SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS’ PERCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES OF
EDUCATING CITIZENS IN A DEMOCRACY IN UPPER CLASSES IN PRIMARY
SCHOOLS IN BOTSWANA

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of my study was to explore the social studies teachers’ conceptualizations, experiences, ideas, beliefs and practices of developing citizens in a democracy in upper classes in primary schools in Botswana. The study adopted a qualitative research approach and employed the naturalistic paradigm. The study was undertaken in six primary school settings in one of the major villages in the central district in Botswana for a period of three months. Data were collected through the use of multiple methods including; individual interviews, participant observation, focus groups and document analysis for triangulation purposes. The study adopted a grounded theory to data analysis by using the constant comparative data analysis technique for purposes of theory generation.

The findings of this study have revealed a gloomy picture on citizenship education as perceived, interpreted and enacted within primary schools investigated hence leading to the conclusion that citizenship education remains an illusion rather than a reality. The teachers conceptualize citizenship in multiple ways indicating that citizenship in Botswana is complex, fluid and not homogeneous. The findings have also shown tremendous contradictions, paradoxes and challenges in citizenship development in a democracy like Botswana. This study provides significant implications for classroom application and practice, research, curriculum reform and innovation for social studies
teachers, curriculum developers, policy makers, teacher educators and the public in informing them on issues of citizenship education in Botswana primary schools.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of two people who have had a great influence in my life. My late father, Thema Maruping Mhlauli, who taught me the importance of education and my late sister, Eunice Beleki Mhlauli-Pheko, who believed in me and always encouraged me to aim for greater things in life.
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sacrificing her time to take care of my belongings more especially Timmy during the four years of my absence. People like her are not easy to find!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a brief overview of my research on social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy. It begins by delineating the statement of the problem, rationale, and describing the purpose of study, research questions, and the research design. The major purpose of this study was to explore the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy in upper classes (standards 5, 6 and 7) in primary schools in Botswana. Underlying the study was the assumption that Botswana is a democratic country and strives to cultivate democratic minds among its young citizens through the teaching of social studies as one of the core curriculum subjects.

Social studies has been identified as the subject within the school curriculum that is used as a vehicle for equipping students with the requisite knowledge, skills and values, attitudes and dispositions relevant for producing functional and effective citizens (Ministry of Education, 2005). The overall guiding question for the study was; “What are the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy?” In asking this question I hoped to explore the social studies teachers’ views in terms of their conceptualizations, experiences, values, beliefs and attitudes of
citizenship education and how they explain what they do in developing citizens in a democracy.

**Statement of the Problem**

There is consensus in the social studies literature that the major goal of social studies is citizenship education (Ajiboye, 2009; Adler and Sim, 2008; Ross, 2006; Hahn, 2001). Social studies as citizenship education seek to provide students with the knowledge, skills, values, dispositions and attitudes which will enable them to actively participate as citizens in a democracy (Ajiboye, 2009). Since its introduction in the primary school curriculum in Botswana in 1969, there have been doubts as to whether the subject is achieving its major goal of developing good citizens. These doubts emanated from recent trends and evidence from studies that suggest that products of schools are exhibiting behaviors that are not in tandem with good citizenship as encapsulated in the social studies curriculum (Ajiboye, 2009; Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). The National Commission on Education (1993) also documented an outcry from the Botswana public about the moral decay prevalent among the youths that was not aligned to the Setswana culture hence negating the efforts of developing good citizens that are ideal to Botswana.

The social studies teachers’ understanding of educating students for citizenship in a democracy is crucial to the achievement of the major goal of social studies since they are the ones at the frontline of any curriculum implementation and have a moral and social obligation of preparing future citizens (Schoeman, 2005; Kubow, 2007). This view is in line with Thornton’s (2005) characterization of teachers as curricular-instructional gatekeepers which basically reflects their well known role as controllers of what is taught and how that is taught in their classrooms. Sim (2008) reinforces the teachers’ role by
asserting that a large part of how teachers tend the gates hinges on how they understand the subject, and in this case citizenship. Like in many developing countries, the discourse on citizenship education in Botswana is still to be implemented by teachers, yet very little is known about what social studies teachers’ think and say and their understandings of citizenship within the Botswana context. It is therefore critical that subject specialist teachers of citizenship and in this case social studies teachers understand what it means. The overall guiding question of this study was: “what are the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy?” In asking this question I hope to explore the teachers’ ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes, experiences and practices in terms of developing citizens in a democracy.

**Rationale for the Study**

Firstly, this study forms a landmark in the history of social studies teaching in Botswana. It is critical at this point in time because it has been forty-one (41) years since the introduction of social studies into the Botswana primary school curriculum and yet no comprehensive evaluation of the impact of the subject on the development of citizenship education has been undertaken. Secondly, although Botswana is a democracy and a model of democracy in Africa, however, very recently some violent traits are emerging among the youth which are not in tandem with the goals of citizenship in Botswana (Ajiboye, 2009; Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). This therefore may suggest that the subject may not be achieving its intended goals. Thirdly, evidence in political participation level among the youth in Botswana also suggests that there is generally voter apathy among the youths (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004) which may be traceable to the way social studies is being taught in the nation schools. It is against this backdrop
that a study on the social studies teachers’ perceptions of educating citizens for democracy becomes imperative as it provides insights on what social studies teachers’ know, their understanding of, and conceptualization of citizenship education.

Furthermore, in Botswana very few studies that are related to this study have been carried out on citizenship education and democracy, most of which focused on secondary levels of education (Jotia, 2006; Adeyemi. Boikhutso and Moffat (2003). Jotia (2006) conducted a study in which he investigated the extent to which the concept of democracy is taught and practiced in junior secondary schools in post-colonial Botswana. The study used qualitative research methods such as interviews, participant observation and document analysis to collect data.

The findings of the study revealed that there is work to be done in Botswana in order to ascertain that schools become spheres of democratic possibilities that can produce informed citizens. The study further identified problems associated with educating for democracy in Botswana schools. It concluded that schools and teachers need to be empowered through relevant pedagogies and democratic practices in order to be able to create democratic spaces in their classrooms. However, the recommendations on pedagogical change tend to advocate for western forms of democratic knowledge such as the use of child centered pedagogies which basically ignore the students’ cultural milieu and context.

Adeyemi, Boikhutso and Moffat (2003) in their study explored the extent to which objectives of citizenship education have been realized in Botswana. The study used interviews and questionnaires to collect data. Focusing on the social studies teachers in junior secondary schools, they found that the majority of teachers felt that the objective
of working to produce good citizens had either been minimally or satisfactorily achieved. The teachers stated that the use of the inquiry method and group work was perceived as particularly effective methods of teaching citizenship. The study further showed that teachers felt that they had undergone sufficient training to effectively teach the concepts in citizenship education. The study did not corroborate the teachers’ interviews to ascertain if such methods are being used in the classrooms. Furthermore, it is surprising that the authors recommend the restructuring of pre-service and in-service teacher education programs even though their findings show that teachers are well prepared to teach citizenship education.

Harber (1997b) in advocating for democratic change argues that education in Botswana and elsewhere in Africa must confront the questions about the sort of people and society they want to create. His argument is that if democracy in Africa is going to survive, it must be sustained by a political culture that is supportive of democratic values, skills and behaviors that include the ability of citizens to participate directly and indirectly in decision making processes. In light of a few studies carried out in Botswana that are related to my study on citizenship education, this study is perhaps the first of its kind and is intended to narrow the gap in research since very little or no research has been carried out in this area at primary education level in Botswana.

Last but not least, this study comes in the wake of the Botswana government’s commitment to the development of informed citizens in a democracy through the teaching of social studies at both primary and junior secondary levels of education (Ministry of Education (MoE), 2005). In pursuance of the Botswana government’s commitment to citizenship education in a democracy, a study of this nature becomes
crucial in view of the fact that informed democratic citizens do not spring from nowhere and that democracy is not genetically inherited. Democracy has to be learned, practiced and nurtured if we aim to produce informed citizens in a democracy (Harber and Serf, 2006).

**Research Questions**

This study sought to answer the question on: “What are the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy?” The following broad research questions that have been generated from the major research question were used to guide this study;

1. What do social studies teachers think and say about citizenship education in Botswana primary schools? This involved understanding the teachers’ views, beliefs, attitudes, values and experiences with regards to citizenship education in Botswana. Basically trying to understand how they make meaning of or interpret citizenship education in Botswana. The social studies teachers’ understanding of citizenship education is crucial to the attainment of the major goal of teaching social studies and in this case the development of citizens in a democracy.

2. How do social studies teachers prepare students for citizenship in a democracy? Here, the intent was to learn from teachers about their instructional methods in their classrooms on citizenship education. The notion of educating citizens in a democracy is vital as the way teachers understand citizenship affects the way they instruct.

3. Are there any issues or problems in the schools regarding citizenship education, if any, what can be done to improve the situation? The identification of challenges
faced by the social studies teachers’ paves way for instructional recommendations that may impact on the delivery of the subject.

4. What are the curricular and other implications of the findings for developing citizens in Botswana?

Theoretical Framework

This study used a postcolonial lens to highlight that mainstream academic knowledge in post colonial societies continue to ignore, marginalize and suppress other forms of knowledge systems and ways of knowing (Chilisa, 2005). The marginalization of local knowledge systems that relegated all things indigenous as unworthy, uncivilized, barbaric and superstitious was established during the colonial era (Chilisa, 2005). Western forms of cultural, economic, political and social systems were institutionalized during the colonial era and continue to be maintained during the post-independence times. This study on social studies teachers’ perceptions of educating citizens in a democracy grow out of such concerns about how schools often reinforce or privilege western forms of knowing and knowledge construction.

African post-colonial scholars have argued that citizenship education as practiced has been imposed on Africans by Western countries without any consideration of their local cultures and the contexts (Abdi, Ellis, and Sizha, 2005; Abdi, 2008; Divala, 2007; Chachange, 2001). There is much talk based on the emerging world perspectives on global citizenship, that it is difficult because;

…Africans are fundamentally deprived vis-à-vis the rest of the world, their citizenship is also less fluid, politically disenfranchised, and , therefore begging to be understood in both quasi-rigid historical and currently deprived (in terms of
citizenship according to fundamental inalienable right) realities (Abdi, Ellis and Sizha, 2005, p.461).

This study becomes critical in that it provides insight on how teachers’ in Botswana conceptualize citizenship, how they prepare their students for their roles as citizens in a democracy. It examines the challenges teachers face in their endeavors to prepare citizens within the Botswana context. The study adopts post colonial theory and draws from orientalism as advocated for by Edward Said. Prior to discussing the theory of orientalism and post colonial theory, I find it imperative to provide a synopsis of the background on the inheritance of colonial education.

The Inheritance of Colonial Education

Scholars have drawn a relationship between formal schooling/education and colonialism arguing that education played a pivotal role in institutionalizing colonialism (Rizvi, and Lingard, 2006; Tickly, 2004; Smith-Crocco, 2005). The inheritance of western educational practices has been seen as a “key institution through which colonial modes of thinking were produced and reproduced and where postcolonial aspirations could also be worked towards” (Rizvi and Lingard, 2006). Therefore, formal schooling reinforced and legitimized the trusteeship status of the colonial master while subjugating the colonized (Tickly, 2004). In his book, The idea of Africa, Mudimbe (1994) highlights how education was used as a space and instrument for inscribing colonial ideology of ‘otherness’.

Mudimbe (1994) further argues that not only was colonization geographical, but also sought to colonize the minds. The colonizers entrusted the missionaries with education and they used the bible to further relegate the colonized to subordination and
domination as well as alienating their students from their cultures and people. Christianity is said to have created an “African Otherness” by labeling Africans as “barbarians, savages, uncivilized” non-believers who had to leave their cultures to appropriate the Christian faith (Chilisa, 2005). In this case education was used as a disciplinary tool that was divisive in terms of loyalties and identities. This further gave the colonizer the power and control over the colonized.

Not only were the colonizers ways of exerting their power through education complicated, they also appeared to be marred by confusion. There are three ways in which colonial schooling and its effects were also confusing in that:

1. The experience differed slightly with respect to differing colonizing powers and contexts
2. The effects of schooling on those who were subject to it was to produce a bifurcation, a split in the loyalties and identities of the colonized that Fanon (1970) captures so vividly in his metaphor of Black skins white masks.
3. The spread of the western episteme based on Eurocentric conceptions of human nature and of social reality, led in some cases to the development of oppositional discourses although these were inevitably couched within a western discursive framework, most usually either liberalism or maxism (Tickly, 2004, p.188).

McCarthy (1998) augments the ruthlessness and ambiguity of colonial education by explaining how it tended to reproduce colonial effects that were seemingly untouched by indigenous cultures or movements, often characterized by the absence of the subjects’ voices and cultural practices.
Even though education was used as a tool for colonization and decolonization, it is imperative to consider the curriculum choices as they can either sustain imperialist ways of engaging the world and open up a middle ground between ethnocentrism and cultural relativism (Smith-Crocco, 2005). Smith-Crocco (2005) further argues that western authors and social studies teachers in particular, use approaches that are based on western cultural values. Merryfield and Subedi (2006) also speak to the way Europeans have managed to project their perspectives, myths and misinformation upon the ‘other’ and how they have exoticed those considered ‘other’ (Smith-Crocco, 2005) specifically to the Asians, Africans and other populations that were oppressed. This interaction as discussed by Said (1978) and wa Thiong’o (1981) led to the erasure of the culture of those oppressed and were made to view their culture as inferior and the culture of the colonizers as superior hence developing a dichotomized way of seeing things. This is well captured in the assertion that:

The biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environments, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement … it even plants serious doubts about the moral righteousness of the struggle (wa Thiong’o, 1981, p. 3).

One of the prominent literary scholars who has written a lot on issues of representation, popular culture, the media, the colonial formations of knowledge and imperialism is Edward Said (Razvi and Lingard, 2006).
Said’s work on *Orientalism* has helped to understand and unpack the subtleties of the *modus operandi* of colonialism and neocolonialist aspirations. The contention is that Said’s work on *Orientalism* has been used by theorists to address the issues of education in both colonial and post colonial settings in areas such as policy, curriculum and pedagogy (Rizvi and Lingard, 2006). However, Scholars have pointed out that even though Said’s work has contributed a lot to contemporary thought, he did not write about education in any direct manner (Razvi and Lingard, 2006; Tickly, 2004). Several authors have argued that colonialism did not end during the decolonization era but rather that it has continued to be manifested and exercised in new ways. One of the ways in which colonialism is seen to be perpetuated is through the new imperialism (Tickly, 2004; Hamdan, 2008).

Imperialism is defined as “the practice, theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory” (Said, 1993, p.8). He further draws a relationship between imperialism and colonialism that colonialism has always preceded imperialism and paved way for it to be realized. However, Harvey (2003) views the new imperialism as “a contradictory fusion of politics of state and empire” (Tickly, 2004, p. 174). Tickly (2004) elaborates on the concept of the new imperialism that it is based on the economic power relations associated with the “actions and interests of transnational corporations (TNCs), the workings of global financial markets, the development of new forms of production based on new technologies and globalization of the labor market.

It is argued that “in our time, direct colonialism has largely ended; imperialism, as we shall see, lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices” (Said, 1978, p.8). To
emphasize the renewal of colonialism emerging as the new imperialism, Said (2002) in his book *Covering Islam* which was published after September 11 in Rizvi and Lingard (2006) argued “that the Orientalist focus on Islam in American and Western media is characterized by even ‘more exaggerated and belligerent hostility’” showing that the “Orientalist legacy has not disappeared and its resources are readily called upon in the exercise of power” (p.297).

Razvi (2004) brings the discussion of globalization and its relationship to low-income countries and postcolonial societies to the forefront. Tickly (2004) on the other hand provides an analysis of globalization which uncovers the various formations of global western hegemony. Much has been discussed about the nature and extent to which some nations still have authority to deal with their policy desires which often marginalizes low-income countries within the framework of globalization. It is argued that;

Not only do international organizations like the World Bank and OECD now have the capacity to constrain national policy options, a new global hegemonic discourse of education also limits policy innovation at local and national levels.

Whatever the debates, it is clear that global processes can no longer be overlooked when determining or analyzing educational policies (Rizvi, 2004:158).

It is interesting to note how the debates about globalization have developed with some in support of it as a new order and others seeing it as doom, however, its potential to perpetuate the uni-directional ways of cultural flow from the West to the Rest cannot be underestimated as already demonstrated by numerous postcolonial analysis (Razvi, 2004). The new role of education is to reinforce the new imperialism by limiting the
capacity of low-income countries to determine their educational agenda (Tickly, 2004). Furthermore, given the continued hegemony of western texts, materials and resources, it is likely that “education will continue to serve as a basis for a Eurocentric kind of education for most of the world’s children” (Tickly, 2004, p.190).

Orientalism

In order to put the notion of post coloniality into perspective, it is important that I draw a relationship between postcolonial theory and orientalism and how they relate to education and knowledge construction in post colonial societies. Orientalism is often regarded as a reference point of postcolonial theory in that it directs its attention to the discursive and textual production of colonial meanings and the concomitant consolidation of colonial hegemony (McCarthy, 1998). This study of colonial discourse (Orientalism) through Said’s work has often been seen to be emancipatory as it gave voice to the voiceless and the marginalized as well as unpacking the subtleties of colonialism and imperialism. Said (1978) in his book “Orientalism’ provides three definitions of orientalism that are critical in understanding the different facets of colonialism. From the three definitions I adopt the third one which states that:

Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient-dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient ( Said, 1978: 3).

This definition provides a vivid picture of how colonialism operated and how the European culture was imposed on the Orient in order to manage and produce the Orient
politically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-
enlightenment period (Said, 1978). This definition is viewed as “the production of a self-
reinforcing and self-propelling field of knowledge and inquiry-the production of expertise
and authority about the “Orient” and “Occident” (Dimitriadis, 2006, p.371). This
envisioning of colonialism led Said to further assert that due to Orientalism, the Orient
was neither a free subject of thought nor action in his own life.

