curriculum;

- feedback on the extent to which intended activities are being carried out as planned;
- guidance for modifying the planned curriculum where needed; and
- a record of what is actually being implemented, and how it compares to what was envisioned by the planners.

Table 3: Lewy's six stages of curriculum evaluation

1. Determination of general aims	Studies expected changes, cultural values, social forces, present levels of achievement and feasibility of programmes.
2. Planning	Examines adequacy of objectives, content and strategies, considers instructional material to be used.
3. Tryout	Collects evidence through observation, judgment, student products, and discussion with teachers and students.
4. Field trial	Collects evidence on the efficiency of the programme under various conditions.
5. Implementation	Collects evidence on efficiency of the programme and system links such as teacher training. Examines final form of the programme.
6. Quality control	Examines the quality of implementation. Studies reasons for changes in efficiency. Suggests remedies if needed.

Adapted from Lewy (1977, p.15).

Table 4: Stufflebeam's four stages of curriculum evaluation

1. Context	Guides the choice of objectives and assignment of priorities. Records objectives and bases for their choice. Records needs, opportunities and problems.
2. Input	Records chosen strategy and design, and reasons for their choice over other alternatives. Guides choice of programme strategy. Specifies procedural design.
3. Process	Guides implementation. Records the actual process.
4. Product	Guides termination, continuation and modification. Records attainments. Recommends renewal if needed.

Adapted from Stufflebeam and Shinkfield (1986, p.164).

Before one can establish the extent to which a curriculum is effective, "it is first necessary to know how and the extent to which the programme was actually implemented" (ibid p. 68). This helps assess the extent to which curriculum goals are attained and in explaining the attainment or non-attainment of these goals (Chivore, 1994). Collecting detailed information on a programme's implementation is a time consuming process since it

requires prolonged engagement with the people who directly experience it. As a result, the implementation stage of school subjects throughout the world has received relatively little attention from curriculum evaluators.

The object of evaluation in this study was the implementation of citizenship education. I sought to collect detailed, descriptive data on how this aspect of the curriculum was being implemented in Zimbabwe through a case study of Harare primary schools. It was a formative evaluation premised on the principle that “the most important purpose of evaluation is not to prove but to improve” (Stufflebeam and Shinkfield, 1986, p.82). Its ultimate purpose was to improve the quality of citizenship education and “Judgments about quality often require data of considerable depth and detail - qualitative data” (Patton, 1987, p. 73).

3.3 The Naturalistic Paradigm

As noted above, out of six possible curriculum evaluation approaches, I chose the naturalistic and participant-oriented approach. The other five approaches would not have allowed me to understand citizenship education in depth, over a prolonged period, and in the natural setting in which it was taught and learnt. The naturalistic and participant-oriented approach falls under the qualitative or naturalistic paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

A paradigm is a particular world-view or general perspective characterized by a specific ontology – explanations of what exists, and a specific epistemology – explanations of the nature of knowledge and how it is obtained (Patton, 1987). The type of paradigm used has an important bearing on the design and methodology of any research undertaking. For

example, some paradigms do not sit comfortably within the same research design. Positivism and naturalism are two of the major paradigms in educational research today. There exist, however, *ontological* and *epistemological* differences between these paradigms.

In *ontology*, positivism sees “a single tangible reality ‘out there’ fragmentable into independent variables and processes, any of which can be studied independently of the others” while naturalism sees “multiple constructed realities that can be studied only holistically” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.37). In *epistemology*, the positivist “inquirer and the object of inquiry are independent; the knower and the known constitute a distinct dualism” whereas in naturalism, the “inquirer and the ‘object’ of inquiry interact to influence one another; knower and known are inseparable” (ibid).

The naturalistic paradigm takes the *ontological* position “that people’s knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, and interactions are meaningful properties of ... social reality” and the *epistemological* position “that a legitimate or meaningful way to generate data on these ontological properties is to talk interactively with people, to ask them questions, to listen to them, (and) to gain access to their accounts and articulations” (Mason, 2002, pp. 63-64).

Other important areas of difference between the two paradigms concern generalizations, causes and effects, and the role of values. Positivism seeks to provide universal generalizations, explain results through cause and effect linkages and claims value neutrality - at least by virtue of the objective methodology it uses; on the other hand, naturalism maintains that the only generalization possible is that there are no

generalizations but only context and time bound working hypotheses, that it is not possible to isolate causes from effects and that inquiry cannot be neutral but is influenced by values inherent in the choice of area of investigation, paradigm, theory or theories as well as the context in which the research is conducted.

The naturalistic paradigm uses “methodologies that celebrate richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity rather than being embarrassed or inconvenienced by them” (Mason, 2002, p.1). It does not edit out such elements in pursuit of the general but integrates them into its explanations of the phenomena it studies. Its capacity to explain what actually happens in a *particular* context is therefore unrivalled. Although positivism sees this *particularization* as a weakness, this “is based on a misunderstanding of the logic of qualitative enquiry” and “fails to see the strategic significance of context, and of the particular, in the development of our understandings and explanations of the social world.” (ibid 1)

Because of the participant-oriented and case study approach that I intended to use in evaluating curriculum implementation, I found the *epistemological* and *ontological* positions of naturalism more relevant than those of positivism and decided to conduct my research within the naturalistic paradigm.

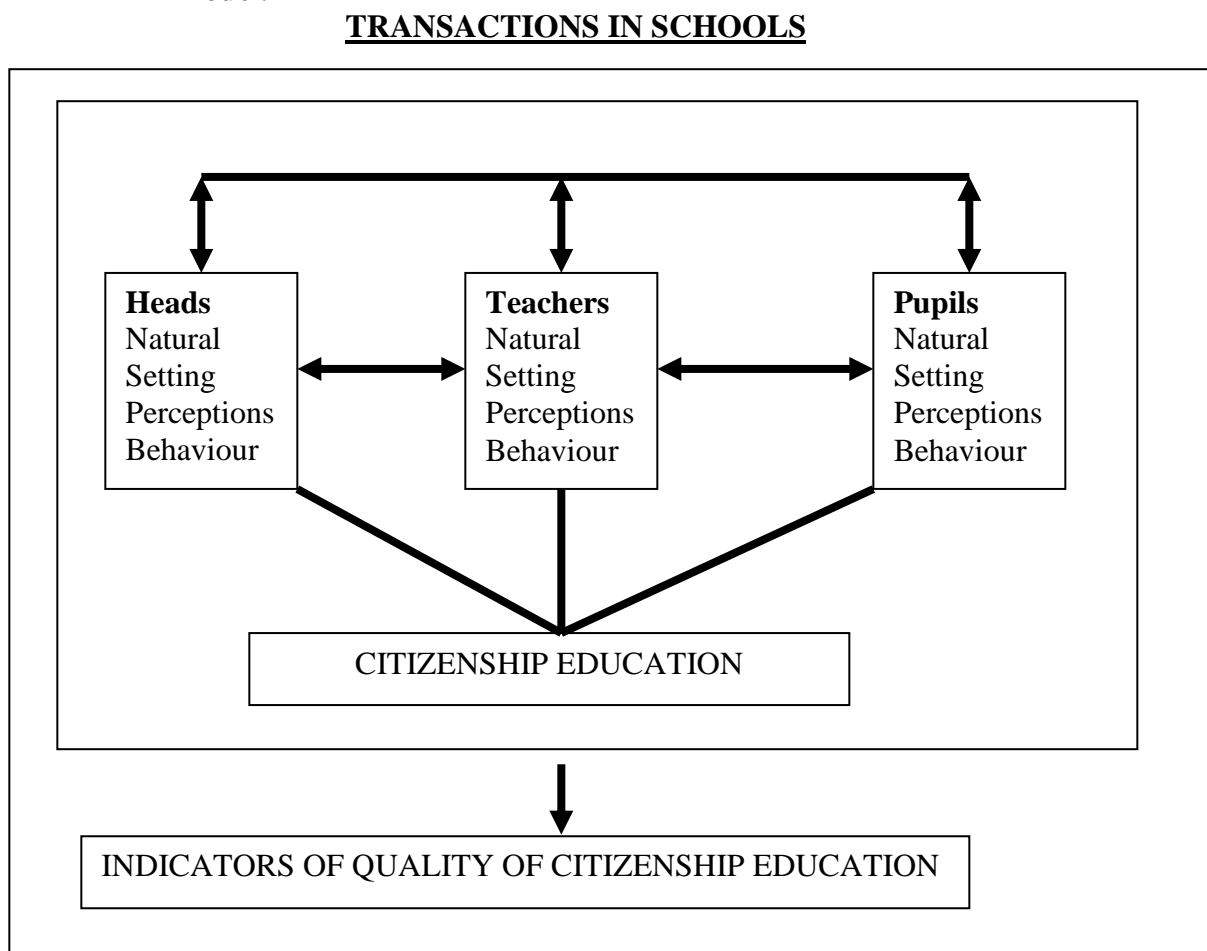
3.4 Conceptual Framework

Miles and Huberman (1994) describe a conceptual framework as “the researcher’s map of the territory being investigated” (p.20) that “explains, either graphically or in narrative form the main things to be studied ... and the presumed relationships between them” (p.18). A hypothetico-deductive conceptual framework based on the positivist paradigm

would have been inappropriate for the inductive research I wanted to conduct. I therefore used a conceptual framework:

based on the same assumptions that undergird qualitative research: the importance of understanding people and programs in context; a commitment to study naturally occurring phenomena without introducing external controls or manipulation; and the assumption that understanding emerges most meaningfully from an inductive analysis of open-ended, detailed, descriptive, and quotive data gathered through direct contact with the program and its participants (Patton, 1987, p. 25).

Figure1: Studying the quality of citizenship education in schools using a transactions model.



Because of the emphasis on participants' interactions or transactions in their natural setting, this conceptual framework can also be termed a *transactions* model (Patton, 1987). This conceptual framework based on participants' transactions falls under a research paradigm that Lincoln and Guba (1985) have broadly termed *naturalistic inquiry* and:

has the following characteristics: natural setting, human instrument, utilization of tacit knowledge, qualitative methods, purposive sampling, inductive data analysis, grounded theory, emergent design, negotiated outcomes, case study reporting mode, ideographic interpretation, tentative application, focus-determined boundaries and special criteria for trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, pp.39-43).

I, as the researcher, therefore interacted with school heads, teachers and pupils who also interacted with each other as they went about doing the things they normally do in their natural settings i.e. in their schools, offices and classrooms. I reserved a full year for prolonged engagement with the programme and its participants. In the process, I collected data on their perceptions and behaviour pertaining to citizenship education so as to evaluate the implementation of this aspect of the primary school social studies curriculum.

Naturalistic inquiry was the basis for the interpretive ethnographic research design that I used for my study. It suited the inductive research that I wanted to conduct on the quality of citizenship education through social studies at primary school. It is to a more detailed discussion of the interpretive ethnographic research design that I now turn.

3.5 The Interpretive Ethnographic Research Design

The interpretive ethnographic research design has its roots in ethnography – literally, *a written description of a particular culture* based on data collected from participant

observation in a natural setting, and in interpretive sociology – an approach that starts with individuals and sets out to understand their interpretations of their society and environment.

Typically, the ethnographer uses “first-hand experience” and “cultural settings as data sources (sometimes seen as natural settings) and argues that the best – though not the only – way of generating knowledge of these is for the researcher to get right inside them” (Mason, 2002, p. 55). He or she “participates, overtly or covertly, in people’s lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues he or she is concerned” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p. 2).

What is distinctive about the interpretive ethnographer is that he or she prefers to “see people and their interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings as the primary data sources” (Mason, 2002, p. 56) and is “concerned with understanding the social world people have produced and which they reproduce in their continuing activities” (Blaikie 2000, p.115). In an educational context this implies “focusing on teachers’ and students’ perspectives on the processes of classroom and school interaction” (Vulliamy, Lewin and Stephens, 1990, p. 8). He or she is willing “to look appreciatively to what goes on in schools, taking into account not only what is ‘out there’ in some objective sense but also what the researcher ... contributes to what is seen” (Jackson 1990, p.7). Interpretive ethnographers are conscious of the fact that, although their research involves “immersion” in natural settings, the “outsider” experience they would have acquired before embarking on their research would have a bearing on their interpretation of the phenomena they would be investigating. Unlike their positivist counterparts they need to factor in this aspect in their data analysis and interpretation. Interpretive researchers:

cannot accept the idea of there being a reality “out there” which exists irrespective of people, for reality is seen as a construct of the human mind....Interpretive researchers recognise that by asking questions or by observing they may change the situation which they may be studying. They recognize themselves as potential variables in the enquiry and so, in writing reports, may use personal pronouns (Bassey, 1999, pp. 43-44).

Positivist researchers, for their part, maintain that:

there is a reality “out there” in the world that exists whether it is observed or not and irrespective of who observes....(and) do not expect that they themselves are significant variables in their research....Because of this, positivists preferred method of writing reports is to avoid personal pronouns. “I” or “me” is not considered relevant (ibid p. 42).

Interpretive ethnography appealed to me because of its capacity to “celebrate the permanence and priority of the real world of first-person subjective experience” (Schwandt 1994, p. 119).

In addition, interpretive ethnographic research has an emergent and not a pre-determined design. It is “exploratory, fluid and flexible, data driven and context sensitive” (Mason, 2002, p. 24). I found these characteristics particularly useful for the kind of research I wanted to conduct. They allowed me to narrow and sharpen the focus of my research as my fieldwork progressed. Two pertinent examples to illustrate this point can be cited. When I started my research, the ten social studies topics: Living Together, Food, Shelter, Health, Rules and Laws, Transport and Communications, Clothes, Wealth and Money, Work and Leisure, Social Services and Voluntary Organizations, all seemed to be related to

citizenship education, and indeed to some extent they were. However, after some initial document analysis and lesson observations in the field, it emerged that Living Together and Rules and Laws and their associated sub-topics were much more citizenship oriented than the other topics and I accordingly narrowed the focus of my lesson observations.

Even the size of my research sample was modified in the field. The administrator of the district where I carried out my research suggested the inclusion of a Trust school. She correctly pointed out that my original intention of covering Group A and Group B schools only would miss out this significant school type in Harare Region. Because an interpretive research design is flexible, I was able to incorporate this important suggestion. In typical naturalist fashion, I learnt from participants and the cultural setting I was working in. I did not present myself as an all-knowing outsider. Instead, I listened appreciatively to what came up as I interacted with Ministry officials, heads, teachers and pupils and noted their views on citizenship education. Where possible these were taken on board as my research design emerged. Thus participants, in a real sense, became co-workers in generating the data on which my evaluation of the implementation of citizenship education was based.

An interpretive ethnographic research design thus enabled me to evaluate the implementation of citizenship education in depth and in its natural setting and, as far as was possible, to share the experiences of the district administrator, school heads, teachers and pupils in their day-to-day activities, write thick descriptions of these experiences and to comprehensively interpret them. Although my review of related literature had made me familiar with various models of how citizenship was taught and learnt, I did not set out to prove or disprove any of them. Rather, I remained open to the possibility of alternative interpretations emerging inductively from the data that I collected.

3.6 Researcher as Instrument

In naturalism, the human being is the preferred research instrument. In positivism, pre-designed and “ready-to-use” measuring instruments are preferred. As pointed out by Lancy (1993) the “primary distinction between qualitative and quantitative research relates to data gathering instruments” (p. 12).

I found quantitative measuring instruments such as statistical tests, correlations and experiments inappropriate for the interpretive ethnographic study I was conducting. In positivist research, a disproportionate amount of time and effort is often spent on developing instruments compared to what is devoted to actual fieldwork. Indeed, some researchers are in the “business” of producing standard instruments for those who wish to buy and use them for “quick results.” It is therefore possible to conduct positivist educational research without ever having personally visited any of the schools studied – something which would be inimical to interpretive ethnography. Vakalisa (1995) cogently points out that:

Among other advantages of having a human being as the instrument for collection of data from other human beings are that the researcher can tell when the moment is not right to ask certain questions, can rephrase questions that are puzzling to the respondents, can tactfully probe for elaboration when data given by the respondent tends to be too sketchy, and more importantly, can sense when it is best to just listen attentively to, and to observe keenly, what the respondent is saying and doing (p. 113).

I, as the researcher, was therefore the instrument for generating data through interviewing the district administrator, school heads, teachers and pupils, observing class and school

activities, analysing documents, and taking limited duties at the schools where I was conducting research.

3.7 Gaining Access to the Natural Setting

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Bogdan and Biklen (1992) identify two ways of gaining access to the natural setting: either by doing *covert research*, or by doing *overt research*. In the former, data is obtained without the knowledge of those being studied, while in the latter, the researcher makes his or her interests known and seeks the cooperation of those he or she wishes to study. Doing *covert research* on citizenship education – a field that covers moral responsibility and human rights – would have been downright hypocritical and a violation of people’s rights to refuse or accept to be participants. It was therefore more appropriate to do *overt research*.

Initially, I got an introductory letter from the Dean of Education of the University of Zimbabwe to the Ministry of Education Sport and Culture indicating the nature and purpose of my research (Appendix 4). This letter facilitated the holding of a meeting to discuss my research proposal with the Education Officer responsible for research at the Head Office of the Ministry. My request to conduct the research was granted (Appendix 5) but I still had to get further permission from the Regional Director for Harare and the administrator for the specific district where the schools I wished to study were located. The next stage was to approach school heads and teachers with the authorization letters I received from the three levels of official “gate keeping” that I passed through. I requested and obtained their permission for prolonged engagement in their schools and selected social studies classes for research purposes. The headmasters and teachers then introduced me to their pupils and informed them that I was a teacher from the university studying aspects of

social studies for a doctoral degree. I also explained to all participants that participation in this research project was voluntary. It was, of course, possible for them to refuse but, fortunately, they did not. From this, I concluded that the idea of finding out how pupils learn to be responsible citizens was generally welcomed by the people I was to interact with during fieldwork.

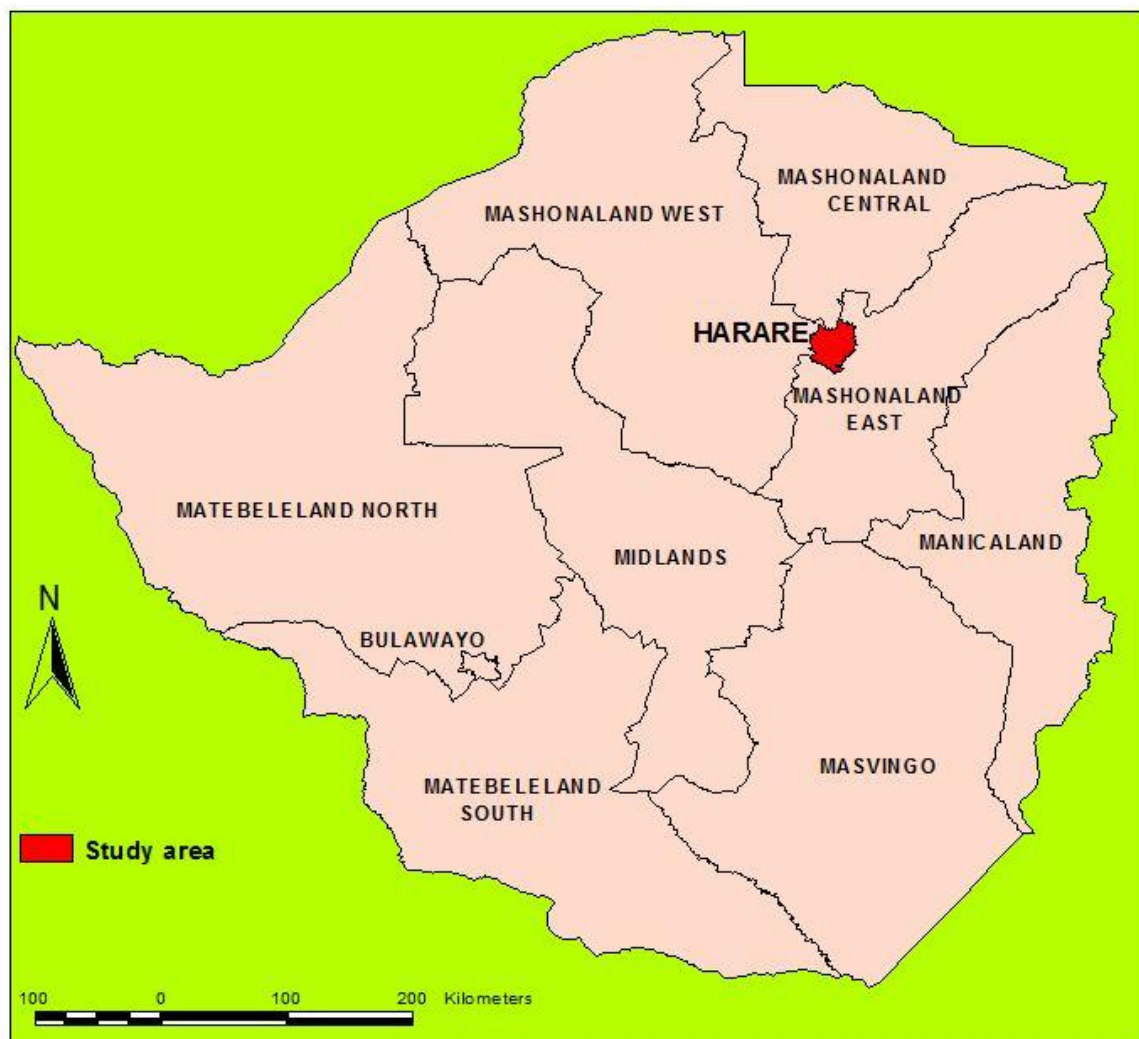
Although the process of gaining access was lengthy, it was worthwhile in that it gave me an opportunity to explain and justify my intended research to important stakeholders, and to get their views and reactions. As mentioned earlier, I even got additional insights for my research from the District Education Officer when I visited her office. Openly seeking permission for the study also elicited open support for my data collection. I was given copies of official curriculum policy statements, the social studies syllabus, textbooks, invited to attend school events at district and regional levels and to participate in citizenship education workshops hosted by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture where I had the opportunity to interact with curriculum developers, teachers, and textbook publishers. I would certainly have missed out on this support, had I entered primary schools covertly – for example, under the guise of a University of Zimbabwe lecturer following up student teachers on teaching practice. Using overt research also augurs well for the dissemination and acceptability of my research findings to all stakeholders in citizenship education. After all, the aim of implementation evaluation research is to assist in curriculum development.

3.8 Description of the Research Site

The geographical location of the study was Harare, a city in the Southern African country of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is divided into 10 provinces which the Ministry of Education,

Sport and Culture uses to administer education throughout the country. These provinces are Bulawayo, Harare, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, Masvingo, Matebeleland North and Matebeleland South (Figure 2). Each province is further divided into districts.

Figure 2: Zimbabwe's provinces

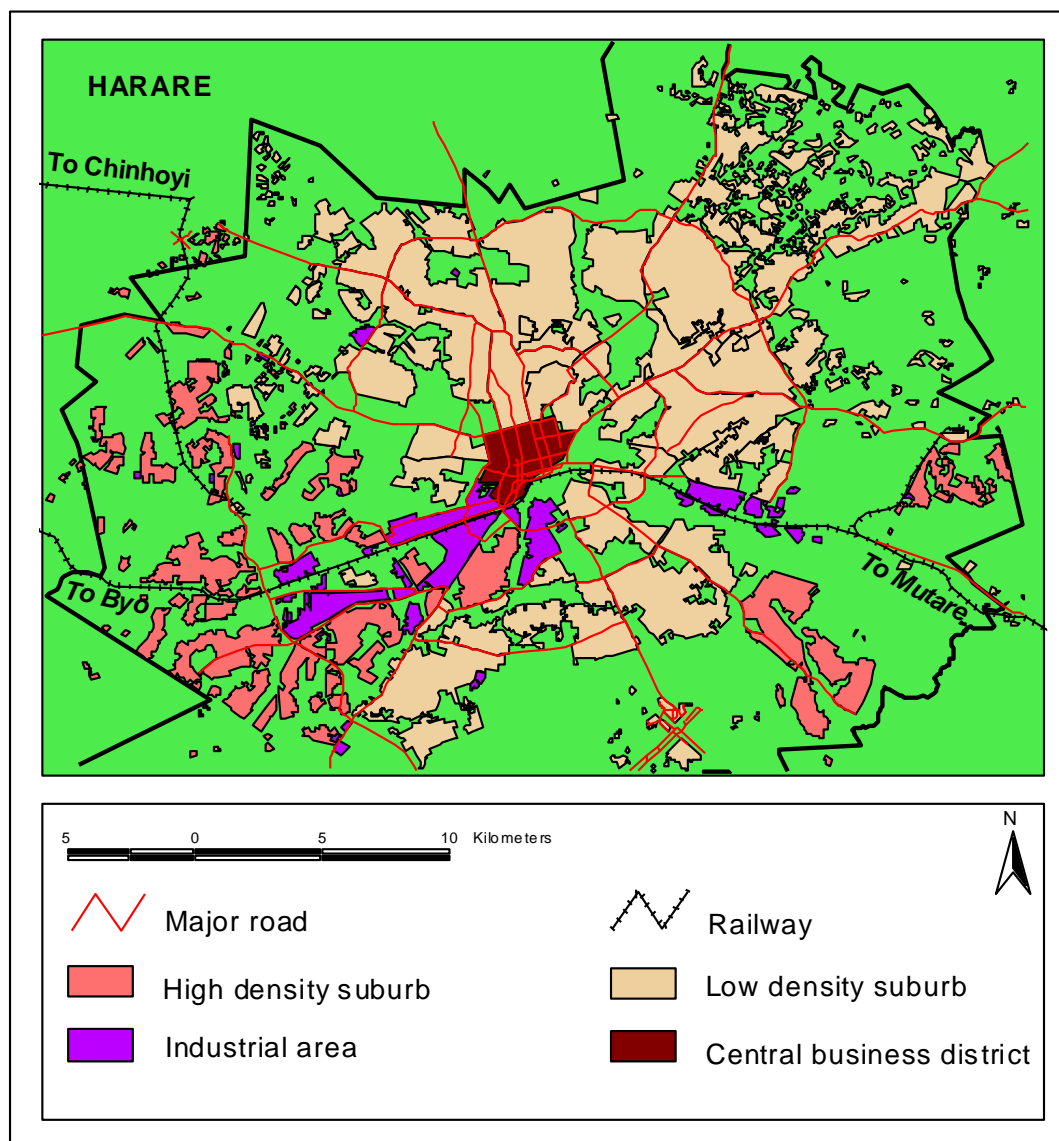


Source: Surveyor General, Government of Zimbabwe.

Harare began as a segregated city comprising separate residential areas for different racial groups. White settlers resided in low density suburbs and multi-storey apartments near the central business district that were exclusively reserved for their race. Black workers

resided in crowded townships constructed specifically for them and located away from the white suburbs (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Spatial distribution of Harare's central business district, low density suburbs and high density suburbs.



Source: Surveyor General, Government of Zimbabwe.

Residential areas for white settlers were lavishly provided with infrastructure and social services whilst those for black workers were severely neglected. Some urban geographers (e.g. Christopher, 1983) have termed this type of spatial organisation which is characteristic

of many Southern African cities established in the colonial period, the “apartheid city” model. Colonialism in the region ended over a decade ago but the legacy of a ‘two-cities’ urbanization pattern remains. This persistent dualism is a characteristic feature of Southern African cities. In Harare, this is manifested in the existence of low and high-density suburbs that roughly mirror the division between rich and poor in a Zimbabwean context. Educational provision is a clear example of this bifurcation. Low-density suburban schools enjoy much better facilities and resources than high-density suburban schools. Schools around the central business district are not within a low density area in a geographic sense but have similar facilities to low-density schools because they too were initially meant for the exclusive use of European pupils.

In the post-independence period, legal segregation has been replaced with segregation induced by disparities in income, with the poor generally residing in high-density suburbs and the rich in low-density suburbs and apartments close to the central business district. Although all government schools get state funding this has generally been inadequate for their day-to-day needs. They therefore depend on additional funding from parent organisations such as School Development Association (SDAs). Schools in high-density suburbs tend to receive less funding from their SDAs than those in low density suburbs and in apartments in and around the central business district because of the differences in parents’ incomes. This has the effect of reinforcing the gap in educational resources between schools in the two types of residential areas.

In an effort to narrow the differences between high and low-density suburban schools and to promote a ‘one-city’ concept in educational provision, the Harare Province of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture has placed different school types in

contiguous suburbs under the same administrative districts. This research was done in one such district. School types included a public school in a low-density suburb with a majority of pupils coming from high income families, a public school in a high-density suburb with a majority of pupils coming from low income families, and a trust (private) school in a low-density suburb with all pupils coming from high to very high income families.

3.9 Purposive Sampling

Sampling is necessary when one is “not interested in the ‘census’ or trying to conduct a broad sweep of everything, so much as focusing on specific issues, processes and phenomena” (Mason, 2002, p. 121). A sampling strategy can either be random or purposive. Random sampling is the preferred strategy in positivist research while purposive sampling is the preferred strategy in naturalist research. Positivist researchers argue that random sampling eliminates bias in the sample selected and, if the sample is large, makes generalization possible. For their part, naturalist researchers argue that purposive sampling increases the utility of data obtained from small samples and that their emphasis is on the particular rather than the general (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

I, as a naturalist researcher, purposively sampled “information rich” schools, participants, class and school activities on the basis of their relevance to my research questions and inductive analysis of field data, particularly the themes and interpretations that emerged from that data. Three primary schools from one of the thirteen districts of Harare Province were selected for the study. In selecting the three schools, I used maximum variation sampling as a “strategy for dealing with the problem of representativeness under the conditions of small sample size ... to maximize the variation in site selection” (Patton

1987, p. 102). My sample of three schools represented the diversity or variation of main school types in Harare, namely former Group A schools, former Group B schools and Trust schools.

School heads helped me identify teachers who could be the best sources of the information I sought. These had at least three years post-qualifying experience and were willing to be participants. Because the social studies syllabus is divided into four stages, in the first school term, I worked with four teachers per school, including the classes they taught. Their pupils were, by virtue of belonging to these classes, all informants. In addition, written exercises and tests of three pupils from each class were sampled for detailed analysis. Again maximum variation sampling was used to ensure that high, middle and low ability pupils were represented.

3.10 Data Generation Methods

3.10.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation refers “to methods of generating data which entail the researcher immersing herself or himself in the research ‘setting’ so that they can experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that setting” (Mason, 2002, p. 84) and where the researcher is “not merely a passive observer” but “may assume a variety of roles within a case study situation and may actually participate in the events being studied” (Yin, 2003, p. 94). Participant observers “engage in the very activities they set out to observe,” do not “stand aloof from the group activities they are investigating” and “develop more intimate and informal relationships with those they are observing, generally in more natural environments than those in which experiments and surveys are conducted” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, pp. 186-188).

Participant observation lies on a continuum extending from complete immersion to complete separation from what is being observed - with considerable variety between the two extremes (Gold, 1958; Le Compte and Preissle, 1993). Generally, researcher roles in observation fall into four categories, namely:

1. The complete observer;
2. The observer-as-participant;
3. The participant-as-observer; and
4. The complete participant.

The complete observer is completely detached from the activities taking place in the setting. Participants may not even be aware that he or she is observing them. The observer-as-participant largely has an observer role but has some limited interaction with informants who are quite aware of his or her presence as a researcher. The participant-as-observer has considerable interaction with informants. He or she shares their social life and may even be assigned some duties in the natural setting. However, participants are also aware of his or her presence as a researcher. The complete participant takes on an insider role to such an extent that there is little discernible difference between the behaviour of informants and that of the researcher. Participants may not even be aware of his or her presence as a researcher.

I was an observer-as-participant in lesson observations. Although, I generally sat at the back of the class unobtrusively making notes on ethos, content, teaching and learning processes and environment, I was not observing lessons through a one-way mirror. My presence was overt. The teacher and pupils were quite aware of my presence. I would sometimes be asked by the class teacher to supervise pupils' reading and written exercises when he or she had to be away from the class. This gave me an opportunity to move

around the class looking more closely at their work. As I observed lessons, I would also occasionally be asked for my view on an issue a class would be discussing. In such an instance, I would comment briefly as the teacher's peer and not as an authority from the university. Given my secondary school teaching background, it would have been pretentious of me to speak as an authority in a primary school context. I could not be an expert on what I was still trying to experience and understand. I had come to learn from informants and not to lecture them. Taking the role of the teacher's peer helped in making me more accepted by teachers and pupils.

I was a participant-as-observer in extra-curricular activities. I took on some of the teachers' duties during inter-house school competitions. I was assigned a group of pupils to work with during tree-planting and clean-up activities. I mingled with teachers during lunch and tea breaks in the staff room and in the school grounds and learned from general conversations as I interacted with them even in informal situations. I thus shared their social life, whilst at the same time observing the activities for research purposes.

I was also a participant-as-observer when I had sessions with Grade 7 pupils in the third school term in which we discussed selected citizenship topics. I assumed the role of a Grade 7 teacher after the pupils had completed their final examinations. I was however not a complete participant because I pointed out to them that this was a continuation of the research I was doing, that I would use the sessions to find out more about their views on citizenship issues, that they too were welcome to suggest citizenship issues and activities to include in these sessions, that there would be no further examinations and that attendance was voluntary. It was therefore clear to the pupils that the sessions would not be part of their normal curriculum.

During terms one and two, I had observed that certain aspects of citizenship education in social studies lessons seemed to receive greater emphasis than others, that some were ignored altogether, and that some material in approved textbooks was outdated and currently incorrect. I used this information to design an exercise that I personally administered, marked and revised with pupils. Through a variety of learner-centred methods such as debates, drama, role-playing, simulations and focus group discussions, I was able to stimulate greater interaction and observe how citizenship issues were conceptualised, worked out and negotiated in these contexts that I, together with the pupils, created.

I was a full participant in the workshop hosted by the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture to develop a secondary school civics education curriculum (Appendix 7). Although my own research focus was primary school social studies, this gave me insights on the scope and sequence of citizenship education in schools, and an opportunity to interact with curriculum developers and teachers.

Participant observation thus enabled me, an outsider, to get an insider's view of how citizenship education is taught and learnt at primary school level. My researcher roles included observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer in schools and complete participant in the civics education workshop.

Participant observation was however not carried out in isolation but in combination with interviews and document analysis. No time period was specifically reserved for participant observation, interviews or document analysis. I engaged in the most appropriate activity for the day. For example, if on visiting a school I found out there was a cultural or sporting

event and no social studies lessons to observe, I would instead observe the behaviour of participants at the event and where appropriate engage them in informal conversational interviews; again if I found a scheduled class writing a test, I did not return empty-handed but used the opportunity to analyse their exercise books in the staff-room.

I adjusted my teaching timetable at the University of Zimbabwe in such a way that during school terms, my lectures began after 2.00 p.m. on Monday to Friday and some were shifted to Saturdays. Generally, I observed class and school activities, conducted interviews and analysed documents from Monday to Friday, between 7.15 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. On average I visited each school at least three days per fortnight. Whenever it was necessary to spend a whole day in the field, I used my vacation leave for the purpose. I was therefore able to interact with participants over a prolonged period beginning in January 2007 to December 2007.

3.10.2 Interviews

There are many types of interviews that can be used in qualitative research. Jorgenssen (1989) has a fourfold classification: the informal interview, the formal interview, the in-depth interview and the life history. Bollens and Marshall (1973) have a twofold classification: the unstructured interview and the structured or standardized interview. Patton (1987) has a threefold classification: the informal conversational interview, the general interview guide approach and the standardized open-ended interview.

Jorgenssen's informal interview and Bollens and Marshall's unstructured interview are close to Patton's informal conversational interview but are not explicit about the conversational nature of the interaction. Jorgenssen's formal interview and in-depth

interview are accommodated in Patton's general interview guide approach but are not explicit about the need for an interview guide. Bollen and Marshall's structured interview would in fact misrepresent Patton's general interview guide approach for the latter is flexible and only loosely structured. Patton's standardized open-ended interview is more suitable when dealing with large samples in surveys rather than with small samples in case studies. The way I conducted my interviews is best described using two of Patton's classification, namely: the informal conversational interview and the general interview guide approach.

Patton (1987) gives both the strengths and weaknesses of informal conversational interviews. Strengths include their capacity to increase the salience and relevance of questions, to build on and emerge from observations, and to cater for specific individuals and circumstances. Weaknesses are that with different questions, different information can be collected from different people; certain questions may fail to arise "naturally," making data collection unsystematic and difficult to organize and analyse.

I did not consider different information obtained from different participants a weakness since my research was an interpretive ethnography of a relatively small sample. The problem of the comparability of responses was not as large as it would have been had I been dealing with a much bigger sample. I was thus prepared to sacrifice ease of organization and analysis for the spontaneous interaction I had with different people.

Questions were spontaneously generated in the natural course of my interaction with participants. The interviews were quite informal and fluid. Typically, they occurred as part of participant observation after formal and time tabled classes, for example during tea

and lunch-breaks and during sporting and extra-curricular events. No formal announcement of an interview was made. I wrote notes of the interviews when I was alone in the staff-room. It is possible that participants were not even aware that such informal conversations were in fact interviews.

I, however, complemented the informal conversational interviews with the general interview guide approach. With this approach, data collection was more systematic and easier to organize and analyse. I still tried to make the interviews as conversational and contextual as possible. As Jorgenssen (1989) advises that such interviews should be “free-flowing and unencumbered by extensive preconceptions of what and how topics will be discussed” (p. 88). Although I outlined themes and topics to be explored before beginning the actual interview, these were not presented in any rigid order and the actual wording of questions was not scripted in advance.