*Post Colonial Theory*

Post colonial theory advocates for a number of issues in relation to education that
range from “decolonizing knowledge and the production of transformative knowledge”,
mapping out the manifestations of power of the west, and “locates how the dichotomous
representation of the world, establishes a rigid division between local/global,
citizen/foreigner, civilized/uncivilized, and also challenges the discourse of nationalism”
(Subedi and Daza, 2008, p.2). This querying nature of post colonial theory makes it
undoubtedly an invaluable tool for the analysis and unpacking of the perpetual legacy of
colonialism and its forceful mechanisms since the nineteenth century imperialism left
very few places on earth untouched by colonialism (Said, 1993. p. 259).

*Knowledge Construction and Production*

One of the issues discussed in post colonial theory is that of how knowledge is
constructed, produced and reproduced. Dimitriadis (2006) in discussing the western
modes of domination borrows from Said that it is “about the production of a self-
reinforcing and self-propelling field of knowledge and inquiry-the production of expertise
and authority about “the Orient” and “the Occident” (p.371). He further argues that Said
was concerned about how this knowledge and authority is produced and disseminated.
Said discussed how individual writers used texts to authorize their own place at the expense of the Orient and assembling these texts as self-evident truth. This expert knowledge was often presented in dichotomous terms of The Orient/ The Occident, First world/Third world often portraying the west as superior and the “other” as inferior (Merryfield, 2001). This assertion is well placed within Said’s argument that;

The representations of the ‘Orient’ in European literary texts, travelogues and other writings contributed to the creation of a dichotomy between Europe and its ‘others’, a dichotomy that was central to the creation of European culture as well as the maintenance and extension of European hegemony over other lands (Loomba, 1998: 44)

It is this body of expert knowledge that often appeared as neutral and indifferent that crafted “for Said, a fantasy about the Orient that has effectively served to underscore and support the dominance of the West” (Dimitriadis, 2006, p. 372).

Knowledge about the Orient is often portrayed in stereotypical and exotic forms as explained in Razvi and Lingard (2006) where “the Arabs” were depicted as irrational, menacing, violent, untrustworthy, anti-Western, and dishonest. Loomba (1998) augments this idea and argues that Said was critical about these binary oppositions in that “the colonized people are irrational, Europeans are rational; if the former are barbaric, sensual and lazy, Europe is civilization itself, with its sexual appetites under control and its …” (Loomba, 1998, p.47) and as such legitimized the western forms of knowledge and their hegemonic ideas. Said notes that these oppositional binaries and stereotypes are meant to confirm the necessity and desirability of the colonial governments’ superiority of the West over the inferiority of the East (Ghandi, 1998).
Said’s project was basically meant to show how “knowledge” about non-Europeans was part of the process of maintaining power over them, “thus the status of ‘knowledge’ is demystified, and the lines between the ideological and the objective blurred” (Loomba, 1998, p.45). Rizvi and Lingard (2006) opine that this Foucauldian idea of knowledge as power can be found throughout Said’s critique. They further justify the need for the Occident’s knowledge of the Orient that by knowing the Orient they could learn how to dominate distant territories and cultures not only militarily, economically and politically but also culturally in order to self-justify and rationalize their desire to pursue imperial power and hegemonic ideas.

The educational legacy of imperialism has “shaped many of our ideas about education, a legacy that continues to play a small but significant part in what the young learn of the world” (Willinsky, 1998, p. 5). McCarthy (1998) identifies work from some writers where the colonial legacy lives on in the imperial text through reproducing neo colonial effects with no accounts of the indigenous voices and their cultural practices. The debate on the use of texts as profound mechanisms for the making and functioning of colonialism is eloquently explained where certain texts are accorded:

The authority of academics, institutions, and governments….Most important, such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe it. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it (Said, 1978, p. 94).
The use of texts is explicated as we are reminded that in relation to Africa, the western epistemological order remains as both context and referent (Mudimbe, 1994). This is exhibited in how the postcolonial intellectuals of Africa have now become the promoters of English language hence systematically annihilating indigenous languages and continuing the legacy of colonialism (wa Thiong’o, 1981). For instance, in Africa and Botswana in particular, textbooks are important sources of knowledge and are viewed by both teachers and students as embodiments of knowledge. They serve as ‘the most convenient source of instruction about detailed objectives of typical educational programs’ and the authors to these texts are often alien and detached from the people’s everyday life situations (Mhlauli, 2000).

Loomba (1998) brings an interesting point into the discussion of colonialism and knowledge production, by reminding us that the colonialist production of knowledge was not a simple process. She argues that this production of knowledge included a clash with and a marginalization of the knowledge and the belief system of those conquered and some opposition from their home. The colonizers used different strategies to produce knowledge about the colonized. One of the strategies as stated by Loomba (1998) involved the colonized through negotiation and incorporation.

She argues that colonial knowledge production would not have been successful without the involvement of the colonized, a phenomenon that she refers to as “an alien scaffolding”. She asserts that such knowledge was produced through negotiation and incorporation of the indigenous ideas; practically they depended on the natives to access the “new” lands and their secrets. It is through this knowledge gained from the indigenous people that “colonial landscapes were, after all, penetrated, mapped and
annexed literally on the shoulders of the local inhabitants” (Loomba, 1998, p.67).

Another strategy used was where they brought western ideas to bear both upon the nature and the culture of the colonized lands. Loomba (1998) cites Richard Grove who has documented the profound dependence of western ideas about the natural world on the knowledge of the indigenous peoples and how they learned about modern conservation through the encounter with the tropics. Said on the other hand brings in the idea of an intellectual and argues that they are not theoretical machines but are a result of their own location in the world. He suggested a “view that cultures, histories and literatures are inherently hybrid which is a result of overlapping and interdependent traditions of thought and practice.” He believed that “any constructions of purity of categories are fictions, power/knowledge manifestations” (Razvi and Lingard, 2006, p. 301). It is this notion of hybridity that brings us to the notion of assessing how citizenship education is understood by social studies teachers within the Botswana context that can be used to decolonize colonial knowledge that has been constructed and reproduced over centuries.

**Methodology and Research Design**

*Qualitative Inquiry*

My study employed a qualitative research design primarily because it provides the opportunity to observe selected informants’ daily interactions and behaviors in their natural setting. Qualitative research is said to be multi-method in focus which involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Creswell, 1998). In this case,
social studies teachers were observed in their natural setting which is their schools and classrooms to try and understand their values, beliefs and experiences on citizenship education in Botswana.

Rather than reporting statistics, qualitative research enables the researcher to present the results in a narrative fashion, rich with descriptive data, emergent themes and story lines (Patton, 1990). The rationale behind qualitative inquiry is based on the premise that behavior is significantly influenced by the context within which it occurs. Creswell (1998) agrees that qualitative research is undertaken “in a natural setting where the researcher is an instrument of data collection who gathers words or pictures, analyzes them inductively, focuses on the meaning of participants, and describes a process that is expressive and persuasive in language”(p.14).

Some Key Characteristics of Qualitative Inquiry

1. Events can be understood adequately only if they are seen in context, therefore, a qualitative researcher immerses her/himself in the setting (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984)
2. The contexts of inquiry are natural and nothing is predefined or taken for granted
3. Qualitative researchers want those studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives in words and other actions (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984)
4. The aim of qualitative research is to understand experience as a whole/unified form
5. Qualitative research is inductive, that is, researchers develop insights and understanding from data rather that collecting data from preconceived models, hypotheses or theories. Therefore, in qualitative studies the research design is flexible (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984)
6. Methods of qualitative inquiry are for studying people in whatever setting one encounters them (Patton, 1990).

7. The primary instrument in qualitative inquiry is the investigator (Patton, 1990)

**Naturalistic Paradigm**

In this study I adopted the naturalistic inquiry paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Naturalistic inquiry is said to demand a natural setting. This is so because “phenomena of study, whatever they may be—physical, chemical, biological, social, psychological—take their meaning as much from their contexts as they do from themselves” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, 189). Lincoln and Guba contend that naturalistic inquirers begin their research with the belief that constructions of realities cannot be separated from the world in which they occur or are experienced therefore emphasizing the relationship between time and context to understanding the phenomena under study.

**Key Characteristics of Naturalistic Inquiry**

Lincoln and Guba (1985) provide key characteristics that underpin naturalistic inquiry and these include the following:

1. Research is carried out in a natural setting or context
2. The human instrument is the primary data gathering instrument
3. Utilization of tacit knowledge in addition to propositional knowledge
4. Use of qualitative methods to capture multiple realities
5. Favors purposive sampling over random sampling
6. Prefers inductive data analysis since it allows for the identification of multiple realities in the data
7. Use of grounded theory to allow substantive theory to emerge from the data
8. Allow the research design to emerge (Emergent Design)

9. Prefers negotiated outcomes, that is to say, meanings and interpretations of the data are negotiated with the respondents.

10. Prefers the case study reporting mode because of its adaptation to a description of multiple realities.

The applications of these characteristics in the study were beneficial in shaping my understanding of the natural phenomena being studied and also provided flexibility on how the study was conducted. These key characteristics and how they align to my study on social studies teachers’ perceptions of educating citizens in a democracy are discussed in detail in the methodology chapter.

**Participants Selection**

In this study, I used purposive sampling to select the social studies teachers who participated in my study. This type of sampling requires that one establishes a criteria, bases, or standards necessary for units to be included in the investigation (Patton, 1990). I used set criteria for the identification of social studies teachers in *Maretlweng* (pseudonym) primary schools as articulated below.

*Criteria for Selecting Social Studies Teachers*

I selected the teachers following the criteria below:

1. Area of specialization during teacher education should be social studies

2. Knowledge about primary social studies curriculum and citizenship education in Botswana

3. Evidence of substantive teaching for at least three years

4. Varied views about purposes and practices of citizenship education in Botswana
5. Encourage students to expand learning beyond the classroom.

The criteria that I used to select the teachers was effective in that it allowed me to choose participants who were regarded as knowledgeable and experienced in the area of social studies and citizenship education.

There are different strategies used in purposive sampling and in this study I used snowball or chain sampling to select the participants. The teachers who were identified at the beginning were requested to refer the researcher to other teachers in other schools who met the set criteria. After identifying such teachers, I interviewed them individually to get the final group that participated in the study. I then requested those I identified as potential participants if they could participate in the study. For a period of twelve weeks beginning January, 04, 2010 to April, 04, 2010, I traveled between Maretlweng (pseudonyms) schools to collect data in the form of individual interviews, participant observations, focus groups, and documents collection for analysis from eleven social studies teachers.

**Data Analysis**

This study adopted grounded theory techniques for data analysis. Data analysis involves making sense of what the researcher has seen, heard, and read. It also requires analyzing, categorizing, synthesizing, searching for patterns and interpreting the data (Glesne, 1999). Data were analyzed inductively using the constant comparative analysis (Merriam, 1998, Patton, 1990) where I collected the data, transcribed, coded and categorized them in order to inform the next interviews and observations. In explaining constant comparative analysis it is stated that it “combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all social incidents observed and coded (LeCompte
and Preissle, 1993, p.256). Data analysis took place at the same time with data collection and I constantly used the questions raised during transcription to shape the questions for the next interviews. A thorough discussion of the data analysis procedures follows in the methodology chapter.

**Significance of the Study**

By carrying out a study on teachers’ perceptions of citizenship education, I contributed to the body of knowledge on citizenship education. Whereas all studies focused on secondary education, this is perhaps the first study that focused on citizenship education at primary school level. The findings of the study have shown that teachers’ conceptualize citizenship in multiple ways. Furthermore, the findings of the study have revealed enormous contradictions, paradoxes and challenges in the way citizenship education is perceived, practiced and enacted in Botswana primary schools. The study therefore, provides an understanding on citizenship education and can inform teachers, teacher educators, curriculum developers and policy-makers on citizenship education, its meaning and learning in schools if they are to develop citizens who can operate in an ever changing globally interconnected world that exists today.

The relationship between democracy and citizenship cannot be underestimated. All the stakeholders have to be reminded that democracy is not inborn, it has to be learned, sharpened and reshaped in order to direct the citizens’ values and orientation, and this could be achieved through education especially social studies hence the findings of this study provide empirical evidence of the level of attainment of citizenship goals in Botswana. The findings from this study have implications for theory and practice of citizenship education in Botswana, specifically with regards to teacher orientation and
classroom practice. Furthermore, the findings have implications for curriculum reform and innovation.

**Limitations of the Study**

Firstly, due to time and resource constraints, the study was limited to twelve weeks of data collection since it is transnational and that the researcher had limited time accorded for the completion of her studies. Secondly, the study was sponsored by my employer, (University of Botswana) which is currently experiencing some budget deficits. My identity as a *Motswana* and teacher educator was a limitation in that I may have been deprived of some information as some teachers felt that I was one of those government officials who has come to evaluate their work. My cultural biases as well may have influenced the study and data collection in some way as at times I found myself not following on certain issues because I thought I understood what the teachers were saying. For example, at times when teachers talked about cultural issues such as their beliefs in ancestral spirits, or their work conditions, I found myself unable to make a follow up immediately because I thought I knew what they were talking about, which was basically wrong since I am not them.

Lastly, data collection was done in Botswana, and the inadequacy of technological equipments including internet services and power outages had a major impact on the data collection process. There is serious power shortage in Botswana and as such they implemented power shedding where we often experienced power blackouts. This affected my study in that I could not read nor use a computer if there is no electricity. This study was limited to eleven social studies teachers in six selected primary schools in *Marethweng* (Pseudonym) village in the central district in Botswana
and was not a representative sample of the social studies teachers in Botswana; hence the results cannot be generalized to the whole population.

**Background Information on Botswana and its Context**

Botswana is situated in the heart of Southern Africa and is bordered by South Africa to the South, Namibia to the South West, Zambia to the North and Zimbabwe to the North East (Map Studio, 2007) (*See Appendix A and B*). Botswana gained independence from Great Britain in 1966 and has since held elections every five years. Prior to independence, Botswana was called Bechuanaland Protectorate. Botswana is about 586 square kilometers in land size which is comparatively the size of France or Texas (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). It is a landlocked country and depends to a large extent on the South African ports for its exports and imports as well as the Walvis Bay in Namibia. Botswana has a semi arid climate characterized by very warm winters and hot summers (Nyathi-Ramahobo, 2000). Botswana’s development is guided by the five national principles of Democracy, Development, Unity, Self Reliance (National Education Commission, 1977) and “*Botho*” which translated means “being humane”.

Botswana has been referred to in many quarters as a “shining example of democracy in Africa” (Patterson, 2006; Saugestad, 2001) and has experienced rapid economic growth over the years. This is reinforced by the following dictum that; “Four decades of uninterrupted civilian leadership, progressive social policies, and significant capital investment have created one of the most dynamic economies in Africa. Mineral extraction, principally diamond mining, dominates economic activity, though tourism is a growing sector due to the country’s conservation practices and extensive nature preserves” ([https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/bc.html](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/bc.html)).
There is no doubt that Botswana has made tremendous strides towards economic and social development given that at independence in 1966, it was one of the poorest countries in the world with no infrastructural developments at all. It is one of those countries which inherited a backlog of poverty from the colonial legacy. The population of Botswana is around 1.9 million of which 79% are Tswana speaking, 11% are Kalanga Speaking, 3% are Basarwa, and other groups including Bakgalagadi and the whites make up 7% (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000; Wagner, 2006; https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/bc.html). The statistics given clearly indicate that there is diversity in the composition of the Botswana society, an issue that has been either ignored or avoided over time. However, Botswana is viewed as a homogeneous society, a position adopted at independence geared towards national unity rather than diversity (Saugestad, 2001).

The ethnic groups in Botswana comprise of Setswana and Non-Setswana speaking groups. Among the Setswana speaking groups are Bangwato, Bakgatla, Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Batawana, Batswapong, Babirwa, Batlokwa, Bakgalagai, Balete, Barolong, Bateti, and Bangologa. The Non-Setswana speaking ethnic groups include the Basarwa (Bushmen, San, N/oaKwe), Bambukushu, Basubiya, Bakalanga and Bayei (Map Studio, 2007). The diversity in the ethnic groups, cultures and languages calls for attention and the need for a curriculum that takes into account issues of multicultural education. The idea of a mono-cultural society adopted at independence can no longer be sustained because as the nation grows, pertinent issues of diversity and equity become inevitable.
Previously the constitution of Botswana divided people according to ‘major’ and ‘minor’ ethnic groups. The “so called major ethnic groups” were made up of the eight main Tswana speaking ethnic groups that were recognized by the colonial administration mainly; Bangwato, Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Bakgatla, Batawana, Batlokwa, Balete and Barolong. These groups were referred to as major ethnic groups not because they were many in terms of numerical standards but because of the language they speak, which is Setswana and were the only ones represented in the House of Chiefs, a situation that has contributed to ethnic tension in the country (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). The other groups were regarded as minor and were subordinate to the major ethnic groups. The treatment of certain ethnic groups as ‘major’ and others as ‘minor’ in the constitution basically negates the essence of social equity and is an act of discrimination and prejudice, a situation that should be abhorred within a democratic nation as Botswana.

The recognition of some ethnic groups as major and the marginalization of the so called minor ethnic groups is problematic in that it negatively impacts on their identity as Batswana and makes other citizens in Botswana to be of a lesser citizenship. This has implications for the curriculum and classroom practice as it instills in children the notion of superiority and inferiority complex at a tender age. It further dismisses and omits other children’s experiences and cultures as they are not part of the curriculum therefore, creating in them a lower self-esteem. The curriculum domesticates some children as it promotes inequalities by introducing students to one world or another which helps to reproduce the divisions that mark off various “thems” and “us” (Parker, 2004).

These minor ethnic groups have formed pressure group associations that are meant to deal with promoting and preserving their cultures and languages. Examples of
such associations are the Society of the Promotion of Ikalanga Language (SPILL) for the Bakalanga, Kamanakao Association for the Wayeyi and First Peoples of the Kalahari for the Basarwa. All these associations fall under the umbrella of the Botswana Council of Non- Governmental Organizations (BOCONGO). BOCONGO is the mother body of Non-Governmental organizations in Botswana and its role is threefold; to assist its members in areas such as 1. Policy, research and advocacy 2. Capacity building and 3. Net-working and information dissemination (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). One of these “so called” minority ethnic groups that have generated a lot of debate and discussion worldwide is the Basarwa/ San.

According to Wagner (2006) at independence in 1966, the Government of Botswana declared that its people will be called “Batswana” regardless of their ethnicity in view of developing a unified nation with one identity. The decision was largely influenced by the history and practices of the then apartheid regime in South Africa that had torn the ethnic groups in that country apart and followed a policy of segregation that divided people on the basis of race (Wagner, 2006). However, Nyati- Ramahobo and Chebanne (2004) refute the notion that Botswana is a homogeneous society and assert that Botswana is a multicultural society with more than twenty-six languages spoken in the country.

However, the post colonial ideology of national unity which downplayed issues of difference has led to the marginalization of the other ethnic groups and their languages resulting in the spread of Setswana as a lingua franca in the country. The quest for national unity has resulted in the subsequent suppression of other languages and cultures
by deliberately adopting assimilationist policies that characterize post independent Botswana (Nyati-Ramahobo & Chebanne, 2004; Maruatona, 2005).

These assimilationist policies can no longer be sustained in the 21st Century. UNESCO (1995) emphasizing on issues of diversity argues that “attempts at ‘nation building’ through making groups homogeneous are neither desirable nor feasible” (p.1). It is interesting to note that despite the official invisibility of the non-Setswana speaking groups and the promotion of a monolingual and mono-cultural state, these other marginalized languages have managed to survive and are still spoken in different areas in Botswana today. Some of these marginalized languages such as Ikalanga have a standard orthography and have re-translated the New Testament into Ikalanga, have a news letter and publications (Nyati-Ramahobo & Chebanne, 2004; Wagner, 2006).

The discussion on the hegemonic assimilationist policies in Botswana geared towards national unity and identity are a clear indication that issues of diversity and equity have to a large extent been ignored, and this signals a departure from the Vision for the 21st century as articulated in the World Commission on Culture and Development Report entitled “Our Creative Diversity” that seek to promote cultural diversity among global communities by advocating for the replacement of prejudice, discrimination and domination with tolerance, fruitful co-existence and equity (UNESCO, 1995). The report further sees a commitment to pluralism as a fundamental characteristic of societies. It is against this backdrop that citizenship education needs to be explored within the Botswana context if indeed social studies is to achieve its major goal of developing citizens who are knowledgeable, skilled and equipped with desirable attitudes and values.
Organization of the Remaining Chapters

In the remaining parts of this work, I present the chapters that make up this dissertation. In chapter 2, I present the literature review which is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the international review of literature on social studies and citizenship education. The second part deals with the literature review on social studies and citizenship education in Africa. Chapter 3 focuses on the Methodology, research design, data collection methods and problems encountered during data collection as well as introducing schools and participants. Chapter 4 focuses on Botswana and citizenship education, primarily to put the context of citizenship education into perspective and provide an understanding of the basis of the findings. Chapter 5 presents the first three findings from the study in a thematic form. Chapter 6 presents the last four findings of the study. Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the findings, implications of the study and recommendations for further research.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the background of the study by providing a synopsis of the overview of the study and this includes the statement of the problem, purpose of study, rationale for the study, research questions, theoretical framework, methodology, significance and limitations of study. A brief overview of Botswana is also provided for purposes of putting the study into context for readers not familiar with my country, Botswana.
**Definition of Operational Terms**

The following terms are defined as used in the study to provide the readers with their contextual meaning in this dissertation work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active citizen</td>
<td>Type of citizen who participates in the affairs of the community, nation and world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batswana</td>
<td>People who are <em>Botswana</em> nationals, Singular is <em>Motswana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Botho</em>/Ubuntu</td>
<td>An all embracive moral concept that fosters the spirit of humanness, respect, cooperation, empathy, dignity, social justice and collectiveness. Also referred to as <em>Ubuntu</em> in <em>Zulu</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizenship</td>
<td>A sense of belonging that begins with one’s ethnicity and extends to the community, nation/ state or world. A sense of identity which, in the national space, would include people’s rights, obligations, political participation, and relative adherence to societal values and expectations (Abdi, 2008, p.158)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>Democracy involves giving each mature person a voice in the running of affairs and the chance to participate, directly or through representatives, in decisions affecting his work. (Education for Kagisano, 1977, p. 25). System of government that represents the people and responds to their needs and expectations, and that would essentially be</td>
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undergirded by a transparent process of public responsibility and accountability (Ali, 2008)

**Democratic citizen** Someone who has knowledge of democratic processes, possesses skills for civic engagement and democratic values of respect for individual and group identities and concern for the greater good (Kahne and Westheimer, 2006)

**Education for democracy** Type of education that fosters democratic ideals in the classroom characterized by discussion, deliberation, debate and decision making (Parker, 2001)

**Good Citizen** Type of citizen who abides by the law, responsible, patriotic, loyal, rational, and participative and posses the qualities of “Botho”

**Perceptions** What teachers think and say (views, beliefs and experiences)

**Gaborone** Capital City of Botswana

**Maretlweng** Pseudonym for a village used for the study found in the Central District Council

**Semi-Urban** Place that has combined characteristics of a village and town

**Setswana** National language of Botswana whilst English is the official language. National language is the language spoken by all people of Botswana regardless of their ethnicity
which was adopted at independence in order to promote national unity. English is the language that is used for official purposes as it is the international language of commerce.

*Tswana Groups*  
Refers to those Tswana-speaking ethnic groups that belong to the eight ethnic groups mentioned in the constitution of Botswana, namely, *Bangwato, Barolong, Bakwena, Bamalete, Bakgatla, Batawana, Batlokwa and Bangwaketse*.

*Kagisano*  
Means social harmony and is the totality of all the national principles in Batswana. It embraces democracy, development, unity, self reliance and *botho* which combined form *Kagisano*. *Kagisano* encompasses social justice and community and mutual responsibility.  
(Education for *Kagisano*, 1977)

*Ikalanga*  
Language of the *Bakalanga*, an ethnic group in *Botswana*.

*Tswana Society*  
Used loosely to refer to all Batswana in the traditional sense.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON SOCIAL STUDIES AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history in the United States, social studies is one of the subjects within the K-12 school curriculum that has been charged with the responsibility of preparing citizens in a democracy so as to equip them with the knowledge, skills and values necessary for active participation (Adler and Sim, 2008; Ross, 2006; Hahn, 2001; Engle and Ochoa, 1988). The affinity between democracy, social studies and citizenship education cannot be underestimated or ignored because the success of any democracy lies on the ability of its citizens to live up to their responsibilities as members of a free society (Jarolimek and Parker, 1984). In fact some scholars have often equated social studies to citizenship education (Adler and Sim, 2008; Evans, 2004) and there appears to be agreement that citizenship education is the major goal of social studies (Ross, 2006; Evans, 2006; Hahn, 2001; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). However, a contentious and rigorous debate surrounds what citizenship education is and what it ought to do and its pedagogy on preparing citizens (Adler and Sim, 2008; Hahn, 2001).
The purpose of this chapter is to review literature on the role of social studies in the development of effective citizens in a democracy. The chapter is divided into two broad parts. The first part reviews literature on social studies and citizenship education from an international perspective. The second part reviews literature on social studies and citizenship education in Africa. The first part is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the background on social studies as a curriculum subject within the United States by first defining social studies, providing a brief history of the field, its goals and purposes and what it means to be an effective citizen within the United States. It further looks at theories of citizenship and teacher perspectives of citizenship education. It is through this background that one can begin to understand the relevance of social studies in the development of citizens within a democracy given that maintaining a democracy is not an easy task (Parker and Jarolimek, 1984).

The second section focuses on the role of social studies in developing citizens by looking at knowledge, skills, dispositions and experiences that effective citizens need to possess in a democracy. The notion of developing citizens in a democracy is based on the principle that “the success of a democracy, the endurance of its institutions, and the fulfillment of its vision, rests squarely on the ability of its citizens to face up to the responsibilities required of those who are to enjoy the rights of a free society” (Jarolimek and Parker, 1984; p.5). It is against this backdrop that the role of social studies in the development of effective citizens needs to be explored, cultivated and nurtured, and this becomes the mandate and challenge for social studies education within the school curriculum. The second part of the literature review is divided into two sections. The first section looks at Africa and decolonization, schooling and citizenship education in Africa.
and social studies and citizenship education in Africa. The second section addresses the challenges of implementing social studies in Africa. Lastly a conclusion is drawn based on the discussion in the literature review.

**Citizenship Education: An International Perspective**

This section provides a background on social studies and looks mainly at the definitions, its history in the United States, goals and purposes. It is important to understand how social studies evolved in the United States as it appears to have had a long and turbulent history that has strengthened and reshaped the way it is conceptualized and practiced today. The review of literature from the United States is important to the context of this study because primary education in Botswana is largely influenced by the progressive ideas from the United States. Following the recommendations of the first National Commission on Education (Education for Kagisano, 1977) to improve the quality, effectiveness and relevance of primary education, the Botswana Government sought partnership with the United States Government through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to address such concerns (Tabulawa, 2003).

This collaboration resulted in the birth of the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP). PEIP is credited for the development of the Department of Primary Education at the University of Botswana; a Master’s Degree program in primary education at the University of Botswana; curriculum and institutional development at Primary Teacher Training Colleges now Primary Colleges of Education and an in-service education network (Evans and Knox, 1991). Citizenship education is not taught as an independent subject but it is embedded within the social studies curriculum. Social studies and citizenship education as defined in Botswana draw largely from the position
statements of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in the United States which aims at providing citizens with the knowledge, skills and attitudes for active participation in a multicultural democratic society (Ogunyemi, 2008). In view of these developments, it can be argued that primary education and teacher education in particular are tailored along the United States model of education hence the need to review the literature on social studies and citizenship education in the United States.

Defining the Social Studies

For almost one hundred years now, scholars trapped in that endless maze called “social studies” have labored to project some order or pattern on the chaos around them; but, like the blind man explaining an elephant, perceptions from different vantage points in the field were out of synch… If social studies is what the scholars in the field say it is, it is a schizophrenic bastard child (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977; p.1).

The above quote echoes the difficulties and frustrations that scholars in the field had to endure in an effort to come up with a definition of social studies during its formative years within the United States. It is this debate, characterized by confusion, ambiguity and inconsistencies that have led some of the social studies’ antagonists to tag it with humiliating slogans such as ‘social stew’, ‘social sludge’, or ‘social mess’ (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). It is interesting to note that the major problem in the debate over the definition of social studies has been over the lack of consensus over what the field is or should be (Brophy, 1990). However, scholars contend that social studies has remained an ideological battleground for diverse curricular programs and that the debate over its nature, purpose, content and pedagogy continue to cloud its progress (Ross, 1997:}
2006; Evans, 2004; Hahn, 2001), hence “the field continues to be a hotspot in the culture wars” (Ross, 2006; p.17)

In attempting to define social studies, it would be erroneous for me to omit one of the earliest definitions of social studies that have paved way for numerous definitions that were to follow in subsequent years. This definition is credited to Edgar Wesley, a renowned scholar and advocate of social studies sometimes referred to as “the father of social studies” developed what some scholars have called the most enduring definition of all times (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977; Evans, 2004). Social studies is defined as the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes (Wesley, 1937). It is this definition that has led to social studies to be defined in terms of content as shown in the NCSS Charter that “The term ‘social studies’ … “is used to include history, economics, sociology, civics, geography, and all modifications of subjects whose content as well as aim is social” (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977; p.2).

The authors further opine that it is a result of all these content oriented definitions that social studies was to be conceived as subject matter of the academic disciplines that is somehow “simplified”, “adapted”, “modified” or selected for school instruction. Another earliest definition of social studies is that; “the social studies is an integration of experience and knowledge concerning human relations for the purpose of citizenship education” (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977, p.69). James P. Shaver in his comments and critique on this definition argues that the definition by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) poses some problems for him in that it is vague because it does not make reference to the schooling process hence the need to provide the context within which the “integration of experience and knowledge” occurs. Secondly, they argue that the other problem arises in
the exclusion of collective knowledge and experience and the affective aims in decision making. National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) definition alludes to the fact that:

Social studies is an integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world (Parker, 2001a, p.5)

A thorough analysis of this definition reveals that it addresses both content and purpose unlike the earliest definitions that focused primarily on content. This definition is in tandem with the vision of a powerful social studies teaching and learning as articulated by NCSS (2001) that is geared towards building social understanding and civic efficacy. In this position statement (NCSS, 2001) identifies key features of an ideal social studies teaching and learning that; powerful social studies teaching and learning are meaningful when they are integrative, value-based, and active. NCSS (2001) further extols that “if the nation is to develop fully the readiness of its citizenry to carry forward its democratic traditions, it must support progress toward attainment of the vision of powerful social studies teaching and learning” (p.4). Therefore, social studies is charged with a mammoth task of developing effective citizens in a democracy, a challenging mandate indeed.

**Brief History of Social Studies in the United States**

In discussing the history and origins of social studies, consideration should be noted that its historical accounts are nevertheless in dispute as the field has always been racked by intellectual battles over its purpose, content, and methods since its introduction
as a curriculum subject (Ross, 1997; 2006). The emergence of social studies as a school subject in the early 20th Century has been a contested phenomena over many years.

However, the mega trends in the evolution of social studies can be traced as far back as the late 1880’s when NEA appointed a Committee of Ten to examine all major curricular areas both modern and classical (Evans, 2004). The Committee of Ten made recommendations based on the improvement of teaching methods, use of multiple textbooks, use of discussions and debate in the classroom and readings in various aspects of history. This committee appointed subcommittees among them the History of Ten of the Madison Conference whose task was to consider proper limits of the subject area, methods of instruction, assessment techniques for enhancing pupil achievement, time allocation for the subject and college admission requirements (Evans, 2004). Following objections and criticisms of the recommendations of the Committee of Ten the American Historical Association (AHA) appointed the Committee of Seven in 1896 to consider the status of history in secondary schools. The Report of the Committee of Seven, though comprehensive and thorough fell short in that it advocated for a teaching of history (Evans, 2004).

According to Brophy (1990) the concept “social studies” was coined as the name of the content area in 1916 as a result of the outcome of an influential report by National Education Association (NEA) commission on the reorganization of secondary education. It is this 1916 report that provided a new focus and synthesis of social studies subjects and suggested a pattern of courses that were different from what previously existed (Evans, 2004; Brophy, 1990). It is stated that:
Rather than arbitrarily deciding which subject matter content to be included in the curriculum, the NEA committee members sought to define the goal of public education, then to define the role of social studies curriculum in order to achieve that goal, and finally to use these objectives as the criteria for selecting content from all appropriate academic disciplines (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977, p.25).

The authors’ further state that at that time the NEA report argued that the content area should be informed by several social science disciplines in addition to history, social education should be its primary purpose; content selection must be guided by its personal meaning and relevance to students and its value in preparing the students for citizenship. Its recommendations put more emphasis on current issues, social problems, recent history and, the needs and interests of students (Evans, 2004; Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). The emphasis on students needs was based on Dewey’s philosophy that saw the child’s needs as vital but not determinants of the curriculum (Evans, 2004). These features according to Brophy (1990) have characterized social studies as taught in the elementary schools ever since despite competition among various disciplines for representation in the curriculum.

The NEA Commission (NEA, 1916) had its own successes as well as failures. According to Evans (2004) it was successful in that it:

1. Became the dominant curricular pattern for most of the 20th century
2. The social studies curricular of the 1950’s was largely similar to the 1916 curriculum
3. Social studies was favored over the traditional history program
4. Its emphasis on the broader goals of citizenship education and social efficiency fit the current trends.

5. Its inclusion of the social gospel ethos of both community civics and problems of democracy fit well with American ideals.

Therefore, this 1916 Commission (NEA) is seen to have made a major breakthrough on social studies since it played a unifying role between history and the social science and integrated a body of knowledge and skills, as well as endorsing “functional learning” and accepted citizenship education as the goal of instruction in schools (Evans, 2004).

Efforts to reform social studies into an integrated subject suffered a major setback in 1957 when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik. This set fears among traditionalists and argued for a curriculum that would address the needs of the society. As a reaction to this, the government of the United States sponsored the National Defense of Education Act of 1958 which provided funding for instruction in areas of mathematics, science and foreign languages (Evans, 2004). This led to social studies moving its focus from being an integrated subject to a history oriented subject area.

Birth of National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)

The tensions over the subject matter of social studies fuelled by different camps from history and the social sciences led to a group from Teachers College, Columbia University organizing a “round table” in Chicago on social studies (Evans, 2004). This meeting was organized by Earle Rugg in a letter that cited a “lack of agreement in the subject matter” (Evans, 2004, p.37). Formerly, known as the National Council of Teachers of the Social Studies, NCSS sought to bring consensus and meaning to the subject by coining up a definition that: “social studies” shall include history, government,
economics, geography, and sociology” (Drafts, 1921). It is estimated that by the late 1920’s more than 1,600 members had joined NCSS and it was growing in both membership and influence (Evans, 2004). NCSS has grown both in membership and structure and continues to go strong up to the present day in the United States.

**Evolution of Social Studies**

Since its inception social studies has evolved as a curriculum subject in the United States (Ross, 2006; Brophy, 1990). Advocates for social studies such as Engle (1960) specifically suggested that the purpose of social studies is to be the education for citizenship and that decision making should be substituted with reflective, speculative, thought provoking and an orientation to drawing conclusions. The idea of reflective thinking as an alternative to mainstream social studies has permeated social studies since the 1920s when Dewey emphasized reflective thinking, the core curriculum of the 1930s, the life adjustment-education movement of the 1940s (Brophy, 1990).