The general interview guide that I used (Appendix 6) was based on my research questions. However, it was more of a checklist to ensure that all relevant issues were covered than a complete script to be read out to respondents. I adapted both the sequence and the wording to suit specific interviewees and the specific context in which the interview was conducted. Interview questions included relevant aspects of the school and classroom environment in which interviews were conducted. I allowed interviewees to speak their minds and to dwell on those aspects they found significant, and probed for in-depth responses where necessary. The priority they gave to particular aspects reflected the importance they attached to them. Hence it was prudent to give them as much time as they needed. For accuracy, I made notes and tape-recorded (with permission) all interviews that had a general interview guide. I continuously reflected on these notes and tape recordings as fieldwork progressed. Where

necessary some of the themes and topics were revisited in different interview contexts so that I could be more certain of the issues that were emerging.

3.10.3 Document Analysis

Additional data on aims, objectives, content, teaching and learning approaches were obtained from examining documents such as syllabuses, teachers' schemes and records of work, teachers' guides, and pupils' textbooks, exercises notes, tests and examinations. These documents, in themselves, were important factors in the implementation of citizenship education. I did not, however, take them to directly represent the state of citizenship education but examined them in the context of how they were used by participants. I paid particular attention to the aims, values, content, teaching methods and learning activities they contained or implied. Pupils' responses to the written citizenship exercise that I gave them in my role of participant-as-observer formed part of the documents that I analysed.

Documents were used alongside participant observation and interviews. In fact, they complemented them in many ways. Gaps in observation and interview data were often identified from documents; they indicated areas requiring follow-up interviews and observations and, to some extent, affected what was covered in interviews and in participant observation. This multi-method data collection approach reduced the risk of making hasty decisions on emerging patterns and trends before fully examining the evidence available.

3.11 Establishing Trustworthiness

The idea of immersion in a natural setting as a participant observer raises concerns on the trustworthiness of research findings. It is quite legitimate to ask whether the findings of such a study truly represent the respondents and research setting, whether they can apply to other respondents and research settings, whether they are replicable with the same or similar respondents and research settings, and the extent to which they represent the respondents and research setting and not the researcher's own biases, interests and perspectives.

The criteria used to answer these questions in positivist research are *internal validity*, *external validity*, *reliability* and *objectivity*. *Internal validity* refers to the extent to “which we infer that the relationship between two variables is causal” (Cook and Campbell, 1979, p. 37) and this is enhanced by holding other possible causes constant or randomising them. *External validity* refers to the extent to “which we infer that the presumed causal relationship can be generalised to and across alternate measures of the cause and effect and across different types of persons, settings and times” (ibid) and this is met through probability or random sampling. *Reliability* implies “that each repetition of the application of the same, or supposedly equivalent, instruments to the same units will yield similar measurements” (Ford, 1975, p. 324) and can be tested through replication. *Objectivity* refers to the extent to which “multiple observers can agree on a phenomenon” and is met through “methods that by their character render the study beyond contamination by human foibles” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, pp. 292-293).

However the concepts of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity as used in positivist research are not directly transferable to naturalistic research. This is

because “Different research perspectives make different kinds of knowledge claims, and the criteria as to what counts as valid knowledge vary from one to another” (Morgan, 1983, p. 15) and “criteria defined from one perspective may not be appropriate for judging actions taken from another perspective” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 293). To be relevant, the criteria should be defined from “the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but also in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.105).

Positivism sees a single reality, while naturalist inquiry sees multiple constructed realities. In place of internal validity, naturalist inquiry seeks credibility, i.e. the extent to which the researcher’s reconstructions are credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities. External validity as conceptualised in positivism is impossible in naturalist inquiry. Janesick (1994) has argued that external validity “in qualitative research has to do with description and explanation” (p. 216) rather than the declaration of universal cause and effect axioms. The naturalist inquirer “can provide only the thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 p. 316). Positivists use probability sampling to establish external validity and generalization, while naturalist inquiry uses purposive sampling and does not seek generalization. Many factors militate against generalization. It is difficult to hold other possible causes of a given phenomenon constant in the real world and to ignore that a group or groups selected for study may have unique historical experiences and other peculiarities. Positivists expect research results to be replicable for them to be reliable, while naturalist inquiry expects researchers to use emergent designs and accepts that different researchers can investigate the same problem along different lines and produce different results. Positivists use “objective”

instrumentation but naturalist inquiry uses the researcher as the chief research instrument and sees this “subjectivity” as strength rather than a weakness.

According to Le Compte and Preissle (1993), trustworthiness in ethnography is possible if the research design is sound and if the data is authentic (i.e. reported through the eyes of the participants), cogent, assuring, credible, auditable, dependable and confirmable. Hammersley (1992) argues that ethnography can be trustworthy if the researcher pays attention to plausibility and credibility, the type of evidence needed to make convincing claims, and specifying whether the claims made are definitional, descriptive, explanatory or theory generative. Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out that “a major trustworthiness criterion is *credibility* in the eyes of the information sources, for without such credibility the findings and conclusions as a whole cannot be found credible by the consumers of the report” (p. 213, emphasis in original).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that the terms *internal validity*, *external validity*, *reliability* and *objectivity* that are associated with positivism be replaced with *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability* which are more in line with the ontological and epistemological perspective of naturalist inquiry. They argue that *credibility* can be established through prolonged engagement, persistent observation, progressive reflexivity, peer debriefing, negative case analysis and member checking; *transferability* can be enhanced through thick description; and *dependability* and *confirmability* can be established through auditing raw data.

I, as the researcher, tried to attain two of Lincoln and Guba’s criteria for trustworthiness namely: *credibility* and *transferability*. This was done through prolonged engagement,

persistent observation, progressive reflexivity, peer debriefing, member or interviewee checks, triangulation and thick description. I make no claim of internal validity, external validity, reliability or objectivity in the sense that these concepts are used in positivist research. What I can claim, however, is trustworthiness in the sense that the concept is used in naturalist inquiry.

Prolonged engagement: The full year I invested in participant observation of citizenship education *in situ* was worthwhile. It raised my awareness of the many, varied, subtle and contextual factors that impinge upon citizenship education. I had sufficient time to learn the “culture” of citizenship education, to build trust and to be accepted by participants, and to detect and account for distortions in data. The building of trust was not an event, it was a developmental process: participants needed time to be convinced that I had no hidden agendas; that they could confide in me without fear of betrayal; that I would honour pledges of confidentiality and anonymity; that I would respect their interests; that the research could help improve citizenship education; and that their input was valued and formed an integral part of the inquiry process.

Prolonged engagement helped make the “stranger in a strange land” factor diminish into relative insignificance. While some participants might initially have been tempted to present stage managed performances for the benefit of the visiting stranger, my prolonged stay and gradual gaining of acceptance led to more natural behaviour. I became less and less of a stranger although I did not lose sight of my research objectives. Prolonged engagement has been known to make some researchers give up their research and become complete participants – what some anthropologists call “going native”. Fortunately, I successfully guarded against such an eventuality.

Persistent observation: Persistent observation served to provide depth and the salient characteristics and elements of the implementation of citizenship that a one-off observation session could have missed. Through persistent observation, I was able to see both the typical and atypical, and to reflect on their relative significance. I was able to go back and forth, tentatively categorising emerging themes and exploring them in detail, identifying and comparing recurring themes, correcting initial misrepresentations and obtaining a deeper understanding of the quality of citizenship education being implemented. I had enough time to be sceptical and to avoid making hasty conclusions. My observations were long and repetitive in order to detect patterns and trends rather than chance events.

Progressive reflexivity: My field data included a variety of experiences and perspectives, including my own. In my personal diary, I recorded my experiences and how my own perspectives evolved over time. This assisted me to retrace and reconstruct how I arrived at particular interpretations. My impressions and feelings were part of field data. They therefore had to be carefully interrogated and separated from those of participants. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Patton (2002) argue, naturalist inquiry involves reflection and introspection.

Peer debriefing: I requested a colleague in the Faculty of Education to serve as my peer debriefer. The role required a disinterested colleague who would serve both as a sounding board for the analyses and interpretations I was coming up with and as a devil's advocate who would probe my own biases, inclinations and inconsistencies, and force me to defend the direction I was taking, and to explore aspects of my research that were implicit in my own mind but not explicit in the ethnography I was writing. Lincoln and Guba (1985) caution that peer debriefing can be demoralising if it is done cynically and from an

opposing paradigm. I thus made sure that I chose for a peer debriefer someone who saw my research problem as worthwhile, and who believed in naturalist inquiry.

Member checking: I tested my themes, analytic categories and interpretations with the informants who would have provided the original data. I presented summaries of my findings for feedback. To be trustworthy, participants had to see my reconstructions as representing their multiple realities. Participants thus had the opportunity to react to and to challenge my reconstructions, to correct factual errors, and to volunteer additional information. The process of member checking occurred throughout the course of fieldwork, and was both informal and formal. For example, in informal conversational interviews I would occasionally refer to points covered in earlier informal encounters. At the beginning of interviews using a general interview guide approach, I often recapped the main points covered in preceding formal interviews. I also held formal member checking sessions where I played back audiotapes of interviews and presented reports on the trends and patterns that were emerging from my data.

Without mutual trust between the researcher and informants, the rationality for ethnography crumbles. Member checking is a reasonably valid means of establishing trustworthiness, unless there are strong reasons for doubting the integrity of participants. Allowing participants to react to what the researcher constructs from the data they provide helps build credibility, but the strategy is not foolproof. It is possible for some participants to limit what they want the researcher to “discover” and “to some extent, have good reason to hide from others what they are doing and even lie to them” (Douglas, 1976, p. 55). It is however unlikely that all participants at a given research site would conspire to mislead the researcher. By checking my data with all participants and throughout the period of

prolonged engagement, I intended to avoid or, at least, minimise any problem arising from this possibility.

Triangulation: Triangulation, or what Diesling (1972) refers to as contextual validation, is “where a piece of evidence can be assessed by comparing it with other pieces of evidence on the same point” (p. 147). Evidence obtained in this way is more persuasive than that based on a single piece of evidence. It is unlikely that various pieces of evidence will have identical strengths and weaknesses. Rather they will complement each other and help pinpoint areas of ambiguity. Confirming a phenomenon using two or more methods greatly increases the trustworthiness of findings. I therefore triangulated data from observations, interviews and document analysis. This helped avoid distortions caused by relying exclusively on a single perspective. For example, information that teachers, heads and pupils did not freely respond to in interviews was inferred from directly observing relevant school practices. Observation notes were compared with transcriptions of interview audiotapes.

Critics such as Fielding and Fielding (1986) question the ability of triangulation to increase validity and objectivity in research. However, as pointed out earlier on, naturalist inquiry rejects these criteria in favour of the qualitative criterion of trustworthiness. An important feature of this trustworthiness “is found in its open admission that it accommodates subjectivity - in that sense, it prepares the reader to look for possible biases that might interfere with reasonable interpretation of the data” (Chisaka, 2000, p. 82). It also acknowledges the complexity of social reality, and sees different data collection methods as different filters through which that reality is selectively experienced. Linking up the different methods helps plug gaps in the totality of the ways in it is experienced.

Other critics such as Silverman (1985) point to the apparent similarities between triangulation and the pursuit of validity, reliability and objectivity under positivism. However any similarity between them is superficial and not fundamental. Triangulation in naturalist inquiry is not synonymous with the replication and generalization associated with positivism, but is part of a back and forth process of authenticating emerging themes and trends.

Thick description: I described in detail what I observed in schools and classes, heads, what teachers and pupils said about their perceptions and experiences of citizenship education, what was contained in the official syllabus, scheme books, textbooks and exercise books curriculum materials. Characteristics of the district, schools, heads, teachers and pupils studied were described in such a way that the research findings on this particular case could be easily compared with those of other cases. The onus of deciding the extent to which the experiences noted in this case study could be transferable to other cases was however left to readers who would naturally have to take into account the specific circumstances and contexts of the other cases.

However it has to be borne in mind “that naturalistic criteria of trustworthiness are open ended; they can never be satisfied to such an extent that the trustworthiness of the inquiry could be labelled as unassailable” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 329). Unlike the positivist researcher “who can demonstrate that he or she has randomised or controlled or confounding variables, selected a probability sample that is representative of a defined population, (and) replicated the study, the naturalist inquiry operates under an open system; no amount of member checking, triangulation, persistent observation, auditing, or whatever can ever compel; it can at best persuade” (ibid p. 329).

3.12 Ethical Considerations

Interaction with schools and the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture was a normal aspect of my profession as a lecturer in education. Indeed it occurred fairly often outside the context of this particular study – for example, during teaching practice supervision, curriculum development workshops and liaison meetings between the Faculty of Education and the Head Office of the Ministry of Education. It would therefore have been relatively easier for me to enter the natural setting undetected when compared with someone working in a professional field other than education. Nonetheless for explicit purposes of this research, I negotiated with participants for their voluntary participation.

In particular, I assured them that:

1. I had come to learn from them and not to lecture them;
2. Even though I was from the University of Zimbabwe, they had greater expertise and experience in primary school teaching than I had;
3. All information collected was purely for study purposes and would be strictly confidential;
4. All information used in the dissertation would be member checked for accuracy;
5. All audiotapes and notes of interviews would be destroyed at the end of the research;
6. Names of the participating district, schools, heads, teachers and pupils would not be revealed; and
7. Pseudonyms would be used to conceal the identities of participants.

Thus, as also noted under **3.7 Gaining access to the Natural Setting**, ethical considerations played an important part in my decision to negotiate for access to schools and to seek the trust of participants.

3.13 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Although data analysis and interpretation often go hand in hand, strictly speaking, the two processes are different. Analysis systematically identifies key factors in the phenomenon under investigation and “is the process of bringing order to the data, organizing what is there into patterns, categories and basic descriptive units” (Patton, 1987, p. 268). Interpretation goes beyond what can simply be gleaned from the data and “involves attaching meaning and significance to the analysis, explaining descriptive patterns, and looking for relationships and linkages among descriptive dimensions” (ibid). Description, which Wolcott (1994, p. 36) refers to as “the pivotal base upon which all hangs,” plays an important part in both analysis and interpretation of data. I therefore described in detail what I saw and experienced in schools, intertwining my interpretation with quotations from participants to illustrate any assertions made – a process aptly termed *thick description* by Geertz (1973). In both data analysis and interpretation, I was guided by the study’s research questions and my interaction with participants in the field.

3.13.1 Analysis

In line with naturalistic inquiry, data analysis began the moment I entered the research site and continued after leaving it. This was so that I could “cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new, often better, data” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 50). I used member checking of data during the course of fieldwork as “the first step along the way to data analysis” (Lincoln and Guba,

1985, p. 314), and Parlett and Hamilton's (1976) *progressive focusing* whereby a wide range of data were initially collected but progressively narrowed down through continuous sifting, sorting, reviewing and reflection. As recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994), I coded and categorized research data as I collected them. I sorted general information on citizenship education into what Miles and Huberman (1994) call descriptive codes. In order to understand emergent patterns and recurring themes, I also used pattern codes (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 69) to:

- place broad descriptive data into fewer analytic units;
- begin data analysis early in the field so as to render later fieldwork more focused;
- develop integrated explanatory frameworks for understanding local incidents and interactions; and
- lay the foundation for analysing common themes and processes at the three schools studied.

My field notes had detailed information on schools, class observations, curriculum documents and participants' experiences of the implementation of citizenship education. These together with audiotape transcripts were typed to facilitate identification, coding and classification of data. Codes and themes were marked in pencil within the text and in the margin.

3.13.2 Interpretation

Coding and categorizing data allowed me to place them into broad themes, possible explanations and theoretical constructs. Ethnographic research demands that informants be given maximum opportunity to describe their own circumstances and experiences. Therefore, as far as possible, I quoted them directly, letting them speak for themselves and

provide the insider's view or *emic* perspective. I then related this to the outsider's view or *etic* perspective. The *etic* perspective was informed by my own perception and available theory of citizenship education. In addition, I used the inductive approach to theory development by identifying underlying similarities and contrasts in the field data, and explaining them at a more abstract level as required by grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Interpretation of data was therefore based on inductive reasoning, available theory and what I personally experienced and observed in the field.

The fidelity of the implementation of citizenship education to what was envisioned by the developers of the social studies curriculum was found from comparing intended practices with actual practices. For evaluating curriculum implementation, Leithwood and Montgomery (1980) recommend:

- Deriving and specifying the intentions for practice from policy
- Describing current practice in terms which will allow for comparison with policy intentions and
- Identifying relevant discrepancies between policy intentions and current actual practice.

Intentions for citizenship education were established from government curriculum policy statements, the official social studies syllabus, approved teachers' guides and pupils' textbooks; actual practices were derived from data yielded by participant observation, interviews and document analysis; and gaps between what was envisioned and what was implemented were identified. Particular attention was paid to the syllabus, content, learning and teaching, school ethos and climate. These served as the indicators for quality in evaluating the implementation of citizenship education.

Quotations and thick description, rather than statistical indices, formed the basis of my assertions on the implementation of citizenship education in the three Harare primary schools. These assertions emerged from data I generated in the course of directly interacting with participants in the natural setting over a prolonged period.

In studying the quality of citizenship education in schools, I first gathered data on its *actual practice* before dwelling at length on what had been theorized about it. This allowed mutual learning between the researcher and participants. The accent was therefore on dialogue and understanding, rather than the testing of predetermined hypotheses. Because data generation, analysis and theorizing were interwoven, I can safely claim that my interpretation is anchored in grounded theory.

3.14 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the naturalistic, participant-oriented evaluation approach and the qualitative paradigm that provided the conceptual framework for the research. I described how I sought and obtained permission to research in schools in the Harare Region of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture, the general location and characteristics of the schools that I chose for my case study, the purposive sampling and data generation methods that I used, how I established trustworthiness, the ethical considerations I took into account, and how I analysed and interpreted the data that I obtained. In particular, the chapter described the research design that I used: interpretive ethnography.

The interpretive ethnographic research design on which the thesis is based involved a year long study of school heads, teachers and pupils in their schools, offices and classrooms as they went on with their normal lives and day-to-day activities. I, as the researcher, was

able to observe them in action, converse and discuss with them, study in considerable detail the documents that they used in teaching and learning responsible citizenship, and even to participate in limited school activities. The perceptions and experiences of participants were my initial data sources. My own perceptions and experiences as a participant-observer in the school setting were additional data sources. I was thus able to develop an interpretation of the quality of citizenship education implemented in schools that was grounded in *lived* experience.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present and analyze the data that I collected. The chapter is in four parts. Part I provides brief background information on participants. Part II focuses on the documents that I studied, namely the official syllabus document for social studies, teachers' schemes and records of work, pupils' exercise books, teachers' and pupils' textbooks and pupils' written responses to a citizenship exercise that I designed and administered. Part III focuses on the perceptions of the implementation of citizenship education from the perspective of the participants. This is the *emic* perspective or the insider's viewpoint. Part IV presents the perceptions of the implementation of citizenship education from the participant-observer's perspective. This is the *etic* perspective or the outsider's viewpoint.

PART I

4.2 Background Information on Participants

In soliciting for participation, I made an undertaking to informants that actual names of the participating district, schools, school heads, teachers and pupils would not be used in my thesis. Instead pseudonyms would be used to conceal the identity of informants (Table 5). I therefore called the participating district Sunshine District. It was one of 13 districts in Harare Region and was responsible for over 20 schools in high and low density suburbs. Three primary schools were selected for the study: Kingsdale - a former group A school, Musasa View - a former group B school and Eltonvale - a trust school. Mr. Shava headed Kingsdale, Mr. Tongai headed Musasa View, while Mr. Jere headed Eltonvale. I worked with four teachers per school and their pupils. Two of the teachers at Eltonvale had

assistant teachers for their classes. I also worked with the assistant teachers whenever the need to do so arose, as on days when the substantive teacher was away.

Table 5: Pseudonyms used for schools, heads and teachers in the study.

SCHOOL	HEADS	TEACHERS	STAGES	GRADES
Kingsdale	Mr. Shava	Mrs. Bako Mrs. Sango Mrs. Bere Mrs. Moyo	One Two Three Four	One Three Five Seven
Musasa View	Mr. Tongai	Mrs. Dube Mrs. Gumbo Mr. Ngwenya Mr. Nyika	One Two Three Four	One Three Five Seven
Eltonvale	Mr. Jere	Mrs. Soko Assistant: Mrs. Seva Mrs. Jiri Mr. Tembo Assistant: Mr. Sendeka Mrs. Mlambo	One Two Three Four	One Three Five Seven

4.2.1 School Heads

4.2.1.1 The Head of Kingsdale

The Head of Kingsdale was Mr. Shava. He was in his late fifties and was appointed substantive head of Kingsdale one month after my fieldwork had begun. In the first month, the deputy head Mrs. Temura was acting head. Mr. Shava had served five years as a substantive deputy head at a different school in a different suburb and had been in the teaching field for 25 years. He had over 10 years of teaching Grade Seven classes and prided himself with having produced outstanding primary school leaving examination results when he was a class teacher. He had a certificate in education from Nyadire Teachers' College and a bachelor's degree in English acquired through the Zimbabwe Open University.

4.2.1.2 The Head of Musasa View

Mr. Tongai was the acting head of Musasa View. The substantive head of the school had just been transferred to a different school by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture. Mr Tongai was in his mid-forties. He had a certificate in education from Marymount Teachers' College and was contemplating embarking on part-time degree studies, since he felt that could be the reason why he had acted as head for three times but had never been appointed substantive head despite having been in the teaching field for twenty years.

4.2.1.3 The Head of Eltonvale

Mr. Jere was in his second year as acting head of Eltonvale. The Management Board of Eltonvale School Trust was yet to appoint a substantive head following the resignation of the previous head. The Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture was not responsible for the appointment of heads in trust schools. Mr. Jere was in his mid-thirties and had been in the teaching field for twelve years. Mr. Jere had a certificate in education from Seke Teachers' College and was currently reading for a sociology degree with Women's University in Africa. He was very energetic and enthusiastically articulated the Management Board's vision for the trust school. Perhaps this was the reason why the Management Board had selected him for the acting headship ahead of other teachers at the school who had been teaching for much longer than him.

4.2.2 Teachers

All of the teachers who participated in this study were experienced and qualified primary school teachers. Their experiences ranged from seven to twenty-four years. They all had at least a certificate in education from a teachers' college. A few of them even had, or were

in the process of, obtaining Bachelor's degrees. However, none of the teachers had, or was enrolled, on the Bachelor of Education (Primary) degree programme that I was teaching in the Department of Teacher Education at the University of Zimbabwe. The experience and qualifications of participating teachers are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Experience, age and qualifications of participating teachers.

SCHOOL	TEACHER	AGE	QUALIFICATIONS	EXP. (years)
Kingsdale	Mrs. Bako	Mid 30s	Certificate in Education (Mkoba)	10
	Mrs. Sango	Early 30s	Certificate in Education (Masvingo)	7
	Mrs. Bere	Late 40s	Certificate in Education (Kitwe)	17
	Mrs. Moyo	Late 40s	Certificate in Education (Marymount)	20
Musasa View	Mrs. Dube	Early 50s	Certificate in Education (Morgan Zintec)	22
	Mrs. Gumbo	Early 30s	Certificate in Education (Marymount)	9
	Mr. Ngwenya	Late 30s	Certificate in Education (Mkoba)	10
	Mr. Nyika	Early 50s	Studying for BA in English (Zimbabwe Open University) Certificate in Education (Nyadire) Studying for BA in English (Zimbabwe Open University)	24
Eltonvale	Mrs. Soko	Early 30s	Certificate in Education (Seke)	8
	Mrs Seva (Assistant)	Early 30s	Certificate in Education (UCE)	7
	Mrs. Jiri	Mid 30s	Certificate in Education (Mkoba)	11
	Mr. Tembo	Mid 40s	BEd in Home Economics (Solusi) Certificate in Education (Masvingo) BEd in Educational Administration (Zimbabwe Open University)	18
	Mr. Sendeka (Assistant)	Early 30s	Certificate in Education (Nyadire)	7
	Mrs. Mlambo	Late 40s	Certificate in Education (Mkoba) BA in Psychology (Unisa)	21

4.2.3 Pupils

As stated earlier, all pupils in the classes selected for the study were participants. Observations, discussions, interviews and learning activities were conducted in the presence of all class members. This was necessary for transparency and to avoid any possible misinterpretation of the nature of my research. I sometimes asked pupils to talk about sensitive topics which were religiously avoided by their teachers but were in the official syllabus document. Examples of these were “Acceptable and healthy boy/girl relationships”, “My ideal girl (sic),” “The wife I would like to have (sic)” and “Personal

relationships, confidence and poise during adolescence” (Primary Educational Development Unit, 1982, pp. 38-39, 41).

All three schools enrolled both boys and girls. Their ages ranged from 5 in Grade 1 to 13 in Grade 7. In the first school term, the study covered four classes (Grades 1, 3, 5 and 7) at each school. My initial task was to sit in social studies classes, observe pupils’ learning activities and study their curriculum materials. I tried, as far as possible, to divide my time for fieldwork equally among the three schools. Since the schools were in the same district, I was able to observe each class at least twice per week and even to visit different schools on the same day. As the study progressed, it emerged that Grade 7 classes were much richer informants because they had already experienced the earlier stages of the syllabus. In addition, the same topics were covered at each stage because of the spiral nature of the syllabus. When the second school term began, I therefore narrowed my focus to the three Grade 7 classes. This enabled me to study them in much greater depth than the other classes.

In November and part of December, I had the Grade 7 classes all to myself. This is because Grade 7 pupils generally write primary school leaving examinations in October and are virtually free for the rest of the third term. This time is usually devoted to extra curricular activities, so I negotiated with the relevant authorities and pupils to use it for my research. I was allocated a Grade 7 class at each school. I used the opportunity to go over the citizenship exercise the pupils had written earlier so that I would get more insights into the way they understood issues pertaining to citizenship. Pupils were also free to ask questions on any aspect they felt they had not understood during their primary school social studies course. I responded to their queries and made clarifications where necessary but

ensured, through the use of probing questions, that the discussions remained pupil-centred and that pupils articulated their own positions and views. Pupils debated, played games and role played topics and themes of their choice. This allowed me to find out about their behaviours and perceptions in an even more “natural” way. My interaction with them was no longer strictly that of *observer* and *observed*, or that of *interviewer* and *interviewee*. Rather, it was now that of *teacher* and *pupil* to which they were more accustomed but with less exacting demands. For example, there was no language barrier for pupils who were not fluent in English as they were free to use their mother language. Neither was there a rigid syllabus to follow or the pressure of looming examinations. The environment was thus not only relaxed but conducive for including my research questions without disrupting normal class activities and procedures.

PART II:

4.3.0 Document Analysis

4.3.1 The Official Social Studies Syllabus Document

4.3.1.1 Introduction

It was important to study the official social studies syllabus document because it contained the intended citizenship education curriculum for primary schools. The document’s broad aims, scope, syllabus model, topics, content, pupil skills, attitudes, values and language were therefore analysed in detail.

In the acquisition of knowledge, skills, social attitudes and values the official syllabus document stressed in its introduction “the development of the child as a member and as a citizen of Zimbabwe” (Primary Educational Development Unit 1982, p. 1). In other words, the official syllabus document emphasised the development of the child into a responsible

citizen of Zimbabwe. It was significant that the changes made to the broad aims of social studies after independence related to citizenship education. As noted earlier, the idea of introducing an integrated subject such as social studies in place of geography and history was a recommendation of the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into African Primary Education of 1974 and it was this report which provided the foundation for the official syllabus document of 1982. However, the term citizenship education was not specifically used in this document. Perhaps, using it at the time the syllabus was published would have scared those who were apprehensive about the coming to power of a Marxist-oriented liberation movement and the creation of communist citizens through the school system. As argued earlier in the thesis, citizenship education is generally characterised less by the use of this term than by the nature and scope of what is taught and learnt in a given subject. The absence of the term citizenship education in itself did not mean it was not being taught and learnt. This could only be established after examining the aims, content, concepts, skills, values and attitudes specified in the syllabus document and what actually went on in the classrooms of the three schools.

4.3.1.2 Broad aims

The new government of 1980 adopted the broad aims suggested for social studies by the *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into African Primary Education* (1974) but reformulated most of them so that they gave greater prominence to nation building, patriotism and responsible citizenship (Table 7).

One aim in the Report that was surprisingly omitted from the broad aims of the official social studies syllabus document was the introduction of pupils to forms of government at local and international levels. The writers of the official social studies syllabus document

probably did not want to highlight the idea that the subject, in fact, intended to introduce political education into the school curriculum. Hence, despite leaving out this broad aim, the official syllabus document still included the functions and systems of government as part of its content. I wondered how the leaving out of this aim on political education would affect the implementation of political concepts and content in citizenship education.

Table 7: A comparison of broad aims in the Lewis Report 1974 and in the official social studies syllabus document of 1982.

Broad aims suggested by the Lewis Report of 1974	Broad aims presented in the official social studies syllabus document of 1982
<u>The social environment</u>	
(i) To provide the child with such an understanding of himself (sic) as a member of society as will result in positive and acceptable behaviour in the community	(i) To develop <i>a spirit of national consciousness and patriotism through interest in and involvement with the affairs and heritage of his /her community and Zimbabwe</i>
ii) To give him (sic) insight into the nature of the organisation of his (sic) own community, its origins and cultural attributes	(ii) To gain insight into the organisation origins and culture and <i>interdependence</i> of his (sic) and other communities
(iii) To develop within him (sic) an appreciation of the nature of the social obligations involved and an acceptance of his (sic) responsibilities for fulfilling them	(iii) To develop <i>a responsible attitude towards citizenship and a desire to make a purposeful and personal contribution to the creation of a united and self-reliant Zimbabwe through hard work and dedication to the service of his/her fellow Zimbabweans</i>
(iv) To give him (sic) an introduction to life in other selected communities so as to enable him (sic) to see both the similarities and deviations which mark human organisation and to give him (sic) some understanding of their origins	(iv) To know about life in certain selected communities and countries, comparing and contrasting them with his (sic) own so as to ensure an appreciative understanding of their similarities and differences, and <i>a commitment to the ideals of national and international unity.</i>
(v) To introduce him (sic) to the forms of government – local, national and international – which influence his (sic) manner of living	(v) To be able <i>to relate the past to the present in the study of change and continuity in human affairs</i>
<u>The physical environment</u>	
(i) To give an understanding of the delicate balance of nature	(Omitted)
(ii) To give an insight into the interdependence of man (sic) and nature	(Omitted)
(iii) To develop an appreciation of the need to use natural resources with a proper balance between their exploitation, maintenance and conservation	(vi) To be aware of the delicate balance between population growth and the potential of the natural and human resources of Zimbabwe
(iv) To assist in developing and understanding of and competence in those habits necessary for healthy living in the local environment	(Omitted)

Areas that received greater emphasis in the post-independence official syllabus document than in the pre-independence Lewis Report are in *bold italics*.

It also did not make sense why the Lewis Report's aims on the interdependence between people and their natural environments under the section called *physical environment* were omitted in the official social studies syllabus document of 1982. I did not think that the concepts and related content on diseases and environmental issues in the official syllabus could be meaningfully studied without looking at the interdependence between people and their natural environments. The point being made here is that even if a different subject called environmental science catering for the physical environment was also created, the social studies concepts noted above required the integration of both physical and social concepts.

The gender insensitive language of the Lewis Report was in many instances retained in the 1982 official syllabus document as could be seen in syllabus aims (ii) and (iv). Like the Lewis Report, the official social studies syllabus also sought "to give a clear understanding of the fundamental unity and dependency of man (sic) and his (sic) environment" (*Report of the Committee of Inquiry*, 1974, cited in Primary Educational Development Unit 1982, p.1). The otherwise useful message of environmental awareness in citizenship education was overshadowed by the use of terms such as man for humankind. The document went on to refer to teachers, pupils, and even resource persons by the pronouns *he* and *him*. Female teachers, pupils, and resource persons were virtually invisible in the syllabus document. Despite being written after the country's independence in 1980 which promised, among other things, greater gender awareness, the syllabus document remained trapped in the gender bias of a by-gone era - an era aptly captured by the title of James Brown's 1960's hit song: *It's a man's world!* As a researcher, I wondered if the gender insensitive language of the official syllabus document did not militate against the development of gender sensitive citizens during its implementation.

4.3.1.3 Scope

The scope of the syllabus developed after independence encompassed five key areas, namely:

1. The development of the child mentally, socially, spiritually and physically;
2. The heterogeneous nature of local cultures, beliefs and practices;
3. The deepening of the child's awareness of the interdependence between man(sic) and his(sic) natural environment(sic) environments, and man-made(sic) environments, and the interdependence between man(sic) and man(sic).
4. The inculcation of respect for the worth of the individual and an awareness that personal welfare can best be realized through the welfare of society as a whole, and
5. The nature of the organisation of his (sic) community, its origins and cultural attributes (Primary Educational Development Unit 1982,p. 2).

This syllabus therefore covered multidimensional child development (key area 1), respect for local culture and cultural diversity (key areas 2 and 5), sustainable environmental management (key area 3) and *hunhu/ubuntu* (key area 4). Although the term was not specifically used, an awareness that personal welfare should not be at the expense of the welfare of other members of society is the essence of *hunhu/ubuntu*. It would, however, have been better if the document had actually used the term *hunhu/ubuntu* for the benefit of its users.

The official social studies syllabus document divided the seven years of primary school, into four stages based on cognitive, linguistic and affective principles (Table 8).

Table 8: The four stages of the social studies syllabus

Stage	Age	Grades	Features
1	6-7	1-2	Concepts, content, skills and attitudes are largely limited to the home area and the school.
2	8	3	Concepts, content, skills and attitudes are extended to the local community and some more remote ones.
3	9-10	4-5	Concepts, content, skills and attitudes are extended to the wider community and the child's country.
4	11-12	6-7	Intensification and application of material covered in previous stages. Extends child's horizons to selected aspects of communities beyond the country's borders. Prepares child for further education or responsibilities he/she will encounter as a school leaver.

It expected the child to learn to be a responsible citizen of his/her family, class, school, local community, nation and the world roughly in that order.

4.3.1.4 Topics and Content

Social studies content was drawn from various disciplines and presented in ten topics that cut across the four stages (Table 9).

Table 9: Syllabus topics and the subject areas that provide them with content

Syllabus Topics	Disciplines Providing Content
1. Living Together	sociology, geography, history
2. Food	Home economics, science, geography, history
3. Shelter	geography, sociology, history, science
4. Health	science, geography, sociology, history
5. Rules and Laws	law, administration, politics, history
6. Transport and Communications	geography, science, history
7. Clothes	Home economics, science, geography, history
8. Wealth and Money	economics, commerce, geography, history
9. Work and Leisure	economics, sociology, geography, history
10. Social Services and Voluntary Organisations	sociology, politics, geography and history

The ten topics were continuously revisited from stages one to four as the complexity of the topics was increased. The official syllabus document discouraged a rigid grade-by-grade and stage-by-stage approach and urged flexibility between stages and between topics. It stated that heads and teachers were free to limit the depth or detail to be covered on a topic

depending on pupils' abilities, decide whether to treat topics separately or to combine them or even vary topic structures and to determine the levels of materials to be handled by the pupils depending on their capabilities and levels of maturity. A summary of the content for the respective syllabus topics is given in Table 10.

Table 10: Syllabus topics and summaries of their content

Syllabus Topic	Content Summary
1. Living Together	Our way of life; life in the past; life in other countries; changing patterns of life; successful living together.
2. Food	Food at home and elsewhere; growing, processing, preparing and marketing food; constituents of a well balanced diet; Food and eating habits in the past.
3. Shelter	Man (sic) and animals need shelter; site quality, design and function influence shelter.
4. Health	Healthy habits and sound personal relationships; accidents and their prevention; history of medical progress and discovery; work of health personnel and health organisations; care of the new baby and very young child.
5. Rules and Laws	Need for and nature of rules and laws; historical development of laws; systems of government.
6. Transport and Communications	Meeting the need for transport and communications; problems arising from the increasing need for transport; history of transport and communications.
7. Clothes	Need for clothes; people and resources influence the manufacture and sale of clothing; care of clothes; history of clothes.
8. Wealth and Money	Money exists in different forms; history of money; planned use of money; trade, past and present; wealth as a measure of resources.
9. Work and Leisure	Everyone has to do some kind of work; different kinds of work, work choice and employment opportunities; need for leisure and recreation and how this need is fulfilled; work, occupation, leisure and recreation pursued in earlier times.
10. Social Services and Voluntary Organisations	People and organisations help others; people and organisations in the past have devoted their lives to helping others.

Although the theme of citizenship education ran through all the ten topics, some of them stood out for their greater focus on citizenship. These included the main topics: ***living together*** and ***rules and laws***; and the sub-topics: *our way of life; life in the past; successful living together; the need for, and nature of rules and laws; the historical development of laws; and systems of government.*

Apart from the inclusion of some content on Zimbabwe, the main syllabus topics resembled those offered in American social studies. I did not find similarities between American and Zimbabwean social studies that strange. After all, the literature on social studies as a school subject suggested that its origin was largely American.

According to Mehlinger and Tucker (1979), for example:

Worldwide, social studies is perceived as largely an American concept. Indeed, in many nations it is either greeted enthusiastically or resisted vigorously in part because of its origin. In some of the newly independent nations, social studies has become part of the colonial debate. One reason social studies is doing well in the black African nations formerly ruled by England is that former curricular patterns are considered part of the colonial legacy. Casting aside the curriculum imposed by the English and then accepting social studies is a way of marking one's independence from the former colonial tutor (p.3).