A number of programs were launched in the 1960’s and 1970’s in an effort to improve social studies. The “New Social Studies” programs such as Man a Course of Study (MACOS), which was a controversial anthropology-based curriculum for middle grades. Some were the Taba Social Studies Curriculum Project, the Indiana Experiment on Economic Education and Museum Materials and Activities for Teachers and Children (MATCH) program among others, and value education programs of the 1960s. The 1960’s and 1970’s programs emphasized analysis of controversial issues and education for citizen action (Brophy, 1990). Despite the fact that these new social studies programs were well received by university professors; they were not successful in the schools. These materials were criticized for being too demanding for teachers, lack of assimilation
into the existing curriculum, based on content not typically taught and made heavy and unrealistic demands (Brophy, 1990).

The evolution and growth of social studies can also be attributed to the progressive education movement through the works of educationists such as Harold Rugg who had a vision for social studies. Rugg called for a social studies curriculum that would be entirely problem-centered, built around what he called the “American Problem” (Evans, 2004; Thornton, 2005). It was Rugg who played an influential role by calling for the “reconstruction of social studies and argued that the curriculum should be organized around “problems of contemporary life” and an integrated curriculum that abolished the disciplinary borders between geography, history, science, economics and sociology and grouping them under the rubric of social studies (Thornton, 2005; Evans, 2004). The progressive education movement is credited with shaping of the new approach to social studies and more importantly the birth of National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) (Evans, 2004).

The new social studies of the 1960’s advocated for discovery learning, use of modes of inquiry of historians and social scientists, cumulative sequential learning and the use of audio visual materials (Brophy, 1990). All these goals, methods and issues discussed above are a clear indication that social studies as a field of study have had a focus from the beginning and its legacy continues to grow. It also nullifies the contention held by social studies’ critics that the subject is characterized by ambiguity, inconsistencies and intellectual battles (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). It further shows that the debate on the social studies curriculum is a sign of growth that is marked by
different conceptualizations and not a lack of a basic fundamental foundation (Ross, 2006; Brophy, 1990).

According to Brophy (1990) the emphasis of social studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s was on personal development and citizenship education through the use of methods such as class discussion, projects dealing with values conflict and clarifications, moral dilemmas, social and political issues such as racism, the Vietnam war, Watergate and nontraditional topics such as career education, consumer education, urbanization, environmental studies and futurism. The use of games and simulations as well as discussions became very popular with emphasis on learning centers, hands on activities and other methods associated with the open-education movement. Given this preamble, it is possible for one to conclude that the debate over social studies and its definition are indicative of a field that is evolving, characterized by some agreements and disagreements which have made a tremendous impact in education today.

_Social Studies Today_

Looking at the evolution of social studies as a school subject, it has become clear that the subject has grown since its introduction into the curriculum in 1916. The foundations within which social studies was born such as its goals, purposes, methods and content have not changed much over time and reflect the turf wars (Evans, 2004) that have characterized the subject from its embryonic stages. It is important to note that most changes that have occurred were additive and related to the growth of the subject area and how to approach social studies as well as what to emphasize (Ross 2006; Brophy, 1990). Social studies as practiced in America today differ from the past in that there is an emphasis on a balanced and integrated curriculum. The other difference lies in the
emphasis in the development of active citizens who are capable of solving problems at national level and within a globally interdependent world (Ross, 2006)

NCSS (2001) through its position statement identifies key features of ideal social studies teaching and learning that powerful social studies teaching and learning are meaningful when they are integrative, value-based, challenging and active. One other thing that I have realized is that social studies is approached from different angles, no longer is social studies taught based on a single tradition. All the traditions as advocated by Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) such as teaching social studies as citizenship transmission, teaching social studies as a social science and teaching social studies as reflective inquiry (Brophy, 1990) are integrated to provide a holistic curriculum that will develop a well rounded citizen. The observation afore regarding the current practice in social studies shows that each of these approaches though not in opposition, has a different emphasis such as being subject centered, civics-centered and issues centered social studies and that there is a likelihood that a mix of all these orientations would be evident in a school and across individual teachers’ careers (Ross, 2006).

**Goals and Purposes of Social Studies**

Literature reveals that there is an ongoing debate with regards to the purposes and goals of social studies and on how particular social goals can be achieved (Ross, 2006; Brophy, 1990; Sears and Hughes, 1996). This debate on goals and purposes do not in any way act as deterrents towards the articulation of such goals and purposes. The major goal of social studies has been articulated as citizenship education which involves preparing citizens for active participation in a democracy by providing them with the necessary knowledge, skills and values (Adler and Sim, 2008; Ross, 2006; Hahn, 2001; Engle and
Ochoa, 1988). According to NCSS (1979) “The basic goal of social studies education is to prepare young people to be humane, rational, participating citizens in a world that is becoming increasingly interdependent” (Brophy, 1990; p. 361).

The goals of social studies education as outlined by the National Commission on Social Studies in Schools’ Report (1989) revolve around five strands and they are; (a) development of civic responsibility and citizen participation; (b) development of a global perspective through an understanding of students’ life experiences as part of the total human experience, past and present; (c) development of “critical understanding” of the history, geography, and the pluralistic nature of the civil institutions of the United States; (d) development of a multicultural perspective on the world’s peoples through an understanding of their differences and commonalities throughout time and place; (e) development of students’ capabilities for critical thinking about “the human condition”. Mullins (1990) states that these five goals were accompanied by recommendations on the characteristics of what content should be taught in social studies and these included the following:

a) History and geography should be the unifying core of the social studies curriculum and should be integrated with concepts from economics, political science, and other social sciences

b) Social studies should be taught and learned consistently and cumulatively from kindergarten through grade 12

c) The curriculum should impart skills and knowledge necessary for effective citizenship in a democracy
d) The curriculum should balance study of the United States with studies of other cultures

e) Superficial coverage of content should be replaced with depth study of selected content (Mullins, 1990, p.1)

These goals have served as the organizing principle on what social studies aims to achieve and what content knowledge should be covered. According to Sears and Hughes (1996), even though educating for citizenship is central to social studies, the consensus over citizenship education is meaningless as it is a highly contested area and context specific. They further argue that “Behind that totem to which nearly all social studies researchers pay homage lies a continuous and rancorous debate about the purposes of social studies” (Marker and Mehlinger, 1992, p. 124). The argument being that the debate on social studies continues in part because citizenship itself as used in the field is a contested concept (Sears and Hughes, 1996).

Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) provide a useful analysis of the social studies through proposing competing views of the purposes and goals of social studies (Brophy, 1990). They identified three main traditions that describe contrasting approaches to social studies and these were analyzed and categorized according to content, purpose and method and they include: social studies taught as Citizenship Transmission; Social studies taught as Social Science; and Social studies taught as Reflective Inquiry. The citizenship transmission approach implies that citizenship is promoted through the inculcation of right values as frameworks for making decisions. This involves transmission of concepts and values through such techniques as textbook, recitation, lecture, question and answer sessions and structured problem solving exercises. Within
this approach the content is selected by an authority and the teacher’s role is to interpret such a curriculum and to role model such values, beliefs and attitudes.

The second approach where social studies is taught as a social science is based on the premise that “Citizenship is best promoted by decision making based on the mastery of social science concepts, and problems” (Barr, Barth and Shermis, 1977). The method of teaching advocated by this approach is that of discovery where students are expected to discover and apply the different methods used in the social sciences. Content is derived from structure, concepts and processes embedded in the each subject and the integrated social science discipline.

The third and last approach is that of social studies taught as Reflective inquiry. Citizenship is promoted through a process of inquiry based on what students need to know. The students identify problems, reflect on them and test some of their insights. “It is this self-selection of problems that constitute the content for reflection” (Barr, Barth and Shermis, p. 67). Different scholars have argued that the identification of these three traditions have assisted in explaining the conflict in the field as well as providing some kind of consensus in social studies and have proved to its antagonists that the field is evolving (Thornton, 2005; Evans, 2004, Brophy, 1990).

*Effective Citizen in a Democracy*

Before looking at the definition of “an effective citizen” it is imperative that I answer the question “Who is a citizen?” first. A citizen is defined as a legally recognized member of a state or nation either by birth or naturalization, with rights and responsibilities conferred upon him/her by the state or nation (Banks, 2004; Engle and Ochoa, 1988). This has been the dominant view in terms of citizenship. However, Castles
(2004) contends that with the emergence of globalization, it has been observed that globalization challenges the notion of citizenship and problematizes it in all forms as conceptualized and practiced in established western democracies and emerging nation-states of Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. He further argues that globalization threatens to undermine all key characteristics of a nation-state such as sovereignty, autonomy, border control, democracy, link between the national and the citizen consequently leading to the proliferation of transnational communities.

It is the advent of globalization that has led Merryfield and Duty (2008) to argue that the preparation of citizens needs to be extended beyond national borders. There is a developing trend in citizenship education that for it to meet the challenges of the changing world of developing citizens through fostering civic responsibility and engagement, it has to do away with national borders, infuse global perspectives and develop the knowledge and skills of worldmindedness (Merryfield, et al., 2008; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2001).

The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, 2001) believes that the primary goal of social studies is to prepare students to be engaged and effective citizens. Sears and Hughes (1996) on the other hand are critical of such concepts that precede ‘citizen’, that since the emergence of citizenship education a lot of educational slogans and phrases have permeated discussions such as “the educated citizen”, or “responsible citizen”, “good citizen”, “effective citizen”, ‘active citizen”. Their argument is that such slogans are meaningless as the same language means different things in different places. Given that Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) have argued that a definition of a concept is based on what the scholars in the field say it is, then, the following definition becomes
handy at this point in time. An effective citizen has been defined as someone who has the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to assume the “office of a citizen” in a democratic republic (Mathews and Dilworth, 2008; NCSS, 2001; Parker and Jarolimek, 1984). NCSS (2001) further outlines the characteristics of an effective citizen as someone who:

1. Embraces core democratic values and strives to live by them

2. Accepts responsibility for the well-being of oneself, one’s family, and the community

3. Has the knowledge of the people, history, and traditions that have shaped our local communities, our nation, and the world

4. Has knowledge of our nation’s founding documents, civic institutions, and political processes

5. Is aware of issues and events that have an impact on people at local, state, national, and global levels

6. Seeks information from varied sources and perspectives to develop informed opinions and creative solutions

7. Asks meaningful questions and is able to analyze and evaluate information and ideas

8. Uses effective decision-making and problem-solving skills in public and private life

9. Has the ability to collaborate effectively as a member of a group

10. Actively participates in civic and community life (p.2)
Given the characteristics of an effective citizen as outlined by NCSS (2001), there seems to be a plethora of knowledge, skills and dispositions that citizens have to possess in order to be effective citizens within the United States. This section of my chapter interrogates the role of social studies in developing effective citizens in a democracy. But, before reviewing the literature on social studies and citizenship education I find it vital that I interrogate the theories of citizenship and teacher perspectives on citizenship education as these will inform the review of literature and the study on social studies teachers’ perceptions on the development of citizens in a democracy. These theories and perspectives are important in that they inform this study and will form the basis of my argument later as the study progresses.

Theories of Citizenship

Theories of citizenship as espoused in the literature on citizenship education tend to reflect a certain level of ambiguity and differences. Van Gunsteren (1998) identifies four theories of citizenship that seem to differ in terms of orientation and practice. The first theory is that of liberal citizenship which is rights–based; civic republicanism which is responsibilities-based; the communitarian citizenship which is collectivist; and lastly the neo-republicanism which combines elements of civic republicanism and liberal views of citizenship (Evans, 2006; Van Gunsteren, 1998).

*Liberal Theory of Citizenship*

According to Van Gunsteren (1998) the Liberal-Individualist theories view a citizen as a calculating holder of preferences and rights. Within this theory, citizenship is conferred on an individual by a state or nation. There exist a relationship between an individual and the state which includes both rights and responsibilities (Van Gunsteren,
In the case of a democracy, the rights of an individual include the right to be heard and participate in their governance, equal protection of the law, the right to basic freedoms such as religion, speech and press. The responsibilities of the citizen include respect for the law and participation in activities of governance such as voting and joining interest and political parties (Engle and Ochoa, 1988).

Communitarian Theory of Citizenship

Communitarian theories of citizenship view citizenship as more than a matter of rights and strongly emphasize that being a citizen involves belonging to a historically developed community (Van Gunsteren, 1998). Therefore, indicating that citizenship in the communitarian sense emphasize participation and identity (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). For communitarians a citizen acts responsibly if they stay within the limits of what is acceptable within the community. The community is seen as a representation of unity and the absence of community indicates conflict. The community is well respected as it denotes a cultural resource that fosters people’s relationships. It is this type of citizenship that promotes voluntarism, self reliance and a commitment to each other. It operates at micro level and simply implies community responsibility (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004).

Civic-Republican Theory of Citizenship

Civic-Republican theories of citizenship place a single community, which is the republic community, at the center of political life. This means that it places more responsibility on the civil society. It recognizes the republican virtues of courage, devotion, military discipline and statesmanship and shows too little appreciation for characteristic values and diversity of other communities (Van Gunsteren, 1998). Putman
(2000) contends that a strong civil society leads to a stronger state through the promotion of active social action which privileges the state by not challenging the status quo.

**Neo-Republican Theory of Citizenship**

The neo-republican conception of citizenship includes elements of all the other three theories, communitarian, republican and liberal-individualist thinking. The elements of neo-republicanism can be summarized into three concepts: the public realm, organizing plurality, and action (Van Gunsteren, 1998). The belief is that the duty of citizens is “to transform a community of fate into a republic that can be willed by all who are involved as citizens” (Van Gunsteren, 1998, p. 27). To them citizenship is created and recreated by citizens in action. Citizens have to possess competence, a repertoire of skills, goodwill, consensus on norms and values, tolerance and respect, and good judgment (Van Gunsteren, 1998).

Nevertheless, these theories provide a conceptual guidance and indicate the contradictions inherent in terms of the conceptual understanding of citizenship as they show the binaries created in terms of individualist versus collectivist; political rights versus social rights; as well as local versus global (Evans, 2006).

**Teacher Perspectives on Citizenship Education**

Anderson et al (1997) conducted an excellent study of how elementary and secondary teachers define citizenship education. As a result of this study four perspectives emerged as; Critical thinking perspective, Legalistic perspective, Cultural pluralism perspective, Assimilationist perspective. These perspectives are in tandem with Barr, Barth and Shermis’ (1977) traditions in which they describe contrasting approaches
to social studies as; teaching social studies as citizenship transmission, teaching social studies as social science, teaching social studies as reflective inquiry.

**Critical-Thinking Perspective**

According to the critical-thinking perspective, teachers who adopted the critical-thinking perspective believe that citizenship education should help students question the status quo, develop critical thinking and questioning skills and encourage open-mindedness and tolerance (Anderson, et al, 1997). This perspective is aligned to Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) tradition of teaching social studies as reflective inquiry in that it emphasizes the analysis of values, development of skills and dispositions and decision making. Banks (2008) refers to this model as the transformational model in that it views citizenship as a process of socialization and counter socialization.

**Legalistic Perspective**

According to teachers in the legalistic perspective category, citizenship should stress obedience to the law, teach the basic structure of our political systems and inform students about their rights and responsibilities (Anderson, et al, 1997). This perspective dovetails with the tradition of teaching social studies as a social science since it puts emphasis on teaching knowledge as it is structured within the disciplines and on discovery and inquiry activities (Brophy, 1990).

**Cultural Pluralism**

Teachers who fall in the cultural pluralism perspective define citizenship education as the celebration of diversity and pluralism. They believe that rather than teach about the basic structure of our political institutions, citizenship education should
expose students to a range of ideologies (Anderson et al., 1997). Teachers within the
Assimilationist Perspective

This perspective holds similar views with those of the legalist in that they explicitly reject the current ideas of “political correctness” and want to transmit to students the dominant values of the society. This perspective resonates well with the tradition of teaching social studies as citizenship transmission with emphasis on the inculcation of traditional values (Brophy, 1990). This is similar to the transmission model as explained in Weistheimer (2007) where students are encouraged to learn about the structure and function of the government, rights and responsibilities of citizenship and participate in non threatening civic activities. He argues that this model is shared by the assimilationist and legalists and is the most common model of citizenship education presented in elementary schools.

In assessing the various conceptual frameworks of citizenship education as offered by various scholars (Van Gunsteren, 1998; Anderson et al., 1997), it becomes apparent that there is a lot of complexity and ambiguity surrounding citizenship education. The varied conceptions of citizenship education though conflicting at times offer understanding about what it means to educate for citizenship in a democracy.

Social studies and the Development of Citizens in a Democracy

In attempting to review the literature on the role of social studies in developing effective citizens, it is imperative that I provide a synopsis of the current differing policies and practices on developing citizens among a few selected countries of Europe and the United States. Social studies is referred to in some countries as social education and in other countries it is taught as citizenship education (Ross, 2006). According to
Hahn (1999) not all countries have policies requiring students to have instruction that prepares them to be citizens. Until recent debates on citizenship education, some countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia and Netherlands did not have any programs in their education systems that were deliberately aimed at teaching ‘political education’ or preparation of citizens (Hahn, 1999). The author further extols that in contrast, countries such as Denmark, Germany and USA have educational policies that are aimed at developing informed, participating citizens. In Great Britain, citizenship education is a contentious issue and is still at its embryonic stages as it was officially introduced in 2000 and became mandatory at secondary school level in September 2002 (Crick, 2007; Figueroa, 2004).

Historically the notion of citizenship was not recognized by the British Government until the September 11th attacks on the United States and the “Riots” in England in June 2001 (Figueroa, 2004). These incidents though taking place in different parts of the world (US and England) acted as a wakeup call and a catalyst towards the rethinking of citizen preparation in Great Britain. Denmark on the other hand has an interesting program on preparing citizens in a democracy (Hahn, 1999). They have what is called the *folkskole* law which basically requires that schools should model democracy and students have weekly meetings where they discuss and resolve class problems, plan class trips and select topics for investigation in the class titled “contemporary studies”. Of recent “contemporary studies” has been replaced by “social studies” (Hahn, 1999).

Numerous scholars in the field of social studies are in concert with regards to the role of social studies as being citizen preparation (Evans, 2006; Ross, 2006; Thornton, 2005; Engle, 1988; Parker and Jarolimek and Parker, 1984). All these authors agree that
the critical role of social studies is cultivating individuals who are knowledgeable, skillful, and committed to democratic values. The themes that will be addressed are as follows;

1. Knowledge acquisition and understanding
2. Development of necessary skills
3. Development of values, attitudes and beliefs
4. Creating awareness and understanding of trends in social studies

All the themes identified are discussed as outlined above and it is interesting to note that there is at least consensus on the goal of social studies; however, there is a lot of controversy stemming from the content knowledge, purposes and methods of preparing citizens (Ross, 2006; Hahn, 2001; Sears and Hughes, 1996).

**Knowledge Acquisition and Understanding**

Scholars in the field have asked pertinent questions with regards to knowledge that citizens need to possess within a democracy (Pace and Bixby, 2008; Ross, 2006; Engle and Ochoa, 1988). Such questions revolve around; what basic knowledge does the citizen in a democracy need? (Engle and Ochoa, 1988); what social knowledge is most important? (Ross, 2006); what kind of knowledge is required of citizens? (Pace and Bixby, 2008). In answering these questions scholars in the field provide varied responses as discussed below. The role of social studies has been articulated as being to help students acquire and understand knowledge, develop skills and values necessary in a democracy (Evans, 2006; Ross, 2006; Thornton, 2005; Engle, 1988; Parker and Jarolimek, 1984). In this section of my chapter, I want to argue that citizens need both mainstream academic knowledge and transformative academic knowledge (Banks, 2008);
Democratic enlightenment (Parker, 2008) and Contrapuntal knowledge (Merryfield, 2001; Merryfield and Subedi, 2006; Said, 1978) if they are to become knowledgeable and effective citizens in a democracy who can function in the 21st century (Banks, 2008; Marri, 2008).

Mainstream Academic Knowledge

Banks (2008) explains mainstream academic knowledge as that knowledge that “reinforces traditional and established knowledge in the social and behavioral sciences, as well as the knowledge that is institutionalized in the popular culture and the nation’s schools, colleges and universities” (p. 135). It is the form of knowledge that is seen to reinforce the status quo, perpetuates inequalities and the dominant power relationships in society in that it often carries with it the ‘codes of power. Westheimer (2007) argues that this type of knowledge puts emphasis on memorizing facts about constitutions and other legal documents, learning about various branches of government and developing patriotism to the nation-state and is the dominant form of social studies knowledge found in most social studies classrooms in the United States (Banks, 2008). Parker (2001b) on the other hand alludes to the fact that citizens in a democracy should have knowledge about liberty and pluralism, citizen rights and responsibilities and the rule of law. He further asserts that students in a constitutional democracy must abhor demagoguery, discrimination, oppression and military rule.

The observation made by Banks (2008) is supported by the findings of an IEA cross-national study in six western democracies that was conducted by Hahn (2001) among 14-year-old students in the US on democratic understanding. Through student and teachers’ interviews and content analysis of textbooks, it was found that these students
are likely to learn about: representative democracy, three branches of the government (legislative, judiciary and executive), three levels of government, the political history of the United States. The same results were found in Germany and Italy where students also study about the structure and function of government, political history of democracy, and anti-democratic elements in the country (Hahn, 2001). The study reports reflected that in all the countries that participated in the study, schools and classroom climates were more authoritarian as opposed to being democratic (Hahn, 2001).

Engle and Ochoa (1988) provide a list of ideas on basic knowledge that students need to know as democratic citizens. They argue that first of all, democratic citizens should be able to see their nation, state, and locality in relation to the physical and social relationship to the world and the universe. This is what Merryfield et. al (2008) in arguing for the development of a world minded citizen would refer to as knowledge of global interconnectedness, that citizenship in a global age revolves around interconnectedness to people, issues, world geography, earth science, art, music and world literature so that students can see the relationships across regions and time spaces. They need to understand the environment, resources and population problems that the world is faced with and such understanding must be drawn from the different fields such as geography, geology, astronomy, biology, ecology, anthropology in order to understand the earth.

Secondly they need to understand the history of social institutions such as economic, governmental, legal systems, the family, religious institutions and democratic institutions and how they have come about. Thirdly, they need to understand the nature of cultural differences over time, accommodate other cultures as well. Merryfield and
Wilson (2005) see the knowledge and acceptance of different cultures as pivotal to the development of world-minded citizens as it creates an appreciation and awareness of the values and issues of other cultures and communication with people of different languages and nationalities. They see the promotion of intercultural knowledge as essential for citizenship. Fourthly, students need to appreciate the struggle of people throughout and the values of justice, fairness, equality and freedom in a democracy (Engle and Ochoa, 1988).

The ideas discussed by Engle and Ochoa (1988) of what knowledge a democratic citizen must possess are in tandem with the notion of mainstream academic knowledge as articulated by Banks (2008), as practiced, and taught in schools. In a study conducted by Evans (2006) among secondary school teachers in England and Canada on ‘educating for citizenship’, he found that teachers emphasized knowledge acquisition as one of the learning goals in citizenship education and this involved understanding core concepts like rights and duties, civic duties and being informed about issues related to civic life. However, they varied on which core concepts and public issues were to be given priority.

All the authors (Banks, 2008; Evans, 2006; Parker, 2001; Engle and Ochoa, 1988) agree on the fact that social content knowledge, what Banks refers to as ‘mainstream academic knowledge’ is necessary but it is insufficient for the development of democratic citizens. Banks (2008) and Marri (2008) are critical about mainstream academic knowledge arguing that it does not help students understand their multiple and complex identities, how their lives are influenced by globalization and their roles in the global world and does not emphasize critical thinking skills, decision making, and action. The issue of national identity has also been raised by Hahn (2001) in her IEA cross-national
study where she found that in Hong Kong, the issue of national identity is avoided in school. Whereas, students in focus groups in the United States recalled studying about presidents, military leaders, and civil rights leaders. They spoke with pride about their national heritage. The students showed that they were knowledgeable about past incidents of oppression and the story they had learned was one of progress and American exceptionalism as they associated being American with freedom (Hahn, 2001; p.17). This further confirms the notion of mainstream academic knowledge that characterizes social studies classrooms in the United States.

*Transformative Academic Knowledge*

According to Banks (2008) citizenship education needs to be reimagined and transformed to effectively educate students to be able to function in the 21st century. In order for citizenship to do this, there must be a paradigm shift from mainstream academic knowledge to transformative academic knowledge. However Marri (2008) contends that teaching for informed citizenship requires teaching that combines both transformative and mainstream academic knowledge. “Transformative academic knowledge consists of paradigms and explanations that challenge some of the key epistemological assumptions of mainstream knowledge” (Banks, 2008, p. 135). It is said to “challenge mainstream knowledge that expand the historical and literary canon” (Marri, 2008; p. 75). Transformative academic knowledge as content that when presented challenges the traditional interpretations that are seen as universalistic and unrelated to human interests (Marri, 2008).

Transformative academic knowledge “enables students to acquire information, skills, and values to challenge inequality within the communities, nations and the world;
to develop cosmopolitan values and perspectives; and to take actions to create just and
democratic multicultural communities and societies” (Banks, 2008, p.135). In studying
transformative academic knowledge one is inclined to conclude that it is similar to Said
(1978) notion of contrapuntal knowledge, however, I discuss this idea separately in this
paper as shall be seen later.

In conducting a study among skilled social studies teachers on their enactments of
an approach called “Classroom-based Multicultural Democratic Education (CMDE)” in
some US classrooms, Marri (2008) found that some teachers incorporated
transformational knowledge in their curriculum. He uses an example of a teacher who he
refers to as Mr Sinclair who when teaching about Rosa Parks made students understand
that segregation in the United States was not just a historical event as it is often referred
to in history textbooks. By so doing he was trying to debunk and confront some of the
stereotypes, misinformation and misconceptions that students hold (Merryfield and
Wilson, 2005) that Rosa Parks was not just a tired seamstress who decided to just sit in
the bus but that students learn that she trained at High-Lander school and her actions
were part of a larger plan to fight segregation. This is what Merryfield and Wilson (2005)
would refer to as confronting misconceptions and misinformation as part of the decision
making process those teachers make.

In another study on pre-service teachers’ ideas about the role of multicultural
teacher education conducted by Mathews and Dilworth (2008), it was found that even
though teachers accept transformative academic knowledge as content knowledge, they
are reluctant to incorporate this into their thinking about their classrooms and curriculum.
The findings of this study suggest that even when teacher education programs are
designed around goals of multicultural citizenship education, transformative social studies pedagogy may not make it into K-12 classrooms (Mathews and Dilworth, 2008). The authors recommend that pre-service teachers be followed into their first year of teaching to see if they apply what they have learned.

The two studies discussed above present two conflicting findings on the state of transformative knowledge in the US schools hence the need for further investigation to establish the current state of affairs in social studies classrooms in the US. Banks (2008) further argues that transformative citizenship education needs to be implemented in schools if students are to attain clarified and reflective cultural, national, regional and global identifications and understand how these identities are interrelated and constructed. Such knowledge is pivotal for the development of effective citizens in a democracy.

Democratic Enlightenment

Parker (2008) advocates for a form of knowledge which he argues is important in the development of citizens in a democracy. Parker opens this discussion on democratic knowledge by arguing that “democratic citizens need both to know democratic things and do democratic things” (p.65). Democratic enlightenment according to Parker (2008) refers to “the knowledge of the ideals of democratic living, the ability to discern just from unjust laws and action, the commitment to fight civic inequality, and the ability and commitment to deliberate public policy…” (p.69). The author further argues that democratic enlightenment allows political engagement which is necessary in a democracy. Political engagement involves voting, contacting public officials, deliberating public problems, campaigning and engaging in political protests (Pace, 2008).
Pace (2008) elaborates on democratic enlightenment that it therefore, means understanding and embracing democratic ideals such as freedom and justice for all people. In studying about what is being taught and learned in “discussion –based 12th grade government classes”, Pace (2008) found that there is a gap between research and practice in that all the classes observed emphasized acquisition of knowledge. The author further opines that none of the classes took a systematic approach to the discussion of controversial public issues which have been widely advocated for (Hess, 2004). The findings of this study confirm earlier studies by Hahn (2001) who found that controversial issues are infrequently discussed in classes yet teachers say that they discuss them.

From the discussion in this section, it can be argued that democratic enlightenment is a prerequisite for political engagement and both of them work in tandem to produce political enlightenment. Parker in advocating for democratic enlightenment is critical about the conservative and progressive models of citizenship. Even though he supports the progressive aim of developing intellectually able citizens who participate directly in political affairs as opposed to the conservative aim of transmitting knowledge and values to future voters, he argues that both camps are ignorant of critical issues related to social and cultural diversity and inequality (Pace, 2008).

Contrapuntal Knowledge

I argue to a large extent that citizens in a democracy need to possess knowledge that deconstructs the existing forms of mainstream academic knowledge and in so doing, I borrow from Merryfield’s (2001) idea of pedagogy of imperialism and Said ‘s idea of contrapuntal criticism (1978). In discussing the theoretical ideas of application in social
studies classrooms argues that there is need to examine the pedagogy of imperialism. She contends that through examining the pedagogy of imperialism students need to inquire about relationships between empire-building and knowledge construction and how the legacy of imperialism shapes mainstream academic knowledge today (Merryfield, 2001).

Willinsky (1998) further emphasizes the issue of knowledge construction and how it impacts students. This view holds that: “Students need to understand knowledge construction: the politics of mainstream academic knowledge, post-colonial efforts to rewrite or resist master narratives and the inheritance of imperial worldviews (Merryfield and Duty, 2008, p.85). It is this knowledge that is often viewed as the truth without any consideration of how it affects those who are oppressed that needs to be unpacked and debunked. The idea of deconstructing western imperialist knowledge is in concert with Said’s (1978) idea of hybridity and contrapuntal criticism.

Contrapuntal criticism is associated with a musical term for literary criticism. (Razvi and Lingard, 2006; Merryfield and Subedi, 2004). Said suggested that “the European culture needed to be read in relation to its spatial and political relations to empire, as well as in counterpoint to the works that the colonized people themselves produced in response to colonial domination” (Razvi and Lingard, 2006:301). The authors further provide justification for contrapuntal knowledge that it was based on the fact that “all cultures are involved in one another, none is single and pure; all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic” (Said’s (1993: p. xxix)

The discussion on what knowledge citizens in a democracy must possess has revealed that there is a plethora of knowledge that citizens need to know, however, the argument is that knowledge is usable if it accompanied by action, and action involves
decision making. The next section looks at one of the roles of social studies, developing skills among students.

**Development of Necessary Skills**

According to Parker and Jarolimek (1984) one of the roles of social studies is to help students develop skills that will allow them to participate such that they can sustain and fulfill the democratic experiment. Parker (2001a) states that skills denote what students should be able to do and contend that doing involves knowing; “skillful behavior is skillful to a great extent because of the knowledge that supports it” (p.7). Therefore, there is a relationship between knowledge and skills. In discussing the attributes of a democratic citizen it is emphasized that; “A democratic citizens’ effectiveness is buttressed by the skills needed for civic engagement such as the ability to work in a group, speak in public, forge coalitions among varied interests and protest or petition for change” (Kahne and Westheimer, 2006, p.303). Skills that citizens should learn are divided into three categories mainly: Democratic participation skills, Study and inquiry skills and intellectual skills (Parker, 2001a).

**Democratic Participation Skills**

Democratic participation skills include the ability to: listen, express and challenge opinions and reasons; participate in classroom, school and community decision making; participate in group discussions of public issues within the community, nationally and internationally with people with views different from yours; engaging in discussions leading to mediating, negotiating and compromising; working cooperatively to clarify tasks; and accessing, using, and planning community resources (Parker, 2001; Sears and Hughes, 1996). These skills as outlined by Parker (2001) and Sears and Hughes (1996)
are similar to what Hahn (2001) refers to as democratic discourse and decision making. She further argues “that democracy rests on the notion that citizens should participate either directly or indirectly in making decisions that affect their lives” (p.18). To adequately prepare youth for future citizens, it is argued, that civic action needs to be connected to deliberation, discussion and decision making (Hahn, 2001). This idea of participation is further reinforced by Kahne and Westheimer (2006) that democratic citizens should be able to examine structural causes of social problems, seek solution thereby using the knowledge they have acquired to make informed decisions.

Hahn (2001) further elaborates on the importance of deliberation by citizens as it affords the students the opportunity to learn how to explore, debate, and makes decisions about public policy issues and argues this is best done through discussing controversial issues. Another study conducted among primary and secondary students in England on “hearing students perspectives on the need for citizenship education”. The study was grounded on literature on ‘pupil voice’ which provides a rationale for a consultative approach to encouraging young people and children to participate in decision making within the school. The students voiced their joy in taking part in this study and twelve out of fifteen participants scored high (10 out of 10) on enjoyment and the reasons they gave for the scores were as follows:

“I got to have my voice heard”

“We got to give our opinions about what we think about things”

“We got different ideas from different students” (Warwick, 2007, p.269)

The findings of this study revealed that the adoption of a participatory pedagogy can help students to enjoy school by providing them with spaces to explore their different
perspectives. This also augments the role and importance of students’ voice within citizenship education and decision making.

The ideas of students’ voice as discussed in Warwick (2007) tend to reinforce the position that:

at the heart of democratic education are students’ voice and choice. Democratic classrooms provide frequent opportunities for students to voice their opinions and ideas about subjects under study, ‘student talk’ is not seen as an interruption to or distraction but rather as an integral aspect of students’ development of knowledge and skills” (Wade, 2001, p. 25).

In this sense students’ choice is seen to be a central feature as it allows students to make decisions about topics to study, due dates for assignments hence creating an open learning environment as shown in classrooms in Denmark through the folkeskole law where students are required to model democracy, select topics to study, make decisions about issues that matter and plan educational trips (Hahn, 2001).

Study and Inquiry Skills

Parker (2001a) provides a list of study and inquiry skills that social studies should develop among democratic citizens. Such skills will enable students to process information available to them in this complex information era (Parker and Jarolimek, 1984). These skills involve the ability to; use and make time lines, maps, globes and charts; locate, gather, organize and analyze information from various resources such as books, electronic media, newspaper and library; write reports and give oral reports; and distinguishing between primary sources and secondary sources; reading social studies materials for a variety of purposes such as to get the main idea, to get information, to
research all sides of a controversial issue, to detect the author bias; and to formulate and test hypothesis. The skills are important in the preparation of effective citizen because knowledge and skills go together and none can operate on its own (Parker and Jarolimek, 1984).

A study was conducted among teachers in Canada and England on their characterizations of citizenship education pedagogy. It was found that the teachers identified and exhibited a number of instructional practices that encouraged the development of thinking and enquiry skills (Evans, 2006). Teachers tended to use small group activities that appeared to focus on knowledge acquisition and sharing information rather than the development of particular collaborative skills. In a few instances teachers used cooperative learning structures to nurture social skills and support community building.

Canadian teachers in particular tended to put more emphasis on the use of cooperative learning structures to promote social skills while the English teachers tended to focus on developing the students’ thinking skills perhaps suggesting a more academic emphasis. Evans (2006) further argues that the findings of this study suggest that the teachers’ pedagogical practices tended to support the recent findings of a longitudinal study (Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland and Blenkinsop, 2003) that reported a gap between policy, theory and practice leading to the conclusion that “teacher-led approaches to citizenship-related topics were predominant in the classroom, with more participatory, active approaches less commonly used” (p.426).
Intellectual Skills

According to Sears and Hughes (1996) citizenship education emphasizes skills that enable students to become effective decision makers, who can participate in society. He argues that the “concept of learners as receivers of information should be replaced with a view of learners as self motivated, self-directed problem solvers and decision makers who are developing skills necessary for learning” (p.130). Some of the skills identified in Alberta Education Documents (Canada) include; skills that acquire, evaluate and use information; good communication and decision making skills; skills to resolve difference and conflicts constructively (Sears and Hughes, 1996). Skills that fall under the intellectual skills as; identifying and clarifying problems and issues; drawing analogies from other times and places and inferring cause and effect relationships; drawing conclusions based on evidence; determining; distinguishing between fact and opinion, critical thinking; detecting bias; reasoning dialogically (Parker, 2001a, p.8).