Mehlinger and Tucker (1979) add that:

Some American scholars went overseas, and many students from abroad came to the United States to obtain advanced degrees. Social studies leaders abroad are often people who earned master's degrees or doctorates in American universities, then returned to fill key educational administrative posts (ibid p. 4).

Many of the Zimbabwean advocates for the introduction of social studies at independence had an American educational background. For the in-coming government, a new subject that was unrestrained by traditional subject boundaries provided an ideal entry point for citizenship education for the newly independent nation.

The official syllabus document stated that teachers did not have to be restricted to the topics and sub-topics that it provided. Its interpretation was expected to be flexible to cater for local conditions and environments. I found myself asking two pertinent questions: Did a common syllabus and a centralised examination system give individual schools enough room to cater for local conditions and environments? How flexible and contextualised was the teaching and learning of citizenship education in a specific region? Unfortunately, existing research literature did not answer these questions, further underlining the need for research on the quality of citizenship education that was implemented in a particular locality such as Harare.

4.3.1.5 Pupil Skills

The official syllabus document contained several examples of pupil skills that related to citizenship education (Appendix 8), although these were drawn mostly from the cognitive domain (Table 11). Nine out of the ten syllabus topics contained pupil skills that clearly related to citizenship education. When the ten topics were then ranked according to the number of citizenship-oriented skills that they contained, the following perking order was obtained: 1. *Rules and Laws*; 2. *Living Together*; 3. *Wealth and Money*; 4. *Social Services and Voluntary Organisations*; 5. *Health*; 6. *Work and Leisure*; 7. *Clothes*; 8. *Transport and Communication*; 9. *Shelter*; 10. *Food*.

The greatest number of citizenship-oriented skills was found under *rules and laws* followed by *living together*. The least number of citizenship-oriented skills was found under *food* followed by *shelter*.

Table 11: Cognitive classes and examples of pupil skills in the official syllabus document

Cognitive Class	Examples of pupil skills	Syllabus Reference
1. <u>Knowledge:</u> Remembering of Previously learned material.	(a) Describing daily routines, acts of kindness, love and help. (b) Identifying causes of pollution (c) Naming common foods eaten in other countries (d) Defining staple diet (e) Labelling or listing items of clothing	Living Together Stage 1 Health Stage 3 Food Stage 2 Food Stage 4 Clothes Stage 1
2. <u>Comprehension:</u> The ability to Grasp the meaning of material	(a) Clarifying or explaining what fresh air is (b) Differentiating between food grown and food purchased (c) Inferring that dirty clothes can cause sickness (d) Interpreting use of charts and maps	Health Stage3 Food Stage 1 Clothes Stage 1 Common to most topics
3. <u>Application:</u> The ability to use learned material in new and concrete situations	(a) Finding spending costs and sources of family income (b) Explaining how the chief's court operates (c) Relating sites of buildings to different geographical features (d) Offering solutions on how to control accidents and diseases	Wealth and Money Stage 3 Rules and Laws Stage 3 Shelter Stage 3 Health Stage 3
4. <u>Analysis:</u> The ability to break down material into its component parts so that its organizational structure may be understood	(a) Classifying people who need help (b) Sequencing time-lines in development of occupations and leisure pursuits (c) Keeping a simple cash book (d) Relating past experience to present	Social Service Stage1 Work and Leisure Stage 4 Wealth and Money Stage 3 Food Stage 3
5. <u>Synthesis:</u> The ability to put parts together to form a new whole	(a) Making a class frieze depicting the history of money (b) Surveys of transport costs (c) Organising information about the school's past (d) Planning the ideal shelter (e) Planning a balanced diet	Wealth and Money Stage 3 Transport & Comm Stage 4 Living Together Stage 4 Shelter Stage 4 Food Stage 4
6. <u>Evaluation:</u> The ability to judge the value of material for a given purpose	(a) Debating whether this country should have customary law or 'western' law only (b) Justifying effects of control boards on maintaining environmental cleanliness (c) Comparing various voluntary organizations (d) Judging the value of certain foods	Rules and Laws Stage 4 Health Stage 4 Social Services Stage 4 Food Stage 4

4.3.1.6 The Affective and Psychomotor Domains

Table 12: Citizenship attitudes and values in the official social studies syllabus

<p>1.LIVING TOGETHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Commitment to being useful and unselfish in the home, the school, and country• Commitment to the principles of co- operation and hard work• Development of desirable citizenship qualities• Appreciation of the struggle for liberation, Zimbabwean peoples' traditions and heritage• Appreciation of the family as a stabilizing influence in society <p>2.FOOD</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Concern for those who have insufficient food• Willingness to share <p>3.SHELTER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Desire to improve living conditions for self and others <p>4.HEALTH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Appreciation for the need for all to be involved in maintaining a healthy environment <p>5. RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Appreciation of need for rules and laws in society• Respect for the rights of other people including their rights to express their opinions freely• Acceptance of the idea that rules and laws in society• Respect for the rights of other people including their rights to express their opinion freely• Acceptance of the idea that rules and laws promote individual freedom rather than restrict it <p>6.TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Consideration for others in the use of facilities <p>7. CLOTHES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Appreciation of the need for adequate clothing for everyone• Appreciation and acceptance of differences in dress <p>8. WEALTH AND MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Appreciation of value and limitations of money and possessions• Have a responsible attitude towards money, public property and natural resources• Appreciation of wealth as a product of human labour <p>9. WORK AND LEISURE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Respect for all legitimate forms of work, the dignity of labour and the rights of workers• Commitment for perseverance, initiative and hard work• Desire to be self-reliant <p>10. SOCIAL SERVICES AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Concern for the welfare of others• Respect for those who help and have helped others• Willingness to assist others• Appreciation of self-reliance and self-sufficiency

The official syllabus document rightly noted that the affective domain covered the development of attitudes and values, yet it failed to give examples of pupil skills in this domain like it did in the case of the cognitive domain (Tables 11). It was as if affective skills were incidental and not fundamental to responsible citizenship. In addition, the syllabus document did not emphasize psychomotor skills arguing that they were common to most subjects taught in the primary school. The official syllabus document gave the impression, whether intended or not, that the affective and psychomotor domains were of less importance than the cognitive domain. I wanted to find out if, indeed, this was the case in schools.

However, to its credit the document contained attitudes and values, many of which pertained to citizenship such as commitment to hard work, the desire to be self-reliant, pride in and love for Zimbabwe and its people and placing the interest of the community above self-interest (Table 12). I also wanted to find out how these attitudes and values were taught and learnt in actual schools and classrooms and if they were affected by the choices and preferences of the syllabus implementers.

4.3.1.7 Language of instruction

At Kingsdale and Musasa View, most pupils indicated that English was not widely spoken in their home environments. Many of them, in fact, encountered it for the first time in the school environment. A significant number of pupils at Eltonvale, but not everybody, indicated that they used English quite frequently at home with their parents and siblings.

However, there was a lack of clarity on the official position regarding its use in social studies classes. On one hand, the official social studies syllabus document stated that English was the medium of instruction. Yet on the other hand, the same document urged

frequent use of the mother tongue, particularly at Stage 1. I wanted to find out what language of instruction was actually used in social studies and what impact this had on the implementation of citizenship education.

4.3.1.8 Comparison with Citizenship Curriculum Guides Used in Other Countries

I compared Zimbabwe's official social studies syllabus with the citizenship curriculum guides of the U.S.A., South Africa, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Guyana, Malawi and Angola using available literature and contacting their embassies in Harare (Appendix 8). These countries featured in my review of related literature in Chapter Two.

Expected learning outcomes for citizenship education through social studies in America were much more varied and explicit than was stated in the official primary school social studies syllabus document for Zimbabwe. There were some learning outcomes where the local social studies syllabus was relatively mute such as the need for pupils to identify and practice selected forms of civic discussion and participation consistent with the ideals of citizens in a democratic republic; and to examine the influence of public opinion on personal decision-making and government policy on public issues. There was less emphasis on these social studies outcomes in Zimbabwe than in America. Nonetheless none of the American curriculum standards was inconsistent with the general thrust of the existing Zimbabwean social studies syllabus. In other words, these outcomes could easily be accommodated using the official syllabus document if sufficient amendments were introduced during implementation.

Although some differences in approach and emphasis between Zimbabwe's official social studies syllabus document and official citizenship education curriculum guides in the African and the Caribbean countries reviewed existed, there were many common features. Zimbabwe's official social studies syllabus document, like South Africa's *Curriculum 2005*, covered economic development, social justice and interrelationships between society and the natural environment but was less explicit on democracy, human rights and conflict resolution. Sierra Leone's *Framework for Citizenship Education* sought to have a citizenship education curriculum that extensively covered peace, conflict management and resolution, the constitution, human rights and culture to a much greater extent than the official social studies syllabus document in use in Zimbabwe at the time of the research. This could be explained in terms of the brutal civil war which Sierra Leone experienced in its recent past. Although Zimbabwe had also experienced periods of internal turmoil in its post-colonial history, this had been nowhere near the scale of Sierra Leone's civil war. Nonetheless, Zimbabwe's social studies primary school syllabus could be improved by the inclusion of more gender issues, human rights, conflict management and cultural awareness. Ghana's citizenship education syllabus for primary schools and the official social studies syllabus document for Zimbabwe both emphasized national consciousness, patriotism and civic responsibility.

The syllabi for life skills, environmental and social science in Malawi and social studies in Zimbabwe shared a common concern for socially and morally responsible behaviour. However, Malawi's life skills syllabus was more explicit than Zimbabwe's social studies syllabus in its expected outcomes on citizenship. For example, it stated that pupils were expected to be able to describe a citizen, qualities of a good citizen, communities to which a citizen belongs and explain duties and rights of a citizen and the importance of being

patriotic. This had the advantage of making citizenship become part of lesson objectives and assessment criteria in examinations. Zimbabwe's social studies syllabus document had citizenship content and pupil activities in general but not the expected learning outcomes and inadvertently made it easier for teachers and examiners with no interest in citizenship issues to omit them. Angola's official curriculum guide for moral and civic education emphasized more self introspection and less text recall than did Zimbabwe's official social studies syllabus. Although both Zimbabwe and Guyana aimed to establish multi-racial and multicultural societies that appreciated and tolerated diversity in ethnicity, race, beliefs and opinions among their citizens, the official social studies syllabus in Zimbabwe was less emphatic on this aim than the one in Guyana.

4.3.2 Teachers' Schemes and Records of Work

4.3.2.1 Introduction

Teachers at all three schools did not have individual copies of the official syllabus document for developing their schemes of work. Each school only had a few copies, usually located in the head's office, which had to be shared by all teachers. As many as twelve teachers had to share a single copy of the official syllabus document. I was told that the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture did not send adequate copies of this document to schools.

Schemes of work were largely based on what was contained in pupils' textbooks and, to a lesser extent, teachers' textbooks. I adopted the terms Pupils' Books and Teacher's Resource Books - the terminology used by their publishers. Pupils' Books were specifically designed for use by pupils, while Teacher's Resource Books were specifically designed for use by teachers. Teacher's Resource Books were even less common than the

official syllabus document. The three schools did not provide teachers with Teacher's Resource Books. The Pupils' Book was deemed to be adequate. Ironically, in some classes it was only the teacher who had the Pupils' Book. The few teachers who used Teacher's Resource Books had sourced them from friends at other schools.

Schemes and records of work were presented in the form of scheme-cum-plans. These contained detailed weekly breakdowns of work to be covered in each school term (about three and half months in length) by indicating topic content, objectives, source of materials, teaching aids, activities and teachers' comments. Scheme-cum-plans used at these three schools generally followed the format suggested by the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture (Appendixes 10 and 11).

4.3.2.2 Broad aims

At Kingsdale Primary School, most of the teachers who participated in this research did not have any broad aims in their scheme-cum-plans. Only Mrs Moyo had broad aims in her scheme-cum-plan. Those who had no broad aims said that they were unaware of the existence of broad aims in the official syllabus document. What they had were teaching objectives based on Pupils' Books. Unfortunately, the Pupils' Books they relied on did not contain the broad aims of the official syllabus document.

Mrs Moyo's broad aims for teaching social studies as indicated in her scheme-cum-plan were to enable pupils to:

1. Gain an understanding of themselves as members of the community;
2. Develop positive and acceptable behaviour;
3. Gain an insight into the organisation, origins and culture of their own community

and other communities;

4. Understand their social obligations in fulfilling them; and

5. Be aware of the implications of population growth upon their physical and social environment.

Her broad aims differed from the ones in the official syllabus document not simply in semantics but substantively. Unlike the broad aims in the official syllabus document, hers did not seek to enable the pupil to develop “a spirit of national consciousness and patriotism” or “a responsible attitude towards citizenship and a desire to make a purposeful personal contribution to the creation of a united and self-reliant Zimbabwe through hard work and dedication to the service of his/her fellow Zimbabweans” (Primary Educational Development Unit, 1982, p.1).

She informed me that she had sourced them from a textbook. On checking this source, I found out that it was in fact the Teacher's Resource Book for Social Studies Stage One written by House, House and Mackenzie (1998) and approved by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. The book had six broad aims that it claimed were from the “syllabus as developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Zimbabwe” (House, House and Mackenzie, 1998, p. 7). Yet, they were, almost word for word, from the Lewis and Taylor Report of 1974.

At Musasa, three of the four teachers who participated in the study had broad aims. These were Mr Ngwenya, Mrs Dube and Mrs Gumbo. However out of those who had broad aims, only Mrs Gumbo obtained them from the official syllabus document. Mrs Dube obtained hers from House et al (1998). Mr Ngwenya obtained his from the title of a Pupils’

Book series, namely to develop in pupils the ability to live and work together. Mr Nyika did not have any broad aims at all.

At Elton, two of the four teachers who participated in the study had broad aims in their scheme-cum-plans, while the other two had none. Those who had broad aims were Mrs Jiri and Mrs Mlambo. Mrs Soko and Mr Tembo did not have any broad aims. Mrs Mlambo sourced her broad aims from the official syllabus document while Mrs Jiri sourced hers from House et al. (1998).

Half of the teachers who participated in this study therefore did not indicate any broad aims at all in their scheme-cum-plans giving the impression that the role of broad aims in providing the general intention and thrust of their teaching was not well appreciated. The relative scarcity of the official syllabus document undoubtedly contributed to this state of affairs. However, the fact that they also did not formulate their own broad aims suggested that this aspect could also have been neglected in their teacher education at college. There was a general pre-occupation with specific performance related behavioural objectives to the detriment of less specific and value-oriented broad aims. Even the specimen scheme of work for social studies provided by the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture did not state broad aims (Curriculum Development Unit, 1990). An example of a record and scheme of work by a teacher participating in the study is shown in Appendix 9.

Among those who indicated broad aims in their scheme-cum-plans only two - Mrs Gumbo and Mrs Mlambo – used the official syllabus document. Apparently this document was not easy to come by in schools. Mrs Mlambo, the other teacher who used the official syllabus

document, was herself the deputy head so she had easier access to the official syllabus document than other teachers. After all, the few available copies were located in the head's office.

Most teachers therefore did not use the official syllabus document when developing their scheme-cum-plans. They therefore tended to miss out on some important information in the document such as the aims of teaching social studies in Zimbabwe. The Teacher's Resource Book was not a good substitute for the official syllabus document. For example, the Teacher's Resource Book for Stage One by House et al (1987) did not convey the general thrust and intention of the official syllabus. Instead, it reproduced the broad aims of the Lewis –Taylor Report. There were two possible explanations for this. First, work on the Teacher's Resource Book probably started soon after the Lewis – Taylor Report in 1974 and the authors did not bother to revise the section on broad aims after the finalisation of the social studies syllabus in 1982. Second, the authors probably preferred the broad aims suggested in the Lewis-Taylor Report to those introduced by the government that came to power in 1980. Strangely, the same government, through its Curriculum Development Unit approved the Teacher's Resource Book in question without noticing the omission of the broad aims it had itself written into the syllabus document. Teachers who relied on this particular teacher's resource book in lieu of the official syllabus document did not state broad aims that expressed national consciousness, national heritage and patriotism in their scheme-cum-plans.

4.3.2.3 Instructional Objectives

Scheme-cum-plans mostly contained cognitive instructional objectives. Low order skills were preponderant while higher order skills were almost non-existent in these instructional

objectives. Most of them involved simple recall and rudimentary understanding of material and fell into the cognitive class that Bloom (1956) termed “Knowledge”. These required pupils to, for example:

1. List rules followed at home and at school (Mrs Bako, Grade One Teacher, Kingsdale);
2. Name the three races in Zimbabwe (Mr Ngwenya, Grade Five Teacher, Musasa View);
3. List changes introduced by our government when it came to power in 1980 (Mr Nyika, Grade Seven Teacher, Musasa View); and
4. Relate events which led to colonialism (Mrs Mlambo, Grade Seven Teacher, Eltonvale);

All that the above objectives asked of pupils was to remember previously learned material. They were not asked to use it in new situations, relate it to different contexts, pass judgment on it, or supplement it by finding new material on their own. Very few scheme-cum-plans had objectives that required pupils to, for example, “go into a garden of their choice, find out what crops are grown in it and group them according to the nutrients they provide” (Mrs Jiri, Grade Three Teacher, Eltonvale). This objective significantly differed from those stated by the other teachers in that it went beyond simple “Knowledge” and covered “Application” (Bloom, 1956).

Teachers rarely stated objectives in Bloom’s other cognitive classes such as “Comprehension,” “Analysis,” “Synthesis” and “Evaluation.” This was despite the fact that the official syllabus document gave the full range of Bloom’s cognitive classes together with examples of related pupil skills and syllabus references. This further

confirmed the limited use of the official syllabus document by teachers. Analysis of scheme-cum-plans showed that teachers did not start by formulating objectives from the official syllabus document, and then seeking a wide variety of materials and contexts to help fulfil those objectives. Rather they started with content material in Pupils' Books and then formulated objectives to go along with that content. Many of the objectives in scheme-cum-plans could, in fact, be met by simply paraphrasing descriptions and explanations in pupils' textbooks. This curtailed the prospects of truly open-ended learning. Anything worth learning had to be found in the textbook. In this way, scheme-cum-plans reinforced the supremacy of the textbook and reduced the teacher to a mere bystander despite all the resources expended in his/her teacher education.

4.3.2.4 Pupil Activities

Pupil activities in scheme-cum-plans were like the cognitive objectives that guided them. They tended to reflect low order rather than high order skills. By and large, they involved naming, listing, describing, listening to and copying down teacher and textbook supplied information. They rarely involved finding out information, conducting surveys, interviewing people, observing and classifying phenomena, presenting information in simple tables and graphs, let alone imagining, role playing, dramatising, telling stories, writing essays, discussing and debating issues and events as suggested by the official syllabus document.

With very few exceptions, such as the Grade Seven class at Eltonvale that was asked to sing any liberation war song and comment on it, most learning activities were teacher and textbook centred. Many citizenship-oriented pupil activities suggested in the official

syllabus document were either ignored or, at most, watered down in teacher's scheme-cum-plans (Table 13).

Table 13: A comparison of citizenship-oriented pupil activities in the official syllabus and those in teachers' scheme-cum-plans.

Citizenship Concept	Grade	Pupil Activity Suggested in Syllabus Document	Related Pupil Activity in Scheme-cum-plans
How we live	1	Describing their daily acts of kindness, love and help.	<u>Kingsdale</u> : Talking about what they do everyday at school; <u>Musasa View</u> : None; <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Relationships with other groups in the community	3	Making friends with children from different ethnic groups and finding out from them their language, beliefs, customs etc.	<u>Kingsdale</u> : None <u>Musasa View</u> : None <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Local government	5	Finding out what a person has to do in order to vote for the local council.	<u>Kingsdale</u> : List examples of by-laws <u>Musasa View</u> : Name local authorities that may pass by-laws. <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Rights & responsibilities of good citizenship.	7	Communicating the qualities of good citizenship.	<u>Kingsdale</u> : None <u>Musasa View</u> : None <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Successful Living together	7	Class discussion on "What it means to be a responsible person."	<u>Kingsdale</u> : None <u>Musasa View</u> : None <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Acceptable and healthy boy and girl relationships	7	Writing essays on topics such as "My ideal girl (sic)" and "The wife (sic) I would like to have."	<u>Kingsdale</u> : None <u>Musasa View</u> : None <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Factors that determine the price of an article	7	Role-playing the management committee of dairy products company that is considering increasing its prices. The committee discusses the reasons and effect of the price increases as well as how the increases may be avoided.	<u>Kingsdale</u> : None <u>Musasa View</u> : None <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Health	7	Formulating opinions & making judgments based on facts on traditional and modern medicine.	<u>Kingsdale</u> : None <u>Musasa View</u> : None <u>Eltonvale</u> : None
Heroes of the Liberation struggle	7	Writing paragraphs on (a) any hero of the liberation struggle and (b) the concept of self-sacrifice	<u>Kingsdale</u> : Compiling list of heroes from textbook. <u>Musasa View</u> : Listening to teacher telling them about Nehanda and Kaguvi. <u>Eltonvale</u> : Singing any liberation war song and Commenting on it.

4.3.2.5 Attitudes and Values

All teachers' scheme-cum-plans that I saw did not include the attitudes and values that pupils were expected to acquire. On raising this issue with the teachers, I realised that many of them were not aware of the existence of the values that go hand in hand with particular topics in the official syllabus. They also informed me that they hardly used the official syllabus document when planning their lessons. By and large, the teachers relied on commercially published textbooks which despite their approval by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture ignore or, at most, downplay attitudes and values.

4.3.2.6 Content

Scheme-cum-plans did not have full information on the actual content that the teachers intended to cover. All they had were general topics and sub-topics in a section titled *content/topics*. Most of these were simply headings and subheadings of chapters in Pupils' Books. This again suggested that teachers made very little use, if any, of the official syllabus document. Scheme-cum-plans also appeared to have been done to meet administrative requirements rather than to provide a comprehensive guide to the content to be taught. Main citizenship concepts and related content were not found in scheme-cum-plans despite the fact that the official syllabus document had them. This did not necessarily mean that they were not covered in actual teaching; rather that they were, for the most part, not deliberately planned for. I had to obtain further evidence from pupils' textbooks, exercises, tests, interviews and lesson observations before I could determine the actual coverage of citizenship education content.

4.3.2.7 Sources of Materials

The pupils' textbook was not only the *de facto* syllabus; it was also the primary source of material for teaching. It provided the bulk of the content, objectives and learning activities used in teaching. Very few scheme-cum-plans indicated alternative sources such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television, encyclopaedia and libraries, the internet or even pupils' personal experiences. Although the official syllabus document was also cited as a source of material by teachers there was little evidence of its use from the information actually contained in scheme-cum-plans.

4.3.3 Pupils' and Teachers' Textbooks

4.3.3.1 Introduction

Teachers cited, as sources of materials, three series of approved Pupils' Books and Teacher's Resource Books. The textbook series were:

1. Living and Working Together Pupil's and Teacher's Resource Book Series. Longman Zimbabwe, Harare.
2. Ventures Living Together Pupils' Activity Book and Teacher's Resource Book Series. College Press Publishers, Harare.
3. Social Studies in Action Pupils' and Teachers' Resource Book Series. Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare.

Out of the twelve teachers who participated in the study, ten cited the Living and Working Together Pupils' Book series published by Longman, seven the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book series published by Zimbabwe Publishing House, five the Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book series published by Longman, three the Ventures Living Together Teacher's Resource Book series published by College Press, two

the Ventures Living Together Pupils' Activity Book series published by College Press, and one the Social Studies in Action Teacher's Resource Book series published by Zimbabwe Publishing House. The Living and Working Together Pupils' Book series published by Longman was by far the most cited source of material followed by the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book series. The Social Studies in Action Teacher's Resource Book series published by Zimbabwe Publishing House was the least cited source of material.

The extent to which these textbooks were cited as sources of materials in scheme-cum-plans is summarised in Table 14. Very few teachers included Teacher's Resource Books among their sources of materials. While all teachers cited Pupils' Books as sources of material, more than half of them did not cite any Teacher's Resource Book at all.

Table14: Citations of textbooks as sources of materials by teachers

Living and Working Together Pupils' Book Series	Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book Series	Ventures Living Together Pupils' Activity Book Series	Ventures Living Together Teacher's Resource Book Series	Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book Series	Social Studies in Action Teacher's Resource Book Series	Aspect Considered
4	1	1	1	3	0	Teachers at Kingsdale who cited the textbook
4	2	0	1	2	0	Teachers at Musasa View who cited the textbook
2	2	1	1	2	1	Teachers at Eltonvale who cited the textbook
10	5	2	3	7	1	Teachers at all the three schools who cited the textbook
12	12	12	12	12	12	Total number of Teacher participants

Pupils' Books were thus the primary source of material while Teacher's Resource Books were rarely used, if at all. On checking the Teacher's Resource Book content and page references in scheme-cum-plans, I realised that even fewer teachers actually used the

Teacher's Resource Books than the numbers that claimed to have used them. This was because the page references and the content they gave did not match what was in the Teacher's Resource Book series.

While most teachers did not have copies of the official syllabus document, they had, at least, a copy of an approved Pupils' Book. There was a widespread feeling among teachers that the national examination orientation of the curriculum and the absence of school-based assessment at primary school favoured the almost exclusive use of the most available reference material – the Pupils' Book. The Pupils' Book was therefore a greater influence on teachers than any other social studies curriculum material. Teachers did not take it as merely an author's interpretation and application of the concepts and ideas of a given syllabus. They overlooked the possibility that an author could omit, add to or even distort what the designers of the official syllabus originally intended (Appendixes 12 and 13). So much faith did they appear to have in the textbook that, to some, it served as the *de facto* syllabus. Given the apparent dominance of the textbook in the scheme-cum-plans that I was analysing, I wondered if the textbook author's own preferences and biases did not affect the quality of citizenship education that was actually implemented through social studies.

As I continued my on-site study, it became increasingly apparent that the Pupils' Book was the main driver of the curriculum. The function of scheming and planning what to teach appeared to have been essentially taken over by textbook writers. The centrality of the Pupils' Book was also noted in pupils' oral and written work and is further discussed later on in the thesis. It is to an analysis of the content of the Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book series themselves that I now turn.

4.3.3.2 Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book Series

4.3.3.2.1 Relationship between Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book Series

Pupils' Books were not designed as stand-alone materials but were meant to be complemented with their respective Teacher's Resource Books. However, this was not what I found to be happening in the field. Five of the ten teachers who cited the Living and Working Together Pupils' Book series did not cite the companion Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book series. Six of the seven teachers who cited the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Books series did not cite the companion Social Studies in Action Teacher's Resource Book series. It was only in the case of the Ventures Living Together Pupils' Book series where the two teachers who cited it, also cited the companion Ventures Living Together Teacher's Resource Book series. Most teachers took the Pupils' Book to be a complete source of teaching material on its own that did not need to be complemented with any teacher's textbook and not even by the official syllabus document.

However, the Pupils' Book was not designed as a self-contained textbook - not even for the pupil. It required the teacher to obtain additional information from the Teacher's Resource Book for explanations in it to be complete. This design, however, only served to condition the pupil from an early age to rely on interpretations from the teacher instead of reading and interpreting for himself or herself - even about stories that are presented in his or her own textbook. There were many stories in the Pupils' Book that did not make sense if reference was not made to the Teacher's Resource Book. This ran counter to the syllabus aim of seeking to instil in pupils the spirit of self-reliance wherever possible. The Teacher's Resource Book should therefore have been designed to supplement and not to replace material that rightfully ought to have been in the Pupils' Book.

4.3.3.2.2 Link of *Pupils' Book* and *Teacher's Resource Book* Series to Syllabus

At a superficial level, there was a good fit between the official syllabus and the Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book series. There was, for example, a match between the ten main topics of the official syllabus document and those in the three textbook series. The textbooks carried the names of the main syllabus topics in their chapter titles. They generally followed the sequence of the main topics as presented in the official syllabus document. Even the titles of the textbook series published by Longman and College Press were derived from the first main topic in the official syllabus document - Living Together. However, deeper analysis of the textbooks revealed that the fit ended largely at the level of surface appearances. The Pupils' Books did not specify the syllabus model, scope, target group, medium of instruction, aims, skills, attitudes and values or break down topics into main concepts and related content as was done in the official syllabus document. They tended to move into the content of the main topics right away and to omit some of the sub-topics and background information in the official syllabus document on why and how the subject was to be taught. They thus gave the impression that the omitted sub-topics and background information were unimportant.

Ironically, it was the Teacher's Resource Books, rather than the Pupils' Books, that contained a wide range of pupil centred activities such as model construction, creative writing, surveys, debates, quizzes, dramatization, games and simulations. Pupils' Books, on the other hand, had a narrow range of teacher and textbook centred activities which, on the main, involved filling in blank spaces and responding to multiple choice questions. Teacher's Resource Books also carried additional information such as aims, teaching methods and resource materials. Teachers who relied solely on the Pupils' Books were therefore disadvantaged from the very beginning.

The Teacher's Resource Books were, themselves, not a good replacement of the official syllabus document for there were many areas where they departed from what was stipulated in the syllabus and the extent to which this happened varied from series to series. Not all Teacher's Resource Books provided the broad aims of teaching social studies. The Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 1 to 5 carried the broad aims of the official syllabus document, while those for Grades 6 and 7 did not. This meant that Grade 6 and 7 teachers who relied on this textbook series were likely to miss out on these aims. The Ventures Living Together Teacher's Resource Book series did have broad aims but these were not based on the official syllabus document but on the Lewis-Taylor Report of 1974. The Social Studies in Action Teacher's Resource Book series was not consistent on the inclusion of the broad aims of teaching social studies that were in the official syllabus document. For example, the Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 7 (Mhashu, 1998), 6 (Mhashu and Chadzamira, 1998) and 2 (Moyo, 1999) omitted them completely, while the Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 5 (Sithole, 1998) and 4 (Sithole, 1999) included them.

Thus, some Teacher's Resource Books left out some of the aims of teaching social studies such as patriotism, human interdependence, self-reliance, nationhood, national heritage and commitment to the ideals of national and international unity despite the fact that these were contained in the official syllabus document and formed the bedrock of citizenship education. The decision whether to include syllabus aims or not seemed to have been left to textbook authors and publishers. The Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture too did not appear to have insisted on them when it assessed the Teacher's Resource Books for approval. This would have been alright if there was a free market for school textbooks and not a situation where school textbooks had to be

officially approved before they could be widely used in schools. Although the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture did not actually ban books that it had not approved, I did not see any unapproved social studies textbooks in the schools that I studied. The stamp of approval from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture probably contributed to the unwarranted faith teachers placed on the accuracy and relevance of the three series of social studies textbooks that were used in primary schools at the time of the research.

None of the three Teacher's Resource Book series indicated the scope of the syllabus as outlined in the official syllabus document. Under scope, the official syllabus document stressed the inculcation of respect for the worth of the individual and awareness that personal welfare was best realised through the welfare of society as a whole (Primary Educational Development Unit, 1982). In other words, the official syllabus document stressed *hunhu* or *ubuntu*. However, this *hunhu* or *ubuntu* was not conveyed in the approved social studies textbooks.

In particular, none of the following values and attitudes related to *hunhu* or *ubuntu* was available in any of the Pupils' and Teacher's Resource Book series despite being in the official syllabus document:

1. Being useful and unselfish in the home, school community and country;
2. Concern for those who have insufficient means of survival;
3. Respect for the rights of others; and
4. Development of a responsible attitude towards public property and natural resources.

The Living Together Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book series published by College Press and the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book series published by Zimbabwe Publishing House did not have anything at all on values and attitudes. There was brief mention of values and attitudes in the Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book series, but there was confusion as to whether or not classroom teaching should actually cater for attitudes and values. According to the Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book for Grade 7:

Attitudes and values are concerned with the development of moral principles. They take long to develop fully. However this is not to say that they cannot be taught, but rather that they are difficult to measure soon after teaching the lesson (*Living and Working Together*, 2001, p. 2).

This view was however contradicted in the Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 1 to 5 whose position was that, since they have "a strong family and community basis," they "cannot be taught" (1984, p. 7; 1996, p. 6; 1998, p. 6; 2002, p. 5).

The Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 1 to 6 did not specify the values and attitudes to be taught. It was only the Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book for Grade 7 that stated the values and attitudes to be taught. The writers and publishers of the textbook series indirectly suggested to teachers that values and attitudes could not be taught to earlier grades. Even the values and attitudes presented in the textbook for Grade 7 teachers were not derived from the official syllabus document. For example, under the topic Living Together, the official syllabus document sought to develop in pupils the desire to be useful and unselfish in the home, school, community and

country whereas the Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book for Grade 7 sought to develop in pupils an acceptance of change as an inevitable force, of the need for racial harmony and of the obligation to promote it. Although the textbook's values and attitudes were not in conflict with teaching for responsible citizenship, they were still not what the designers of the syllabus intended. Teachers who relied on this textbook for guidance on the values and attitudes to be taught in social studies were therefore disadvantaged, as they missed out on the exact attitudes and values that were contained in the official syllabus document.

None of the three Teacher's Resource Book series discussed the syllabus model, target group and language of instruction, unlike what was done in the official syllabus document. Teachers were not told the rationale and main features of the concentric or spiral model (Bruner, 1960) used in designing the syllabus. The official syllabus urged teachers to be cognisant of the features of the groups of learners that were targeted such as their ethnic composition, mother language, socio-economic status and their urban or rural environment. The Teacher's Resource Books were deafeningly silent on this aspect.

The Ventures Living Together Pupils' Activity Books 1 and 2 published by College Press, and the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Books 1 and 2 published by Zimbabwe Publishing House were in one language only, namely English. They therefore did not promote mother tongue instruction for non-native speakers of English. Only the Living and Working Together Pupils' Books 1 and 2 published by Longman were in three languages, namely English, Shona and Ndebele and facilitated mother tongue instruction for pupils who spoke these languages. However, less widely spoken languages such as Venda, Tonga and Kalanga were not used in Pupils' Books for Grades 1 and 2 despite the fact that the official

syllabus supported mother tongue instruction at this level. Even beyond Grade 2, where the medium of instruction was English, names of indigenous foods that were juxtaposed against the English ones were in Shona and Ndebele but not in the other languages spoken in the country. The Teacher's Resource Books were all in English and were silent on how mother tongue instruction was to be conducted.

Some citizenship concepts and related content were left out in the three Pupils' Book series and in the accompanying Teacher's Resource Book series as well. Subtopics such as *our way of life*, *life in the past* and *successful living together* were omitted (Appendix 1). The Living and Working Together Grade 6 and 7 Teacher's Resource Books and the Social Studies in Action Grade 6 and 7 Teacher's Resource Books completely ignored the main concept of *successful living together* and related content on *acceptable and healthy boy/girl relationships*, *responsibilities of marriage and parenthood* and *becoming an informed person* despite the fact that these were contained in the official syllabus document. Only the Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Teacher's Resource Book mentioned this concept and its related content. Even then the material provided was woefully inadequate. For example, all that was provided under the heading "Acceptable and Healthy Boy/Girl Relationships" was: "Class activities that encourage co-operation and mixed group work are recommended" and "Sports and games where both sexes participate are also a good idea" (House and House, 2000, p. 26).

Most pupils in Grade 7 were already in the early stages of puberty and adolescence and were beginning to experience significant physical and emotional changes. This was an opportune time for them to get information on *acceptable and healthy boy/girl relationships*, *responsibilities of marriage and parenthood* and *becoming an informed*

person. Yet the Teacher's Resource Book shied away from the responsibility of discussing how to tackle issues like peer pressure, friendships with members of the opposite sex, dating, sexual intercourse, marriage and parenthood. It merely referred teachers to addresses of organisations such as the Marriage Guidance Society and the Child Spacing and Fertility Association, presumably to be consulted after school hours. It therefore implied that the affected issues were taboo and could not be part of the content of the textbook and by extension of normal class discussions.

The Living and Working Together and the Ventures Living Together Pupils' Books and Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 6 and 7 had very limited material on the main concept *healthy habits and sound personal relationships* and related content on *personal cleanliness, relationships, confidence and poise during adolescence* and *drug and alcohol abuse*. They had nothing, for example, on how young girls could cope with the onset of menstrual cycles, or what wet dreams by young boys meant. On the other extreme, all content related to adolescence and puberty was totally ignored by the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 6 and 7. Yet urban pupils, such as the ones who participated in this study, had few or no elderly relatives from whom they could learn about sound personal relationships. They were unlike their counterparts in rural areas who lived in a traditional African context where adolescents could learn from aunts, uncles and other senior members of the extended family.

The Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book series had absolutely nothing on the concept of *public property and the individual's responsibility for it* despite the statement in the official syllabus document that the pupils had a stake in the public ownership of community property and had to plan how to carry out this

responsibility (Primary Educational Development Unit, 1982). The Ventures Living Together and Living and Working Together Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book series had some material on public property but failed to discuss the individual's role in caring for it. The notion that protecting public property was everybody's concern should, in fact, have been highlighted as vital in countering the prevalence of vandalism.

Under the topic *rules and laws*, Socialist Democracies and Western Democracies were not covered by the Ventures Living Together and Living and Working Together Pupils' Books and Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 6 and 7 despite being in the official syllabus document. They were only discussed in the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Books and Teacher's Resource Books for Stage 7. The Living and Working Together and the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Books and Teacher's Resource Books for Grades 6 and 7 left out the *significance of the national flag, anthem and coat of arms*. The concept was only covered in Living and Working Together for Grade 6.