In Canada citizenship education has found expression in the growth of community service programs where students develop participation skills from the primary grades by identifying and performing a service in the school and community or at home and evaluate the experience (Sears and Hughes,1996). Sometimes they are required to develop and participate in an activity related to global or environmental issues and evaluate its impact. Community service is seen as a way to promote intellectual skills as students can move from volunteering to solving community problems, critiquing the society, and participating in political campaigns of their own choice (Sears and Hughes, 1996). To be able to do all this community service students need knowledge, and skills
necessary to undertake such a task. Social studies has a mammoth task to equip students with such intellectual skills in order to develop effective citizens in a democracy.

**Development of Values, Beliefs and Attitudes**

Parker (2001a) contends that there are particular values and attitudes (also known as dispositions or virtues) that are essential to democratic citizenship and their absence denotes the absence of a democratic government and civic life. According to McLaughlin (2000) the more specific virtues required of citizens in a liberal democracy include public spiritedness, public reasonableness, a sense of justice, civility and tolerance and a sense of solidarity or loyalty. However, Sears and Hughes (1996) speak to the emergent interest in dispositions that emphasize informed citizens in Canada. They allude to the fact that there seems to a general consensus among a group of Canadians that “a good citizen” is characterized by dispositions such as open-mindedness, civic mindedness, respect, willingness to compromise, tolerance, compassion, generosity of spirit, and loyalty.

Such altruistic values or dispositions are seen to be the key in a country where “cultural pluralism” is seen as a “positive force in society” and citizenship education seems to emphasize attaining the “multicultural ideal” (Sears and Hughes, 1996, p. 131). Hahn (2001) supports the notion of creating multicultural and global perspectives among students. Her argument is that regardless of the content, teachers need to use culturally relevant pedagogy in order to cater for the cultural diversity in their classrooms. In the EIA study it was found that some schools in England and Denmark hire bilingual and bicultural teachers, make adaptations to accommodate religious differences and reach out to parents in diverse communities in an effort to support cultural diversity (Hahn, 2001).
Global Perspectives

Hahn (2001) further suggests that if social studies is to do better in the preparation of citizens for the future it has to pay attention to global perspectives through developing what Hanvey (1976) calls “perspective consciousness” and “state of the planet awareness”. Education for a global perspective is defined as “that learning which enhances the individuals’ ability to understand his or her condition in the community and the world and improves the ability to make effective judgments” (Hanvey, 1976, p.1). Perspective consciousness allows students to learn about diversity in perspectives hence promoting tolerance. State of the planet awareness students learn more about issues that transcend national boundaries (Hahn, 2001; Hanvey, 1976).

Merryfield et.al (2008) argue that particular habits of the mind are aligned to civic responsibilities in a global age therefore, students need to be taught how to approach judgments and decisions when confronted with exotic images, cultural myths, and prejudice that are targeted to their own cultures and the “Other”. They further recommend that students should be able to make decisions with open-mindedness, anticipation of complexity and resistance to stereotyping. A study on “dialogic questioning in social studies classes” found that teachers showed willingness to use values questioning which seemed to be related to their commitment to social justice, their desire to help students navigate the dangers of their communities or personal religious beliefs. However, it appears the issues of values and dispositions are not well researched within citizenship education (Dull and Murrow, 2008).
Discussion of Controversial Issues

One way in which democratic participation that fosters deliberation, debate, discussion and decision making among citizens can be fostered is through the discussion of controversial issues as these are essential to develop the knowledge, skills and values needed for democratic life (Hahn, 2001; Hess, 2004). The inclusion of controversial issues in the teaching of social studies has been on the agenda of curriculum reform for decades. According to Evans, Avery and Pederson (1999) over the history of social studies, many prominent scholars and thinkers such as (Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Evans and Saxe, 1996; Hunt and Metcalf, 1955; and Oliver and Shaver, 1966) have advocated for curriculum reform with greater emphasis on an in-depth study of controversial issues. Advocates for controversial issues in social studies view the teaching of controversial issues as preparing students for effective citizenship (Hess, 2004, Hahn, 2001). One of the key features of ideal social studies teaching and learning is captured by NCSS (2001) in its vision that “social studies teaching and learning are more powerful when they are challenging”(p.4). This vision further identifies teaching about varying and conflicting opinions on controversial issues in order to stimulate and challenge the students’ thinking.

The significance of discussing controversial issues in social studies has been articulated by a number of scholars (Hess, 2004, Hahn, 2001; Engle and Ochoa, 1988) and they all seem to agree on the importance of discussing controversial issues within the social studies. Scholars have provided a number of reasons that basically show the significance of controversial issues in the teaching of social studies and the development of citizens and some of their justifications will be discussed below.
Create Multiple Perspectives among Students

Teaching controversial issues is important in the development of citizens because they have the potential to open students’ eyes to perspectives on race and other cultures to which they have not been previously exposed to. Research has shown that when students are engaged in controversial conversations, examining why they were offensive led to an expansion of their knowledge, opening new thoughts and not closing off the old ones (Davis, 2007). The rationalist approach of carefully weighing evidence for and against opposing positions while keeping the emotional responses on the background is emphasized (Barton and McCully, 2007). On the same issue, an illuminating example of multiple perspectives is provided that “when we dialogue with those with whom we disagree—even though we ‘know’ they are mistaken, we benefit because we gain a clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error” (Martinson, 2005, p.119).

Increased Democratic Dispositions

Discussing controversial issues provides positive results for students. Davis (2007) opines that discussing controversial issues increase civic competence, heightened understanding of democratic values and deeper understanding of the context of the content. He provides three strong reasons that may hamper social studies if controversial issues are avoided in classrooms. Firstly, that psychologically, avoiding genuine controversy may increase students’ dislike on social studies. Secondly, that intellectually, avoiding controversial issues is tantamount to an assault on the students’ intellect. Thirdly, morally, to suppress competing perspectives is in totality to violate their dignity. Finally, pedagogically, such a stance is perceived as counter-productive. It is further
emphasized that “knowledge without action is meaningless, and action without knowledge and deliberation is irresponsible” (Hahn, 2001, p. 19).

Development of Critical and Interpersonal skills

The discussion of controversial issues is viewed as a way of developing critical and interpersonal skills which are at the heart of preparing citizens who can participate in the democratic decision making processes within a pluralistic society (Davis, 2007). This is further emphasized by Hess (2002) when stating that students should be encouraged to construct new knowledge that challenges established ways of thinking, a process that Engle and Ochoa (1988) called counter-socialization. She further argues that through discussion students’ develop critical thinking, gain insights and share information with their peers and developing mutual trust.

According to Hess (2004) participation in the discussion of controversial issues appears to have an influence on other forms of political engagement. One of the most extensive studies was conducted by Torney-Purta (2002) commissioned by International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) on civic engagement in schools in approximately thirty countries over a period of eight years. The Researchers reported that discussion of controversial issues in an open classroom climate is a significant predictor of civic knowledge, support for democratic values, and participation in political discussions, political engagement and the ability to vote. However, there were also troubling findings where it was found that students from lower socio-economic backgrounds and who attended high poverty schools have lower levels of knowledge and are less likely to say they will vote. Torney-Purta (2002) further argues that this socio-economic gap is troubling as it extends across civic knowledge, likelihood
of voting and other factors in school that are likely to enhance students’ preparation for citizenship.

Another IEA study (Hahn, 2001) was conducted among six western democracies (Denmark, Germany, UK, Netherlands, Australia, and USA) among secondary school students aged between fourteen and nineteen years and focused on exploring diversity in citizenship or political education. It was found that students in Denmark modeled democracy in their classrooms and also discussed controversial issues. Classes observed in Germany, England and Netherlands also discussed controversial issues. The findings of the study revealed that students regardless of which country this occurred, it was found that students who reported discussing controversial issues in an open atmosphere were more likely to be interested in politics and be politically engaged as opposed to those who have not had such experiences (Hahn, 1999).

Awareness and Understanding of Trends in Social Studies

In this part of the chapter, I want to argue that if social studies is to develop effective citizens in a democracy it has to undergo a serious metamorphosis and deal with some of the trends in social studies such as the changing demographics, sexuality, racism, prejudice, and gender, to name just but a few. Social studies need to find a way to teach and inform students about all these inequities in our societies. Students need to understand and deal with such issues properly if they are to be developed into well rounded effective citizens in a democracy.

The role of social studies education within the school curriculum is enormous and one wonders the extent to which the social studies curriculum has lived up to its expectations. It is the social studies curriculum that has been charged with the
responsibility to integrate knowledge from the other disciplines, the enormous challenge to provide civic education to all students, provide critical inquiry into practices and social values, examine social knowledge, dysfunctional value systems and the effects of racism, prejudice, and gender inequities in the society (Nelson & Pang, 2006; Smith-Crocco, 2006; Rains, 2006). However, social studies has been criticized for its failure to carry out one of its mandate, that of addressing contemporary and controversial issues faced by different societies worldwide.

The social studies curriculum has been criticized for its failure to carry out its mandate of citizenship education (Nelson and Pang, 2006). This is exhibited by its failure to address issues of race and prejudice (Nelson & Pang, 2006), and colonialism, sexism, homophobia and gender (Smith-Crocco, 2006; Rains, 2006). The textbooks used in schools have neglected issues of race and excluded marginalized people such as women and girls (Smith-Crocco, 2006). Social studies has become dull and unable to deal with pertinent issues in the society and has fallen prey to reinforcing the status quo, and has lost popularity and interest from its recipients as it has become boring and unchallenging for students (Nelson and Pang, 2006). Rains (2006) blames the social studies curriculum for continuing to focus on selective content and instructional methods which perpetuate color blindness, marginalize the “other” and reinforce the status quo at the same time appearing to be politically correct.

This color blindness of social studies is further exacerbated by the position of the National Council of the Social Studies (NCSS) in addressing issues of racism and prejudice which is strangely mixed, representing a peculiarly cautious and conservative leadership of the social studies curriculum (Nelson & Pang, 2006). These inequities in
social studies are also exhibited by the pictorial representations in textbooks that reinforce a particular ideology through making choices of who to include and exclude from the texts (Werner, 2006).

Nelson and Pang (2006) provide hope for social studies that if taught well, social studies is better placed among all the subjects in the school curriculum to teach about controversial issues such as race and prejudice as well as human ideals, ideas and practices and act as an emancipation tool. To emphasize the important role of social studies and the challenges that it is faced with Nelson and Pang (2006) opine that;

The subject has the capacity--indeed it has the obligation-to assist students in developing insightful knowledge about human issues and practice in critical thinking for addressing them. It is the prime subject for doing this, but must overcome its own history and lethargy to accomplish it (p.128).

The authors provide suggestions/resolutions of how to deal with the issues of racism and prejudice among them being “to alter the American Credo; restricting justice and equality to a privileged few, … to entirely eliminate any reference to those basic ideals from our worldview” (Nelson & Pang, 2006; p.129).

I take issue on the resolutions advanced by Nelson and Pang (2006) above in that they do not bring anything new but rather add to the existing problems. They have realized that they are problematic in nature, why advocate for something that is going to create more problems than there really is. Secondly, it is difficult and quite problematic to provide a solution that will add to the existing problems. Racism is an evil act that is not easy to abandon since it is embedded in the so called white supremacists’ (Nelson and Pang, 2006) customs, norms and behavior.
Given the nature of racism, it is even more difficult for its perpetrators to recognize that they have not changed attitudinally but have learned to ignore the existence of the so-called discriminated and marginalized people. This has been emphasized by Nelson and Pang (2006) when saying that the abolition of racism and prejudice takes more than lip service, larger than a political, economic, or geographical question. It is more than a legal and moral question but rather a social and psychological question that incorporates changes in values and behaviors. There needs to be a thorough examination of one’s attitudes and more dialogue and deliberation is needed between the perpetrators and the victims. It takes more than legislature to unpack such attitudes that have been transferred from one generation to the other. Maybe, a system like the one practiced in South Africa known as the “Truth and Reconciliation Commission” can be explored further and be used as a model of dealing with such entrenched oppressive legacies.

**Education and Citizenship Education in Africa**

*Africa and Decolonization*

Africa is a vast continent with more than fifty countries that call for respect in its rich diversity in terms of background, languages, ethnicities, cultures, and origins (Samoff, 1999) (*See Appendix B*). The 1950’s and 1960’s saw most of the African nations gain their independence from their colonial masters such that by 1960, 17 countries out of 53 nations had achieved sovereignty (Young, 2004; Samoff, 1999). It is interesting to note that relatively overnight, about 1.5 billion (37% of the world’s population) became responsible for developing their nations, shaping their destiny and improving the quality of their lives for themselves (Adeyemi and Asimeng-Boahene, 1999). At independence,
these countries inherited institutional legacies from the colonial era because the
authorities simply handed over their colonial culture without any consideration of the
existing political culture in their countries.

This posed a lot of problems since the political systems of the colonial masters
were incongruent with the political culture of the diverse ethnic groups and their
traditional social and economic heritages (Adeyemi and Asimeng-Boahene, 1999).
However, Griffith (1990) is quick to remind us that colonial political control was
reinforced and safeguarded by an educational system whose main aim was the teaching
of an ethnocentric culture. The decolonization era and the achievement of independence
by some African nations were a defining historical moment and a culmination of an epic
struggle (Young, 2004). The decolonization process was met with a sense of excitement,
hope and anticipation as the “new states” appeared to shed the colonial legacy and
reinvent themselves (Young, 2004; Samoff, 1999).

As a result of decolonization, the ‘new African states’ were faced with a
mammoth task of nation-building. Murphy and Stein (1973) in Adeyemi and Asimeng-
Boahene (1999) define nation building as “a process of creating a sense of national
loyalty and identification among a population that has traditionally been divided into
numerous tribes, ethnic groups, or smaller political units” (p.31). This implies some kind
of uniting of different ethnic groups to form a nation and the development of its citizens.
According to Young (2004) the notion of developing new states (nation-building) after
independence was not an easy one as post-colonial governments were faced with
problems and pressure emanating from meeting the promises that were made during the
anti-colonial mobilization and struggle.
People had a lot of expectations as; the young militants who provided the muscle of nationalist movements expected opportunities for employment. New intellectuals emerging from universities expected guarantees of incorporation into the upper ranks of the state bureaucracy, parents hoped that pledges of rapid school expansion, even universal primary education, would materialize as well as social infrastructure promises in the provision of health and clinics, safe drinking water and roads will be delivered (Young, 2004). This appears to have been a tall order for the newly formed governments that needed to be attended to in order to maintain the hope and excitement of the epochal new era in African politics.

However, when African nations rid themselves of European colonial domination, most of the post-colonial governments invested heavily in education at different levels, basically placing it at the centre of the national project of social advancement and development. It is further stated that the “Ministries of education were given the task of formulating educational policies and programmes that were aimed at producing people equipped with the skills and knowledge necessary for the realization of ‘national development’ and nation-building” (Nabudere, 2007, p. 125). Education was seen as an important vehicle for bringing about development and change as these countries had inherited underdeveloped and racially segregated education systems that were characterized by inequalities and regarded as irrelevant for the needs of the African people. To support the view above, MacIntosh argues that “one of the developmental functions of education and schools is to train minds in order to develop in students pride in their own society, a knowledge of and appreciation for its traditions, and an
understanding of the broader world context” (Griffith, 1990, p.2) and that this is best realized if the content of the syllabus is relevant and meaningful to students.

It is further argued that many countries in Africa are still in the process of nation-building, that since independence, their educational systems have undergone some dramatic changes in an effort to respond to the needs and aspirations of their people (Vespoor, 2008; Adeyemi and Boahene, 1999). The major educational trends of African nations in the post colonial era has been to change the content of the curriculum from those that reflected the world views of the colonial powers to attitudes and knowledge that is geared towards nationalism, African identity, cultures and environments through the development of social studies (Merryfield and Tlou, 1995).

**Citizenship Education in Africa**

Within the African traditional context citizenship education was seen as a type of education that was used to induct new members of the society through the transmission of their cultural heritage to the young in order to develop a feeling of national pride in people (Asimeng-Boahene, 2000; Mafela and Mgadla, 2000). The major aim of this indigenous citizenship education was to train individuals to be useful and acceptable in the society (Asimeng-Boahene, 2000). This education was collectivist in nature as it put more emphasis on the society as a whole rather than the individual. Oral tradition was used as a medium for the transmission of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and patterns of behavior to young learners (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008). There was no written syllabus to follow as it was oral therefore; each member of the society had a responsibility to teach the young ones the mores and values of the society through examples, reprimand, imitation and association (Mafela and Mgadla, 2000).
It was through proverbs, riddles, stories, songs, myths, and legends that “children were taught respect for elders, instilled with morals and positive attitudes, and imbied with the cultural heritage and values of their people” (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008, p. 163). For instance; In most African contexts young women learned through associating with womenfolk by imitating their elders in duties such as cooking, hoeing, and fetching water (Mafela and Mgadla, 2000). In Ghana like in many other African cultures, every elderly in the society had a right to discipline, educate and mould a child (Asimeng-Boahene, 2000). In Botswana and Zimbabwe young boys herded calves, goats and sheep before graduating to herding cattle and joining regiments and this situation was common to most African societies (Mafela and Mgadla, 2000). However, this form of education was greatly impacted by the introduction of western forms of education that permeated the African continent during the 19th century colonial expansion. Colonial education sought to erode and distort indigenous education programs by embarking on an essential project of Europe’s onslaught on the African body and mind (Abdi, 2008).

It should be noted that during the colonial era citizenship education programs within the African countries were non-existent primarily because colonialism was not aimed at developing critical African citizens (Abdi, 2008). Interestingly, the post colonial era led by the ruling African elite did not engage in any viable expansive and constructive political education except in a few cases where the agenda was to assure loyalty of the public to the military junta and civilian dictators (Abdi, 2008). One exception of citizenship education program was that of Julius Nyerere’s educational component of the Ujamaa in Tanzania and his well known perspectives of “Education for Self-Reliance” (Abdi, 2008, Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008). Therefore, citizenship education within the
post colonial nations of Africa is defined within the Western democratic frameworks that are characterized by the nation-state, individual rights and political activity such as voting (Mautle, 2000; Ogunyemi, 2008).

**Schooling and the Development of Citizens**

In Africa schools have been used as instruments of social change (Verspoor, 2008; Stampf, 1996) and their main function has been to facilitate acceptance of change and to develop individuals with an inquiring attitude (EDC/CREDO, 1968). However, research conducted in sub-Saharan Africa has shown that most of the curriculum and education policies adopted in most post African colonial societies have failed to develop a critical mind in learners (Otiende and Oanda, 2000; Scanlon, 2002; Harber, 1997). At independence, African nations inherited underdeveloped and racially segregated education systems that were characterized by inequalities and regarded as irrelevant to the needs of the people. These countries set out to reform or restructure their education systems through adjusting education cycles, increasing access, changing curriculum content and aligning education and training to the perceived requirements for national and socio-economic development (Stampf, 1996).

Formal education through schooling was therefore charged with the responsibility of developing citizens by preparing young Africans for their roles in the global economy through providing them with knowledge, skills and work discipline (Samoff, 1999). There are various ways in which schooling or education was used to develop good citizens among African nations and in this section of the chapter; I focus on the following:

1. Expansion of Access to Education
2. Educational Policies

3. Language Policies

4. Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IK)

5. Relevance to the National Needs

Access to Education

One way in which African nations used schooling to develop citizenship was through the expansion of access to education. According to Stampf (1996) the notion of expansion of access to education can be traced back to the megatrends that influenced and gave direction to the development of education in post colonial Africa such as the United Nations First Development Decade (1961-1971) which gave priority to the expansion of secondary and tertiary education and the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa (1961) which provided a forum for African countries to decide on their priorities in education to promote economic and social development.

It was at the All Africa States Conference held in Addis Ababa in 1967 that the importance of educational expansion was re-emphasized (Stampf, 1996). At this conference African countries acknowledged the importance of education and resolved to provide: free universal primary education by 1980; secondary education to at least 30% of those pupils who had successfully completed primary education; higher education to at least 20% of those candidates who had successfully completed primary education; and improving the quality of education at all levels of the education (Stampf, 1996, p.33).

From the commitments made at the 1967 conference it can be argued that African countries were committed to developing their citizens and not only citizens but a certain
quality of a citizenry that was educated and informed. To me, this is where the notion of a ‘good citizen’ comes in, in that a good citizen has been defined as someone who is well informed, knowledgeable and has problem-solving skills (Engle and Ochoa, 1988). The expansion of access to education was seen as a way to transform the society massively and rapidly, at the same time it was seen as a way in which governments could meet their commitments to move toward schooling for all their citizens (Samoff, 1999). This led to the opening of new schools in urban neighborhoods as well as in rural areas. However African governments made a remarkable progress in this regard.

Stampf (1996) conducted an in depth study among eight Sub-Saharan countries that were once British colonies mainly Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Tanzania, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe with the purpose of documenting educational changes since their independence. The findings of the study revealed that the goal of expansion of access to education was met in that primary school enrolments increased significantly, qualitative growth was constant over time period for all the countries studied; growth at secondary school level was less dramatic than primary school growth; teacher-pupil ratio in secondary schools were lower than those of primary schools; Pupil enrolments’ were not met with corresponding lowering of teacher-pupil ratio, so they had to resort to hiring untrained teachers. Given these findings, it can be argued that expanding access to education was in a way directed towards the development of good citizens as it was observed that by 1995 illiteracy had steadily declined among Africans and education had expanded dramatically and rapidly (Samoff, 1999).

In 1990 governments, international and non-governmental organizations committed themselves to “Education for All” at an important world conference in
Jomtein, Thailand (Brocke-Utne, 2001; Samoff, 1999; Nekhwevha, 1999). The major themes of the Jomtein World Conference on “Education For All” were: that education is a fundamental right; the key to personal and social improvement; and that basic education should therefore be provided to all (Nekhwevha, 1999). Some African governments also committed themselves to providing “Education For All” to their citizens through increasing support for universal primary education (Stampf, 1996). For example the Namibian government after gaining independence in 1990 adopted a policy document entitled “Towards Education for All” and the main thrust of this education policy was: abolition of racial discrimination; establishment of a compulsory education structure from grade 4-12; creation of one Ministry of Education and Cultures for the whole of Namibia; introduction of the international General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) curriculum and syllabi; use of learner-centered methods (Nekhwevha, 1999). This policy was accepted as it was seen to be emancipatory and also presented culture as a unifying and nation-building force. The Ministry of Education committed itself to the utilization of the Namibian cultural universe as building blocks of a rich culture. The Ministry of education also committed itself to achieving the goal of cultural unity through cross-cultural dialogue whose main purpose was removal of cultural prejudices among people and integration of diverse heritages of all Namibian citizens into the curriculum (Nekhwevha, 1999).

The curriculum for “Education for all” in Namibia was to promote an analytic, imaginative, critical and innovative mind as well as promoting equal participation, cooperation, mutual respect and understanding between teachers and learners. Its major goal was to promote the spirit of self reliance and productivity (Nekhwevha, 1999). From
the Ministry of Education policy of “Towards Education For All” it can be deduced that there is some commitment towards the development of good citizens within Namibia who are educated, knowledgeable in their culture, cooperative, tolerant of other cultures and appreciate diversity.

However, in spite of the good intentions by African Governments, African countries found themselves unable to meet their promises of providing education for all primarily because they did not have the financial muscle to execute their plans. It should be borne in mind that some of these countries inherited a backlog of poverty from their colonial masters and education was the least developed sector as it was provided by missionaries (Samoff, 1999). What is interesting is that these African countries maintained their commitment to education even in periods of dire economic needs (Samoff, 1999) and adopted structural adjustment programs from the international financial organizations such as the IMF and World Bank.

These structural adjustments often termed “Liberalization” emphasized substantial devaluation, decreased direct government role in the economy, reduction in the size of the civil service, encouragement of foreign investment and support for privatization (Samoff, 1999). Tickly (2004) is very critical about multi-lateral corporations and has referred to the state of affairs surrounding the discourse around ‘development’ as exhibited by policies and programmes of the World Bank, IMF and other multilateral development agencies as the new imperialism. This has eventually led to the demise of expanded access to education as some counties cannot afford to educate their citizens due to lack of funds, a situation that renders African education and schooling in particular an elusive dream.
Educational Policies

The promulgation of new educational policies among some African nations was one way of developing citizens. These policies emanated from either political party manifestos such as in the case of Kenya and Tanzania while others were a result of national commissions that reviewed the status quo such as Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho (Samoff, 1999; Stampf, 1996). The purposes of such educational policies were to give direction towards education in an effort to align it to the needs of the society. Some of the policies that I discuss are; the policy on Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania, the Harambee schools in Kenya and Education for Kagisano in Botswana. I argue vehemently that such policies were geared towards the development of good citizens in their own countries as they redirected the educational path of children in order to reorient them to a certain kind of people that they aspired for.

Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania (Ujamaa)

Abdi (2008) opines that even though there were not many programs of citizenship education in the post-colonial era in Africa, there was one exception with regard to Julius Nyerere’s educational policy of the Ujamaa (A Swahili word meaning family and working cooperatively) programs especially his popularly known philosophy of “Education for Self Reliance” (1968). Ujamaa was adopted as a slogan for the Tanzanian brand of socialism and was based on the principles of: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing resources produced by the efforts of all and; work by all and exploitation by none (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008, 165).
Nyerere’s philosophy of education was a unique program of teaching and learning that explicated the type of citizenship education needed in Tanzania (Akimpelu, 1981) and he wrote that;

This is what our education system should encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living and working together for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars, or other such things, whether private or publicly owned. Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past (Abdi, 2008; p.161-2).

Looking at ‘Mwalimu’ Julius Kambarage Nyerere’s educational plan, one is inclined to conclude that this was a man with a vision for his country and for many he was seen to be very critical of the legacy of British colonial education that was inherited at independence in Tanzania.

Nyerere defined education as the development of the individual’s consciousness to think, decide, and act (Omotsaye and Omotsaye, 2008). He argued that colonial education;

…encourages attitudes of inequality, intellectual arrogance and intense individualism among young people who go through our schools, it is designed only for the few intellectually superior and builds them into a class of superior citizens while it condemns the majority as inferior, failures and rejects. Pupils
learn to despise even their own parents, regarding them as old fashioned and ignorant… (Akimpelu, 1981; p.120).

He proposed an education system that was geared towards producing farmers, critical and responsible citizens, able to think for themselves and make judgments on all issues affecting them, and be able to understand and interpret critical government activities (Akimpelu, 1981). Such type of citizenship education was seen as viable for national development.

The aims of the Tanzanian Education for Self Reliance were that;

1. Education must foster the social goals of living together and commitment to work by all for all
2. Education should stress equality and a sense of responsibility and a sense of responsibility to give service to the community by those who have acquired the abilities, skills, and privileges through education and training
3. Education is aimed at preparing youth for work in rural environments in agriculture and village development
4. Because education is an expensive venture, all who gain from it must be willing and ready to serve the community in various capacities according to his training and skills acquired
5. Education should go beyond book learning. It should be a combination of classroom work and productive practical work
6. Education provided at every level or stage should be “complete education in itself”. The implication is that each phase of education must satisfy the needs of the majority by equipping them to go into the world of work
7. Education should be geared towards the skills, attitudes, and values needed to live well and happily.

8. The community and the school should interact to serve each other. In this way the school is seen as an agent of the community, not an institution too educate people above communal living... (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008)

Through basic education which comprised preprimary and primary education, schooling was aimed at developing the young learner physically, intellectually, socially, and emotionally (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008). For example in preprimary the aforementioned goals were to be achieved through play.

In primary education various subjects were taught which included Swahili, English language, English literature, French, mathematics, the sciences, politics, and agriculture. It was required that every child who aspired for secondary education had to pass Kiswahili. Handicraft is also regarded as an important subject and is taken very seriously as a way of emphasizing self-reliance (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008). Through these aims, Nyerere spelled out the modalities of developing a good citizen in the Tanzanian sense. It is against this background that I see educational policies being used in the development of citizens. However, Nyerere’s “grand plan” was not successful in achieving its objectives because it became a victim of combined forces of world capitalism and educated Tanzanians who wanted to gain recognition and personal advancement at the expense of the majority of the people (Abdi, 2008).

The “Harambee” Schools in Kenya

According to Omatseye and Omatseye (2008) when Kenya gained independence in 1963, a different socialization process was needed to change the racial and ethnic
prejudices that had been nurtured during the colonial era and to build national unity. They further argue that given the circumstances, appropriate education was needed to prepare people to take up their roles in the society. A greater role in this respect was placed on education as a vehicle for national development, increasing income and enhancing the quality of life (Stampf, 1996). The quest for more education put the government under pressure, yet it was clear that the government could not provide the necessary schools. Stampf (1996) contends that as a result of this pressure, the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta encouraged the country to form community-based self-help schools in the spirit of “Harambee” (which literally means “let us pull together”).

Though at the beginning these schools were met with ambivalence, they were later recognized by the Second National Development Plan (1970-1974) as a means of improving the quality and efficiency of education (Stampf, 1996). However, their support from the government quickly dwindled as they were criticized for not providing pupils with relevant qualifications consistent with the needs of the economy. The recommendations of the Third Development Plan (1974-1979) called for an education system that provided high-level manpower for the economic and industrial development and skills for Kenyanization required (Stampf, 1996). The development plan focused on putting emphasis on providing technical and vocational education, changing attitudes of people to assist in the development of the country, on the job training in agriculture, increasing literacy and ensuring equality of educational opportunity (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008).
If we move beyond the caricatures of labeling essentialities it is possible to argue that citizenship education was and is not a new concept in Kenya. Considering Soltis’ (1988) contention that generally all education has an element of citizenship training then Kenya was not an exception in that the development of the *harambee* schools was not accidental. It was planned and indicative of a sense of agency, collectivity, cooperation, and determination towards the development of a particular citizenry. These were self-help schools that required local people to pool their financial and labor resources to build community projects such as schools. The *harambee* schools promoted the spirit of self reliance which was not a new development in Kenya. This initiative by President Kenyatta led to the mushrooming of the *harambee* schools (Stampf, 1996). It can be argued that such developments in education where schools were built through self-help not only promoted self reliance but instilled in people the spirit of cooperation, independence, patriotism and national development. In view of these accounts I argue that such African initiatives based on their culture and traditions called for a certain type of a citizen desirable within the context of their country-hence citizenship. This is one example of how schooling and educational policies were used to develop citizens in Africa after independence.

*Education for “Kogisano” in Botswana*

Botswana gained independence from the British Colonial rule in 1966 and inherited a poorly developed system of education. In 1976 the government of Botswana set up a National Commission on Education which was primarily to identify the problems in education and suggest alternative ways of improving the qualitative and quantitative aspects of education in Botswana (Tabulawa, 2003). The findings of the National
Commission on Education were published in the Report of the National Commission on Education of 1977 which is popularly known as *Education for Kagisano*: Government paper No.1. The development of education in Botswana since 1977 has been directed by Education for *Kagisano* and this report has been accepted as the National Education Policy and laid the foundation and framework for education in Botswana.

The major aim of education in Botswana as articulated in *Education for Kagisano* (1977) is individual development. It further states that the focus of education in the school and classroom should be based upon the learners by “enabling them to acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes and behavior that will give them a full successful life and continued personal growth; and equipping them with skills to participate effectively in a changing society” (*Education for Kagisano*, 1977, p.23. This goal for me is a clear indication of a commitment towards the development of a citizen who is equipped with knowledge, skills and values as well as being participative. The principles for the education system as laid down in *Education for Kagisano* (1977) are as follows:

a) Education had to be directed at the promotion of democracy

b) Education had to be directed at the development of the population

c) Education had to promote self-reliance

d) Education had to be aimed at the promotion of national unity

e) Education had to promote *Kagisano* (Social harmony).

Looking at the principles of education as laid down in *Education for Kagisano* (1977), it can be inferred that the policy is geared towards the development of citizenship as it is directed to the promotion of democracy, self reliance, national unity and social harmony which are essential attributes to nation-building and citizenship. However, a
critical analysis of the Botswana’ education system clearly show that formal education has been characterized by massive expansions, and a decline in academic achievement for standard seven, junior secondary and senior secondary education (National Commission on Education, 1993). The decline of students’ performance may be attributed to teacher education and development in the country.

Language Policies

Some countries in Africa at independence adopted the use of English as a medium of instruction in schools. In countries like South Africa, Namibia (Waghid, 2004; Nekhwevha, 1999) and Botswana (Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE), 1994), English has been adopted as a medium of instruction in schools, colleges, technikons and universities. The justification for the adoption of English as a medium of instruction has been its international importance particularly its use in international, technological and industrial communication (Nekhwevha, 1999). It is argued that English remains the language of diplomacy and international commerce (Waghid, 2004). The use of English as a medium of instruction is viewed as a way of preparing citizens to fit into the global arena and global market.

However, some critics have argued that the use of English in schools as a medium of instruction and as an official language is hegemonic in that its presence in the world today is the result of imperialism and colonialism (Brocke-Utne, 2001; Nekhwevha, 1999). One of the critics of the use of foreign languages is Ngugi wa Thiong’o, in his classic works, Deccolonizing the mind, when he argues that:

… the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb
is to annihilate a people’s belief in their names, in their language, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as a wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other people’s language rather than their own…( wa Thiong’o, 1986, p.3).

Given this scenario it is imperative for us as Africans to re-examine our education systems and how they contribute to the development of citizens. One scholar is quick to remind us that “no country has ever achieved high levels of economic development where a large number of its citizens were compelled to communicate or learn in their second and/or third languages” (Nkhewvha, 1999, p. 503). Therefore, Africans have to develop their languages if they want to develop by using their vernacular languages to learn.

However, some countries maintained the use of indigenous languages as a medium of instruction in schools. For instance, in Botswana the medium of instruction was set to be Setswana in the first four years of primary education and English was to take over for the rest of the education levels (Education for Kagisano, 1977). This situation was later revised such that Setswana was recommended for the first two years of primary schooling (RNPE, 1994). Since South Africa is racially diverse, eleven languages are officially recognized and English is commonly used (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008). In Tanzania, the medium of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili, and it is also taught as a core subject. English language is taught just like any other subject in the curriculum (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008). The major aim is to insure
that Tanzania children do not lose sight of their values, beliefs, ideas and behavior patterns required of them (Omatseye and Omatseye, 2008).

*Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IK)*

There is a growing trend among African nations to resuscitate their culture through refocusing their national philosophies. This has been done through the inclusion and emphasis of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) in education more especially in countries like Botswana and South Africa. In Botswana education revolves around the five national principles of democracy, development, self reliance, unity and *Botho (Being humane)* which altogether form the National Philosophy of *Kagisano (Social harmony)* (RNPE, 1994). Nekhwevha (1999) argues that if Africans are to develop good citizens their curriculum should draw on the traditional African philosophy, and teach African histories because in the case of South Africa and Namibia history is in danger of disappearing.

According to Kubow (2007) Indigenous Knowledge (IK) systems are defined as the knowledge, values, and practices of indigenous groups and are often synonymous with traditions in local communities and rarely considered universal. The author further cites Bhola (2002) who extols that IK’s epistemological assumptions on reality are based on intuition, experience, inspiration, and revelation and that these knowledge systems developed in African societies are composed of particular orientations to life, ethics, human development, social relations, and institutions.

One example of an indigenous value system that is embodied in the African philosophy and demonstrated through practice is *Ubuntu (Botho)* which refers to moral issues of compassion, communalism, responsibility, patriotism and concern for the interests of the collective (Kubow, 2007; Schoeman, 2006). In simple terms *Ubuntu*
(Zulu) or Botho (Setswana) has been added as one of the five national principles in Botswana and is also one of the tenets of the African culture. The Botswana government provides a working definition for Botho that: “…the concept of a well rounded character, who is well-mannered, courteous and disciplined, and realizes his or her full potential both as an individual and as a part of the community to which she or he belongs” (Vision 2016, 1997, p.2).