The official syllabus document encouraged the study of *life in other countries* with reference to language, customs, physical problems and advantages (Primary Educational Development Unit 1982, p.28) but the three series of Pupils' Books and Teacher's Resource Books were very inward looking. The Ventures Living Together and Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book and Teacher's Resource Book series had no material on *life in other countries*. The Living and Working Together Grade 5 Pupils' Book (1994, p. 4) and Teacher's Resource Book (2002, pp. 1-2) reduced this to *life in Botswana*. Nothing was provided on life in other Southern African countries and beyond. While not every country could be covered in one textbook series, the textbooks in use in schools did not include a diversity of countries as implied by the official syllabus document. I wondered if

the leaving out of the study of *life in other countries* or confining it to Botswana did not limit pupils' international awareness.

4.3.3.2.3 Accuracy and Relevance of Pupils' and Teachers' Textbooks

The focus of this section is on the accuracy and relevance of approved school textbooks themselves as curriculum documents. How teachers and pupils use them is discussed separately under teaching and learning later on the thesis. School textbooks should, as far as possible, be accurate and relevant to current developments. The social studies textbook series used at the schools that participated in this study contained several inaccuracies, omissions and outdated information. There was also no difference between the books in schools and those that were being sold in bookshops during the research period. The fact that the books might have been accurate and relevant when they were first published and approved was no excuse for not revising and updating them in subsequent editions and reprints. Even less acceptable was the presentation of what ought to happen as if it was what was actually happening. I was rather disappointed by the low level of corporate responsibility shown by those involved in the textbook publishing industry.

None of the textbooks had the words of Zimbabwe's national anthem. Some aspects of the country's history were not accurately presented. Much of the political, social and economic information that was in textbooks related to the 1980's and was misleading to young learners because it was presented as if it was current during the time of the research. As far as the three series of social studies textbooks were concerned, the policy of apartheid was still the policy of the South African government, the organization known as the Frontline States still existed, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference had not yet been transformed to the Southern African Development Community, the

African Union was still called by its old name – the Organisation of African Unity, Zimbabwe was still in the Commonwealth, the Soviet Union still existed and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was still in power and most Southern African states had one-party systems of government.

The national anthem and national colours as depicted on the national flag are some of the most visible signs of any country's national pride and sense of patriotism. The official syllabus document rightly listed the national anthem and national flag as part of the expected concepts and related content to be covered in social studies.

The Social Studies in Action Grade 5 Pupils' Book defined the national anthem 'as a song we all share and which we sing on important occasions, to show we are one nation' (Machawira and Gwekwerere 1997, p. 42) but did not proceed to state and discuss the words of Zimbabwe's national anthem. The Ventures Living Together Social Studies Grade 5 Pupils' Book even suggested an alternative song to the national anthem:

Here is a song that your class can learn and practice for the independence celebrations:

Ngatibatane/ Asibambane/ Let Us Unite

Composed by Sivara Antonio Mwaisowa

(1)

Let us unite

Let us unite

Because we are one people

Let us unite

(2)

Let us work hard

Until we finally succeed (House et al. 2000, p. 12)

While the song had a relevant message, it could not supplant the national anthem whose absence from the textbook was contrary to syllabus expectations. The Living and Working Together Grade 6 Pupils' Book even told pupils: "Our present anthem is entitled 'Ishe Komborera Africa (Shona) Nkosi Sikelela iAfrica (Ndebele)' God bless Africa" (1996, p. 35), yet that song served as Zimbabwe's national anthem only in the first decade after independence. At the time of this research, the national anthem was "Blessed Be the Land of Zimbabwe" (*Ngaikomborerwe Nyika yeZimbabwe / Kalibusiswe Ilizwe leZimbabwe*) composed by S. M. Mutsvairo and F. L. Changundega in 1990. It had been in use for two decades but was found in none of the approved social studies textbook series.

None of the three series of social studies textbooks had colour pictures or drawings of the national flag. Instead the national flag was presented in black and white pictures and drawings as if a national flag could be meaningfully illustrated without its colours. The Ventures Living Together Pupils' Book series neither mentioned nor explained the colours of the national flag. However, the Living and Working Together and Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book series did. They said the red star on the national flag represented hope for the nation's future but did not link it to any specific political ideology. However, the School Atlas for Zimbabwe which, like the Pupils' Books, was officially approved for use in primary schools linked it to socialism. I wondered which of the two different interpretations of the same symbol on the national flag was actually taught in schools.

Great Zimbabwe was a thriving pre-colonial civilisation and it is one of Africa's most important heritage sites. However, the Living and Working Together Grade 3 Pupils' Book trivialised the ingenuity of its builders as follows:

This is how they built Great Zimbabwe.

1. They found a big area of special rock without soil over it.
 2. They lit fires on the rock. When the rock was hot they quickly poured water on it.
- This caused a layer of rock to break away from the rock underneath (*Living and Working Together*, 1992, p. 29).

This simplistic explanation of how Great Zimbabwe was built was inconsistent with the geometric shapes of granite blocs used, the use of stone cutting tools, the mathematical calculations involved and the architectural design used. The textbooks failed to show that planning and technical ingenuity was needed in the building of the monument. Strangely, they failed to link the soapstone figurines, iron gongs, elaborately worked ivory, iron and copper wire, iron hoes, bronze spearheads, copper ingots and gold beads and bracelets that archaeologists found at the 722 hectare site of Great Zimbabwe to the existence of a fairly advanced civilisation as early as the 11th century. Contrary to what the textbooks would have the pupils believe, much more technical know-how than cracking rocks with fire was certainly needed in the construction of Great Zimbabwe.

The *Living and Working Together* Grade 6 Pupil's Book (p. 6) wrongly stated that the first political party for Africans in Zimbabwe was the African National Council when in fact it was the African National Congress followed by the National Democratic Party led by Joshua Nkomo. The *Social Studies in Action* Grade 5 Pupils' Book downplayed the cause of conflict between Africans and Europeans in the early stages of colonialism by saying:

The Portuguese missionaries helped spread European influence by converting many people to Christianity. One of the early missionaries was a man called Silveira, who the Shona people killed after he had baptised seven hundred people... there is a

story that the Arab traders had told the Shona people that Silveira was a magician who wanted to take their land (Machawira and Gwekwerere, 1997, p. 5).

The source of conflict was thereby distorted to Africans' superstitious fear of Silveira's magic, instead of their desire to protect their sovereignty and cultural practices. The Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book even presented colonialism as a largely benign and civilising process saying:

...the people who lived in Europe had large cities and a way of life which they considered to be the best in the world. From Europe, first explorers, then traders, missionaries and settlers set out across the oceans to colonise the lands they claimed. The population of these new lands ... were usually small in number and scattered over a wide area. Europeans colonised America. The French, British, Dutch and the Spanish and the Portuguese shared the Americas. They did the same in Africa, parts of Asia, many islands around the world and Australia and New Zealand (House and House, 1996, p. 13).

It was as if the colonialists simply moved onto uninhabited land. The textbook's account of colonialism begged the question: Did non-European nations also not have ways of life which they believed to be the best in the world? It ignored what really forced them to change their ways of life - the land expropriations, brutal wars and loss of sovereignty that accompanied colonialism.

What the textbooks presented on education and health provision was not what was currently experienced by pupils. The Social Studies in Action Grade 6 Pupils' Book (Machawira, 1994a, p. 76) mentioned free health services for people earning less than a certain income level per month, while the Living and Working Together Grade 7 Pupils'

Book (p. 112) said most children did not pay fees to attend school. Education and health were presented as some of the social services that were provided free to the country's citizens. This was no longer true and most of the pupils using the textbook, in fact, paid fees to attend school and to receive medical treatment.

The Living and Working Together Grade 6 Pupils' Book told pupils that water that came to their homes in cities was clean and that people did not get sick from it (p. 13). Again, this was not strictly true in Harare where some suburban dwellers had indeed fallen sick from drinking inadequately treated tap water. The textbook should in fact have been explaining to pupils how water should be treated in order to make it safe for drinking. Pupils in Harare and other urban areas saw lots of uncollected rubbish littering the streets across their schools for months on end. Yet the Social Studies in Action Grade 7 Pupils' Book told them that municipalities always checked the dumping of rubbish from homes, industries and factories (Machawira, 1994b, p. 39).

On the economy, pupils were given lists and locations of Zimbabwe's natural resources such as cotton but told by the Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book, "In the cotton mills and clothing factories of the industrialised nations of Europe and North America, attractive cloth and fashionable clothes are made" (House and House, 1996, p. 106), without being told why Zimbabwe did not itself make attractive cloth and fashionable clothes from its cotton. The Social Studies in Action Grade 7 Pupils' Book said that the country produced more maize than it needed, exported surplus maize to countries such as Tanzania, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Zambia, and also exported beef to Britain, France, Germany, France and the Netherlands (Machawira 1994b, p. 15). Yet for a very long time before and during the period of this research, Zimbabwe had been an importer of maize

from Malawi, South Africa and Zambia and not an exporter of beef to Europe. Textbook accounts did not reflect the economic hardships the country was facing and, in the absence of appropriate teacher intervention, had the potential to mislead pupils about the prevailing economic situation in the country. Unfortunately, as is discussed later on in the thesis, teachers rarely provided supplementary content to what was contained in the approved textbook.

On Zimbabwe's membership to international organisations, its membership to the Non-Aligned Movement was ignored while its membership to the Commonwealth was discussed as if it was current. The Social Studies in Action Grade 7 Pupils' Book described the Commonwealth as a group of independent states that were formerly British colonies. This was not strictly true. Mozambique was formerly a Portuguese colony and Rwanda was formerly a French colony. Both countries belonged to the Commonwealth at the time of the study. The USA on the other hand was formerly a British colony but was not a member of the Commonwealth.

On political developments, the Living and Working Together Grade 7 Pupil's Book, under a section entitled *How our Government Works*, discussed in current terms the period when there was an executive Prime Minister and a ceremonial President in Zimbabwe. Despite the fact that Zimbabwe had been having an executive Presidency for the past twenty years, the textbook claimed that: 'The Prime Minister and his cabinet ministers forms an executive council which decides the best way of improving our life' (*Living and Working Together*, 2003, p. 51). It presented the most recent elections held in Zimbabwe as the ones of 1985 and had nothing on subsequent elections, not even up to 2003 the year the textbook was last reprinted.

There was no pronouncement regarding socialism in the broad aims and scope of the official syllabus document. However, some of the social studies textbooks used in schools gave the impression that one of the goals of teaching social studies was to hasten the attainment of socialism in the country. The Living and Working Together Teacher's Resource Book for Grade 6 described Zimbabwe as a country "on the road to socialism" that "needs a citizen who is fully aware of Zimbabwe's struggles, shortcomings and successes in the process of creating socialism" (*Living and Working Together*, 2000, pp. 6, 22). According to the Social Studies in Action Grade 7 Pupils' Book, "At present Zimbabwe is changing slowly from being a capitalist state to being a socialist state" and "Our government wants to us live in a true socialist state after some years" (Machawira, 1994b, p. 47). This was echoed by the Living and Working Together Grade 5 Teacher's Resource Book which claimed that "The ultimate goal of our government is to gain full control over the means of production. So by practising socialism, eventually our government will control production and distribution of our goods and services" (*Living and Working Together*, 2002, p. 8). There was, however, no support for such claims in the official syllabus document or in any government policy statement on education. The Living and Working Together Pupils' Book for Grade 7 even went on to describe the post-independence government as actually socialist (*Living and Working Together*, 2003, p. 57). This was not true during the research period just as it was not true in 1980.

The liberation movements that spearheaded the fight for independence were certainly inspired by socialist ideology (Gwarinda, 1985). However, for practical and tactical reasons, socialism was never adopted as the guiding ideology at government level in Zimbabwe. Even at the attainment of independence, it was the view of those in government that the country's capitalist mode of production could not be changed

overnight without disastrous consequences. Although the post-independence government supported workers and peasants to a much greater extent than previous colonial governments it was not socialist. It even found it necessary to cater for the interests of capitalists for the sake of stability, national unity and the development of productive forces. The post-independence government therefore left the country's capitalist system intact. Its indigenisation strategy, in fact, sought to promote a local capitalist class as opposed to an externally based capitalist class so as to minimise the repatriation of profits and to maximise their re-investment within the country.

The textbooks also failed to discuss all the main political parties in Zimbabwe. For example, the Ventures Living Together Social Studies Grade 7 Pupils' Book said "Until 1987, there were two main political parties in Zimbabwe, ZANU and ZAPU. They came together and now there is only one political party of any significance" (House and House, 1996, p. 76).

Yet for many years before the research period there had been a strong opposition party in the form of the MDC (Movement for Democratic Change) that had been winning seats in Harare and most other urban areas, while the ruling party ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front) had been winning seats in most rural areas. The textbook thus subtly implied that Zimbabwe was moving towards a one-party system when the constitutional provision for a multi-party system had never been removed, and facts on the ground also suggested otherwise.

On the systems of government in other Southern African countries, the Social Studies in Action Grade 7 Pupils' Book claimed:

Examples of one-party states are Zambia where the only party that is there is the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Tanzania where there is the Chamachamapinduzi Party ... During elections only members of the ruling party stand as candidates. For example in Tanzania only those who belong to the Chamachamapinduzi party stand for elections (Machawira 1994b, p. 45)

This view was echoed by the Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book when it said:

Zambia (and) Tanzania ... are examples of one party states. The members of the government in these countries all belong to the same political party. When voters elect members of the government they do not vote for a member of a political party but for the person they wish to choose (House and House, 1996, p. 77).

This was not only simplistic but also untrue for a number of reasons. First, Zambia and Tanzania were, at the time of the research, no longer one-party states. In Zambia, UNIP was an opposition party after losing multi-party elections over ten years ago. In Tanzania, people who belonged to parties other than Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) had stood for elections and won some parliamentary seats although CCM was still that country's ruling party. Second, even in a multi-party system, members of government could all belong to the same political party if the ruling party had a large majority in parliament and decided not to invite members of other parties into government. Third, in a one-party state, voters still voted for a member of a political party (which in this particular case was only one) and the candidate they wished to choose, except that the candidate had to belong to the one party that is permitted.

The political system of the Soviet Union was described as another example of a contemporary one-party state. The Living and Working Together Grade Seven Pupils' Book and the Social Studies in Action Grade Seven Pupils' Book explained in detail the organisation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They totally ignored the post-Soviet era in modern Russia in which the ruling United Russia Party actually came to power through multi-party elections. According to the Living and Working Together Grade Seven Pupils' Book:

Since 1917, the Communist Party is the only political party in Russia. It is made up of men and women who are united in their support of the party and its leaders. A communist government believes that all people are the same and they belong to one class. Therefore a communist party represents the interests and needs of the masses. As a result, no other political party is needed in their country (*Living and Working Together*, 2003, p. 59).

The loss of influence by the Communist Party in the former Soviet Union could suggest that its members were, after all, not that united in supporting it. Despite the break-up of the USSR one and half decades ago, the authors of approved textbooks did not bother to research and write on contemporary examples of Communist ruling parties such as are found in China and Cuba.

Apartheid in South Africa ended with the coming in of a democratically elected government in that country in 1994 but social studies textbooks presented it as if it was a current phenomenon. The Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book still described Zimbabwe as a member of the Front Line States (a group that was set up to coordinate the struggle against white minority rule in the sub-region). The Social Studies in Action Grade 7 Pupils' Book, despite being reprinted in 1994 the year apartheid ended, maintained that in

South Africa “Blacks are not even allowed to use some hotels, shops or toilets since they are ‘reserved for whites only’” (Machawira, 1994b, p. 70). The Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils’ Book that was reprinted in 1996, two years after apartheid ended, misled its users saying in “South Africa, the government does not represent the majority at all” (House and House, 1996 p. 5). The Living and Working Together Grade 7 Pupils Book in its 14th impression that was printed in 2003, nine years after apartheid ended surprisingly claimed:

The South African Government believes that one race is more superior than (sic) the other. So their parliament makes laws that apply to one race and not to the other. Since the whites make the laws, Indians, Coloured and especially Africans have no chance of expressing their ideas in parliament. This system of ruling is called *apartheid* ...black and white children ... are not allowed to go to the same school or play sports together or travel on the same bus ... blacks have no right to vote ...Perhaps, you already know that Comrade Nelson Mandela is in prison. He is serving a life sentence. This to say he will never be let free. Just imagine! (*Living and Working Together*, 2003, p. 59)

The same outdated information on South Africa was repeated in the accompanying Living and Working Together Grade 7 Teacher’s Resource Book, although it was reprinted in 2001, that is seven years after apartheid ended. According to this teacher’s textbook:

Black nationalist leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe are serving life sentences ... Some progressive nations have severed sporting links with South Africa and they are advocating for total sanctions against that country. South Africa has hostile relationships with its neighbouring countries (*Living and Working Together*, 2001, p. 38).

I raised the issue of these inaccuracies with representatives of the textbook publishers and Curriculum Development Officers during a workshop on civics education and they were apparently unaware of the glaring inaccuracies that I brought to their attention. They promised to act on them. However such inaccuracies begged the question: How had the books been approved and published in the first place?

4.3.3.2.4 Bias in Textbook Series

There was considerable gender, ethnic and racial bias in the three series of social studies textbooks. Regarding racial bias, social studies textbooks presented all great inventions in human history as predominantly, if not entirely, the work of Europeans. This was evident in their coverage of fields as diverse as sea navigation, medicine, engineering and agriculture.

Regarding gender bias, women and girls were less visible than men and boys. Where they were mentioned they were often assigned stereotyped roles. This was evident in the gendered language, examples and illustrations used. The *Living and Working Together* Grade 4 Pupils' Book, for example, said:

Every worker is an important person because through his (sic) work, he (sic) is helping make Zimbabwe a better place to live in... A doctor is a worker and if he (sic) does not give us the right treatment if we are ill, then we could die. A street-sweeper is also a worker and if he (sic) does not carry out his (sic) work, rubbish will pile up and spread diseases from which we could die (*Living and Working Together*, 1993, p. 51).

An otherwise valuable citizenship message was marred by the implication that every worker had to be a man and that women were not expected at the workplace. This stereotype was reinforced by illustrations such as were found in the *Living and Working Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book* or the *Ventures Living Together Grade 1 Pupils Book* (1999). In the former, men only were shown as veterinary surgeons, boxers, wrestlers (Chapter 9); dentists, mathematics teachers, cotton pickers (Chapter 8); soldiers, astronauts, senators, butchers, postal workers, (Chapter 7); news readers (Chapter 6) and cabinet members (Chapter 5) while women were shown as secretaries, nurses (Chapter 6) and breastfeeding mothers (Chapter 5). In the latter, beneath the caption "Father works hard so that the family has a good home" (1999, p. 5) was a picture of a father in a work suit and working boots waving goodbye and a mother at home, holding a baby in her arms and at the same time looking after two other very young children.

The *Ventures Living Together Grade 3 Pupils Book* featured Police Inspector Phiri of the fictitious town of Zororo who was male, the town's important visitor, a Minister from the Government who was male and Mr. Masenda, a class teacher, who was also male (House and House, 2000). The *Social Studies in Action Grade 7 Pupils' Book* carried a cartoon of a very fat and apparently overfed woman politician campaigning to be voted into parliament by making high sounding promises to a crowd of emaciated peasants (Machawira, 1994b, p. 47). A woman was thus chosen to be the example of an insincere politician. Yet there were very few women parliamentarians let alone members of cabinet in the country at the time of the research. I wondered what kind of message such images were sending to primary school children and what intervention measures, if any, were introduced by their teachers during actual lessons. I engaged participants on these issues in subsequent interviews and discussions. These and lesson observations confirmed that no

interventions were made during teaching to counter the gender biased messages in textbooks.

The official syllabus document intended multicultural education to be part of the social studies curriculum. It sought to promote an appreciation of ethnic diversity through teaching pupils about “Living together as a community, e.g. way of life of different ethnic groups in terms of beliefs, customs, etc” (Primary Educational Development Unit, 1982, p.18). While social studies textbooks contained more information on African culture than their pre-independence predecessors, examples were taken almost exclusively from the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups. There was scant information on the Tonga and nothing at all on other indigenous ethnic groups in the country. Ethnic minority cultures appeared to be relegated to an insignificant “other”.

The official syllabus document talked of the need to cover different ethnic groups but did not name them. It was the social studies textbooks that reduced Zimbabwe’s African ethnic groups primarily to two, namely Shona and Ndebele. The textbooks therefore failed to bring out the rich cultural diversity of Zimbabwe's people. For example, regarding the concepts of respect and getting married, the *Living and Working Together Grade 3 Pupils Book* said “Young people must show respect (*inhlonipho* Ndebele; *rukudzo* ChiShona)” and that “Most Shona and Ndebele men pay *roora* or *lobola*” (*Living and Working Together*, 1992, p. 42). The pupil was not told whether or not this also applied to the Venda, Tonga, Nambya, Shangaan, Kalanga, Barwe, Tumbuka, Sotho, Chewa or Chikunda - implying that all that was worth knowing was what “Most Shona and Ndebele” do. There was virtually no significant material on the cultural practices of Zimbabwe's African ethnic

minorities in the Pupil's Book and Teacher's Resource Book series, thereby defeating the noble intention of the official syllabus document.

About the Tonga, the Living and Working Together Grade 4 Pupils' Book only had this to say:

The Tonga people live in the Zambezi Valley which is very hot and wet in the rainy season. There are many mosquitoes. The huts are built on stilts which keep them above the ground. The huts do not have windows and smoky fires are kept burning to keep out the mosquitoes. Each hut has a doorway and a ladder. Some Tonga nowadays build their houses from brick but still use thatch for the roofs (*Living and Working Together*, 1993, p. 14).

The book thus continued the tradition of colonial geographies that had a penchant for the quaint and a portrayal of the African as backward. Pupils were given the simplistic view that all Tonga huts were built on stilts above the waters of the Zambezi, when some were in, fact, located some distance from the riverbank, on relatively high ground and not necessarily built on stilts. Using iron sheets for roofing was portrayed as progressive and thatched roofs as backward. Yet, thatched roofs significantly ameliorated indoor temperatures, used locally available materials and were more sustainable in the local environment. The book was silent on the Tonga's beliefs, customs, economy and rich history which included trade in guns and ivory with the Portuguese and a thriving cotton spinning cottage industry before the colonization of Zimbabwe.

There was little information on nationhood in the social studies textbooks that were used in schools. The Living and Working Together Grade 3 Pupils' Book only said "In Zimbabwe

we have Europeans, Africans, Indians, Chinese and others. But we are all Zimbabweans” (*Living and Working Together*, 1992, p. 19). Similarly, according to *Living and Working Together Grade 4 Pupils’ Book* stated that “Our country is made up of various kinds of people ... from different areas, different tribes, different races” who “are all Zimbabweans” (*Living and Working Together*, 1993, p.1). The textbooks did not, however, explain why these apparently disparate groups were Zimbabweans. An important policy linked to nation building enunciated at the attainment of independence in 1980 was the policy of reconciliation yet very few social studies textbooks even mentioned it.

The Ventures *Living Together Grade 5 Pupils’ Book* said “Most Zimbabweans are Bantu people and our (sic) ancestors came here a thousand years ago” (House et al 2000, p. 13) as if the textbook was written for “most Zimbabweans” only. The *Social Studies in Action Grade 5 Pupils’ Book* said the Khoi-San “no longer live in our country” and “of all the people who live in Zimbabwe today the Shona people were the first to arrive” (Machawira and Gwekwerere 1997, p. 2), a claim disputed by Mumphande (2006). According to Mumphande (2006), the Khoi-San are an indigenous people who still speak their language and live in parts of Tsholotsho and Bulilimamangwe.

In addition, the textbook did not explain what it meant by the Shona people. Linguistic similarities suggest that Shona, Kalanga, Nambya and Venda probably had a common source and over time evolved into their current forms but remain largely mutually intelligible. There was no historical evidence that the people who spoke Shona dialects such as Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Zezuru arrived earlier in Zimbabwe than those who spoke Kalanga, Venda, Nambya or Tonga for that matter. “Oral traditions collected among the Zimbabwean Tonga revealed that they knew of no other homeland than the

Zambezi valley” according to Ncube’s research (Ncube, 2004, p. 3). Indeed, the name Zambezi was derived from a Tonga word: *kasambavezi* - the place where only the skilled dare to swim (personal communication with a Tonga mother tongue speaker).

The languages spoken by ethnic groups in Zimbabwe probably emerged within and around the area between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers from the mixing and mingling of the Khoi-San and different waves of Bantu migrations over a long period. However, some social studies textbooks attempted to write off Zimbabwe’s Khoi-San heritage as if the arrivals of Bantu groups involved the ethnic cleansing of the Khoi-San from the country’s landscape. Yet there was co-existence, intermarriage and inter-cultural exchange between the Bantu and the Khoi-San as evidenced by the presence of Khoi-San words in both Shona and Ndebele. Machawira and Gwekwerere (1997) alluded to the fact that Bantu languages borrowed significantly from Khoi-San and gave, as examples, the words: *gomo* (Shona) for mountain, *zamu* (Shona) for breast, *iqhaga* (Ndebele) for gourd and *iqhude* (Ndebele) for cock (p.6). What they failed to appreciate was the point that the Khoi-San were the first ethnic group known to have inhabited the land now known as Zimbabwe and were part of the ancestry of contemporary Zimbabweans.

The Khoi-San were negatively depicted in the Social Studies in Action Grade 4 Teacher’s Resource Book as primitive hunter gatherers who “used ostrich egg shells as containers ... wore animal skins and their little children moved around naked” (Sithole, 1999, p. 7) neatly fitting the stereotype image of naked savages common in Tarzan films. This was also the script of the early colonial historians who spread lies or myths about the Khoi-San people, writing that they were lazy and spent little time doing productive work. Yet they were, in

fact, a sturdy, hard-working and self-reliant people able to survive even in the harshest of environments.

Social studies textbooks missed a great opportunity to teach pupils about the advanced nature of indigenous knowledge represented by the Khoi-San. Presenting the Khoi-San as primitive wanderers was misleading. They had a sound ecological understanding of their natural environment and a rich and unique culture. Their type of clothing was adequate for running in pursuit of game in hot dry climates and when they moved to colder regions such as the Drakensberg Mountains of South Africa and Lesotho they adequately covered themselves to survive harsh winters. Their use of the natural environment was sustainable and did not lead to the extinction of any wildlife species. Their game trekking skills are still unsurpassed even by modern game rangers' standards. They understood chemical properties of plant and animal substances from which they developed medicines, toxins as well as paints and dyes which have remained visible on rock surfaces for over one thousand years. Their rock paintings were a high form of cultural expression which conveyed various concepts, stories and messages within their communities.

Social studies textbooks did little to stimulate interest in these paintings whose study could provide learners with insights into the country's history. After all, pictorial drawings have historically served as precursors to the development of modern writing systems as was the case with Egyptian hieroglyphics. In a sense, the disparaged Khoi-San were in fact more 'literate' than some of the groups of people who came after them since, unlike them, they left written records for posterity.

On sea navigation, the Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book gave a Eurocentric world map of the so-called voyages of discovery of Christopher Columbus in 1492, Vasco da Gama in 1497 and Ferdinand Magellan in 1519 (House and House 1996, p. 95). The routes depicted are of Europeans setting out from Europe to “discover” America, Africa and Asia. Yet, according to Ankomah (2009), some Africans “had sailed across the Atlantic to trade with and influence civilisations in the Americas long before the parents of Christopher Columbus were even born” (p. 9). After generally following the African coastline, Vasco da Gama’s “discovery” of India was possible because on the Kenyan coast “he encountered Swahili trading settlements and picked up a pilot who guided him on that direct route to India” (Diamond, 1999, pp. 392-393). To the total surprise of the Swahili traders, hardly four years after their encounter with Vasco da Gama, “he returned with a fleet bristling with canons to compel the surrender of East Africa’s most important port, Kilwa, which controlled the Zimbabwe’s gold trade” (Diamond 1999 p. 392).

The real voyage of discovery, and one of the greatest feats of navigation of all time, which no social studies textbook mentioned let alone attempted to explain was the over 4000 mile voyage across the open Indian Ocean by sailors from the Indonesian island of Borneo to settle on the African island of Madagascar around 500 A.D. some nine centuries before the Spanish and Portuguese voyages. The people of Madagascar speak a language very similar to one spoken on Borneo and yet “No other people remotely resembling Borneans live within thousands of miles of Madagascar” (Diamond, 1999, p. 381). According to Diamond (1999), archaeological evidence shows that the culture of the people of Madagascar predates the arrival of Europeans by several centuries. Its Indonesian component is not, therefore, the result of indentured labour introduced by Europeans.

The one major area in which Europeans had technical superiority and which proved decisive in their conquest of non-European nations was in guns and little else. This aspect, however, seemed lost to the Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book which, for example, attributed the defeat of the African people of Zimbabwe in the first *Chimurenga* (War of Liberation) to lack of unity despite the fact that various chiefs and ethnic groups cooperated and coordinated their resistance in the so-called Matabele and Mashona Rebellions. The Ventures Living Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book argued that the "resistance was however not united enough to be successful" (House and House 1996, p. 14) without saying anything about the devastating effect of the colonisers' maxim gun and the dynamite that they used in caves and mountain strongholds of resistance fighters armed mainly with spears, bows and arrows. The reality was that, in spite of the odds stacked against them, the African people waged a determined guerrilla war. They inflicted many casualties and stretched the colonial army which had had to be reinforced with imperial troops from Britain. Otherwise, it would have been illogical to bring in reinforcements to fight a disunited resistance.

In reality, the colonialists feared the determination and organisation of the African resistance. This was why they sought to break it by framing, arresting and executing its spiritual leadership. According to Musara (2008), Mbuya Nehanda was falsely accused of causing the death of Pollard, a white administrator, since she had no military background, was not a military commander and did not participate in the killing of Pollard. She was a civilian who was executed for her faith or, to put it differently, for practising her preferred religion. In her defence, she said she was a spirit medium able to communicate with the spiritual realm which comprised of her people's ancestral spirits and God (Mwari). These, she claimed, were opposed to the colonial occupation of her country. In that sense, she was

merely the equivalent of a prophetess in the Jewish and Christian religions. In a proper court of law and not the kangaroo court set up by the colonial administration, her claim would not have merited a death sentence. Even at the time of her death she refused to change her faith and convert to Christianity which she associated with ungodliness and colonialism.

The colonialists' refusal to respect Nehanda's faith and to take it to be at par with other known religions was not an accident. They deliberately equated the local African traditional religion to sorcery so that they could try and convince Africans to reject it and not oppose the colonial occupation of their territories. A similar script was followed in other parts of Africa. For example, a letter written by King Leopold II of Belgium in 1883 to colonial missionaries in the Congo bluntly told them:

Your principal objective ... is never to teach the niggers to know God, this they know already. They speak and submit to one Mungu... They know that to kill, to sleep with someone else's wife, to lie and to insult is bad. Your essential role is to ... make them disrespect everything which gives courage to affront us. I make reference to their Mystic System and their war fetish – warfare protection – which they pretend not to want to abandon, and you must do everything in your power to make it disappear (cited in Chinweizu, 2005, on web [http://www.africawithin.com/chinweizu/trouble with africa.htm](http://www.africawithin.com/chinweizu/trouble%20with%20africa.htm)).

In Nehanda's case, as Musara (2008) argues, the three men who actually killed Pollard were known. They were Mhasvi, Hwata and Zindoga and these were in fact captured but mysteriously released from custody and never tried, proving that the real issue was not the death of Pollard but to neutralise the power of the local religion to mobilise resistance

fighters. The Living and Working Together Grade 6 Teacher's Resource Book not only distorted what happened during the resistance but appeared to be contemptuous of spiritual leaders like Mbuya Nehanda by telling pupils that:

Mbuya Nehanda was a small and thin woman. She had white hair and really dark skin. She wrapped her body in a piece of black cloth. Mbuya Nehanda urged people to fight the white settlers. Under her leadership, the native commissioner at Mazowe, Pollard, was killed by the Africans. She was then captured. Mbuya Nehanda and Kaguvi were tried and executed (killed) in March 1898 (*Living and Working Together*, 2000, p. 5).

Such colonial historiography begs some questions: If she was so helpless, why did the colonialists go to such extremes to get rid of her? What did her size, hair and skin colour have to do with her alleged crime?

What the textbook presented was a caricature of Mbuya Nehanda: an old and frail black witch agitating otherwise docile natives. It did not provide her famous photograph in captivity which is available at the National Archives and has been reproduced in a number of publications. This photograph does not show an old and frail woman but a strong and courageous woman in her late thirties or early forties who was defiant right up to the time of her incarceration. The textbook did not even mention how she famously told her tormentors that "her bones would rise" meaning that her death would not mean the end of the resistance. The textbook thus failed to convey an image of Mbuya Nehanda as an iconic figure whose defiance and resoluteness inspired later nationalists and patriots in Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. In fact, it continued to perpetuate a colonial historiography that traduced and mocked Africa's heroes, "called Mzilikazi a despot, and Nehanda a witch" ("Ranger re-examines colonial myths," 2003) and, to use the words of

King Leopold II, largely served to “teach students to read and not to reason ... to forget their heroes and to adore only ours’ (i.e. Europe’s heroes)” (cited in Chinweizu, 2005, on web http://www.africawithin.com/chinweizu/trouble_with_africa.htm). Mararike (1998) makes a similar point when he says it has always been in the interest of “Africa’s colonisers and detractors ... to ensure that Africans do not and should not believe in the values and ideals of their own traditions and social institutions” (p.89).

On the history of medicine, the Living and Working Together Grade 7 Pupils’ Book said that a Frenchman, Louis Pasteur, proved the link between infectious diseases and germs, an Englishman, Joseph Lister, discovered blood serum, a Scotsman, James Simpson, discovered chloroform, an Englishman, Edward Jenner, discovered the vaccine for smallpox and a German, Roentgen, invented an X-ray machine. The textbook failed to inform its young readers that the Greek physician, Hippocrates, largely credited with the development of modern medicine, studied in the temple of Memphis in Egypt where he learned from the library of the great African physician, Imhotep. African physicians in Egypt had already developed considerable expertise in physics, chemistry, medicine and surgery as shown in their practice of mummification. The ancient Egyptians, according to the Greek historian, Herodotus, “were black with kinky hair” and not Europeans or Arabs (cited in Mbeki 2006, p. 11).

On the history of agriculture, the Living and Working Together Grade 7 Pupils’ Book said:

Lord Townshend had a farm in eastern England. The farm had poor sandy soil, but he made it fertile by mixing clay with sandy soil. As well, he taught people crop rotation of wheat, clover, barley and turnips. He used clover and turnips to feed his cattle in winter, while he sold a lot of wheat to bakers to make bread and barley to

brewers to brew into beer. Robert Bakewell improved his farm animals by using only the best cattle and sheep for breeding. His animals were big and fat. They produced lots of milk, wool and meat (*Living and Working Together*, 2003, p. 105).

This banal information on agricultural practice is presented to pupils as if it was peculiar to England. They are not, for instance, told what the historian, Walter Rodney (1972), observed that:

By the 15th century, Africans everywhere had arrived at a considerable understanding of the total ecology – of the soil, climate, animals, plants and their multiple interrelationships... In the centuries before the contact with Europeans, the overwhelmingly dominant activity in Africa was agriculture. In all the settled agricultural communities, people observed the peculiarities of their environment and tried to find techniques for dealing with it in a rational manner. Advanced methods were used in some areas such as terracing crop rotation, green manuring, mixed farming and regulated swamp farming (p. 48).

The Eurocentric approach of social studies textbooks ignored the fact that the earliest domestication of wild plants and animals for food production did not even begin in Europe (Diamond, 1999). It began, instead, in areas that are now part of the Third World such as the Fertile Crescent, Central America, the African Sahel, Tropical West Africa, Ethiopia and New Guinea as shown by data from carbon dating of archaeological materials found there (ibid). According to the Ventures Living Together Social Studies Grade 6 Pupils' Book, "It was the Portuguese who introduced maize into Africa, a crop that explorers had discovered (sic) growing in South America. This soon became the staple food of many Bantu people" (House et. al, 2001, p. 31).

How could the Portuguese discover a crop that was domesticated by the indigenous people of South America? Native South Americans were already growing and consuming maize when the Portuguese arrived. The textbook had nothing on the domestication by Africans of sorghum – a drought tolerant and therefore more reliable crop in areas of low rainfall such as south western Zimbabwe. It was colonial influence that led to the introduction of maize in less suitable parts of Africa, thereby undermining their food security.

On the history of engineering progress, the Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book Grade 7 told its young readers that George Stephenson made the first locomotive, Henry Ford made the first popular car, Wilber and Orville Wright made the first engine propelled aeroplane, Alexander Bell invented the telephone, John Baird invented the television and Singer invented the sewing machine. All these inventors were either Europeans or Americans of European stock as if there were no inventions by people of non-European origin. Even sporting technology such as the javelin and chariots for racing were associated with ancient Greece when in fact the chariot and the spear from which the javelin was derived were in use in North Africa long before Greek civilisation. Africa was at one stage militarily and technologically ahead of Europe. For example, Hannibal, a North African, who led a formidable army mounted on elephants, was confident enough to invade Europe and seek to conquer Rome itself.

The social studies textbook series generally failed to acknowledge the achievements of non-Europeans. An objective account of the history of inventions would have revealed that there are, in fact, plenty of inventions attributable to non-Europeans. For example:

medieval Islam ...was technologically advanced and open to innovation ... it invented or elaborated windmills, tidal mills, trigonometry, and lateen sails; it made

major advances in metallurgy, mechanical and chemical engineering, and it adopted paper and gunpowder from China and transmitted them to Europe ... Until around A.D. 1450, China was technologically much more innovative and advanced than Europe ... The long list of Chinese inventions includes canal lock gates, cast iron, deep drilling, efficient animal harnesses, gunpowder , kites, magnetic compasses, movable type, paper, porcelain, printing, sternpost rudders, and wheelbarrows (Diamond, 1999, p. 253).

What I found even more surprising was that social studies textbooks in an African country such as Zimbabwe failed to highlight the achievements of Africans. I discuss this apparent lack of an African consciousness from my perspective as a participant observer under 4.5.3 *Content* later on in the thesis.

4.3.4 Pupils' Exercise Books

There was little evidence that written work in pupils' exercise books was based on either the official syllabus document or the Teacher's Resource Book series. However, there was overwhelming evidence that the bulk of written work was taken from the Pupils' Book series. Even then, it was mostly those tasks which required filling in blank spaces or choosing the correct option from multiple choice questions that were given to pupils by teachers. Pupils were not asked to write any essays or compositions. Map based tasks were extremely rare. There were a few tasks requiring drawing of objects mainly at stage one level. No data response questions based on graphs, maps or tables were encountered at any level.

Some common examples of tasks in pupils' exercise books are reproduced below:

Example 1

Thursday

21 June, 2007

Social Studies

- a) A rule passed in parliament to be obeyed by every citizen of a country: law.
 - b) A voting area from which MPs are elected: constituency.
 - c) Any person who has the right to elect an MP from a list of candidates: voter.
 - d) A leader of the whole division of social services such as education: minister.
 - e) A committee of ministers under the Prime Minister: cabinet
 - f) A place where newly suggested laws are discussed first: House of Assembly
 - g) Any person whose name has been listed for him/her to be voted into parliament: candidate
 - h) A group of people who ensure that all aspects of a bill are examined before it is passed: senators
 - i) A place where laws are made or the whole group of lawmakers: parliament
 - j) The whole system of laws by which the country is ruled: constitution
- (James, Grade 7 pupil, Eltonvale)

Example 2

Wednesday

17th January, 2007.

Social Studies

- 1. The people who lived at Great Zimbabwe were very rich.
 - 2. They kept cattle for milk, meat and hides.
 - 3. The stone they used to carve the Zimbabwe bird was called soapstone.
 - 4. The people at Great Zimbabwe traded with the Arabs and the Chinese.
 - 5. The people in other parts of the country were mainly farmers and miners.
- (Sandra, Grade 5 pupil, Kingsdale)

Example 3

Wednesday

10th January, 2007.

Social Studies

- 1. The Arabs, Chinese and Portuguese traded with the people of Zimbabwe many years ago.
- 2. The Portuguese became interested in ruling our country.

3. The British South Africa Company was given the right to rule this country by the British Government.
4. King Lobengula was tricked to sign the Rudd Concession.
(Sekai, Grade 7 pupil, Musasa View)

In example 1, pupils were given two lists taken directly from the *Things to do* section of the Living and Working Together Grade 7 Pupils' Book (p. 53). The first list had the terms: constitution, minister, cabinet, parliament, senators, voter, candidate, law, constituency and House of Assembly. The second list had the expected meanings of the terms in a scrambled order. The pupils had to match the two lists. There was no room for pupils to express in their own words what these terms meant to them, let alone to discuss possible differences in their perceptions. What these terms actually meant was taken as a settled matter. The textbook was elevated to a gospel and it had "spoken."

In examples 2 and 3, the teachers simply extracted some sentences from the text of the Living and Working Together Grade 7 and 5 Pupils' Books and asked pupils to fill in the words that he had left out as shown in the quotations given below. Words left out in the "fill in" tasks given to pupils by teachers are underlined.

Quotation for example 2:

The people who lived at Great Zimbabwe were very rich. They kept a lot of cattle to give them milk, hides and meat...the carvers used soapstone which is a soft rock to make the birds...While the people at Great Zimbabwe were traders who traded with the Arabs and the Chinese, the people in other parts of the country were mainly farmers and miners (*Living and Working Together*, 1994, pp. 1-2, underlining added).

Quotation for example 3:

... the people of Zimbabwe were interested in trading with other nations. They traded with the Arabs, Chinese and Portuguese. However, at a certain time (1575) the Portuguese became interested in ruling our country. Our people fought the Portuguese and defeated them... However this situation changed when a company called the British South Africa Company was given the right to rule this country by the British Government. First the leaders of this company tricked King Lobengula to sign an agreement which was called the Rudd Concession. (*Living and Working Together*, 2003, p.1, underlining added).

Pupils simply had to recall the words used in the textbook series. They did not have to reflect on the account given by the textbook. Teachers generally avoided tasks in the same textbook series that required discursive and research skills such as:

3. State briefly what you understand by each of the following:

a) State of emergency,

b) Reconciliation (*Living and Working Together*, 2003, p. 4)

and:

3. Find out as much information as possible about Great Zimbabwe. Write a paragraph of about ten sentences about it.

4. Collect as much information and as many pictures about towns in the olden days.

Make a picture book about life in the olden towns (*Living and Working Together*, 1994, p. 4).

Essay and inquiry oriented tasks that were suggested in the official syllabus document but omitted in pupils' textbooks stood even less chance of being used by teachers and were not encountered in pupils' exercise books. For example, no pupils were asked to collect and record information about the past from the oldest people in the community, to find out how

they should care for public property or to describe the qualities they sought in a boyfriend or girlfriend.

4.3.5 Grade Seven General Paper Examination Questions

Although social studies was taught as a separate subject, it was examined together with environmental science and religious and moral education in the General Paper which comprised of two examination papers. General Paper 1 had multiple choice questions while General Paper 2 had short structured questions.

General Paper 1 had 50 questions broken down as follows: 14 for religious and moral education, 16 for social studies and 20 for environmental science. An analysis of the 16 social studies questions for the 2007 General Paper 1 examination using categories derived from Bloom's taxonomy revealed the following:

1. 12, which was an overwhelming majority of the questions, required nothing beyond simple recall;
2. Only 4 required understanding and application; and
3. None required problem solving.

This pattern was replicated with minor variations when previous papers going back 15 years were similarly analysed.

The problem was not with multiple choice questions *per se* for it could still have been possible to use them to test higher order skill as is, for example, done in the American Graduate Record Examination (GRE) or Scholarly Aptitude Test (SAT). Rather, as argued by Marsden (1976), the problem for examiners was that:

Good items are difficult to write. While it is relatively easy to construct straightforward and often trivial factual recall items, those testing higher level abilities are much more difficult to think out and express unambiguously (Marsden, 1976, p. 192).

In the General Paper 1 examination there was a preponderance of easy to set simple recall questions and a reluctance to set more involving application and problem solving questions (Appendix 13). This is borne out in the following examples.

15. Which African king signed the Rudd Concession in 1888?

- A.** Dingiswayo
- B.** Lobengula
- C.** Moshweshwe
- D.** Mzilikazi

(Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 1998 p. 3).

15. The Rudd Concession gave the British the right to

- A.** build railways
- B.** mine gold
- C.** construct roads
- D.** farm land
- E.** hunt animals

(Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 1993, p. 4).

The first example (1998) was a typical simple recall question requiring pupils to remember that Lobengula “signed” the Rudd Concession, notwithstanding the fact that the document was written in English, a language Lobengula could neither read nor speak, and the contested issue of the X given as Lobengula’s mark and therefore the king’s signature. In fact, no understanding at all of what the Rudd Concession was about was required from pupils. The legality of the document was also taken for granted. Yet, when the document was later translated by a missionary, the king vehemently denied ever having agreed to its

contents saying that he and his commanders would not recognise the paper as it contained neither his words nor the words of those who heard them (Samkange, 1968). On the other hand, the Ventures Living Together Grade 6 Pupils' Book said Lobengula "allowed the gold seekers to go and search for gold in the land of the Shona people" (House et al 2001, p. 14) and the Living and Working Together Grade 6 Pupils' Book said "King Lobengula and Rudd's team signed what is known as the Rudd Concession" and agreed that he "would allow British miners into Mashonaland" and "let them dig as many minerals as they wanted" (*Living and Working Together*, 1996, p. 3). The question thus not only tested pupils' memory of what is stated in the textbook, but appears to reinforce the notion that Lobengula actually signed the fraudulent document. A better stem of the question might have been: Which African king *is said to have* signed the Rudd Concession in 1888?

The second example did attempt to test pupils' understanding of the purpose of the Rudd Concession but again this was hampered by its poor construction. An able pupil who had seen the actual text of the document (available at the National Archives and reproduced in many history textbooks) could well reason that all five options were relevant to the terms of the document and therefore have ended up failing to identify the examiners' preferred answer. This was because the infamous document stated:

...I, Lobengula, King of the Matabele, Mashonaland and other adjoining territories do hereby grant and assign unto the said grantees *the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdom, principalities and dominion together with full power to do all things they may deem necessary to win and procure the same* ... I do hereby authorise the said grantees to take all necessary and lawful steps to exclude from my kingdom all persons seeking land, metals, minerals or mining rights therein, and I agree to grant no concessions of land or mining rights from and after this date without their consent.

This given under my hand this thirteenth day of October in the year of Our Lord Eighteen hundred and eighty-eight at my Royal Kraal.

Signed

(his mark, i.e. X)

Lobengula (cited in Proctor and Phimister, 1991, p. 215, my *italics*).

Arguably, *full power to do all things the British may deem necessary to win and procure complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in Lobengula's kingdom, principalities and dominion* could be taken to cover several activities such as:

- A.** building railways to transport machinery and mineral ore
- B.** doing the actual gold mining
- C.** constructing roads for improved access to the mining site
- D.** farming the surrounding areas to provide food for the mine workers
- E.** hunting wild animals for food in the early stages before farming is established

Therefore the multiple choice question for the 1993 General Paper 1 Examination cited above did not have a single correct answer since all the distracters were justifiable.

The giving of definite answers to complex issues discouraged pupils from looking deeply into the multiple responses presented before them and made it difficult for them to arrive at the correct response through a process of reasoning. Sometimes what was needed was the mere recall of material that pupils might not even have understood in the first place. And where memory recall failed, poorly constructed questions inadvertently encouraged guesswork.

Authors of pupils' textbooks also provided multiple choice exercises which they euphemistically termed "examination-type questions." For example, House et al. (2001) had the following question:

7. Why do many people move from the rural areas to the towns?
- (a) Because they enjoy swimming pools
 - (b) Because they like electric lights
 - (c) To be with friends
 - (d) To find work and better living conditions (House et al., 2001, p. 23).

It appeared the pupils' textbook too had problems in setting objective and unambiguous questions. Its "examination-type questions" were sometimes subjective, vague and included overlapping options that could, upon reflection, be as justifiable as the key intended by the authors. The term "many people" in the above question appeared rather vague. It is possible to have *many* people who are not necessarily *most* people which is what the examiners probably meant. In addition, the options given were not mutually exclusive. A multi-causal phenomenon such as rural to urban migration was presented as mono-causal by the "examination-type question". The causes of rural to urban migration could have been due to any combination of economic, social and even political factors depending on the context. For instance, despite the availability of jobs in some rural areas, teachers, doctors and nurses have tended to migrate to towns in search of better provision of infrastructure indispensable to a modern lifestyle such as electricity and piped water and even to be among friends in their social class.

On the spot reasoning and deduction needed in, for example, data response multiple choice questions were extremely rare in General Paper 1. A review of all the multiple choice examination questions in social studies asked from 1992 to 2007 showed only two such questions - one in 1997 (Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 1997, p. 7) and the other in 1998 (Zimbabwe School Examinations Council 1998, p. 4). The 1997 question required candidates to study a map of a homestead showing a house, a borehole, an orchard, a cattle

kraal, a fowl run and the direction of prevailing winds. Candidates were then asked to identify the best sites on the map for a toilet and for a vegetable garden. The 1998 question asked candidates to study data on the number of street kids in town for each year between 1990 and 1994 and deduce the years the town had the highest and lowest numbers of street kids. Candidates were however not asked to infer why this was so. An official with the Zimbabwe School Examination Council informed me that candidates generally found data response questions to be extremely difficult. As researcher, I wondered if this was not because candidates were ill-prepared for them during the implementation of the social studies syllabus and noted this for further discussion with participants.

Up to 2002, the General Paper was examined entirely through multiple choice questions. Due to the criticism that multiple choice questions did not allow pupils to express themselves, the examination was then restructured so that it comprised two papers – General Paper 1 and General Paper 2. Multiple choice questions were retained in General Paper 1, while General Paper 2 introduced structured questions that required pupils to answer by naming, stating, defining, completing, explaining etc in a word, phrase or a sentence in the blank spaces provided. However, no essay questions, practical activities or projects were introduced.

General Paper 2 had three sections each covering specific subjects, namely religious and moral education, social studies and environmental science respectively. There were four structured questions on religious and moral education, five from social studies and four from environmental science. Candidates had to answer three questions from each section.

General Paper 2 still did not allow pupils to significantly express themselves apart from spelling and writing a few words and phrases in the spaces provided. A preponderance of

items requiring factual recall was observed in structured examination questions set since 2003. For example, out of 20 items worth 125 marks in the social studies section of General Paper 2 for 2007, there were 15 items requiring simple recall with a staggering allocation of 119 marks, 5 items requiring some understanding and application with an allocation of only 6 marks and no single item requiring problem solving.

Typical General Paper 2 questions were:

5 (a) Zimbabwe is a former colony of [1]

(b) Give any two reasons why the Portuguese came to Africa.

.....
 [2]

(c) On what day is the founding of the Organisation of African Unity
 (O.A.U.) celebrated?

..... [1]

(d) Give any one aim of the Southern African Development Community
 (S.A.D.C.).

..... [1]

Total [5]

(Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 2007, p. 4).

5 (a) Name two heroes of the First Chimurenga War.

.....
 [2]

(b) Give two reasons why the second Chimurenga was fought.

.....
 [2]

(c) During the war of liberation, why were villagers put in protected villages?

..... [1]

(Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 2003, p. 4).

Total [5]

All items in question 5 of the 2007 General Paper 2 examination were memory based. Question 5 (a) was a sentence completion task where the ability tested was purely factual recall. Question 5 (b) required the candidate to remember and list the reasons why the Portuguese came to Africa without discussing them. Question 5 (c) required the candidate to fill in the space provided the day and month Africa Day is celebrated. In other words, a recall of when this day is celebrated, and not an account of why it is celebrated, was all that was needed. Although the name of the organization behind Africa Day had long changed in 2007, the question still referred to the African Union by its old name – the Organisation of African Unity. Question 5 (d) required the candidate to remember and state one aim of the SADC organisation.

Questions 5 (a) and 5 (b) of the 2003 General Paper 2 examination also tested factual recall. It was only question 5 (c) which could be argued to be testing some understanding. However this was still militated against by the way the question was phrased. The question was an implicit acceptance of the Rhodesian forces' view that "the villagers were put in protected villages." What the Rhodesian forces called "protected villages" were viewed by African nationalists as nothing more than large prison camps (*makipi*) meant to prevent villagers from interacting with and assisting freedom fighters. To be objective, the question could have, for example, been phrased as: During the war of liberation, why did Rhodesian forces put villagers into fenced villages with restricted inward and outward movement?

The main difference between Paper 1 and Paper 2 appeared to be that in the former the candidate had to choose from among a list of given responses, while in the latter the

candidate had to supply the answer. Otherwise the difference between the abilities that were tested was marginal.

4.3.6 Citizenship Exercise

My study of teachers' schemes of work, teachers' and pupils' textbooks, pupils' exercises and past examination questions indicated some aspects of citizenship education in the official syllabus that appeared to have been incorrectly presented, out of date or even omitted altogether. In order to find out what the pupils thought and knew about these aspects of citizenship education, I designed an exercise for Grade 7 pupils (Appendix 15) that I personally administered, marked, graded and analysed. Assuming some of the roles and responsibilities of participants is one of the ways ethnographers get accepted in the natural setting. I was doing something pupils associated with a teacher. It was not doing anything out of the ordinary, but what teachers did in their day-to-day lives. However, I went beyond the questions pupils got from their usual classes in that I included questions which were open-ended, allowed discursive writing, emphasized understanding more than knowledge recall, touched on attitudes and values, and covered topics generally avoided by their teachers and the Grade 7 General Paper final examination. The questions themselves were not the result of my own imagination or inventiveness but emerged from what I observed and experienced in the school setting over a prolonged period. Their primary purpose was, to return to Stufflebeam and Shinkfield's famous dictum (1986): *to improve and not to prove*.

The exercise was not a questionnaire in the sense that the term is generally applied in the literature on research methodology. It certainly was not a one-off and definitive event as is found in questionnaire survey research. Rather, it was integral to a continuous and

evolving process of citizenship pedagogy that occurred when I assumed the role of a Grade 7 social studies teacher. It was designed to assess intellectual abilities and competencies, was marked and graded like any teacher-administered exercise but in the course of its revision served as a springboard for in-depth discussions with pupils. Of particular significance to my interpretive ethnographic research design was the fact that the written exercise, under my auspices as a participant-as-observer, generated additional documentary data and afforded pupils an opportunity to express themselves on citizenship issues in writing and in their own words. I would otherwise not have captured these data had I relied exclusively on pupils' written work generated under the auspices of their usual social studies teachers. Thus I was able to complement what I collected from the Grade 7 General Paper final examination question papers, pupils' exercise books, approved textbooks, teachers' schemes and records of work, the official social studies document and lesson observations. The result was a considerable array of documentary data for cross-checking with what emerged from interviews and discussions with participants.

The total number of pupils who wrote the exercise was 115 and comprised 46 at Kingsdale, 44 at Musasa and 25 at Elton. The average mark at the three schools was below 50%; with Eltonvale 49%, Kingsdale 42% and Musasa View 36%. As I marked the exercise, I noted the terms and concepts used by each pupil and used them to identify broad categories and themes. Thick description and pupils' own words were the backbone of my analysis making it essentially qualitative. No statistical tests or correlations were conducted because the case study approach and the small sample used in the study did not warrant them. However, this did not mean that figures were to be avoided at all costs. I still used some tables and figures, where appropriate, to highlight trends and contrasts in pupils' responses. In such instances, I preferred to use actual numbers of pupils rather than

percentages so as not to mask differences in class sizes between the three schools. The findings that emerged from the citizenship exercise were tentative and a prelude to further investigations. They still had to be cross-checked with findings from interviews, discussions and observations, taking into account the context and experiences of participants before any conclusions could be drawn. These are presented later on in the thesis. This section focuses only on pupils' written responses in the citizenship exercise.

An important task of citizenship education through social studies is to instil in the youth a spirit of patriotism. Social studies lessons are therefore expected to cover knowledge and meaning of the country's independence and national symbols such as the national flag and coat of arms. Surprisingly, not every pupil who wrote the exercise knew the date on which Zimbabwe's independence was celebrated every year, the meanings of symbols on the national flag or the motto below the national coat of arms. Six pupils at Kingsdale, three pupils at Musasa View and seven pupils at Eltonvale class did not know that 18 April was Independence Day. Most pupils could not state the motto written at the bottom of the national coat-of-arms: unity, freedom and work; the breakdown was 40 at Kingsdale, 41 at Musasa View 17 at Eltonvale. Colours on the national flag were not fully explained. For example, black was taken to mean black people rather than the black majority and red to mean blood rather than the blood spilled during the liberation struggle. Most pupils did not associate the red star on the national flag with anything. Only 12 at Kingsdale, seven at Musasa View and four at Eltonvale associated it with hope – the meaning given by the Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action Pupils' Book series. No pupil at the three schools associated it with socialism – the meaning given by the School Atlas for Zimbabwe.

One of the most important citizenship-oriented policies adopted by the new majority rule government of Zimbabwe in 1980 was that of reconciliation. My view was that before Zimbabweans could fully appreciate this policy, they had to first understand it. I therefore asked pupils to indicate what they understood about it. Many left the space provided for the answer blank. Over three quarters of the written responses showed little to no understanding of the policy of reconciliation as shown in these examples:

The policy helps people to vote and choose what they want (Shingai, Eltonvale)

It is when the country started allowing blacks to vote (Nigel, Eltonvale)

Fair laws and human rights (Audrey, Musasa View)

It shows how nice we are and it is very good (Sharon, Eltonvale)

Zimbabwe and Britain signed an agreement that they were no longer enemies and would become friends (Taona, Kingsdale)

A low proportion of the written responses did however show fair to good understanding of the policy of reconciliation as shown in these examples:

It wanted to unite the people of Zimbabwe (Chido, Musasa View)

It encouraged unity among all the races, especially between blacks and whites (Blessing, Kingsdale)

It called on blacks and whites to put the past behind them, to forgive each other and to live together as one nation (Zvikomborero, Eltonvale)

Given that the majority of responses I received were incorrect, I inferred that the national policy of reconciliation was not receiving the attention it deserved in the implemented curriculum.

Although the official syllabus requires pupils to know about life in Zimbabwe and other countries, pupils' basic geographic knowledge of Southern African countries was low. For example, when provided with a map in which national borders, but not names of countries,

were marked and asked to fill in the names of countries sharing borders with Zimbabwe, a fairly large number of pupils was unable to do so (Table 15).

Table 15: Pupils unable to locate Zimbabwe's neighbours on a map

Country that pupils could not locate	Kingsdale (N = 46)	Musasa View (N = 44)	Eltonvale (N= 25)
Botswana	21	18	3
Mozambique	13	12	3
South Africa	10	3	3
Zambia	14	17	3

N = class size

Just like the pupils' textbooks ignored the syllabus content requirement of looking at life in other countries, pupils' social studies knowledge appeared to be largely confined to Zimbabwe. Ignorance of Zimbabwe's neighbours was least at Eltonvale. This was largely because the private school allocated each pupil with an atlas, while pupils at the other two schools had no individual atlases. So although no lessons that were specifically on countries other than Zimbabwe were observed, the availability of atlases at Eltonvale made it possible for its pupils to find out information about other countries on their own.

Pupils' knowledge of background information pertinent to citizenship education studies was in many instances outdated. Despite the inclusion of systems of government and the concepts of one-party and multi-party systems in the official syllabus, fairly large numbers of pupils thought most countries in Southern Africa were one-party states (Table16). These responses were interesting in that Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe have never been one-party states and although Angola, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia were once one-party states, they have been multi-party states for more than half a decade. I

wondered why pupils responded the way they did and noted the point for later discussion with them before I could come to any firm conclusions.

Table 16: Southern African countries perceived to be one-party states by pupils

COUNTRY	Kingsdale (N = 46)	Musasa View (N = 44)	Eltonvale (N = 25)
1. Angola	22	23	10
2. Botswana	24	25	6
3. Malawi	23	24	14
4. Mozambique	17	27	10
5. South Africa	17	24	5
6. Tanzania	23	22	11
7. Zambia	14	22	12
8. Zimbabwe	12	21	5

N = class size

As noted earlier, textbooks in use at the three schools contained many untrue statements. I wondered if pupils were aware of this. I therefore took statements, in many cases verbatim, from pupils' textbooks and asked pupils to indicate whether or not they thought they were true (Table 17).

Table 17: False statements in textbooks taken to be true by pupils.

STATEMENT	Kingsdale (N=46)	Musasa View (N=44)	Elton- vale (N=25)
After ZANU and ZAPU came together in 1987, there is now only one political party of any significance.	15	23	7
Zimbabwe is a socialist country.	29	22	21
Namibia and South Africa are countries that are still not independent	8	4	2
Comrade Mandela is in prison. He is serving a life sentence.	7	11	11
The South African government believes one race is superior to another.	23	28	12
The Communist Party is the only political party in Russia.	25	22	15
The highest law-making body in Russia is called the Supreme Soviet.	39	34	23
The leader of Russia is the First Secretary of the Communist Party.	22	23	20

N = class size

Quite a number of pupils thought it was true that there was only one political party of any significance in Zimbabwe, that Zimbabwe was a socialist country, that Nelson Mandela was still serving a life sentence, that *apartheid* was still the policy of the South African government and that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was still in power. Pupils

did not have current information on international organizations to which Zimbabwe belonged. 15 pupils at Kingsdale, 11 pupils at Musasa View and seven pupils in the Eltonvale class were not aware that the Organisation of African Union (OAU) was the same organization as the African Union (AU). Despite Zimbabwe having pulled out of the organization in 2003, over half of the classes at Musasa View and Eltonvale thought Zimbabwe was still a member of the Commonwealth during the research period; the breakdown was 35 at Musasa View, 14 at Eltonvale and 9 at Kingsdale. Only one pupil at Kingsdale, two pupils at Musasa three pupils at Elton knew what the acronym SADC stood for. Most pupils had absolutely no idea, although some creative attempts such as ‘South African Development Congress (sic)’ and ‘Southern African Democracy Cooperation (sic)’ were made. Strangely, even the social studies textbooks which constituted the main source of pupils’ information did not have the name of the regional economic grouping to which Zimbabwe is a founder member – the Southern African Development Community. From these responses, I inferred that outdated and incorrect material in pupils’ textbooks was not updated and corrected in the course of social studies lessons.

Pupils were asked to write down what they understood by the terms citizen, democracy and dictatorship. All 115 pupils’ responses were analysed and grouped into typical categories. The responses shown below portray the range and diversity of responses that were given and are in pupils’ own words in keeping with the ethnographic tradition of report writing. Pupils’ responses suggested, with very few exceptions, little to no familiarity with the terms citizen, democracy and dictatorship. Responses showing a good understanding of the term are in *italics*.

(a) Citizen:

- A person who was born in a country and lives in that country (Shingai, Eltonvale)
- A person who was born in the country and lives in it following the law (Peter, Eltonvale)
- A person who is allowed to live in a country (Ngoni, Eltonvale)
- A person who lives in a country and has all his/her rights (Mercy, Eltonvale)
- Someone who is over 18 and has the right to vote (Mary, Eltonvale)
- A person who lives in a country and who is free (Sekai, Kingsdale)
- A person who lives in the city (Peter, Kingsdale)
- A person who lives in a country permanently (Ernest, Kingsdale)
- A person who lives in the country that he was born (Mathew, Musasa View)
- A person who rightfully belongs to a country by birth or marriage (Shepherd, Musasa View)
- A person living in a country, belongs to that country and has the same race (Chido, Musasa View)
- A person who lives in his country and has a right to do what he wants (Tawanda, Musasa View)
- A person who is a registered member of a nation, possesses a birth certificate or a national identity document* (Rufaro, Kingsdale)

(b) Democracy:

- A big country like the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) (Laura, Kingsdale)
- When a country gets its independence and joins the UN (Taona, Kingsdale)
- Living peacefully (Kuda, Kingsdale)
- A free country which makes its laws (Joyce, Musasa View)
- A country which fought for its independence (Tawanda, Musasa View)
- Making laws in parliament (Brenda, Musasa View)
- An independent country with peace (Mary, Musasa View)
- Winning the liberation war (Petronella, Musasa View)
- Bad things or a disaster (Sharon, Eltonvale)
- A multi-party state (Ngoni, Eltonvale)
- A united state (Alice, Eltonvale)
- A government in which people elect those who govern* (Catherine, Eltonvale)

A government chosen by the people for the people (Blessing, Kingsdale)

(c) Dictatorship:

When countries unite (Laura, Kingsdale)

People who do not like seeing each other (Kuda, Kingsdale)

People who lived long ago and did not care about other people (Peter, Musasa View)

Leading people well (Tanaka, Musasa View)

Doing something good (Moses, Musasa View)

Making laws (Mavis, Musasa View)

Choosing people to govern (Vimbai, Musasa View)

Helping each other in the country (Rutendo, Eltonvale)

Speaking freely on issues about a country (Tafara, Eltonvale)

A word usually used in court (Sharon, Eltonvale)

Someone who rules the whole country alone (Ernest, Kingsdale)

Pupils largely perceived a citizen to be a person born and residing in a given country. A few linked it to marriage, being over 18 years, voting, sharing the same race with people in a given country. Very few linked it to belonging to a country. None linked it to descent and naturalisation. Responses given by pupils suggested possible misconceptions on what constitutes citizenship and these were also noted down for follow up interviews and class discussions.

Pupils were even less familiar with the terms democracy and dictatorship. Although they showed that they had heard of the terms somewhere, there was little to suggest that this was in a proper citizenship education context. Only two out of the 115 pupils who wrote the citizenship exercise associated democracy with a system of government where rulers are voted into office through elections. Many pupils even viewed the term dictatorship in a positive light. They linked it to unity, good leadership, holding of elections, caring for

fellow citizens, free speech and specialised terminology used in courts. Very few pupils referred to dictatorship as a system of government where all power lies in the hands of one person who rules without advice from members of cabinet and parliament. From the written responses, it could be inferred that most pupils could not tell dictatorship and democracy apart. This suggested that the terms democracy and dictatorship were possibly not adequately covered, if at all, in social studies classes.

Pupils were also asked to list citizens' rights and responsibilities. A good number of pupils showed a fair understanding of citizens' rights and responsibilities:

A. Rights

To live wherever he/she wants, do whatever he/she wants, go to any school where he/she wants to learn (Aleck, Eltonvale)

To be free to say no, to complain, to choose, to get a birth certificate and to have a name (Mary, Eltonvale)

To choose the church they want to go to (Brenda, Musasa View)

To have jobs, to in live in his (sic) country (Peter, Musasa View)

To live a comfortable life (Blessing, Kingsdale)

To marry and be married, to do things for him/herself (Taona, Kingsdale)

B. Responsibilities

To be honest, to work, to help people in need (Blessing, Kingsdale)

To keep the country clean, report crime, abuse etc. (Tafara, Eltonvale)

To make sure the country has peace (John, Eltonvale)

To take care of the country's property (Brenda, Musasa View)

To vote, obey laws, pay taxes (Tanaka, Musasa View)

To defend the country (Taona, Kingsdale)

However, it was not clear if pupils understood the context and limits of the rights and responsibilities they had listed. I therefore noted this for further probing during follow up discussions with them.

Pupils were also asked to list any three qualities of responsible citizenship they considered to be the most important. As I analysed the exercise, I noted the responses they gave and again grouped them into broad categories of similar qualities. The most widely cited qualities at the three schools turned out to be honesty, politeness and kindness. These qualities overlapped with what pupils sought in friendships. Pupils said they expected their friends to show love, honesty and to go to church. This was not surprising since friendship was also taught in religious and moral education. These were also positive qualities. What was surprising was that very few pupils cited patriotism as an important quality of responsible citizenship. I could not help wondering if patriotism received as much emphasis in the school curriculum as the other qualities cited by pupils, and if their perceptions of responsible citizenship were not shaped more by religious and moral education than by social studies.

The citizenship exercise included questions on *Successful Living Together* - a social studies syllabus topic that deals with ethical and moral issues but which was conspicuously absent in teachers' schemes of work and officially approved textbooks. The pupils were asked to write down why they needed friends, what they understood by peer pressure and how they could resist it, the dangers of drinking alcohol and taking drugs and why it was important to be honest and to always tell the truth.

On the need for friends, pupils wrote that they needed them to play with, to keep them company, to help them, to cheer them up, to encourage them, to love and to share secrets with. Most of the reasons were straightforward except the last two. I wondered what concepts of love and what types of secrets the pubescent and adolescent Grade 7 pupils could be having. I noted that I would need to carefully probe on these potentially sensitive topics later on.

Most pupils did not understand peer pressure and gave responses such as:

When someone is stressed (Rutendo, Eltonvale)

Doing something with force (Ngoni, Eltonvale)

Air that is polluted (Petronella, Musasa View)

Abuse of children (Shepherd, Musasa View)

Something that makes you uncomfortable (Moses, Musasa View)

A lot of work that is given to someone (Peter, Kingsdale)

Air that was pumped into something (Sekai, Kingsdale)

An enormous thing that can be resisted by taking care of it (Lisa, Kingsdale)

Someone who forces himself on you... You can resist it by wearing decent clothes (Kuda, Kingsdale)

Many left the question unanswered. Responses that showed a fair to good understanding of peer pressure were rare and included:

Being forced to do something that is bad by your friends and you can resist by saying no (Sharon, Eltonvale)

Being tempted to do something bad by your friends and we can resist it by staying away from bad friends (Alleck, Eltonvale)

When one's friends insist on having sex and we can resist by saying no (Mary, Eltonvale)

Something that is wrong and it comes from bad friends and we can resist it by not playing with those friends (Joyce, Musasa View)

When someone puts pressure on you to do something bad... We can resist it by doing the right thing (Vimbai, Musasa View)

The pressure we are given by our peers. In other words, the urge we are given to do certain things by our friends, classmates and so forth. We can resist it by having the courage to stand up to our peers (Taona, Kingsdale)

When people mock you because you don't smoke or drink ... Then you'll be forced to do it. We can resist it by hanging around good people (Rufaro, Kingsdale)

Only 29 out of 115 pupils got the question on peer pressure right: 10 at Kingsdale, 4 at Musasa View, and 15 at Eltonvale. I wondered why relatively more pupils at Elton had a fair to good understanding of the concept. Because the majority of pupils at Kingsdale and Musasa got it wrong, I wondered if those who got it right at these two schools had learnt about it in the school curriculum or in their families, churches or other institutions outside the school. Another issue bothered me. Since those who gave correct responses were so knowledgeable about peer pressure, if the topic had been discussed in social studies lessons would the majority of pupils not have got the question right? These issues required follow-up interviews and discussions.

On the dangers of drinking alcohol and taking drugs, all pupils were able to identify at least one disease related to these habits. Cancer, heart attacks and mental illness were among the most common responses given. There was, however, less awareness of the more subtle social effects not directly linked to diseases such as loss of sound judgment and self-control. It was such effects which made it difficult for people who drank alcohol and took drugs to be responsible citizens even before they became addicted and actually fell ill. I wondered if these dangers were given equal attention to other diseases in the implemented social studies curriculum. On why it was important to be honest and to always tell the

truth, pupils' sense of morality showed greater religious than secular influence. This was evident from responses such as:

If you are dishonest and lie, God will be displeased with you (Blessing, Kingsdale)

So that we follow God's commandments and make the world a better place (Rufaro, Kingsdale)

Because lying is a sin (Obert, Kingsdale)

Because if you do not, you will be punished by God (Brenda, Kingsdale)

The Bible says we must be truthful and honest (Diana, Kingsdale)

Because you will not carry a burden with you and you will go to heaven instead of hell (Rutendo, Eltonvale)

So that God will bless you (John, Eltonvale)

Because if you tell the truth people will admire you saying this girl or boy is a truth teller. It is important to be honest because people, relatives and parents will always trust you (Joyce, Musasa View)

Because if something is stolen, everyone will suspect you but you may not be the person who has stolen it (Mathew, Musasa View)

I wondered if enough was being done in social studies, as a secular subject, to teach morality as socially responsible behaviour and noted this aspect for later engagement with participants.

On the qualities of national heroes, many pupils gave the names of national heroes, although the question specifically asked for their qualities. From the few who actually wrote down heroes' qualities, the commonest one was that of having fought in the war of liberation. Few expressed qualities which, though also applicable to the war of liberation, in fact, transcended it - for example, strength, bravery, determination, intelligence and patriotism. I inferred from pupils' responses that the coverage of national heroes in social studies dwelt on those who fought in the war of liberation and not from other fields such as sport, music, scholarship, philanthropy and so forth. And even then, the emphasis was on

learning their names, rather than the qualities which distinguished them from the general populace and made other Zimbabweans seek to emulate them.

It was the same with nationalists. Pupils could repeat the names of some of the nationalists mentioned in textbooks but many of them could not explain the term nationalist, or even link it to national hero - a related term they had encountered in an earlier question. This was confirmed by their responses when asked to describe a nationalist:

A person who makes the laws of our country (Kudzai, Musasa View)

A person who is part of the government (Chido, Musasa View)

Someone from a nation (Farai, Musasa View)

Someone who deals with national issues (Praise, Kingsdale)

Someone who is against capitalism (Blessing, Kingsdale)

A person who lives in his/her nation (Martin, Eltonvale)

A person who belongs to a nation (Tafara, Eltonvale)

A significant number did not even try to guess and left the question unanswered. There were, however, a few pupils who were able to explain the term. These wrote that a nationalist was:

A person who likes his country and is prepared to die for it (Sharon, Eltonvale)

One who wants to free one's country from colonial rule (Aleck, Eltonvale)

A person who loves his/her country and sacrifices for it (Audrey, Musasa View)

Again, I inferred from this that social studies lessons could have focused on biographical details of some nationalists mentioned in textbooks without bringing out what it was that made them nationalists. It was apparent that the majority of pupils had not understood the concept of nationalism.

The colonial period was generally portrayed in a negative light in the social studies textbooks in use at the three schools. I however wanted to find out what pupils, on their

own, thought there were the good and the bad things that Zimbabweans learnt from their contacts with the British during this period as a prelude to a class debate on this topic. I asked them to write these down. I then placed the words that the pupils themselves wrote into what I considered broadly related categories as shown in Table 18. This was an open-ended task without any absolute or pre-determined answers and which was quite unlike the usual simple recall activities that they were accustomed to.

Table 18: What, according to pupils, Zimbabweans learnt from their contacts with the British during the colonial period

CATEGORY	GOOD THINGS LEARNT	BAD THINGS LEARNT
Education And Culture	How to speak English (John, Eltonvale) How to pray (Clinton, Eltonvale) Christianity (Rachelle, Kingsdale) Word of God (Laura, Kingsdale) To wear clothes (Tanaka, Musasa View) To go to school (Tanaka, Musasa View)	Disliking own language (Kuda, Kingsdale) Forgetting our traditions (Ngoni, Eltonvale) Concentrating on other people's culture (Alleck, Eltonvale) Becoming westernised (Fadzai, Kingsdale) Believing that whites are better than blacks (Blessing, Kingsdale)
Modernisation and Technology	Civilisation and technology (Sekai, Eltonvale) Mining and industry (Roy, Eltonvale) Modern farming (Shandirai, Musasa View) To be organised (Vongai, Eltonvale) To work hard (Sharon, Eltonvale)	Alcohol, guns and violence (Alice, Eltonvale) Making other people work for you and not giving them anything (Tavonga, Musasa View) Working everyday without rest (Sara, Eltonvale) Forcing people to pay tax (Moses, Musasa View)
Human Relations	You should not sign a contract if you do not know what it means. (Stanley, Musasa View)	Not to trust anyone (Catherine, Eltonvale) To hate the opposite race (Rutendo, Eltonvale) To be selfish, mean and rude (Mary, Eltonvale) To hate one another and to take other people as servants (Joyce, Musasa View)

Although pupils still needed to elaborate and justify their responses in the class debate that followed the written task, I was impressed by their ability to reflect on and even give alternative views to what was presented in their textbooks.

PART III

4.4 Perceptions of the Implementation of Citizenship Education from the Participants' Perspectives

4.4.1 Introduction

I analysed participants' perspectives on the implementation of citizenship education under three broad themes based on the following questions:

- How was the official social studies syllabus document used in preparing to teach citizenship education?
- What citizenship education content was in actual social studies classes and how was it taught and learnt?
- How did the ethos and climate of the school affect citizenship education?

These broad themes were in turn broken into sub-themes in order to tease out particular aspects for further analysis as shown in Table 19.

Table 19: Themes and sub-themes used in analysing participants' perspectives

THEMES	SUB-THEMES
1. Official syllabus document	1 (a) Availability 1 (b) Application and interpretation
2. Pedagogy	2 (a) Content coverage 2 (b) Class activities
3. School ethos and climate	3 (a) Guiding beliefs 3 (b) Rules and general practices 3(c) Extracurricular activities

4.4.2 Official Syllabus Document

4.4.2.1 Availability

When I asked teachers whether they had their own copies of the official syllabus document I was told it was generally hard to come by. In fact none of them had their own copy. The few copies around were, according to Mrs Moyo of Kingsdale, generally kept in the head's office and if teachers needed to refer to something in the syllabus they had to borrow it. She added that, as a result, very few teachers bothered to read the official syllabus document.

All teachers had to share copies of this document with others including with those from other schools. As stated by Mrs. Gumbo at Musasa View:

I have no copy of the syllabus. As for the one I used ... I had to borrow from a teacher at another school. He's the one who lent me his. That's what I used in the first term. Well, ever since I've been here I've never had a syllabus from the school.

This was echoed by her colleague, Mr Nyika, who said "... in the past, there used to be a few copies that we used ... over time these disappeared ... such that we are now relying on our old schemes that we simply copy from." Some teachers even appeared surprised with my apparent preoccupation with this document. As remarked by Mr Tembo of Eltonvale:

This is the first time I have been asked to reflect on what is contained in a syllabus. It's not that I don't want to. I do. It's just that the syllabus is not an easy document to access. There is only one syllabus for the whole school. You can't get syllabuses in a bookshop or college library ...not even at the Curriculum Development Unit itself. So we just have to use textbooks when planning.

To them, the official syllabus document had a substitute in the officially approved textbooks.

4.4.2.2 Application and Interpretation

As noted under the document analysis, approved textbooks generally omitted the broad aims of the official syllabus document and instead focused on selected behavioural objectives. This was reflected in the absence of broad aims in the schemes of work of teachers who did not use the official syllabus document. Mr Nyika of Musasa View, one of the many teachers who did not include the broad aims of the official syllabus document, justified the situation saying:

You know, general aims do not affect our teaching that much. We focus on objectives because they are what we can ask pupils to do and we can test. So we use these rather than general aims in our schemes. Even with those who include them ...I very much doubt that they in fact use them.

Generally, the official syllabus document was not directly applied and interpreted by most teachers. Rather, it was indirectly applied and interpreted through approved textbooks.

Where available, the official syllabus document was mostly used by beginning teachers when writing down their first schemes of work at the start of a school term. Thereafter, teachers usually did not go back to the syllabus. They would simply get the approved textbooks and extract whatever material they thought was suitable for their lessons. In fact, some teachers admitted that they had never used the official social studies syllabus document at all for their schemes of work. I was also told that recycling of old schemes of work, including those of other teachers, was common. Names and dates would, of course, be changed making it difficult for school heads to detect the practice.

4.4.3 Pedagogy

4.4.3.1 Content Coverage

Teachers' perceptions of citizenship education coverage in social studies were mixed. There were no discernible differences in perceptions according to the type of school where the teachers taught. A few teachers were positive about the coverage of citizenship education and felt, like Mrs Bako of Kingsdale, that:

Topics like Living Together ... and ... Rules and Laws ... are very useful ... in teaching children ... in how to bring them up ... to be responsible citizens. These ones really help the children.

Some, like Mr Ngwenya of Musasa View, gave it qualified approval saying:

It tries to cover issues of human rights and gender under the topics Living Together and Rules and Laws. It tries to let children know of their rights and responsibilities as citizens of the country. It tries to bring out such aspects although there is a lot of room for improvement.

Others, like Mrs Jiri of Eatonvale, found the content static and wanted it to “change with the times” and were unhappy that the Ministry of Education Sport, Arts and Culture kept “using the same syllabus year after year.” According to Mrs Jiri, under the topic Living Together, the syllabus:

talks about how to live together with others, but does not fully address the moral aspect of how to live together... And given the changes occurring in the lives of our people ... and our country... it doesn't quite deal with issues such as democracy. ... I haven't seen where it addresses gender issues either. Also, it doesn't fully bring out Zimbabwe's ethnic and racial diversity. You can't meaningfully explore

cultures and traditions of the various groups using the current syllabus. You can't do that as a teacher.

Mrs Moyo of Kingsdale took issue with the topic Living Together particularly the contents of the sections titled *Life in the Past* and *Successful Living Together*. While she was happy that *Life in the Past* taught young children about the heroes of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, she wanted it to also include heroes in other domains and remarked:

... as for footballers and musicians, surprisingly, no hero is cited. Not even a single individual has ever been given hero status in these domains! Does it mean there has never been an outstanding footballer or musician in our history?

To be fair to the official syllabus document, it allowed for the discussion of football, music and other recreational activities under a separate topic Work and Leisure. Nothing in this topic prevented teachers from covering heroism in these domains. The real reason why heroism in domains outside the liberation struggle was ignored was because teachers tended to take their cue from textbooks rather than the official syllabus document. Mrs Moyo's criticism really referred to the interpretation of the official syllabus that was given in the textbooks that she used. It was the approved textbook as the *de facto* syllabus that focused exclusively on liberation war heroes.

Mrs Moyo was also unhappy with *Successful Living Together* which she described as "behind the times" because:

Children are now maturing fast ... even the adolescent years are now occurring much earlier. As early as 11 or even 10 years... so the topic should also include appropriate behaviour. In the past children were well behaved. Today they are not.

The syllabus should cite examples from the past – the older generation like ourselves. We were well behaved. We respected our customs and traditions. But now because of TV and influence from outside and within the school, it's so difficult to control the children.

Mr Nyika of Musasa View too had problems with the content of *Successful Living Together* which he felt was not easy to teach since:

Most of the time, our pupils don't accept the values that they are taught by us – their teachers or even their parents. Rather they are influenced more by their peer groups, their friends. These are the ones they imitate. In dressing too, it's simply let me appear as fashionable as so and so. Children are now saying we have our own rights. You belong to the old generation, we are modern. Let us be free to live our lives our own way. The effort can be made but a cultural transformation is occurring.

However, the official syllabus document linked the topics *Successful Living Together* and *Health* and presented the following main concepts and related content:

SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER (See Health)

- (i) Acceptable and healthy boy/girl relationships
- (ii) Responsibilities of marriage and parenthood
- (iii) ... becoming an informed person

(PEDU 1982, pp. 38-39)

HEALTHY HABITS AND SOUND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS (See Living Together)

- (i) Personal cleanliness during adolescence
- (ii) Personal relationships and poise during adolescence
- (iii) Abusive use of drugs, alcohol and tobacco

(PEDU 1982, pp. 40-41).

Some teachers informed me that they considered issues such as sexual maturation to be taboo and therefore sensitive. One day as I sat in my usual corner observing a Grade 3 class at Kingsdale, an eight-year-old girl came up to her teacher, Mrs Bere, and said in a hushed voice, “Ma’am, I think I’m growing up too fast,” to which the teacher replied in an equally hushed voice “Not now Jane, after class.” An opportunity to openly discuss sexual maturation with the whole class (boys included) was thus missed. It was as if such a topic could not form part of a normal class session. As she later explained to me, she felt, as did many of her colleagues, that family and close relatives were best placed to handle the topic. Yet, within the very premises of the school pupils were already wondering what was happening to some parts of their bodies with the onset of puberty. At Eltonvale where there was a swimming pool some girls in Grade 7 told me that they were no longer comfortable participating in swimming sessions during the physical education class because there were boys who groped them in the water. This underlined the need for the content on acceptable and healthy boy/girl relationships to be taught as required by the official social studies document. Publishers did not help the situation since they took it upon themselves to censor such “sensitive” topics from their textbooks, while the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture failed to notice the omissions.

Teachers’ displeasure with aspects of *Successful Living Together* was understandable given that there was inadequate coverage of related content in their exclusive source of teaching material - the approved textbook. Mrs Jiri of Eatonvale was particularly unhappy about the omission and had this to say:

Social studies is about life. It’s about living together. And now you find that because of the economic hardships we are facing as a country, many people are leaving the country for greener pastures leading to the disintegration of families.

Because ... these kids ...they are now being left alone ... Who is going to teach them about life? Who is going to teach them about moral responsibility or about being good citizens? And you find that such kids ...because they are just living alone or in child-headed families, the moral aspect is no longer in them ... So textbooks need to also address such issues ... Then teachers can act as co-parents ... playing the role of parents because even the traditional elders and aunts who would advise adolescents on socially and morally responsible behaviour are not there.

Pupils would “accept the values that they are taught by us – their teachers or even their parents” and not be “influenced more by their peer groups” - to use Mr Nyika’s words - if the main concepts and related content specified in the official syllabus document under *Successful Living Together* and *Health* were included in textbooks and actually taught to them. Mr Nyika also thought the official syllabus document did not address environmental problems such as uncollected refuse and ever bursting sewage pipes in Harare that have periodically resulted in outbreaks of diseases such as cholera. This perception was correct only in so far as it referred to what was contained in the approved textbooks but not in the official syllabus document. The main concepts and related content under the topic Health in the official syllabus document were in fact “hygiene in the school and community (link with environmental science)” (p. 30) and the recommended pupil activities were “identifying causes of pollution, relating these to different environments” (ibid) and discussing “diseases ... accidents and their prevention” (p. 41). It could be that when the textbooks were approved in the 1980’s, the city’s environmental problems were not as acute and topical as they are today and their publishers have not updated the content in them.

Wealth and Money was another topic whose content teachers found problematic. Mrs Moyo attributed this to the fact that:

the value of money is changing. Everything is changing ... the currency that we are using ...especially in Zimbabwe. The value of the currency that was used in the 80's is totally different from what we have now.

Mrs Gumbo of Musasa View supported her saying:

Right now we are using bearer cheques. The money situation is ever changing. I don't know if the syllabus could be flexible ... so that we shift to the currency that is used today.

At the time the teachers were interviewed, the country was experiencing record inflation and had resorted to the use of bearer cheques as its currency was losing value every minute and had become virtually worthless.

Mrs Moyo and Mrs Gumbo were correct in their observation of changes in value of the money and currency used in Zimbabwe. They were, however, incorrect in thinking that the relevant content for these changes was not catered for by the official syllabus document. Under the topic Wealth and Money the official syllabus document actually gave some of the main concepts and related content right as:

MONEY EXISTS IN DIFFERENT FORMS

(Links with Mathematics)

Familiarity with the currency of this country

(PEDU 1982, p.17)

for stage1 (Grades 1 and 2) and

TRADE PAST AND PRESENT

(See Living Together)

(i) The factors that determine the price of an article (simply)

(ii) The effects of ever-rising prices (inflation spiral - simply)

(PEDU 1982, p.17)

for stage 4 (Grades 6 and 7).

It was the approved textbooks that remained steeped in the past and confined their coverage of the topic Wealth and Money to a mere description of the coins and bank notes that were in use in the country in the 80's. Textbooks used at the three schools left out concepts such as the factors that determine prices and the effects of ever-rising prices on consumers although these were, in fact, mentioned in the much-maligned official social studies syllabus document. Had teachers been familiar with this document, they would have realised that nothing in it prevented them from discussing the use of bearer cheques as a concrete example of one possible effect of ever-rising prices (i.e. an inflation spiral) or discussing any other contemporary issue related to the topic Wealth and Money as long as the discussion was at the appropriate level for their pupils. By using the approved textbooks rather than the official syllabus document, teachers therefore missed a golden opportunity to bring the content of their lessons closer to the real world of their pupils.

4.4.3.2 Class Activities

As noted under document analysis class activities largely involved naming, listing, describing, listening to and copying down teacher and textbook supplied information. Rarely did they involve essay and inquiry oriented tasks. Teachers told me that they recognised the merits of these tasks but felt that they were not the best preparation of pupils for the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (Zimsec) Grade 7 General Paper examinations. This was because they took a lot of time for pupils to do and for teachers to

prepare and mark and therefore made completion of the syllabus difficult. School heads informed me that they strongly encouraged teachers to use a variety of teaching methods.

4.4.4 School Ethos and Climate

4.4.4.1 Introduction

School ethos and climate are reflected in the guiding beliefs, rules, general practices and extracurricular activities found at a particular school. These often touch on the subject matter of citizenship education and include, for example, notions of order, responsibility, rights, fairness, equality and non-discrimination. They thus have the potential to either reinforce or contradict what pupils learnt in their social studies lessons. As noted in Chapter One (**1.4 Criteria for Examining Quality** p. 5), school ethos and climate include both the *overt* and the *covert* aspects of the curriculum. I was interested in finding out how the ethos and climate that prevailed at each of the three schools were perceived.

4.4.4.2 Guiding Beliefs

The heads of the three schools explained to me the guiding beliefs of their schools, as expressed in their visions and mission statements. Mr Jere said that Eltonvale's vision was to be a school with a difference - one that not only helped pupils acquire knowledge but that also prepared them for life and its mission was to deliver an education that was holistic, child-centred and embraced the challenges of the 21st century and beyond. Mr Tongai stated that Musasa View's vision was to be a school that developed the individual child to his/her full intellectual, social and physical potential and its mission was to develop useful citizens who had knowledge, skills attitudes and values that related to the real world. Mr Shava indicated that Kingsdale sought to become a centre of excellence where discipline and living together as a community were valued and its mission was to provide

all pupils with all round primary education regardless of race, tribe, social background or creed. I found these visions and mission statements to support citizenship education and inferred that they could not be the reason why the social studies syllabus was not implemented as intended.

4.4.4.3 School Rules

School rules had a natural link to the syllabus topic Rules and laws so I inquired from the school heads about their school rules. They said many of them related to responsible citizenship in the school and local community and included the following:

- Be punctual and come to school smartly dressed (Kingsdale)
- Throw litter in the bins. Do not throw stones and sticks anyhow (Kingsdale).
- No fighting, no beating of others and avoid vulgar language (Kingsdale).
- Pupils are prohibited from using vulgar language to anybody (Musasa View).
- Pupils should greet and respect teachers and elders regardless of whether they know them or not (Musasa View).
- Do not take what is not yours (Eltonvale).
- Do not use offensive language (Eltonvale).
- All adults should be treated with respect (Eltonvale).
- Pick up any kind of litter that you come across and place it in a bin (Eltonvale).

School heads said on the whole pupils tended to follow school rules although they required monitoring, for example regarding fighting among pupils. Mr Tongai, the Head of Musasa View attributed this to the influence of violent TV programmes such as wrestling when he said:

We have really had some problems with pupils trying to imitate what they see on TV... shouting “I’m John Cenna!” ...and attacking other pupils... sometimes quite dangerously. They think what they see on TV is real and yet it’s all play-acting.

With pupils ... they really hit each other. You know the problem with this programme? Even some adults think TV wrestling is real fighting. What more of school children? So we really have to keep an eye on the pupils especially during tea and lunch breaks.

4.4.4.4 General Practices

I also asked school heads about their views on some general school practices such as the medium of instruction, ability grouping and the prefect system because I thought they could have a bearing on how citizenship education was implemented in their schools. The general practices that appeared most pertinent were the medium of instruction, ability grouping and the prefect system.

On the medium of instruction, English appeared to be the preferred language that was used although the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture's policy was to promote the use of indigenous languages as well, particularly in the first three years of primary school. In practice, however, schools advocated the exclusive use of English in primary school from year one on the grounds that it hastened their grasp of English and ultimately concept formation. I was surprised one day during assembly to hear Mr Shava, the Head of Kingsdale, announce that he did not want to hear any pupil speaking in Shona within the school grounds and instructed prefects to book any offender and bring him/her to his office for punishment. He defended his drastic measures saying he wanted his pupils to be proficient speakers of English. Mr Jere, the Head of Eltonvale, said while he supported the use of indigenous languages, the problem was that the middle class who provided pupils to the Trust School themselves preferred English not only to be the language of instruction but the general language of communication throughout the school. He said when parents came

to look for a place for their child at the school one of the first questions they asked was: Is English spoken here? There was no insistence on using English outside the classroom at Musasa View where middle class parents rarely sent their children to learn. However, it was still the preferred medium of instruction during lessons.

One of the most distinctive features of a community's cultural identity is the language its members use in their day to day activities. It is through its language that a community passes its cultural attributes from one generation to another. Yet, participants did not perceive mother tongue instruction as linked to the development of citizens who were proud of the culture of their forebears. This obviously contributed to the limited African consciousness that I observed among pupils. For example, when the Eltonvale Grade 3 pupil social studies class was asked if they liked *mahewu*, a highly nutritious beverage traditionally made from slightly fermented sorghum porridge, the whole class with the exception of one pupil, Chipso, did not even know what it was. However, all pupils knew and enjoyed fizzy drinks such as coca-cola. The following is what Chipso said regarding *mahewu*:

I know what *mahewu* is. My grandmother at the rural village makes it by mixing water and left over *sadza* (thick porridge). I don't know why she likes it. *Mahewu anosemesa* (Its a drink that makes you feel like vomiting). So we don't like it at our home here in town.

The failure to use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction during the early years of primary school is further discussed from the participant observer's perspective under 4.5.5 School Ethos and Climate.

Regarding ability grouping, two schools denied practising it while one admitted that it practised it to some extent. Kingsdale did not practise ability grouping because it believed that all pupils should learn together and advance as a team regardless of their differences in ability. According to its head:

The teacher should teach the very bright and not so bright together in the same class. If we stream them, the teacher with weak pupils is likely to develop negative attitudes or be stressed by it ... to the extent that the pupils could be ignored. Yet the way children develop mentally varies from child to child. ... Some children are late developers ... if we ignore them through streaming we could be destroying their chances of progressing to higher stages (Mr Shava, the Head of Kingsdale).

Eltonvale too did not practise ability grouping. Its head explained the school's position as follows:

In line with child-centred education, we believe each child is unique and should be taught as an individual and not be placed into an ability group ... itself an arbitrary way of labelling children that can even end up stigmatising them. Whatever perceived weaknesses the pupils may have, these are really part of their uniqueness and should be attended to by the teacher as individual differences in the same class as other pupils. This is why we have assistant teachers. I have problems with schools that are in some kind of competition to produce the most "ones" and "twos" per subject ... because certain approaches can be used to teach for examinations but without really educating the child (Mr Jere, the Head of Eltonvale).

Musasa View used both ability grouping and mixed ability teaching, particularly for the Grade 7 classes. The head explained his school's position as follows:

One year we could stream them ... in other words place them in different streams according to their abilities, with the A stream taking pupils with higher marks than those in the B stream, the B stream taking those with higher marks than those in the C stream and so on as they come from the Grade 6 class. Another year we might not. We just take them as they are ... in mixed ability groups. Streaming (i.e. ability grouping) produces the largest number of pupils with four to eight units but a lower pass rate while mixed ability grouping produces a higher pass rate but comprising pupils with twenty or more units. Primary school pupils are examined in four subjects: English, General Paper, Mathematics and Ndebele/Shona. The grades used for assessing their performance range from one unit (a score of over 90%) to nine (a score close to 0%), with six being the cut off point for a pass.

Musasa View had no definite policy on ability grouping because those teachers who were given bottom streams were not in favour of it while some teachers argued that the large number of pupils with four units that it produced was good for the school's reputation. When I asked Mr Tongai which system parents preferred, I was told that schools did not inform them that their children were sometimes streamed. As he put it:

All they know ... is that the school gets good results. How we produce those results ... many of them don't actually know. And I don't think they would want their child to be in the bottom stream if they knew.

This lack of transparency regarding ability grouping ran counter to the notions of justice, equality and democracy which citizenship education sought to propagate.

Concerning the prefect system, school prefects were found at Kingsdale and Musasa View but not at Eltonvale. I had the opportunity to join teachers, prefects, pupils, parents and invited guests at the prefects' investitures that were held at Kingsdale and Musasa View.

The investitures were characterised by a lot of pomp and ceremony underlining the importance that was attached to the role of prefects at the two schools. The view of the heads, teachers and pupils at Kingsdale and Musasa View was that prefects were necessary for the maintenance of discipline. While the head of Eltonvale was definite that there was no need for prefects, some of his teachers and pupils and thought their presence could in fact help maintain discipline.

Prefects at Kingsdale were appointed by the head and teaching staff from a wide list of names suggested by pupils. According to Mr Jere, the head of Kingsdale:

In many schools, the practice is not to involve pupils in the choice of prefects. Here it is different. We involve them in coming up with the initial list of potential prefects. Once we, as staff, have agreed on those with the best leadership qualities we publish the final list from which pupils select the head boy and head girl by secret ballot. We feel prefects ultimately need the support of fellow pupils to do their duties well. So we want pupils to know that prefects are their leaders whom they participated in choosing. We also want those who do not make it to understand that they are part of the school, that in any community people have different roles. And we can't all play the same role. More important is having pride in belonging to Kingsdale ... and every pupil contributes to the school's reputation.

He added that being a prefect was recognition of a pupil's abilities and offered further training in leadership, discipline, responsibility and character-building but that, like in any competitive process, there were limited openings for all potential prefects.

Prefects at Musasa View were appointed by the head from a list suggested by the teaching staff. Pupils had no input into the choice of who became a prefect. According to Mr Tongai:

The prefects are chosen by the teachers. They are the teachers' eyes and help keep order in the school. We tell them to be fair and firm ... like the police who can arrest anybody who breaks the law ... even if it means some people will hate them for doing the right thing. For example, nobody should leave litter lying on the ground in the school premises. I, as headmaster, will pick up any litter I come across. Other people are ashamed of bending down to pick up litter and place it in a garbage bin. I am not. I expect all pupils to pick up litter whenever they come across it. Prefects help in ensuring that this is done. We want prefects with exemplary behaviour, who are not going to be corrupt when appointed ...who will not be bribed with popcorn, sweets etc by other pupils ... who will not themselves steal from others. So we choose them carefully because we expect excellence from them in all spheres.

According to Mr Tongai, the prefects' investiture day was just as important as prize giving day, the only difference being that the former recognised achievement in leadership whilst the latter recognised achievement in academic subjects, sports, smartness and general behaviour.

I asked Mr Jere, the head of Eltonvale, where there were no prefects, if his pupils were not missing out on leadership training. His response was:

We may not be training them in leadership the way other schools do, i.e. through the prefect system. The school seeks to give equal opportunity and treatment to

every child. So no child should wield the kind of authority a prefect has over another child. We try to spread roles of responsibility as widely as possible. One pupil can lead a group activity, another can collect written exercises and take them to the teacher's desk, another can be a captain of a sports team etc ... but these leadership roles should be rotated. I think we still train them to be leaders and to be responsible. As you can see, there is order and not chaos. Yet we have never had prefects at this school.

I decided to observe if the absence of prefects at Eltonvale and their presence at Kingsdale and Musasa View affected school climate and discuss this aspect later on under 4.5.5 *School Ethos and Climate* as part of my perceptions as a participant-observer.

Heads informed me that citizenship education was also supported through extracurricular activities. Pupils were encouraged to play sport, join clubs and to participate in tree-planting, AIDS awareness and clean-up campaigns. Mr Tongai showed me a herbal garden which was planted by Musasa View's gardening club which he said was already an important source of medicinal herbs for the local community. He said his school also tried to promote gender equality through opening up all sporting disciplines to both male and female pupils. He was particularly proud of Musasa View's girls' football team and boasted that no other primary school supported the girl child the way his school did. Mr Shava said that he often invited Kingsdale's drama and music clubs to perform to the whole school during assembly because of the moral messages that their plays and songs contained. Mr Jere told me that his pupils participated in clean up and tree-planting campaigns organised by a local non-governmental organisation. It therefore appeared that

extra-curricular activities were perceived by school administrators as having an important role to play in citizenship education.

PART IV

4.5 Perceptions of the Implementation of Citizenship Education from the Participant

– Observer’s Perspective

4.5.1 Introduction

In this section I bring on board what I observed and experienced in the school setting and my interpretation of the data that I collected.

4.5.2 Syllabus

I found the official social studies syllabus document to contain significant aspects of citizenship education. These permeated all ten syllabus topics and were particularly well represented in the topics *Living Together, Rules and Laws, Wealth and Money and Health*. This is not to suggest, by any means, that it was a perfect document. As pointed out under **2.6 Background to the Zimbabwean Primary School Social Studies Curriculum** and **4.3.1 The Official Social Studies Syllabus Document**, it had the following flaws:

1. Unlike the primary school history syllabus that it replaced, it left out the *Slave Trade* and the *Partition of Africa* implying that these topics were insignificant for young Zimbabweans. All it expected them to know about slavery and colonialism was that freedom from slavery and colonialism were basic human rights of any citizen in the world. How the struggles for freedom from slavery and colonial occupation were waged and won in Africa and beyond were apparently considered unimportant and left out. Yet topics like the *Slave Trade* and the *Partition of Africa* are indispensable for the development of a pan-

African identity and could help counter xenophobic attitudes towards Africans from other countries – a problem which recently brought great shame to Africa when foreign Africans were violently attacked and even killed in South Africa.

2. It did not state political education as one of its main aims yet its content covered, in considerable detail, forms of government at local, national and international levels. This could partly explain why the main concepts and related content on this aspect of the syllabus received little attention in social studies textbooks and lessons.
3. Its use of gender insensitive language had the potential to militate against the development of gender sensitive citizens during syllabus implementation.

Despite these flaws, if all aspects of the syllabus that was designed by the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture had been implemented, much more ground in citizenship education would have been covered through primary school social studies than I witnessed. Unfortunately, the official syllabus document was not fully implemented as intended.

Because few teachers were actually familiar with this document, most of their comments reflected their perception of the common substitute for it at school level: the approved textbooks - in particular, the Pupils' Book series. The use of the Pupils' Book series as a *de facto* syllabus, however, rendered the implementation of the syllabus as designed by the Ministry of Education Sport and Culture problematic, given that the series did not always stick to the stipulations of the official syllabus document.

4.5.3 Content

Teachers relied heavily on textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture as sources of content. They told me that it did not make sense to act otherwise in the context of a highly centralised school curriculum where the Ministry designed the syllabus and set final examinations. These approved textbooks were perceived as tailor-made to meet all the requirements of the syllabus. Mrs Gumbo of Musasa Primary School expressed this point bluntly:

These textbooks have been officially approved. They provide the required content that is standard and, I believe, has been checked before publication. But over and above ... they have what the grade seven final examinations look for. If you want good results, I think you should stick to the textbook.

It was her comments that led me to a study of Grade Seven national examination papers. As noted under **4.3.5** (Grade Seven General Paper Examination Questions), I was able to confirm that the examination papers never went beyond what was contained in approved textbooks - even if this meant leaving out certain parts of the official syllabus as well as contemporary developments in the country that were pertinent to citizenship education.

However, the use of approved books in schools appeared to be generally confined to the Pupils' Book series and did not extend to the Teacher's Resource Book series. School heads told me that the textbooks that they purchased for their schools were mainly Pupils' Books and only a few Teacher's Resource Books because of resource constraints. Most teachers had no Teacher's Resource Book but had a Pupils' Book. Many pupils had to share the few available Pupils' Books. In fact, it was only at Eatonvale where there was one pupil per textbook; there were two pupils per textbook at Kingsdale; while at Musasa

View there were ten to fifteen pupils per textbook – in fact, during my observations of Grade 7 lessons at this school it was only the teacher who had a textbook and this was a Pupils' Book!

Yet the Teacher's Resource Book and Pupils' Book series were designed to be used in conjunction with each other. During interviews, many teachers also indicated that they did not have any of the three Teacher's Resource Book series approved by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. It was quite probable that the citing of Teacher's Resource Books that I observed in teacher's schemes of work was meant to impress the authorities rather than to be an accurate record of source of content used in teaching.

I found it rather odd that the three commercial publishers associated with social studies produced textbooks that could not be used independently of their other publications. I could not help agreeing with Mr Jere, the head of Eltonvale, who put this down to possible greed on the part of commercial publishers. His complaint was:

By tying Pupils' Books to Teacher's Resources Books they are trying to force schools to buy the latter. If secondary school Pupils' Books can be used without Teacher's Resource Books, why isn't the same done with primary school Pupils' Books? I am not against Teacher's Resource Books. What I am saying is that Pupils' Books should make sense on their own without recourse to the Teacher's Resource Book at each and every stage. This would reduce the amount of money needed for textbooks.

Mr Jere's argument was supported by my own observation that many tasks in Pupils' Books appeared to have been designed in such a way that they could not be done without consulting the Teacher's Resource Book.

For example, Living and Working Together Stage 1 Pupils' Book 1 (p. 15) had the caption 'Chipo does not listen' and three pictures of a girl playing netball, crouching next to a lake and wrapping herself with a blanket. It was not clear to me how the activities illustrated in the pictures showed that Chipo did not listen. I then asked Grade One pupils to explain from their textbook what happened to Chipo. They too were unable to explain what happened because of the lack of relevant information in their textbook. We needed to refer to the companion Living and Working Together Stage 1 Teacher's Resource Book 1 to learn that Chipo went to play netball instead of going to school, that she drank water from an unprotected water source against her mother's advice and hence ended up sick. Placing the relevant narration only in the Teacher's Resource Book kept some very useful messages for citizenship education away from pupils - in this particular example: listening to advice from parents, attending school and drinking safe water. The narration should have accompanied the pictures in the Pupils' Book in simple language that the pupils could read and understand. This particular task in the Pupils' Book would therefore have been meaningless in the absence of the relevant Teacher's Resource Book.

The availability of Teacher's Resource Books would have improved content coverage in schools. However, they too had the same shortcomings that Pupils' textbooks had such as the inaccuracies and omissions that were pointed out under document analysis. The Living Together Teacher's Resource Books, for example, omitted the values and attitudes listed in the official syllabus document and even claimed that they were impossible to teach. Many

teachers who used Teacher's Resource Books were surprised to find out during my conversations with them that these textbooks did not contain the citizenship education values and attitudes specified in the official syllabus document.

The Living Together Teacher's Resource Books overlooked the fact that the school was itself a significant part of the growing child's community. It could therefore never be a neutral element in the formation of attitudes and values by the child. The view that it was not possible to teach attitudes and values was not convincing - unless, of course, by teaching the Living Together Teacher's Resource Books meant lecturing to passive pupils on given attitudes and values.

As Fien and Slater (1981), Huckle (1983) and Slater (1982) have pointed out, attitudes and values can indeed be taught if pupils are urged to reflect on what they read and hear from others; and if teaching includes participatory and pupil-centred strategies like drama, role-playing and research. They can be clarified through discussion among pupils themselves and with their teacher. They can be monitored through the ways pupils behave, clarify situations and events with conflicting values and the reasons they give for adopting particular standpoints. In addition the acquisition of particular attitudes and values can be reinforced or countered during the learning process through prevailing practices such as reward and censure systems.

In addition to acquiring values and attitudes appropriate for social and moral responsibility, the official social studies syllabus document also expected pupils to appreciate major improvements in science and technology that have contributed to improved standards of living in modern human society but did not specify these. Strangely, textbook writers only

included contributions by Europeans thereby implying to pupils that the rest of humanity made no significant contributions to modern civilisation. And as pointed out above, it was the approved textbook rather than the official syllabus that determined the implemented curriculum.

With such Eurocentric social studies textbooks, is it any wonder then that some Zimbabweans go through primary school and even reach adulthood but remain ignorant of African achievements in the development of science and technology? Because the approved social studies textbooks have not been sufficiently decolonised in terms of the values and attitudes that they wittingly or unwittingly espouse, a product of the country's school system can, without any sense of self-deprecation, say:

Africa and Africans are credited with building the majestic Egyptian pyramids as well as the Great Zimbabwe ruins. That was a great sign of ingenuity by the black race. But after those creations, the black race has not made any meaningful strides to create anything that improves the livelihood of humanity. Meanwhile our white cousins created the automobile, the aeroplane, the computer we use everyday. Just look around you, dear reader. The television set you are watching, the toothbrush you use every morning, anything. Do you see anything that was created by the black man? (Ndlovu, 2009, p. 6)

What the person quoted above fails to see can, however, be seen with the right education. This is the argument put forward by African American writer Nilene Foxworth (2005) when she says:

...when an African child licks his (sic) delicious ice-cream cone, they should know ice-cream was invented by a black confectioner named Augustus Jackson in 1832.

And when one opens the refrigerator for a cold drink or frozen food, they should know that a black man named J. Standard invented it in 1891, and the U.S. patent number is 455,991. There are 382 patent inventions by African-Americans, which are only a few of the thousands of inventions stolen by the white slave masters. And when blacks are shopping at the mall and step onto an elevator, they should know that a black man named A. Miles invented it in 1887 and the U.S. patent number is 371,207. African people are more than a shadow of darkness. We have brightened the world... (Foxworth, 2005, p. 6).

And as Ghanaian writer Baffour Ankomah adds:

...the very traffic lights the modern world cannot do without today (were) invented in 1923 by Garrett A. Morgan, an African-American, who later sold the rights to the General Electric Corporation (GEC) for US\$40 000. Morgan had earlier invented the first gas mask in 1912 (Ankomah 2009, p. 9).

Zimbabwean scientist Francis Gudyanga concurs:

If Africa had not been affected by slavery and colonialism, imagine where it would be technologically today. Great minds were shipped across the seas and on oceans to Western countries leaving a vacuum which to date has not been filled. Thomas Fuller, a mathematician popularly known as the Virginia calculator, was transported from Africa as a slave at the age of 14. ...the genius managed to calculate mentally the number of seconds in a year in just two minutes (Gudyanga, 2009, p. 6).

African contributions to technology are continuing. For example, Nigerian born, Philip Chukurwa Emeagwali helped develop the supercomputer – the technology that spawned the internet (Emeagwali 2006, p. 6). These contributions of Africans to modern technology

should be emphasized in social studies textbooks in order to help build African children's self-esteem and confidence in their own capabilities and counter the inferiority complexes created by slavery and colonialism.

Teachers did recognise that some of the shortcomings of the content covered in their social studies textbooks such as the fact that some of it was outdated but blamed this on an official syllabus document that, unfortunately, they rarely read for themselves. However, as was demonstrated under document analysis, the social studies textbooks in use in schools at the time of the study were more outdated than the official social studies syllabus document. Many of the main concepts, attitudes and values in the official social studies document such as respecting rules and laws, other people's rights, and the need to live together in harmony in a community were not time-bound. They did not require to be presented solely in the context of the country's pre-independence history as was the case at the time of the study but could easily have been applied to the post-independence period without any contradiction. It would appear that social studies textbook publishers did not feel compelled to provide contemporary examples and contexts for the main concepts, values and attitudes outlined in the official social studies document once their sales had been guaranteed by the official stamp of approval of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture.

Towards the end of the school year in October and November, I had the Grade 7 classes all to myself. This was after they had written their final primary school leaving examinations and did not have normal classes. In fact, they would have been playing in the school grounds had I not requested them for my research. I decided to give them a written citizenship exercise to find out if the content that I had noticed to be inaccurate, outdated or

omitted in their textbooks affected their conceptual understanding of citizenship education. I marked each and every script and noted down the misconceptions in their responses. It appeared that they had not encountered most of the citizenship concepts in the exercise in a proper citizenship education context. I therefore discussed with them the reasons for the particular responses they had written down and what they told me was quite instructive.

It emerged that their social studies teachers had taken the term citizen for granted and had never explained to them what it was that made a person a citizen. Hence it was not clear to them that being born and residing in a country did not necessarily make one a citizen; that citizenship was not racially or ethnically defined; that one was either a citizen or not; that there were no people who were rightfully citizens, just as there were no people who were wrongfully citizens; that citizenship had no age limit and did not begin at 18; that being married to a citizen was one of other factors such as having needed skills, capital or having resided in a country for a long period that were considered before a non-citizen was registered as a citizen; that the key elements of citizenship were membership and allegiance; that a citizen was a member of a country who was entitled to that membership through birth, descent, naturalisation or registration and was expected to owe his/her allegiance to that particular country; and that all citizens were equal, regardless of how their citizenship was derived. It was therefore necessary for me to correct pupils' misconceptions of what made one a citizen during my discussions with them.

Many pupils thought that most SADC countries were one-party states. While some had no particular reason for saying so, others surprised me by saying that they thought they were one-party states because they had been ruled by the same party since independence. I found this response interesting for the pupils had in fact judged the countries to be *de facto*

one-party states, without necessarily using the term. This revealed that, if given the curriculum space, pupils can come up with sophisticated interpretations of what *really* constitutes a ‘one-party’ state.

The written exercise also revealed that most pupils had problems with democracy as a concept. When I asked them to explain how they arrived at some of their answers, some tried to make “intelligent” guesses based on things like size, independence and the war of liberation. They said, for example, that since the DRC (Democratic Republic of the Congo) was a big country with the word democratic in its name maybe the word democracy had something to do with size, and also linked the term to the war of liberation because they had heard that it brought independence and democracy to Zimbabwe. While the last aspect contained some elements of truth, pupils did not demonstrate an understanding of the defining characteristics of what made a country a democracy. Yet democracy was part of the main concepts and related content for the topic Rules and Laws in the official syllabus document.

Many pupils could readily identify all the colours of the national flag but very few of them could explain the symbolism of the colours black, red and white in a citizenship education context. I asked them to carry out some desk research on the meanings of these colours using reference materials that I provided from my private library collection on citizenship. After some deliberation, the symbolism that they agreed on was that independence (as represented by the national flag) extended full citizenship rights (previously the preserve of the white minority) to the black majority (represented by the black stripe) but required a lot of sacrifice in human lives (represented by red for the blood that had to be shed for freedom to be won) so that all Zimbabweans regardless of race, ethnicity or creed should

freely pursue their hopes and aspirations (as represented by the red star) and forever cherish the peace they now enjoy (as represented by the white triangle).

Pupils' understanding of life in the past in Zimbabwe was based on snippets of textbook-supplied information such as names of nationalists and heroes of the liberation struggle. Non-textbook material was not used even when it had the potential to make the content being covered more meaningful to the pupils. I changed this when I was given charge of the Grade 7 classes. For example, before discussing the concept of reconciliation with pupils, I gave them an extract of the speech given in 1980 by Robert Mugabe, the first Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe in which he said:

Our new mind must have a new vision and our new hearts a new love that spurns hate; and a new spirit that must unite and not divide. This to me is the human essence that must form the core of our political change and national independence. ... If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten.

If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are inequities that must never again find scope in our political and social system.

It could never be a correct justification that because whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the blacks must oppress them today because they have

power. An evil remains an evil whether practised by white against black or black against white (“Cde Mugabe’s speech on birth of Zimbabwe”, 2006, p. B13).

After reading the landmark speech for themselves, all pupils were able to define the concept reconciliation and were quite positive about its relevance to the country. Some pupils even suggested that Zimbabweans should, from time to time, remind themselves of the message contained in the speech in order to become better citizens.

Most written responses showed that pupils had no idea of peer pressure. It emerged from my discussions with them that such a dangerous influence on them, as adolescents, was not part of the content that they covered in their social studies lessons. Yet they were precisely at the stage they needed to be taught to be independent-minded and firm on moral principles. I therefore let them openly discuss the dangers of sex, drugs and alcohol in line with the stipulations of the official syllabus document. Many constructive ideas emerged such as the danger of relying for information on these topics on peers because they often embellished or even gave fictitious accounts of their experiences to appear ‘cool’ and that pupils had to avoid doing something simply because they thought everyone was doing it for it often turned out that nobody actually was doing what they claimed to be doing. At the end of the discussion I summarised and reinforced such positive ideas that the pupils themselves came up with because I wanted the discussion not just to be part of my data gathering but also to be a teaching activity from which pupils could learn morally acceptable values and attitudes.

From the written citizenship exercise and the subsequent discussions I had with pupils, I inferred that outdated and incorrect material in pupils’ textbooks was not updated and corrected in the course of social studies lessons. In addition, syllabus content omitted in

approved textbooks was also omitted in these lessons. This suggested that the pupils were left to read textbooks with outdated and incorrect material with no guidance from their teachers. In other words, pupils were not advised by their teachers to be sceptical of some of the information found in their textbooks and to check it against what was presented in media such as newspapers, radio and television.

It appeared a paradox that approved textbooks could, in certain respects, be inconsistent with the stipulations of the official syllabus even after several reprints beyond the initial publication had been made. Mr Tongai, the head of Musasa View, explained this apparent paradox as follows:

I don't think the approval of textbooks is simply because the official syllabus says this or that. I think there is much more to it. Remember that some of the people who approve books are themselves writers or potential writers. All they have to do is sit on the manuscripts of their perceived rivals. Meanwhile they will be busy working on their own manuscripts. They can publish anonymously or under false names or even under their own names after they have resigned from government. But they will already have cornered the book market and made lots of money for themselves.

I found myself, to some extent, agreeing with Mr Tongai. Although this is not to suggest that it happens in each and every case, the possibility of the people tasked with approving manuscripts becoming authors themselves certainly exists. And when this happens, a conflict of interest is inevitable.

What Mr Tongai said took my mind back to the time when I worked at the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture. I was part of a team responsible for the development of an official syllabus for a proposed new school subject that was to be called political economy. Even before the syllabus document was completed, a commercial publisher approached me with a possible contract to write a textbook with them claiming that my colleague in the political economy team was already doing the same with a rival publishing house. I declined the offer. However, this incident illustrates the behind-the-scenes offers that are made to Curriculum Development Unit officers by publishing houses. It is possible that some officers succumb to such pressures and thus acquire vested interests in the very manuscripts they are supposed to scrutinise before recommending either their approval or disapproval.

4.5.4 Teaching and Learning

Lessons tended to be teacher-centred with teachers telling pupils the information they wanted them to learn. Teachers narrated the required content and pupils listened and copied it down. Sometimes social studies lessons amounted to no more than a reading out aloud of the textbook by the teacher and pupils. The atmosphere was mostly serious and business-like. Questioning was generally one way: the teacher did the asking and pupils the answering. Open-ended discussions or digressions were uncommon. Emphasis was on examination type questions and giving answers which the teacher thought examiners would expect. Pupils also seemed to have resigned themselves to this pre-occupation with examinations. After all, was this not the whole purpose of coming to school? But I could see that the lessons were more of a chore - something to be done and not to be enjoyed. This was because on the few occasions that they had drama or singing as learning activities their faces brightened and their seriousness temporarily vanished; of course they were still

learning but, more significantly to me as I quietly sat in my corner observing them, they were also having fun like the little children they were.

I observed one role-playing exercise that I particularly found appropriate for citizenship education. The play was written, directed and played by the pupils themselves. It involved pupils dramatising a scene at a traditional court where a widow was on trial. Her cattle had strayed into a certain man's maize field and devoured his entire maize crop. The widow pleaded innocent but was found guilty by the court. The traditional chief and his council of (all-male) elders sentenced her not only to be banished from the village but to have her hands chopped off as well. It was hilarious and we all enjoyed it. It appeared that this was going to be the end of the lesson, and indeed it would have been, had I not suggested to the teacher after the class that some salient ideas that had unwittingly emerged from the play could perhaps be followed up in another lesson. She agreed and in the subsequent lesson, she let the pupils freely discuss their own play in relation to concepts of justice, fairness, human rights and gender. They revisited, interrogated and debated their own value systems regarding these concepts without relying on what the textbook said or did not say about them. Although this made that the topic Rules and Laws take much longer than the teacher had originally allocated for it in her scheme of work, she later told me during a tea break that she was amazed at the high level of originality in pupils' contributions in the follow-up lesson.

The pupils had more opportunities to engage in pupil-centred activities after the Grade 7 examinations when there were no longer any time constraints and examination pressures. The schools also allowed them to attend the free extra lessons I offered as part of my research on citizenship education.

I let the pupils tell stories, play dramas and sing songs of their choice, something I rarely witnessed when I was observing their normal classes. They were also free to use their mother language instead of English if they so wished, again something I did not see being done by their teachers. Pupils' stories and dramas touched on, among other topics, boy/girl relationships, unplanned pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases including HIV-AIDS and the plight of the orphans created by the pandemic. It emerged that concepts of boy/girl relationships among these pubescent and adolescent Grade 7 pupils were being shaped more by Hollywood movies than social studies content. This was particularly evident when they dramatised courtship: there was little that was African or Zimbabwean about it suggesting that pupils were not getting sufficient cultural grounding on this aspect. Some of the popular songs that the pupils sang were commentaries on social and moral responsibility and I would ask pupils to discuss their meanings. An example of such a song was the hit song *Kwachu Kwachu* (Vandalising) by popular Zimbabwean musician and dancer, Hosiah Chipanga. From the discussions came the consensus that the song's lyrics were on the need to care for public property and admonished those Zimbabweans who vandalised public utilities such as water taps, bus terminus sheds and telephone booths that were meant for everybody's convenience. I thus used songs, drama and stories to invite pupils to discuss their perceptions of the citizenship education content that they contained. The enthusiasm and purposefulness with which pupils examined citizenship issues left me with no doubt that if more of such activities were introduced during normal social studies lessons, pupils would learn more about citizenship values and attitudes than was currently the case.

They also engaged in debates such as one on *the positive and negative aspects of the contacts that Zimbabweans had with the British during the colonial period* that I arranged

as a follow up to the responses that they had given in the written citizenship exercise. For this activity I divided the class into two opposing sides according to the responses they had given and asked them to vote freely for any side after listening to all its arguments and evaluating their merits and demerits. I also let them consult library books in addition to the approved textbooks they normally used for social studies. Many strong points from both sides were raised but the side arguing for negative aspects won the debate after it stressed in its concluding remarks that even if the contacts resulted in some positive aspects like education and transfer of technology these could still have occurred through ordinary trade and commerce and did not require the wars, land expropriation and forced labour that accompanied the British colonisation of Zimbabwe. This showed that the pupils had a lot of capacity for individual reflection when the ‘telling’ approach in social studies was replaced with open debate.

4.5.5 School Ethos and Climate

The official syllabus document designated English as the medium of instruction. My observations led me to question the advisability of this stance. There was a clear reluctance on the part of most pupils to speak during lessons. Pupils had great difficulty in communicating in English since many of them encountered this language for the first time in a school environment. Yet their schools somehow expected them to have already mastered this second language to the extent of being able to learn and form concepts in it. Even in Grades 1 and 2 where the official syllabus document permitted frequent use of the mother tongue I saw every effort being made to communicate in English. Their teachers argued that this immersion was good for them as it quickened their learning of English. My observations of Grade 7 classes did not support the teachers’ argument for immersion as even in these classes I saw many pupils who had great difficulty communicating in

English. However, when I allowed them to use their mother tongue in the extra sessions I had with them after October, pupil participation, as noted above in **4.5.4** (Teaching and Learning), was in marked contrast to what I had observed earlier. They were more enthusiastic and showed greater ability to relate citizenship education concepts to their own communities. The medium of instruction was thus a significant on how citizenship education was taught and learnt.

Even in the interviews I conducted with both pupils and school staff the limitations of using English became clear. I conducted some of the interviews in English and others in the mother tongue. As I was transcribing the tape recordings of my first interviews, I discovered something I had not been aware of at all in the course of the interviews. The most detailed and informative were the interviews I had conducted in the mother tongue and later translated into English. This suggested that heads, teachers, pupils and even myself, as the researcher, were more spontaneous, natural and communicative when we spoke in our first language. In the subsequent interviews and discussions I indicated to participants that we did not have to use English but could also use the mother tongue if this was the preferred medium of communication. This significantly enhanced the richness of the ethnographic data that I collected.

The practice of ability grouping whereby pupils were placed into different classes according to ability was practised at Musasa View (for the Grade 7 class) but not at Kingsdale and Eltonvale. I noted that the school authorities at Musasa View were themselves not fully convinced of its merits. This was shown by their prevarication between ability grouping and mixed ability teaching; and the fact that they were not open to parents whenever they used ability grouping – itself contrary to the type of ethical conduct

associated with citizenship education. I also sensed some dejection among pupils as they referred to themselves as an unwanted class, an assertion which was lent credence by the observation that it was in this class where it was mainly the teacher who had the textbook which he read out aloud to pupils during lessons.

However, when the results of the Final Grade 7 Examinations came out, I was surprised to find out that this class had a pass rate of 75% which was higher than the rates attained by the mixed ability Grade 7 classes that I was also studying at Kingsdale and Eltonvale which were 65% and 70% respectively. The actual grades per subject were however much lower at Musasa View than at Kingsdale and Eltonvale. No pupil achieved higher than grade four in social studies in the streamed class but relatively more pupils got, at least, a bare pass when compared to the mixed ability Grade 7 classes. On the other hand, there was a very wide performance range in the mixed ability classes with quite a few attaining grades one and two. I inferred from this apparent paradox that since the Grade 7 final Examinations largely tested memory recall as noted under **4.3.5** (Grade 7 General Paper Examinations), and Mr Nyika was the most experienced Grade 7 teacher in my study sample, he had successfully drilled his 'C' stream class to achieve the relatively high overall pass rate. From my lesson observations of the Grade 7 classes, the 75% overall pass rate recorded by the 'C' stream overestimated pupils' understanding of the main concepts and related content in the official social studies syllabus document. Although a case could be made for ability grouping that, given the low order questions prevalent in Grade 7 examinations, it could facilitate teaching for examinations, such an argument would not really be educationally sound. No case whatsoever could be made that it prepared pupils for life beyond those examinations. I did not see any evidence of it raising pupils' critical awareness during my lesson observations. The so-called low-ability pupils were not

assigned any demanding tasks because it was assumed beforehand that they were incapable of undertaking them. Their true potential thus remained largely unknown. In addition, they were shielded from competition from their peers in the 'A' stream and, instead, spoon-fed with ready-to-recall bits of information which they did not have to deduce or discover for themselves. The practice was divisive and promoted disharmony rather than harmony among pupils in different streams. It was thus counterproductive and did not create a favourable climate for citizenship education.

The presence of prefects is the norm in Zimbabwean schools. When I inquired from the heads, teachers and pupils at Kingsdale and Musasa View whether they thought they were really necessary they were quite surprised at the question and told me that, of course, they were. Even for me, had I not been to Eltonvale where there were no prefects I would not have thought of ever questioning their necessity. I was able to infer from this case study that whether they are necessary or not cannot be generalised but depends on the particular circumstances of a given school. From a pedagogic viewpoint, what was more significant about the use and non-use of prefects was that their presence/absence demonstrated how issues of law and order could be addressed differently in particular school circumstances. Unfortunately, the opportunity to link the issue of prefects to how leaders are appointed or elected and the responsibilities that they are supposed to carry in the real world was missed during teaching and learning.

Prefects at Kingsdale who were selected partly by the school administration and partly by the pupils appeared to command greater respect among pupils than those at Musasa View who were selected entirely by the school administration. The head of Eltonvale was of the opinion that his school did not need prefects although this was not shared by every teacher

and pupil in the school. Although Eltonvale, appeared to function well even though it had no prefects, it could not be inferred that prefects were unnecessary in all schools. All it demonstrated was that under certain conditions a school could operate without the use of prefects. Eltonvale was a relatively small and privileged school. Its total school enrolment was only 325 pupils compared to 630 at Kingsdale and 1180 at Musasa View. In addition, the Eltonvale School Trust was able to hire teachers over and above the number provided for by the Ministry of Education, Arts, Sport and Culture and even include assistant teachers in some classes. It had only one Grade 7 class and this class had only 25 pupils; Musasa View had four Grade 7 classes and the one in my sample had 44; and Kingsdale had 3 Grade 7 classes with the one in my sample having 46. Eltonvale's small pupil/teacher ratio and the use of assistant teachers could thus have made it possible to dispense with the need of school prefects. Even then there was no unanimity that there should be no prefects at Eltonvale.

Some teachers and pupils thought prefects could help curb bullying behaviour among pupils since teachers could not be everywhere all the time. Heads at the three schools admitted that while their school rules were against bullying it still existed here and there and pupils needed close monitoring. The difference was that Musasa View and Kingsdale used both teachers and prefects to monitor pupils whilst for the same purpose Eltonvale used teachers and assistant teachers exclusively and forbade any pupil from being involved in this task.

Some pupils at Musasa View and Kingsdale even accused their prefects of being friends with bullies and even of being bullies themselves. The heads confirmed that they were concerned about incidents of bullying and said they did not tolerate any bullying behaviour

even if it was done by rogue prefects. They stressed that they tried their best to select pupils with the most exemplary characters for prefect duties and would demote any prefect found to be a bully if this was brought to their attention but that no such cases had been brought to their attention. I did not directly witness bullying incidents but I did come across Grade 3 pupils at Musasa View who were in tears because they had been bullied by Grade 5 boys. The issue was brought to the attention of the class teacher and the bullies were taken to the head's office for disciplinary action. I was told by pupils that many incidents of bullying went unnoticed since they often occurred when teachers were not in sight and even outside the school grounds. There was need to openly discuss the issue of bullying in social studies lessons so that its effects on victims could be more fully appreciated if learning environments free from bullying practices were to be created. Pupils who see nothing wrong with bullying are likely to continue with the practice into adulthood.

4.6.0 Discussion

I also examined the data that I collected in the field in relation to the interpretations of citizenship education that I encountered in my review of the literature related to my investigation. However, the implementation of citizenship education in schools had many facets and could not be explained solely in terms of a single model.

I found the treatment of citizenship education in social studies lessons to be closer to the minimal end of the maximal-minimum continuum of teaching citizenship suggested by McLaughlin (1992) and presented in Table 2 on page 50. It was thin rather than thick, knowledge-based rather than values-led, content-led rather than process-led, formal rather

than participative, didactic rather than interactive, easy rather than difficult to measure, and more of civics rather than citizenship education.

In terms of the three traditions of teaching citizenship education identified by Barr, Bath and Shermis (1977), social studies was largely taught through the *transmission* tradition (passing of facts and concepts using textbook-and-teacher-centred methods) rather than through the *social science* tradition (gathering and verification of knowledge) or the *reflective inquiry* tradition (problem identification, inquiry, self-reflection and decision making).

In relation to the six models of citizenship education proposed by Rowe (1994), it had elements from the *consensus*, *parental*, *patriotic* and *school ethos* models, was ambivalent about the *religious* model and had virtually nothing from the *value-conflict* model. By generally avoiding open-ended discussions and debates, schools operated within the *consensus* model; by leaving out topics like sexual maturation from social studies lessons on the grounds that such topics were best covered by close family members, schools operated within the *parental* model; by teaching mostly about the war of liberation, its heroes and how Zimbabwe's independence was gained in the history part of the topic Living Together, schools operated within the *patriotic* model; by having guiding beliefs, school rules, general practices and extra-curricular activities that sought to mould pupils into responsible citizens, schools operated within the *school ethos* model. Schools did not strictly operate within the *religious* model because social studies, the main vehicle for citizenship education, was a secular subject not linked to any religious faith. However, schools recognised the role of religion in teaching moral responsibility and also offered another subject called religious and moral education. Schools operated outside the *value-*

conflict model since value-conflict was not used to develop pupils' moral reasoning and democratic attitudes.

With reference to Engle and Ochoa's models of *socialisation* and *countersocialisation* (Engle and Ochoa, 1988), there was inadequate *socialisation* because pupils did not learn enough of their local customs, traditions and practices; and inadequate *countersocialisation* because pupils had limited opportunity to expand their capabilities to be rational, thoughtful and independent citizens. Although both of Nziramasanga's two realms of citizenship as *behaviour* and as *compliance* (Nziramasanga, 1991) were encountered in the field, the *compliance* realm was more common than the *behaviour* realm since citizenship education depended more on what the textbook and the teacher said rather than pupils' participation in citizenship-oriented behaviour.

4.7.0 Summary

In this chapter I presented and analyzed the data that I encountered during my year long attachment to three primary schools in the Sunshine District of the Harare Region of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture. I did this in four main parts, namely:

Part I: Background information on participants

Part II: Document analysis

Part III: Perceptions of the implementation of citizenship education
from the participants' perspectives

Part IV: Perceptions of the implementation of citizenship education
from the participant-observer's perspective

Part I: In this part I introduced the district, schools, heads, teachers and classes that participated in the research. I also gave the characteristics of the participating district,

schools and classes, and the qualifications, experience and approximate ages of heads and teachers.

Part II: Here I analysed in detail the official social studies syllabus document, teachers' schemes and records of work, pupils' and teachers' textbooks, pupils' exercise books, Grade 7 General Paper examination questions, and a citizenship exercise that I designed and administered to Grade 7 pupils after a year of participant-observation.

Part III: In this part I presented the perspectives of the participants themselves on the availability, application and interpretation the official social studies syllabus document, citizenship education content and class activities, as well as the ethos and climate of the school.

Part IV: It was here that I synthesized what I saw, read and heard in the school setting over a period of prolonged engagement and reflected on from my standpoint as a participant-observer and in relation to the models of citizenship education covered in the review of related literature in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Research and its products should facilitate reflection, criticism, and a more informed view of the educational process which will in turn help improve professional practice (Graham Hitchcock and David Hughes, 1992, p. 13).

5.1 Introduction

From the outset, the task of this research was to gain deeper insights into what routinely and ordinarily happened in social studies classes and the broad school environment so as to determine the quality of citizenship education that was actually implemented. This was necessitated by complaints to the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training by members of the public about the lack of appropriate citizenship education in schools despite the presence in school curricula of a subject like social studies whose *raison d'être* was precisely to provide citizenship education. As implied by the statement cited above, the intention was not merely to pass judgment but to reflect on the implementation of citizenship education and where necessary suggest how to improve it.

5.2 Summary of evaluation of curriculum implementation

The quality of citizenship education that was implemented through social studies in the three Harare primary schools was found to be low using the criteria for examining quality detailed in Chapter One, namely the *syllabus* used, the *content* imparted, the *teaching and learning methods* used, and the prevailing *school ethos and climate*. The reasons for the low quality are summarised below.

5.2.1 Syllabus

While the official syllabus document had many citizenship-oriented goals, skills, concepts, attitudes and values that pertained to citizenship education, these were largely left out of teachers' schemes of work at school level because teachers were overly dependent on textbooks and hardly consulted the official syllabus document when preparing to teach social studies. Yet textbooks used in schools despite official approval from the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture misrepresented and even omitted some important aspects of the official syllabus document. For example, citizenship goals such as developing in pupils "a spirit of national consciousness and patriotism, ... a responsible attitude towards citizenship ... and a commitment to the ideals of national and international unity" were, by and large, omitted in approved textbooks and consequently in teachers' schemes of work despite their prominence in the official syllabus document (Primary Educational Development Unit, 1982, p. 1). The same applied to pupil skills such as finding out "what a person has to do in order to vote for the local council" (ibid. p. 31), debating "What are just laws?" (ibid. p. 32) or discussing "What it means to be a responsible person" (ibid. p. 38). Values such as the "Commitment to hard work", the "Desire to be self-reliant" and to "Place the interest of the community before self-interest" (ibid. p. 9) were in the official syllabus document but conspicuous by their non-appearance in teachers' schemes of work. In other words the syllabus that was actually used at school level was not exactly what the designers of the official syllabus had in mind and lacked some key values, goals and pupil skills that are pertinent for the development of responsible citizenship.

This is by no means intended to suggest that the official syllabus document was perfect for it did have its flaws. For example, it used inappropriate gender-biased terminology when it

should have set the pace in developing gender-sensitive citizens; it was inward-looking and did not do enough to promote a continental and global identity among young children. Rather, it is to suggest that it was not the only or even the main cause of the low quality of citizenship education that was implemented in primary schools.

5.2.2 Content

As pointed out in Chapter Two, the concept of citizenship has three elements: the civil, the political and the social (Marshall, 1950). Yet during implementation, the political element in citizenship education was generally avoided, not because it was not in the official social syllabus document, but because textbook writers, examiners and teachers considered it sensitive and generally left it out. Hence by the end of Grade 7, most pupils knew precious little about the concept of *democracy* or of *dictatorship* let alone of *a citizen* despite their being in the official primary school social studies syllabus document.

Again because of teachers' reliance on officially approved textbooks, some aspects of the citizenship education content that were available to pupils in schools were outdated, inaccurate and irrelevant. Apartheid in South Africa and communism in Russia were presented as the current systems of government in these countries; South Africa's national anthem *God Bless Africa* was presented as Zimbabwe's national anthem instead of *Blessed be the Land of Zimbabwe* and Africa's achievements in civilisation and technology were downplayed while those of Europe were glorified; and colonialism was portrayed as a benign process while early resistance to colonial occupation was seen as resistance to the spread of Christianity, commerce and civilisation. Particularly disturbing was the omission of *hunhu/ubuntu* in the content presented through citizenship education. This was in spite

of the fact that the main tenets of this philosophy were implicit in the aims, values and attitudes outlined in the official syllabus document.

It is the philosophy of *hunhu/ubuntu* that underlies the reconciliatory policies adopted in Africa despite the crimes committed against Africans during the eras of slavery and colonialism. Africans have shown an amazing inclination towards equality, fairness and forgiveness rather than retribution in post-conflict situations. Post-colonial Zimbabwe and post-apartheid South Africa provide vivid examples of former victims who offered hands of reconciliation to their former oppressors thereby demonstrating real *hunhu/ubuntu*. In the prophetic words said by Steve Biko (1978) well before apartheid ended:

...in the long run the special contribution to the world by Africa will be in this field of human relationships. The great powers of the world may have done wonders in giving the world an industrial and military outlook, but the great gift still has to come from Africa – giving the world a more human face (p. 46).

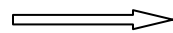
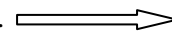
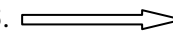
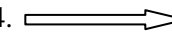
Hunhu/ubuntu embodies a set of values, attitudes and practices regarding, forgiveness, tolerance, respect and sense of community that should be nurtured and encouraged through the content of citizenship education. Responsible citizenship has strong African roots and this needs to be emphasised to learners. It is not merely an extension of the practices of ancient Greece and Rome. An implemented citizenship curriculum rooted in *hunhu/ubuntu* would help develop informed citizens who have a positive self-image and sense of identity as Africans – a generation that is not ashamed to be Africans and that fully appreciates Africa's role in the development of a more *humane* world community.

With regard to gender, the language used in the official syllabus document itself lacked gender sensitivity. Pupils were, however, further exposed to gender-biased photographs

and drawings in approved textbooks with no intervention measures being introduced to correct gender stereotypes in these images by teachers during actual lessons. Outdated and incorrect content in textbooks was at most skipped or ignored but rarely updated and corrected in the course of social studies lessons. The call for multi-cultural education in the official syllabus document also found no corresponding content in social studies classes. Hence inappropriate content formed part of what pupils learnt under the auspices of the school and contributed to the low quality of citizenship education that was implemented.

5.2.3 Teaching and Learning

Most of the lessons were textbook-centred and it would be a misnomer to even refer to them as teacher-centred since teachers generally followed what was in the textbook without making any significant professional input themselves. The Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture's stamp of approval did not help the situation as it gave the misleading impression to teachers that officially approved textbooks could serve as substitutes for the official syllabus document when, in many instances, they were out-of-date and inaccurate. In the Zimbabwean context, it may be necessary to modify the versions of the curriculum identified by Ndawi and Maravanyika (2011) and presented in **Chapter 1** under **1.9.2 Curriculum** (p. 19), so that there are five instead of four versions, namely:

1. 	2. 	3. 	4. 	5.
That Intended (by planners)	That Transmitted (by the textbook)	That Received (by the teacher)	That Transmitted (by the teacher)	That Experienced (by the pupil)

The Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, through the Grade 7 General Paper Examinations, has also reinforced the supremacy of officially approved textbooks since

most of its examination questions rarely demanded anything beyond mere recall of textbook information. There was therefore a preponderance of low order tasks.

Primary school pupils were, however, capable of doing high order tasks. The problem was that the implemented curriculum rarely offered them the opportunity to do so. Pupils' exercises, tests and examination questions generally avoided open-ended tasks since teachers and examiners believed that they are difficult to assess. It was as if the primary reason for teaching social studies was to facilitate assessment rather than to develop an inquiring and critical mind.

The affective and psychomotor domains featured very little in the citizenship education instruction found at school level. This could be attributed to the fact that they were also not emphasised in approved textbooks and primary school leaving examinations. Being clearly in the affective domain, citizenship values and attitudes were largely ignored. Citizenship skills in the psychomotor domain such as singing the national anthem or drawing the Great Zimbabwe national monument were generally not used in social studies lessons.

The teaching and learning of citizenship education was not contextualised despite the fact that the official syllabus document urged schools to take into account the needs and circumstances of their pupils. Social studies lessons had very few links with citizenship issues and developments in the local community and environment. A common syllabus and a centralised examination system appeared not to give individual schools enough room to cater for local conditions and environments.

5.2.4 School Ethos and Climate

Some aspects of the ethos and climate that prevailed at the three schools studied was favourable to the teaching and learning of citizenship education. Their mission statements showed that they sought to be non-discriminatory centres of excellence, to provide child-centred and holistic education, and to develop useful citizens. Many of their school rules in fact promoted responsible citizenship education. Extra-curricular programmes such as clean-up campaigns and school clubs provided opportunities for learning about responsible citizenship outside the classroom.

However, other aspects of the prevailing ethos and climate were inimical to citizenship education. These included general practices such as ability grouping and the low status accorded to the pupils' first language within the school. Placing schools in different streams or groups according to their perceived abilities was discriminatory and ran counter to the citizenship goal of living and working together without segregation. The insistence on using English to the detriment of the pupils' mother tongue affected the climate in which pupils learnt to appreciate their cultural identity as intended by the official syllabus document. This is because mother tongue instruction for infants enhances self-confidence, concept formation, language development and national pride. The failure to use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction during the early years of primary school was likely to produce learners who considered their own language (and by extension culture) to be inferior to English and this ran counter to the noble citizenship education goal of instilling national pride among young citizens.

5.3 Conclusions

There have been calls for the replacement of the official social studies syllabus released in 1982 and which is currently in use in primary schools. This is understandable, particularly in light of the noticeable decline in social and moral responsibility among the youth of today. There is no doubt that that it needs updating so as to incorporate post-1980 trends and developments within and beyond Zimbabwe. However, it does not need a complete overhaul for it to promote citizenship education and discarding it in its entirety would be akin to throwing away the baby with the bathwater.

The thrust of this thesis is that the intended curriculum as represented by this syllabus caters for citizenship education to a considerable extent. The absence of appropriate citizenship education in schools cannot be wholly blamed on the 1982 syllabus document. After all, many of the goals, skills, concepts, attitudes and values that it contains are not time-bound and, in fact, are quite compatible with the demands of citizenship education. It is open-ended in terms of the activities and exemplars which may be used to teach its key concepts. In this way it gives the teacher considerable room to take into account the needs of pupils and the communities and societies they live in. Those calling for an entirely new syllabus have not, according to the literature reviewed in this thesis, studied the implementation of the current syllabus. Yet the problem appears to be largely at implementation level. Distortion first occurs during textbook writing, official approval and publishing. This is then amplified at school and classroom level because of the dominance of the textbook as a teaching aid. Very few links are made at the implementation level to the actual environments and contexts in which pupils live. An examination-driven system that favours uniformity rather than particularity helps perpetuate a low quality implemented curriculum characterised by rote learning and limited practical citizenship-oriented

activities. I did not encounter any evidence that teachers were averse to citizenship education. Rather, they accurately perceived that the existing modes of examining citizenship education, whatever the official syllabus said, emphasized simple recall of standard bits of information and not interaction, individual reflection, values and attitudes. In reality, the education system judged their worth in terms of how many Grade 7 passes they produced and not what citizenship qualities, values and attitudes their pupils left primary school with. One teacher put it quite bluntly: “If you want good results, you’d better stick to the textbook.” Teachers’ perceptions of what is worth teaching can therefore exert a greater influence on what ends up actually being taught than the intentions of policy makers and official curriculum plans (Tabulawa, 1998).

5.4 Implications

In coming up with the evaluation of curriculum implementation presented in this thesis, I relied heavily on what I saw, heard and read in the school setting as school heads, teachers and pupils interacted with each other and with me as a participant-observer. While it would be presumptuous to generalize the findings of this particular case study, its thick description of how citizenship education was implemented in actual schools and extensive quotes from the participants themselves as well as the curriculum materials they used, render it an important record that the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture and other stakeholders can consult to improve the teaching and learning of citizenship education. In particular, the detailed content analysis of the official syllabus document and officially approved textbooks will be of interest to all primary schools because:

The Ministry’s policy is that the formal curriculum for any school shall be based on syllabuses devised and approved by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. Schools wishing to deviate from such syllabuses may do so only with the written

permission of the Permanent Secretary. (Curriculum Policy: Primary and Secondary Schools, Secretary's Circular Number 3 of 2002 in Appendix 1).

The thesis opens the debate on the advisability of such a policy; particularly in light of the fact that the textbooks approved by the very Ministry have not only deviated from the official syllabus but have taken all the country's primary schools on board. One possible research avenue would be to make comparative studies with regions or countries whose policies on the formal citizenship curricula differ from Zimbabwe's.

Perhaps it is time to rethink the necessity of having officially approved school textbooks and centralised examinations at primary school level. The thesis also lays the basis for more research into how citizenship education is assessed and the feasibility of incorporating school-based assessment. The current practice guarantees approved textbooks a place in the school curriculum even when they are not pedagogically sound. It is monopolistic and promotes unfair competition in the textbook market. As the study has amply demonstrated, the approval of textbooks lacks thoroughness, is open to manipulation and has led to the dominance of this market by only a few established publishing houses. The choice of textbooks and other curriculum materials other than the official syllabus should be left entirely to schools and teachers.

The study also raises important questions on the way that we, as teacher educators, prepare teachers for the classroom. Citizenship education lessons described in this thesis mostly consisted of reading what was in approved textbooks without any critical reflection on what they passed on as facts. My interactions with the Bachelor of Education (Primary) social studies students whom I was teaching in the Department of Teacher Education suggested

that they were not adequately prepared to teach beyond what was presented in the textbook since at Teachers' College they were mainly exposed to what (McLaughlin, 1992) terms minimal interpretations of citizenship education. I was also able to confirm that the various teaching approaches discussed in Chapter Two (**2.7 Interpretations of Citizenship**) were conspicuous by their absence from all Teachers' College social studies syllabuses in the country. As pointed out by the old adage: *teachers tend to teach the way they themselves were taught*. There is therefore need for teacher educators to prepare beginning teachers to be more resourceful and less dependent on the approved textbook, even if it carries an official stamp of approval. After all, it is only one person's interpretation of a given syllabus. Classroom teachers themselves should also be in a position to interpret the syllabus so that a much wider array of resources can be introduced into citizenship education. This means that they should treat with caution what is contained in textbooks and update information for teaching purposes using alternative sources such as the radio, television, newspapers and the internet. At the same time, they should be aware that these sources, just like the traditional textbook, have their preferences and biases too – hence the need to crosscheck the validity of the information that they contain. If this habit can rub off to pupils, teachers would have gone a long way in educating young children to independently reflect on what they read, hear or see in the media and make informed decisions as citizens of their communities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Secretary's circular number 3 of 2002

Ref: D/111/1

All communications should be addressed to
"The Secretary for Education Sport and Culture"
Telephone: 734051/59 and 734071
Telegraphic address: "EDUCATION"
Fax: 794505


ZIMBABWE

Ministry of Education Sport and Culture
P.O Box CY 121
Causeway
Zimbabwe

28 January 2002

SECRETARY'S CIRCULAR NO. 3 OF 2002

Distribution:

Directors
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Deputy Directors
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Under Secretaries
District Education Officers
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Correspondence and Independent Colleges
Heads of Secondary Schools
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Zimbabwe Teachers' Association Chairperson
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National Association of Secondary Heads Chairperson
National Association of Primary Heads Chairperson
Association of Trust Schools - Chairperson
Responsible Authorities
Church Education Secretaries
The Secretary for Higher Education and Technology
Department of Teacher Education, University of Zimbabwe
All Universities
All Teachers' and Technical Colleges
ZIMSEC

RE: CURRICULUM POLICY: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

This circular cancels and replaces Secretary's Circular Minute No. 2 of 2001.

1.0 Introduction

The relevance of the curriculum is based on the extent to which it meets the needs of the individual learner, the national economy, society at large and the future challenges of the country. The ultimate goal is to provide an opportunity for each learner to obtain maximum benefit from the school curriculum according to the learner's potential. The focus is on the individual's development of sound national values such as self-reliance, entrepreneurship and responsible citizenship.

1

It is against this background that the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture has adopted a new policy on curriculum for primary and secondary education which should be implemented with effect from 1 January, 2002.

2.0 **GOALS**

The thrust of this curriculum policy is geared towards implementing the national goals of:-

- 2.1 establishing a strong scientific, mathematical and technological base for economic development;
- 2.2 expanding the technical/vocational curriculum with a view to providing learners with skills for survival;
- 2.3 producing citizens who understand, appreciate and accept their civic and moral responsibilities within society;
- 2.4 promoting national identity, pride, unity, cultural norms and values so as to preserve the Zimbabwe heritage through the teaching and learning of the appropriate humanities and indigenous languages;
- 2.5 strengthening the development of affective, cognitive and psychomotor skills;
- 2.6 promoting and developing a healthy lifestyle through nutrition and physical education;
- 2.7 promoting development of aesthetic values and creativity;
- 2.8 promoting the practice of inclusive education through flexible accommodation of special needs among learners; and
- 2.9 providing special needs which include the acquisition of survival and appropriate acquisition skills like:-
 - sign-language,
 - mobility,
 - self-care,
 - braille literacy, and
 - social skills for learners with special needs.

The education system expects pupils to develop skills and competencies in:

- language and communication
- numeracy and literacy
- science and technology
- aesthetics and creativity
- entrepreneurship
- ethics and responsible citizenship

3.0 PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

3.1 Expected Learning Outcomes

By the end of the primary school course learners will be expected to:

- 3.1.1 communicate effectively in both the written and spoken forms of either Shona or Ndebele and English;
- 3.1.2 solve numerical problems and apply numeracy to daily life situations;
- 3.1.3 appreciate and apply science and technology and demonstrate creativity in the application to their daily lives and in the utilisation of local resources;
- 3.1.4 express and value the beauty and complexity of works of art and design;
- 3.1.5 appreciate the basics associated with enterprise, creation and development;
- 3.1.6 demonstrate an understanding of ethical principles of conduct including nationhood, good neighbourliness, citizenship and respect for humanity and sustainable use of the environment;
- 3.1.7 appreciate the value of sport and culture; and,
- 3.1.8 demonstrate and appreciate a healthy lifestyle.

3.2 Subjects to be offered

In view of the above, all primary schools should offer the following subjects from grades 1 to 7.

3.2.1 Language and Communication

- Shona or Ndebele up to Grade 7

NB Tonga, Kalanga, Nambya, Venda, Shangani and Sotho as mother tongues will be introduced in their respective areas in phases as follows:-

- up to grade 4 in 2002
- up to grade 5 in 2003
- up to grade 6 in 2004
- up to grade 7 in 2005

These subjects will be offered together with Shona or Ndebele which will be offered at secondary school level.

- Sign language for the hearing impaired
- English Language

3.2.2 Numeracy

Mathematics

3.2.3 Science and Technology

Environmental Science

Technology and Computers (where facilities are available).

3.2.4 Ethics and Citizenship

Social Studies

Religious and Moral Education

3.2.5 Practical Subjects

Art and Craft

Home Economics

Music, Physical Education and Theatre Arts.

4.0 SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM UP TO 'O' LEVEL

4.1 Expected Learning Outcomes

At the end of the four year secondary school course learners should be able to:-

- 4.1.1 demonstrate versatility and adaptability to different social and economic environments;
- 4.1.2 communicate effectively and proficiently orally and in writing in English and Shona or Ndebele;
- 4.1.3 contribute positively to self, community and national development through the creative application of science, technology and practical and life skills;
- 4.1.4 play a meaningful role in nation-building and project a positive national identity;
- 4.1.5 project a positive self image through the realisation of the individual's potential; and
- 4.1.6 display a mature sense of appreciation of art, design, sport and culture.

The secondary school curriculum should offer a broad range of subjects to cater for the diversity of learner needs and abilities.

The four year secondary curriculum is a vehicle to enable each learner to realise his/her aspirations according to the environment, interests and abilities.

4.2 Core Subjects

4.2.1 It is compulsory for all learners to study the following five core subjects up to 'O' level:-

English Language;

History;

Mathematics;

Shona or Ndebele; and

Science (selected from 4.4.2).

4.2.2

HIV/AIDS and Life Skills Education.

Guidance and counselling

Physical Education, Sport and Culture.

The subject areas under 4.2.2. above are compulsory but non-examinable except through other subjects.

4.3 Full 'O' Level Certificate

A full 'O' Level certificate shall consist of at least five (5) subjects passed at grade 'C' level standard or better.

4.4 Optional Subjects

Learners' interest, abilities and available resources should guide the selection of optional subjects from the following five groups:-

4.4.1 Group 1: Languages

Kalanga, Tonga, Nambya, Shangani, Venda, Sotho, Nyanja, Swahili, Afrikaans, Portuguese, German, Spanish, French and Latin.

4.4.2 Group 2: Science

Integrated Science

Biology

Chemistry

Physics

Physical Science

Human and Social Biology

4.4.3 Group 3: Mathematics

Additional Mathematics
Statistics

4.4.4 Group 4: Humanities and Social Sciences

Literature in Shona or Ndebele
Literature in English
Religious Studies
Geography

4.4.5 Group 5: Practical/Technical/Business/Vocational/Commercial Subjects

This group consists of practical, technical, vocational, commercial and business subjects (refer to Appendix 'B').

N.B.

School Heads should note that the choice of optional subjects depends largely upon the environment, facilities and staff available in the school as well as the individual learners' preferences and ability to cope with the curriculum.

5.0 Syllabuses

5.1 The Ministry's policy is that the formal curriculum for any school shall be based on syllabuses devised and approved by the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. Schools wishing to deviate from such syllabuses may do so only with the written permission of the Permanent Secretary.

5.2 Syllabuses are reviewed from time to time. Schools will, therefore, be informed of new syllabuses as and when these are made available.

6.0 'A' Level Curriculum

The 'A' level curriculum shall normally comprise the General Paper and a set of at least three related subjects listed below:-

SCIENCES

Physics

Chemistry

Biology

Mathematics

Geography

COMMERCIALS

Economics

Business Studies

Accounting

Computer Studies

LANGUAGES AND HUMANITIES

Divinity

Literature in English

Shona/Ndebele

History

Geography

TECH/VOC SUBJECTS

Agriculture


Art and Design

Clothing and Textiles

Drama

Food Science

Geometric and Mechanical Drawing



T.K. Tsodzo (Dr)

SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, SPORT AND CULTURE

**Appendix 2: Researcher with an elementary school social studies class in Montreal
under the Concordia-University of Zimbabwe Link Project**



Appendix 3: Letter Offering Researcher Visiting Academic Status

Direct line 020-7612 6004
Email g.whitty@ioe.ac.uk
Website www.ioe.ac.uk/directorate



20 BEDFORD WAY
LONDON WC1H 0AL
Telephone 020-7612 6000
Fax 020-7612 6089
Website www.ioe.ac.uk
Director Professor Geoff Whitty

11 July 2001

Mr Oswell Namasasu
Department of Science & Mathematics Education
University of Zimbabwe
P.O. Box MP 167, Mount Pleasant
Harare
ZIMBABWE

Dear Mr Namasasu

I am pleased to confirm on behalf of the Council that you have been awarded the status of Visiting Academic in the Institute of Education, University of London from 1 October 2001 to 28 October 2001 in the first instance. I hope you will find your stay in the Institute both enjoyable and rewarding.

During your time here you will be attached to the Curriculum Studies Academic Group and your initial academic contact will be Dr Paddy Walsh. I hope you will become fully involved with the activities of the group and that the work you undertake while you are with us will be of benefit to you and to the Institute.

I should be grateful if you would confirm acceptance of the status of Visiting Academic as soon as possible.

A registration fee of £400 will be due on the date of your arrival at the Institute and this will allow you to have full access to the various facilities available to Visiting Academics which include our library and computing services and limited academic contact throughout your stay. I am afraid we are short of space and are not able to offer you a room of your own to work in. However, I hope that by agreement with Curriculum Studies we will be able to provide suitable working space for you.

When you have been to our Finance Office to pay your fees, please bring the receipt along to Jill Rutherford [room 563] who will issue your library ticket. If you require any advice or help about your status in London, please do contact my office and I shall be pleased to assist in any way to make your stay as comfortable as possible.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely

David Warren
Secretary

cc: Dr Paddy Walsh

Pursuing Excellence in Education

Appendix 4: Letter certifying the researcher's status as a doctoral student

Dr C Dyanda, Dean
B.Ed (University of Zimbabwe)
M.Ed (Howard, USA)
Ph.D (Erickson Institute, Chicago, USA)

✉ P.O. Box MP167, Mount
Pleasant,
Harare, ZIMBABWE
☎ (263+4) 303291
📠 (263+4) 303291
e-mail : dean@education.uz.ac.zw



FACULTY OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE

23 August 2006

The Head
UNESCO Regional Office
P O Box HG 435
Highlands

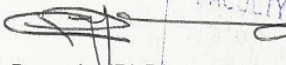
Dear Sir/Madam

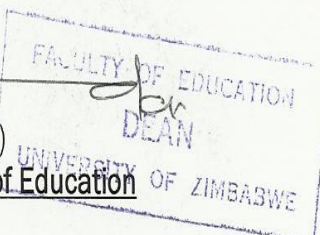
**RE: REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE
PRIMARY SCHOOLS**

This is to certify that Mr O Namasasu is a doctoral student in the Faculty of Education studying *Citizenship Education*.

During the course of his studies he will require support from institutions/individuals/offices such as yours to collect and analyse data on that topic. The information is required for academic purposes only and will be treated with the strictest of confidence. Your support will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully


C Dyanda (PhD)
Dean, Faculty of Education



Appendix 5: Letter granting researcher permission to conduct research

all communications should be addressed to
"The Secretary for Education Sport and Culture"
Telephone: 734051/59 and 734071
Telegraphic address : "EDUCATION"
Fax: 734075



Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture
P.O Box CY 121
Causeway
Zimbabwe

O. NAMASASU
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE
HARARE


RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH

Reference is made to your application to carry out research in the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture institutions on:

The quality of citizenship education in Harare
primary schools; an evaluation of curriculum
implementation

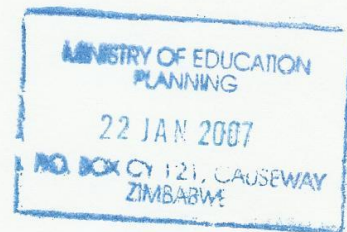
Permission is hereby granted. However, you are required to liaise with the Provincial Education Director responsible for the schools from which you want to research.

You are also required to provide the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture with the final copy of your research since it is instrumental to the development of Education in Zimbabwe.



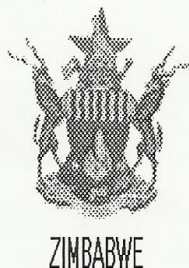
Z.M. Chitiga

FOR: SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, SPORT AND CULTURE



Appendix 6: Invitation letter to a civics education workshop

Telephone 333820
All communication to be addressed to
The Secretary
Ministry of Education Sport & Culture



Ministry of Education Sport and Culture
Education Services Centre
Upper East Road
Mount Pleasant
P.O. Box MP 133
Mount Pleasant

16 June 2006

The Chairperson
Faculty of Science and Maths Education
University of Zimbabwe
Box MP167
Mount Pleasant
HARARE

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: INVITATION TO A CIVICS EDUCATION SECONDARY SYLLABUS DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

The Curriculum Development Unit intends to develop the Civics Education Syllabus for ZJC, 'O' and 'A' level. The workshop will be held at the CDU Boardroom from 26-30 June to develop the content for these syllabuses.

In view of this development, your department is requested to release an officer responsible for Geography/Civics Education and RME (Mr O. Namasasu).

The member will attend the workshop as detailed below:

Workshop dates	:	26 – 30 June 2006
Duration	:	5 days
Time	:	8:30am to 4pm
Venue	:	CDU Boardroom

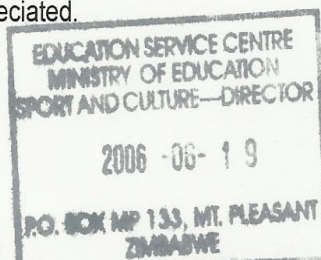
Your assistance in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully

T. Chadambuka
Acting Director, Educational Services Division

FOR: SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, SPORT AND CULTURE

/m/civics education secondary syllabus



Appendix 7: General Interview Guide

QUESTIONS		
TO HEADS	TO TEACHERS	TO PUPILS
<u>SYLLABUS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Does the school have enough copies of the official social studies syllabus document? 	<u>SYLLABUS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What curriculum materials do you use when developing your schemes of work? 	<u>SYLLABUS</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not applicable
<u>CONTENT</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What textbooks and other sources of content are available for social studies? 	<u>CONTENT</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Which content do you use to teach about responsible citizenship? How appropriate do you find it? 	<u>CONTENT</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What main topics have we done in social studies? How do they teach us to become responsible citizens?
<u>TEACHING AND LEARNING</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How does the school support the teaching and learning of responsible citizenship? 	<u>TEACHING AND LEARNING</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What teaching and learning approaches do you use most often to teach responsible citizenship? What are your reasons for choosing them? 	<u>TEACHING AND LEARNING</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What class activities do you have in social studies? What do you like or dislike about them?
<u>SCHOOL ETHOS AND CLIMATE</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are your school's guiding principles, beliefs and general practices? 	<u>SCHOOL ETHOS AND CLIMATE</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do you think of the rules, policies and general practices of your school? 	<u>SCHOOL ETHOS AND CLIMATE</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What do you think of the rules, policies and general practices of your school?

Appendix 8: Pupil skills related to citizenship education in the official syllabus document

Syllabus Topic	Grades	Pupil skills related to citizenship education in syllabus document
1. Living Together	1 – 2 1 - 2 3 3 4 - 5 4 - 5 4 - 5 6 - 7 6 - 7 6 - 7 6 - 7 6 – 7	Describing acts of love, kindness and help Identifying good qualities in people Getting to know a child of a different ethnic group Comparing and contrasting life in neighbouring countries with our own Describing an interesting national event Identifying people pupil admires and why he/she admires them Keeping newspaper cuttings on topics of interest to the pupil Discussing ‘What it means to be a responsible person’ Writing essays on ‘my ideal girl (sic), the wife (sic) I would like to have (sic) and my future family’ Finding out the life history of any of the heroes Discussing the qualities of heroes Discussing the concept of self sacrifice
2. Food	-	None specified
3. Shelter	6 – 7	Identifying problems of shelter and suggesting solutions
4. Health	1 – 2 1 - 2 1 - 2 3 4 - 5 4 - 5 6 – 7	Telling stories of acts of kindness and consideration Identifying reasons for safety rules Discussing uses of safety rules and consequences of ignoring them Discussing the logic of controlling diseases Discussing the causes and prevention of accidents and diseases Identifying causes of pollution and relating them to different environments Identifying reasons for shyness and lack of confidence during adolescence and how to combat them
5. Rules and Laws	1 – 2 1 - 2 3 3 4 - 5 4 - 5 4 - 5 4 - 5 4 - 5 6 - 7 6 - 7 6 – 7	Finding about his (sic) family rules and comparing them with the family rules of classmates Imagining and describing what a home without rules would be like Discussing and comparing rules applying to different cultures Drawing pictures of or acting a school with no rules Finding out what someone has to do to vote in local council elections Identifying qualities which make one a good member of the community Researching on and writing about laws brought in with colonial occupation Finding out about systems of government Debating ‘What are just laws?’ Identifying and communicating the qualities of good citizenship Identifying the colours of the national flag and what each colour represents Finding out about other systems of government
6. Transport and Communication	4 – 5	Researching on what motivated exploration and great journeys of the past.
7. Clothes	4 – 5 4 – 5	Identifying nationality from clothes worn Mapping national distribution of raw materials and manufacturing centres of clothing
8. Wealth and Money	1 – 2 3 3 4 - 5 6 – 7 6 - 7	Observing, grouping and sorting real coins and notes Identifying some of the possessions that children and adults value Discussing the best ways of looking after valuable possessions Finding out where family money comes from and how it is spent Inviting a coin collector to display his (coins) so as to find out about coins used in the past Identifying all the things which make up a community’s wealth e.g.

<u>Syllabus topic</u>	<u>Grades</u>	<u>Pupil skills related to citizenship education in syllabus document</u>
	6 - 7	roads, water, electricity supply, clinics, schools, industry and agriculture
	6 - 7	Realising individual's role in ownership and protection of public property
	6 - 7	Planning how social responsibility may be carried out, for example with regards to vandalism
	6 - 7	Finding out about national taxes and what the government does with the money
	6 - 7	Identifying, mapping and illustrating Zimbabwe's natural resources
9. Work and Leisure	1 - 2	Role playing people at work
	3	Identifying and describing different kinds of work/occupations in the community
	3	Identifying interests, starting hobbies and playing games
	4 - 5	Researching on opportunities available for training for different jobs
	4 - 5	Participation in hobbies/clubs
	4 - 5	Collecting and recording information from work and leisure activities of the past from oldest people in the community
	6 - 7	None specified
10. Social Services and Voluntary Organisations	1 - 2	Identifying people who need help and what sort of help is needed
	3	Describing work done by people and organisations in the past who have devoted their lives to helping others
	3	Role playing lives of famous national and international figures
	4 - 5	Relating sort of help needed in different circumstances
	4 - 5	Discussing organisations that helped refugees during the war of liberation
	4 - 5	Comparing the development of various voluntary organisations
	6 - 7	Describing present and future functions of government agencies

Appendix 9: Requests for syllabuses and curriculum policy guidelines

P O Box MP 167
Mount Pleasant
Harare, Zimbabwe

Telephone: 303211
Telex: 26580UNIVZ ZW
Telegrams: UNIVERSITY
FAX: (263) (4) 333407



SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE

23 August 2006

Education Attaché
Embassy of Angola

REQUEST FOR SYLLABUSES AND CURRICULUM POLICY GUIDELINES

Dear Sir/Madam

I am a lecturer in the Department of Science and Mathematics Education currently doing research on citizenship education in the social studies curriculum for a doctoral degree with the University of Zimbabwe. My topic is:

The quality of citizenship education in Harare primary schools: an evaluation of curriculum implementation.

Could you please send me social studies, civics, moral education, geography or history syllabuses and curriculum policy guidelines used in citizenship education at primary school in your country for comparison with primary school citizenship education in Zimbabwe. I would be very grateful if I could get this information for my dissertation.

Yours sincerely

O. Namasasu

Student Registration Number R877372H

Appendix 10: Specimen scheme of work from the Curriculum Development Unit

(No broad aims, values or attitudes were stated)

Unit	Topic and Content	Objectives	Refs	Activities	Learning Aids	Evaluation
1 (4wks.)	LIVING TOGETHER i. San (Barwa) early inhabitants of Zimbabwe ii. Great Zimbabwe – The Mutapa Empire (Rozvi) iii. The Ndebele – Mzilikazi, Lobengula iv. Early Arabs and Portuguese v. The white settlers, missionaries, hunters, traders – Livingstone, Moffat, Hartley, Selous, Baines, Rudd, Rhodes vi. Present day Zimbabwe, Our National Holidays, National Flag	To make the pupils aware of: i. the life of the San (Barwa) people who lived in caves; the Rozvi people and life at Great Zimbabwe. ii. the Ndebele – Mzilikazi's flight from Zululand. His son Lobengula. iii. the trade carried on with the Arabs and Portuguese. iv. the arrival of the British in Zimbabwe. v. the origin and significance of our National Holidays, The meaning of the colours of our National Flag	Pupils' Books: College Press: Ventures Living Together Stage 3 Grade 5 pp. 5-16 Zimbabwe Publishing House Social Studies Stage 3 Grade 5 pp. 1-10 Longman (Zimb.) Living And Working Together Stage 3 Grade 5 pp. 1-12 Teacher's Resource Books for the above	Teachers: Divide the class into groups. 2. Make available to the pupils suitable reference material. Pupils: Find out, draw, make charts, write about: 1. The areas in which each group settled/ lived. 2. Their shelter, houses (homes) 3. Their way of life – family life, farming, food, hunting, art, weapons, and tools, clothing, government. 4. Draw our National Flag	Pupils' Books: College Press, Zimbabwe Publishing House Longman (Zimb.) Pictures: San their cave paintings, Great Zimbabwe and the Munhu-Mutapa, Arab dhow, an early Portuguese trader, an ox wagon, early settlers and the people to be studied. Maps: Present day Zimbabwe, the Mutapa Empire, route taken by Ndebele, David Livingstone, Templates of Zimbabwe National Flag	

Source: *A Handbook for Associate Teachers*; Curriculum Development Unit, Ministry of Education and Culture, Zimbabwe. 1990.

Appendix 11: Part of Mr. Nyika's scheme of work for Grade 7

(No broad aims, values or attitudes were stated)

Week	Topic	Source	Objectives	Activities
One	Living Together	Living Together Pupils Book Pp 1-7	1. List the people with whom our forefathers traded. 2. Tell that the whites were defeated	<u>Tuesday, lesson 1</u> 1. Teach the pupils that Zimbabweans used to trade with the Arabs, Chinese and Portuguese. 2. List some of the goods they exchanged. 3. Explain to the pupils the importance of trade.
One	Living Together	Living Together Pupils Book pp 1-7	1. Tell how Cecil John Rhodes tricked Lobengula	<u>Thursday, lesson 2</u> 1. Teach the pupils how the system changed when the British gave BSA company a chance to rule the country 2. Teach the pupils how Rhodes used the Rudd Concession to trick Lobengula 3. Explain to the pupils the activities carried out by the BSA Company in the country
One	Living Together	Living Together Pupils Book pp 1-7	1. Tell why Nehanda and Kaguvi were hanged by the whites. 2. Tell how the whites ill-treated the blacks	<u>Friday, lesson 3</u> 1. Explain to the pupils the circumstances which led to the death of Nehanda and Kaguvi. 2. Explain to the pupils how the whites ill-treated black Zimbabweans
Two	Living Together	Living Together Pupils Book pp 1-7 Teacher's Book pp 4-7	1. Tell the work done by ZANU and ZAPU to free the country. 2. Tell how the <i>povo</i> supported the guerillas	<u>Tuesday, lesson 1</u> 1. Teach the pupils that ZANU and ZAPU sent freedom fighters for training in different countries 2. List some places for the pupils where some black leaders were detained without trial 3. Discuss how young boys, girls and their parents supported the liberation struggle
Two	Living Together	Living Together Pupils Book pp 1-7 Teacher's Book pp 4-7	1. Tell the use of protected villages. 2. Tell how the Lancaster House conference stopped the war	<u>Wednesday, lesson 2</u> 1. Explain to the pupils why the people were put in 'keeps' or protected villages. 2. Explain how the Lancaster House conference helped to stop the war. 3. Discuss how the peace keeping force was formed and discuss its main duties.
Two	Living Together	Living Together Pupils Book pp 1-7 Teacher's Book pp 4-7	1. Tell why the guerillas were put in assembly points. 2. Tell the party which won the general elections	<u>Friday, lesson 3</u> 1. Teach the pupils why the guerillas were put in assembly points 2. Teach the pupils the party which won the general elections in 1980 as well as the first prime minister of Zimbabwe.

Appendix 12: Official syllabus content omitted in approved pupils' textbooks

Stage	Citizenship Content Omitted in Pupils' Textbooks	Pupils' Textbooks Concerned
1	<p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changes which take place in the home, school and community <p>HEALTHY HABITS AND SOUND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The need for regular rest, exercise and contact with friends <p>THE WORK OF HEALTH PERSONNEL AND HEALTH ORGANISATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The role of the doctor and the nurse <p>THE NEED FOR AND NATURE OF RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rules in the home, at school, rules in games and sports Making and following rules - rights and duties <p>TRADE: PAST AND PRESENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trade is a means of exchanging goods for goods (barter/swopping) Trade is a means of exchanging goods for money (shopping) Familiarity with the price of goods used by Stage 1 pupils <p>PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS HELP OTHERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents and others take care of children's needs People who help the old ,the sick , the poor and the disabled at home and the community 	<p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p>
2	<p>OUR WAY OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Way of life of different ethnic groups in terms of beliefs, customs, etc. <p>LIFE IN THE PAST</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspect of family, school and community history Home and community life in the past <p>LIFE IN OTHER COUNTRIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Home and community life in cities and rural areas <p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration of people from rural areas to cities and vice versa Changes in the lives of individuals 	<p>Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p>

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Citizenship Content Omitted in Pupils' Textbook</u>	<u>Pupils' Textbook Concerned</u>
2	<p>SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relationship with other groups in the community <p>FOOD ELSEWHERE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food commonly eaten in other countries <p>GROWING, PROCESSING, PREPARING AND MARKETING FOOD</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manners and food customs <p>FOOD AND EATING HABITS IN THE PAST</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food, cutlery and utensils used in this country in the past <p>SHELTER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> History of shelter <p>PLANNED USE OF MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What to do with pocket money, money gifts and money earned Value of saving Keeping a simple record of the money one gets and what one does with it <p>HISTORY OF MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barter as an early system of trade The need for money as an intermediate measure of value <p>TRADE PAST AND PRESENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prices of goods used in the home Money as a measure of value <p>WEALTH AS A MEASURE OF RESOURCES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wealth includes possessions as well as money Possessions must be taken care of 	<p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p>

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Citizenship Content Omitted in Pupils' Textbook</u>	<u>Pupils' Textbook Concerned</u>
2	<p>HEALTHY HABITS AND SOUND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal hygiene and care of home and school environment <p>DISEASES, ACCIDENTS AND THEIR PREVENTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Control of colds, influenza, enteritis etc. • Keeping food and water clean • Playing in clean safe places <p>HISTORY OF MEDICAL PROGRESS AND DISCOVERY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lives of scientists and health workers in this country • Medical science long ago <p>THE WORK OF HEALTH PERSONNEL AND HEALTH ORGANISATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functions of clinics and hospitals and the work of district and village health workers <p>CARE OF THE NEW BABY AND VERY YOUNG CHILD</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Needs of the baby, e.g. companionship <p>NEED FOR AND NATURE OF RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different rules in different cultures <p>HISTORY OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comparison of traditional and modern forms of transport • Great journeys of the past <p>WORK, OCCUPATIONS, LEISURE AND RECREATION PURSUED IN EARLIER TIMES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The work and leisure of the early hunters, gatherers and fishermen <p>PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS THAT HELP OTHERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The concept of voluntary groups and the need for youths to join or form these • Voluntary groups which help in the community <p>PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS THAT HAVE DEVOTED THEIR LIVES TO HELPING IN THE PAST</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biographies of well-known national and international figures 	<p>Ventures Living Together Ventures Living Together Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Living and Working Together Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p>

Stage	Citizenship Content Omitted in Pupils' Textbook	Pupils' Textbook Concerned
3	<p>LIFE IN THE PAST</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The pre-colonial period - the San, Rozvi, Mutapas and Ndebele The colonial period - the early Arabs, Portuguese and white settlers <p>LIFE IN OTHER COUNTRIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall view of other countries with reference to language, customs, physical problems and advantages <p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emigration and Immigration causes and consequences Visits to other countries Changes for good and changes for worse in country <p>SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The qualities needed to promote good personal relationships Factors which make living together difficult The need to be an informed person <p>THE CONSTITUENTS OF A WELL-BALANCED DIET</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Insufficiency of food - land deprivation as a result of colonial practice. The need for equitable distribution of land and sound land management to overcome the problem. <p>HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Laws brought in with colonial occupation Just laws cannot be formulated unless they derive from the needs of society as a whole The National Flag, National Anthem, National Coat of Arms and the Zimbabwe Bird - their significance <p>PLANNED USE OF MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Family and community income and expenditure Community taxation <p>THE HISTORY OF MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distribution of wealth in traditional and colonial Zimbabwe 	<p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p>

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Content Omitted in Pupils' Textbook</u>	<u>Pupils' Textbook Concerned</u>
3	<p>TRADE PAST AND PRESENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opening up trade routes followed by settlements. World trade routes <p>WEALTH AS A MEASURE OF RESOURCES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The wealth of a community includes its buildings, services and amenities. Public ownership The pupil's role in caring for public property 	<p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p>
4	<p>LIFE IN OTHER COUNTRIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effect of climate , geographic position, environment, population density, abundance (or otherwise) of natural resources on people's lives in selected places <p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration from rural to urban areas. Migrant labour across the borders War, poverty, health and pollution Effects of overpopulation <p>SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acceptable and healthy boy/girl relationships Responsibilities of marriage and parenthood Becoming an informed person <p>HEALTHY HABITS AND SOUND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal cleanliness during adolescence Personal relationships, confidence and poise during adolescence Abusive use of drugs, alcohol and tobacco 	<p>Social Studies in Action Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Living and Working Together</p> <p>Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p>

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Citizenship Content Omitted in Pupils' Textbook</u>	<u>Pupils' Textbook Concerned</u>
4	<p>NEED FOR AND NATURE OF RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship begins inn the home and at school; the rights and responsibilities of citizenship • The function of government: legislation, administration and the judiciary • The National Flag, National Anthem, National Coat of Arms and Zimbabwe Bird - their significance <p>OTHER SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist Democracies and Western Democracies <p>PLANNED USE OF MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Money as remuneration for work • Ways of investing and saving money • Planned distribution of wealth in independent Zimbabwe <p>TRADE PAST AND PRESENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The factors that determine the price of an article • The effects of ever-rising prices (spiral inflation) • This country's imports and exports <p>DIFFERENT KINDS OF WORK,WORK CHOICE AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workers Union 	<p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Social Studies in Action Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Living and Working Together Living and Working Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Living and Working Together</p>

Appendix 13: Pupil skills in official syllabus but omitted in approved pupils' Textbooks

Stage	Pupil Skills Omitted in Pupils' Textbooks	Pupils' Textbook Concerned
1	<p>OUR WAY OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Describing own acts of kindness, love and help <p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Describing changes that have taken place in the family, school and in the community during the term and discussing whether they are for the better or not <p>SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying good qualities in people <p>HEALTHY HABITS AND SOUND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussing acts of kindness and consideration <p>THE WORK OF HEALTH PERSONNEL AND HEALTH ORGANISATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imagining a day in the life of a nurse <p>THE NEED FOR AND NATURE OF RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Imagining and describing what a home without rules would be like Comparing and contrasting family rules among fellow pupils <p>TRADE PAST AND PRESENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acting a play about bartering (swapping) at school 	<p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p>
2	<p>OUR WAY OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conducting a survey of a number of people passing by the school in a given period <p>LIFE IN THE PAST</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Visiting old ruins, buildings, museums which are a link to the past <p>LIFE IN OTHER COUNTRIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Comparing and contrasting life in neighbouring countries with our own 	<p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p>

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Pupil Skills Omitted in Pupils' Textbooks</u>	<u>Pupils' Textbook Concerned</u>
2	<p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussing why people have moved their homes and whether or not this was a good thing to do Discussing some of the problems in their community and planning what needs to be given in a specific case <p>SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Getting to know a child of a different ethnic group who should discuss his/her home life, festivals etc. <p>THE NEED FOR AND NATURE OF RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discussing rules applying to different cultures Acting a school with no rules <p>PLANNED USE OF MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Keeping a simple cash book <p>TRADE PAST AND PRESENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finding out the relative value of goods used at home and school (not necessarily actual prices) <p>HISTORY OF MONEY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acting a story about barter <p>WEALTH AS A MEASURE OF RESOURCES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying some of the possessions that children and grown ups value and discussing the best ways of looking after them <p>PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS HELP OTHERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Role playing part of a member of a voluntary organisation 	<p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p>
3	<p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finding out why people emigrate or immigrate and the effect that migration has on them <p>SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying people pupil admires and why he/she admires them Keeping newspaper cuttings about a topic/people of interest 	<p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p>

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Pupil skills omitted in Pupils' Textbook</u>	<u>Pupils' Textbook Concerned</u>
3	<p>NEED FOR RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying qualities that make one a good member of the community Finding out what a person has to do in order to vote for the local council <p>HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Researching on laws brought with colonial occupation <p>Debating what just laws are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying/drawing the National Flag <p>WEALTH AS A MEASURE OF RESOURCES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying all things which make a community wealthy e.g. roads, water, electricity, clinics, schools, industry, agriculture, mining etc. <p>Planning how to carry out responsibility for public property e.g. with regards to vandalism</p>	<p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p>
4	<p>OUR WAY OF LIFE</p> <p>Identifying some of the causes of world disharmony</p> <p>Researching on the origin and development of the pupil's own community and displaying it to parents</p> <p>LIFE IN THE PAST</p> <p>Discussing the qualities of heroes</p> <p>Writing a paragraph about any of the heroes</p> <p>Writing a paragraph on the concepts of self sacrifice</p> <p>CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE</p> <p>Discussing the meaning of overpopulation</p> <p>Identifying on a world map places of serious unrest</p>	<p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Living and Working Together Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p>

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Pupil Skills Omitted in Pupils' Textbook</u>	<u>Pupils' Textbook Concerned</u>
4	<p>SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER Discussing : 'What it means to be a responsible person'</p> <p>Writing an essay on: 'My ideal girl (sic) / The wife (sic) I would like to have / My future family'</p> <p>Keeping a diary of public events of interest</p> <p>Learning to use a library</p> <p>NEED FOR AND NATURE OF RULES AND LAWS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying qualities of good citizenship Finding out about other systems of government Identifying the colours of the flag and what each colour represents <p>MEETING NEED FOR TRANSPORT COSTS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conducting surveys on transport costs <p>HEALTHY HABITS AND SOUND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understanding reasons for shyness, lack of confidence and how to combat these <p>TRADE PAST AND PRESENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Role playing managing committee of dairy company discussing why there has to be a rise in price of dairy products, the effects of the price rise and whether or not it can be avoided 	<p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Living and Working Together</p> <p>Living and Working Together</p> <p>Ventures Living Together Social Studies in Action</p> <p>Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p> <p>Social Studies in Action Ventures Living Together Living and Working Together</p>

Appendix 14: General Paper 1 ZIMSEC social studies specification table

Topic	Knowledge and Recall	Routine Manipulations	Understanding and applications	Problem solving	Total	Weighting
1. Living Together	1	0	1	0	2	2
2. Food	1	0	1	0	2	2
3. Shelter	1	0	1	0	2	2
4. Health	1	0	1	0	2	2
5. Rules and Laws	1	0	0	0	1	1
6. Transport and Communications	1	0	0	0	1	1
7. Clothes	1	0	1	0	2	2
8. Wealth and Money	1	0	1	0	2	2
9. Work and Leisure	1	0	0	0	1	1
10. Social Services and Voluntary Organisation	1	0	0	0	1	1
11. TOTAL	10	0	6	0	16	16

Source: Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (Zimsec)

Appendix 15: Citizenship exercise

Analysis of lesson observation notes, teachers' schemes of work and prescribed textbooks indicated certain areas that seemed to have been omitted or outdated in the implementation of citizenship education at classroom level. In order to verify whether this was the case or not, the following exercise based on the syllabus in use at the time of the study was designed by the researcher. Pupils' written responses were analysed and followed up with interviews and class discussions.

CITIZENSHIP EXERCISE

A. NEED FOR AND NATURE OF RULES AND LAWS

1. Among the countries listed below indicate which ones are one-party and which ones are multi-party states. Tick in the spaces provided.

COUNTRY	Multi-party state	One-party state
ANGOLA		
BOTSWANA		
CUBA		
MALAWI		
MOZABIQUE		
RUSSIA		
SOUTH AFRICA		
SWAZILAND		
TANZANIA		
ZAMBIA		
ZIMBABWE		

2. Indicate whether the following statements are true or false by ticking in the spaces provided.

STATEMENT	True	False
After ZANU and ZAPU came together in 1987, there is now only one political party of any significance in Zimbabwe.		
Zimbabwe is a socialist country.		
Namibia and South Africa are good examples of countries that are still not independent.		
Comrade Mandela is in prison. He is serving a life sentence.		
The South African government believes one race is superior to another.		
The Communist Party is the only political party in Russia		
The highest law-making body in Russia is called the Supreme Soviet.		
The leader of Russia is the First Secretary of the Communist Party.		

3. What do you understand by each of the following terms?

(a) citizen

.....

.....

.....

.....

(b) democracy

.....
.....
.....

(c) dictatorship

.....
.....
.....

4. What rights does a citizen have? List any THREE you consider to be the most important.

(a)

.....

(b)

.....

(c)

.....

5. What responsibilities does a citizen have? List any THREE you consider to be the most important.

(a)

.....

(b)

.....

(c)

.....

6. List any THREE qualities that a responsible citizen should have.

(a)

.....

(b)

.....

(c)

.....

B. SUCCESSFUL LIVING TOGETHER

1. Why do we need friends?

.....
.....

2. What qualities should a true friend have?

.....
.....

3. What is peer pressure and how can we resist it?

.....
.....

4. What are the dangers of drinking alcohol and taking drugs?

.....
.....

5. Why is it important to be honest and to always tell the truth?

.....
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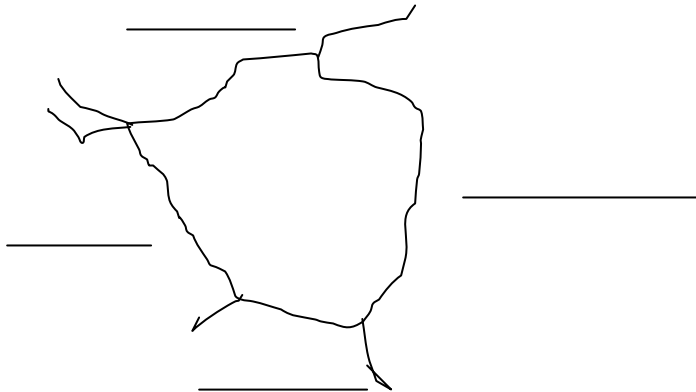
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C. OUR WAY OF LIFE

1. Indicate whether the following statements are true or false by ticking in the spaces provided.

STATEMENT	True	False
Zimbabwe is a member of the Commonwealth.		
The African Union is the same organization as the Organization of African Unity (OAU).		
Zimbabwe has a temperate climate.		

- What does the acronym SADC stand for?
- Name ALL the countries that belong to the SADC?
- State THREE aims of the SADC?
 -
 -
 -
- Fill in Zimbabwe's neighbours on the map provided.



- On which date is Zimbabwe's Independence Day celebrated every year?
Day Month.....
- What do the following colours and symbols on the National Flag mean?

COLOUR/ SYMBOL	MEANING
BLACK	
RED	
YELLOW (GOLD)	
GREEN	
WHITE TRIANGLE	
RED STAR	
ZIMBABWE BIRD	

- What is the motto written at the bottom of the National Coat-of-Arms and what does it urge Zimbabweans to do?

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.....
.....
.....

D. LIFE IN THE PAST

1. Who are the earliest people known to have lived in Zimbabwe?
.....
2. List any THREE qualities of national heroes.
 - (a).....
.....
 - (b).....
.....
 - (c).....
.....
3. What is a nationalist?
.....
.....
.....
.....
4. What do you understand by the policy of reconciliation adopted by the government of Zimbabwe after independence?
.....
.....
.....
.....
5. What do you think are the good and bad things Zimbabweans learnt from their contacts with the British during the colonial period?
 - (a) Good things
.....
.....
.....
 - (b) Bad things
.....
.....
.....