The addition of “Botho” as a national principle speaks to the type of citizen that the country aspires for, hence one of the goals of Vision 2016 in Botswana is that by 2016, Botswana will be a “moral and tolerant nation” as well as a” compassionate and caring nation”. Schoeman (2006) conducted a study among Teachers in South Africa in which they were asked about the characteristics of a good citizen. The findings of the study showed that a good citizen was associated with communitarian characteristics such as responsibility, morality, tolerance, and participation which were in line with the spirit of Ubuntu.

To further exemplify the notion of Ubuntu, Kubow (2007) uses a Zulu (language of an ethnic group in South Africa) adage that says “Umuntu ngumentu ngabanto” (a person is a person through other people) clearly showing that within the African context a person’s humanity is defined through sociability and that no person will rest easily knowing that another person is in need. The author further extols that;

Ubuntu-an organizing principle of African morality, a unifying vision, a spiritual foundation and a social ethic to guide interaction- is manifest through indigenous practices of reciprocity and social welfare, and jurisprudential practices such as restorative justice (Kubow, 2007).
The concept of restorative justice as opposed to retributive justice found among Western societies (Dutch and English) is well illustrated by the South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in dealing with the atrocities of the then Apartheid regime, through people’s expressions of their lived experiences the victims were able to heal and move forward (Kubow, 2007).

Indigenous knowledge is an important source of information among Africans as it provides useful information that is neither distorted nor foreign however, Africans themselves have been taught to devalue such knowledge. This notion of Africans abandoning their way of life is well captured in wa Thiongo (1986) in Williams and Chrisman (1994) when he recalls his early ages while growing up in Kenya as a Gikuyu that storytelling was used as a way of teaching where parents used to tell their children stories around fire every evening. They also used riddles, proverbs, transpositions; rhymes often characterized by arranged musical words which symbolized the power of language. There is an African world view that values oral traditions of proverbs, myths and legends as elements of indigenous wisdoms for citizenship preparation (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004).

To further explicate his point of cultural assimilation and its devastating accompanying agents wa Thiong’o (1986) poses a few questions that are indicative of the African submissiveness to a foreign culture and how that has impoverished African indigenous knowledge. His query is that: “why, we may ask, should an African writer, or any writer, become so obsessed by taking from his mother tongue to enrich other tongues? why should we see it as his particular mission? we never asked ourselves: how can we enrich our own language? How can we ‘prey’ on the rich humanist and
democratic heritage in the struggles of other peoples in other times and other places to enrich ourselves?" (wa Thion’o, 1986, p.8). Through these questions wa Thion’o calls for Africans to assess their domination and rethink and reclaim their African indigenous knowledge and heritage if they want to maintain their identity. The argument is that western value systems that were imported from Europe during colonialism have served to destroy and erode cultural values that were transmitted through informal and formal traditional schools and religions.

Relevance to the National Needs

When African countries gained independence from their colonial masters they were faced with a mammoth task of nation building and education was seen as a transformative tool for development (Verspoor, 2008). This was a challenge in that they had inherited underdeveloped education systems with inadequate human resource capacity (Stampf, 1996). In addressing the issue of relevance, two divergent perspectives emerged; one based on the role of education as transformative, liberating and empowering (Samoff, 1999). This view put emphasis on education helping students to understand their society in order to change and focus on innovation and experimentation (Samoff, 1999). On the other end education was viewed as skills development and preparation for the world of work (Samoff, 1999). This view put emphasis on providing students with skills to enable them to fit in the labor market.

Though the transformative view of education was seen to be empowering and liberating it remained a minority view. The second view became the dominant one as exemplified by education for self reliance in Tanzania and production brigades in Botswana. In this case education was seen as preparation for the world of work hence
students were to be provided with skills that met the labor market needs within the society (Samoff, 1999). Since attaining independence; these African countries have undergone some grand metamorphosis to respond to the needs and realities of their nations (Asimeng-Boahene, 1999). However, critics have argued that the notion of relevance to national needs has been construed narrowly in terms of improving the standard of living and the development of the nation’s spiritual and material lives and this has led to schools limiting the learners’ aspirations to develop strategies and tools for acquiring knowledge, generating ideas or crafting critiques (Samoff, 1999).

**Social Studies and Development of Citizenship Education**

In this section I examine how social studies have been used to develop citizenship among African nations since independence. I have identified three ways in which social studies has been used to develop citizenship among African nations: 1. Africanization of the social studies curriculum; 2. Promotion of Inquiry-based learning. According to Kissock (1981) social studies has been used as a tool for national development. Its purposes, content and rationales differ from one country to another. Among African nations it has been used to “improve the image of people in the society after a colonial heritage (Sierra Leone); to learn ways of improving the economy after military rule (Ghana); to transform the political culture (Ethiopia); and to inculcate concepts of nationalism, unity, and interdependence among a citizenry of new nations with diverse populations (Nigeria) (Kissock, 1901, p. 1). The major question here is how does it do all this? The answer lies in the ability of social studies to prepare a well informed citizenry who have the requisite knowledge, skills and values (Adeyemi, 2000). One way has been what Merryfield and Tlou (1995) refer to as the Africanization of the curriculum.
Africanization of the Social Studies Curriculum

Social studies provide knowledge, skills, competencies, attitudes and values which enable the youth to be good citizens (Merryfield, 1995). The development of a good citizen in Africa has been done through the Africanization of the social studies curriculum (Merryfield and Tlou, 1995). Merryfield and Tlou further define Africanization in terms of an African-centered education that refers to “instruction that is developed from and centered on African peoples’ experiences, thought, and environments” (p. 2). This view is based on the premise that the curriculum has to be changed to reflect the views of the Africans as opposed to those of the colonizers. This Africanization of the social studies was done in different aspects of the curriculum which necessitated that the objectives, content, methods and resources or teaching materials be redirected to reflect the content and knowledge, values and attitudes as well as the skills of the indigenous people it is supposed to serve. This called for reforms in the social studies curriculum more especially the syllabus to be Africanized.

Merryfield and Tlou (1995) in their study where they examined the primary social studies curriculum in Malawi, Botswana, Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe found that most of these countries had revised their social studies curriculum to reflect their culture, language, literature and traditions. For example in Botswana the move towards Afrocentric social studies included among others developing a strong moral code of behavior that is compatible with the ethics and traditions of Botswana. In Kenya the social studies syllabus emphasized Kenya’s economic development, cultural heritage, and National political unity as well as the knowledge and appreciation of their local communities and the nation as a whole. In Malawi more emphasis was put on teaching
about Malawi and its neighbors as opposed to non-African content. In Nigeria, the Africanization of the social studies was noticed in that it concentrated on the local community, family, culture, health and economic well-being.

In Zimbabwe, the syllabus reflected a new ideology that was oriented towards a socialist model. The primary curriculum focused on the study of Zimbabwe as a nation, its history and culture. Most importantly there was a call for Zimbabweans to rewrite history to reflect their experiences and perspectives of the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial eras in Zimbabwe (Merryfield and Tlou, 1995). This reform in the social studies curriculum to embrace the African environments and cultures was pivotal in the development of good citizens as it equipped them with the knowledge, values, attitudes and skills that allowed them to be conversant with their culture, heritage and societal systems and such knowledge is relevant for nation building (Adeyemi and Asimeng-Boahene, 1999).

It is further argued that part of the Africanization is to build national identity and unity. Tlou and Kabwila (2000) contend that a nation can only grow if its people have positive values towards their government, natural resources, social services, their society and themselves as a people. In Malawi this was exhibited through a curriculum that promotes national heritage through knowledge and respect of national symbols. The curriculum further instills positive values towards government by advocating for participatory democracy, care of the environment, effective citizenship and maintenance of high social and moral standards. Students are also trained in decision making, problem solving and critical thinking (Tlou and Kabwila, 2000).
Social studies also inculcates the spirit of identity and togetherness through rituals such as national anthems, flags, and other ceremonies that provides a sense of belonging either to the community or nation (Merryfield and Tlou, 1995). In Zambia students and teachers are expected to sing the National Anthem and to respect the National flag as symbols of national consciousness and these have been instituted in the curriculum through the Education Act of 1966. Students are expected to observe all these tenets of the nation as a way of learning good citizenship (Chishimba and Simukoko, 2000).

Promotion of Inquiry Based Teaching Methods

Social studies as a field of study advocates for the use of inquiry and problem based learning as opposed to rote learning that previously characterized learning during the colonial era (EDC/CREDO, 1968). It is believed that the problem-solving method is necessary as it develops the child in such a way that she/he sees it as a democratic adventure, as well as the intellectual, critical, and cooperative aspects of the learners (Waghid, 2004; Salia-Bao, 1991). Dewey believed that the most effective and natural education occurred when problem solving was applied in the classroom as it encouraged critical thinking (Salia-Bao, 1991). Following Dewey’s principle of democratic education, it was believed that such a method encouraged participation among learners through engaging them in cooperative adventures that would turn the classroom into a microcosm of democracy and thereby allowing the child to acquire skills and values of democracy.

However, some scholars in social studies argue that the use of problem-based learning has been an ideal in most social studies classrooms in Africa as teachers have not been trained towards the use of such methods (Adeyemi, 2000; Asimeng-Boahene,
Further research carried out in seven member countries of the African Social Studies Programme (ASSP) have shown that inquiry based learning is talked about in schools but does not translate into teaching as classroom activities are teacher driven and dominated by the chalk-and-talk styles of teaching (Harber, 1997). Other studies carried out in primary and secondary schools in Botswana revealed that teachers used teacher centered methods as opposed to child centered methods in social studies classrooms (Mautle, 2000; Tabulawa, 1998). In Kenya, research into classrooms in general and social studies in particular have revealed that lecture method is still dominant (Otiende and Oanda, 2000).

In Botswana there have been attempts to train in-service teachers in child-centered approaches that were meant to develop critical thinking among learners such as the Project method. This initiative received criticism from some people that it was futile to try to alter the classroom relations while the enveloping school social structure remained oppressive (Tabulawa, 2003). Such pedagogies as learner-centered are said to be colonizing and domesticating and that their presentation as “a one-size-fits-all” approach to teaching and learning marginalizes pedagogies that are based on indigenous knowledge systems (Tabulawa, 2003). The author recommends that Africans need to invent alternative culturally relevant pedagogies and there is need to develop indigenous pedagogies. I tend to subscribe to the idea of developing indigenous pedagogies in Africa because it has been argued elsewhere that the African continent is replete with cultural tools that have nurtured vast civilizations as Ancient Egypt, Asante and Zulu kingdoms and has long been acknowledged as the cradle of civilization yet its cultural resources remain untapped (Grant and Asimeng-Boahene, 2006). It is through developing
indigenous pedagogies that the cultural resources can be tapped into and be used to
further our education and develop the citizens we need.

**Challenges in implementing the social studies curriculum**

A number of challenges have been attributed to the implementation of social
studies in Africa and among the many are a lack of instructional materials, definitional
problems and lack of trained and experienced teachers (Mautle, 2000; Asimeng-Boahane,
2000). It is interesting to note that in her study of some selected African countries
Merryfield (1986) found that there was a problem of the definition of social studies and
lack of instructional materials in schools. After about two decades the problems still
exist. It has been observed that there is a serious lack of instructional materials for
teaching social studies such as conventional materials like textbooks, audio, audio-visuals
and other resources that are technology related in Africa in general (Asimeng-Boahene,
2000; Mautle; 2000). Such materials where available, are also very limited in scope as
they are usually content-related and not activity or problem-solving based (Asimeng-
Boahene, 2000).

The other problem related to social studies teaching and implementation is related
to the definition of social studies. In her study in Malawi, Kenya and Nigeria Merryfield
(1986) observed that people who are responsible for the implementation of social studies,
teachers and teacher educators were not clear about the meaning of social studies and
could not differentiate it from the subjects it replaced. Another problem that appears to be
dominant in Africa relates to the training of teachers or teacher education. It appears that
there is a great shortage of trained and experienced social studies teachers in most
African schools and teacher training institutions (Mautle, 2000; Asimeng-Boahene,
Problems in the provision of materials and resources continue to dominate in classrooms in Botswana (Adeyemi, Boikhutso and Moffat 2003). The current state of affairs with regards to social studies needs to be addressed if social studies is to achieve its goal of preparing citizens for the 21 century.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has led an illustrious discussion on the role of social studies in developing citizens in democracy. It has covered vast amounts of areas with regards to social studies and began with the background on social studies that includes a brief history of the field. This chapter identified three themes and these include the acquisition and understanding of knowledge; development of skills, values, and attitudes needed to develop citizens in a democracy. It further argues that if social studies have to develop citizens, it has to develop awareness and understanding on trends in social studies since those are the problems and issues that students deal with on a day to day basis and tend to impact on their lives either negatively or positively depending on their experiences. In this chapter, I argue that there is a plethora of information that social studies has to draw on to develop effective citizens in a democracy and that the task that social studies is faced with is an enormous one and one wonders if social studies has been able to achieve its goals given that it first emerged as a school subject in the early 1900’s.

A number of studies have been carried out on citizenship education in the United States (Hahn, 2001; 2004; Torney-Purta, 2002; Kahne and Westheimer, 2004; Parker, 2001a; 2008), in England and Canada (Warwick, 2007; Mclaughlin, 2000; Evans, 2006) and other countries such as Denmark, Germany and Netherlands (Hahn, 2004). However, all these studies focus on citizenship education and pedagogy in the
classrooms, which skills and values are promoted and if students are being prepared for
democracy. Very little is said about social studies’ impact on students’ lives. It is critical
that a cross-national longitudinal study on the evaluation of social studies be undertaken
to find out if it has been able to achieve its goals. This is important for social studies
educators as they need to map out the road for social studies in the twenty-first century as
it appears that there are a lot of expectations put on social studies and societal problems
keep on increasing as nations grow.

The advent of global education and multicultural education has also put social
studies under a lot of pressure and scrutiny. The education of social studies teachers is
also a target for research in that given what social studies is supposed to do Alas! puts
such teachers in a state of incompetence and dilemma. What should Teacher Education
teach these teachers? For how long should they be prepared to be teachers? Maybe
reforms need to begin with teacher education programs to restructure since it appears that
what pre-service teachers learn from their teacher preparation is incongruent with what
they are supposed to do in schools(Mathews and Dilworth, 2008). The stakes are high for
social studies teachers and it is time that an evaluation of the field is undertaken not in
piecemeal but wholesome.

The second part of the review has developed a thorough discussion on citizenship
and the development of citizens in Africa. In view of the quest to transform education it
has been stated that:

It is our intention to try and retrieve what we can of our past. We should write our
history books, to prove that we did have a past, and that it was the past that was
just as worth writing and learning about as any others. We must do this for the
simple reason that a nation without a past is a lost nation, and a people without a past is a people without a soul (Sir Seretse Khama: Speech delivered at UBLS on May 20, 1970)

The above quote sums up the discussion in this section of the chapter, though directed to the students and audience that attended the joint graduation ceremony of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, it serves as a reminder to all African nations to reinvent themselves and their histories, culture and customs and calls for an African Renaissance. Most of the literature has revealed that social studies is also conceptualized differently, however, all the programs are guided by the ASESP which is the pan-Africanist coordinating body for social studies in the continent. The chapter has identified ways in which schooling and social studies in particular have been used to develop citizens and among the many are; expansion of basic education; promulgation of educational policies; language policies; Indigenous Knowledge systems, relevance to the national needs; Africanization of the curriculum, and on the emphasis on the use of problem-solving methods. Some of the challenges of implementing the social studies programme in Africa were also identified and briefly explained.

There is need to evaluate the social studies program at cross national levels to see the extent to which it does what it purports to be doing. Secondly, there is need for citizenship education as taught in various countries to move beyond the nation state and address global issues. There is need for students to understand that the world in interconnected, and create awareness of what is happening in other countries in order to be part of the global community. In going through the literature on social studies as recent as 2000, there was no mention of global perspectives.
My recommendation after undertaking this review is that social studies should adopt a paradigm shift from an emphasis on nation building to incorporate world-mindedness in view of the current forces of globalization, immigration and the emergence of a new order in citizenship globally in order to cope with the emerging and changing trends in the field. There is need to be specific on what social studies ought to do and avoid language jargons such as national development, nationalism, nation building and refocus since the era of reconstruction has been overtaken by events. Given the discussion in this chapter, I believe that social studies, if well conceptualized, is a viable tool within the school curriculum to develop good citizens however, I still think there is need to draw parameters to avoid pitfalls of it becoming a hodgepodge of trivial issues.

I want to reiterate that; it is the social studies curriculum that has been charged with the responsibility to integrate knowledge from the other disciplines, the enormous challenge to provide civic education to all students, provide critical inquiry into practices and social values, examine social knowledge, dysfunctional value systems and the effects of racism, prejudice, and gender inequities in the society (Nelson & Pang, 2006; Smith-Crocco, 2006; Rains, 2006). In summing up the discussion in this chapter, I want to pose some questions that are haunting me as a social studies educator; given this tall order, what can social studies do? What should social studies do? How much content should social studies teachers cover? I keep wondering if there is any other subject within the school curriculum that is struggling to keep up with societal changes as social studies; I stand to be corrected on this!
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND RATIONALE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the methodological approach of a study on social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy. The discussion covers aspects of the research design, data collection methods, data analysis and trustworthiness of the research methods. This chapter also briefly explains how my background and experiences as a social studies teacher and teacher educator have influenced my choice of the research topic, research design and selection of the participants in this study. As an experienced teacher and teacher educator in Botswana, I have often wondered as to whether social studies teachers understand their role in the development of citizens. While observing my student teachers teaching social studies in their classrooms, I was often perplexed by their reliance on textbooks and other book knowledge which is often prescriptive and conforming to the standardized curriculum and often detached from the students’ real life situations.

I also took interest in how these teachers taught their content that to me seemed to value foreign knowledge as opposed to knowledge that is locally produced. In looking at the structure of the subjects within the primary schools, I have been disturbed by the
emerging trend that seems to relegate social studies to an insignificant subject in the school curriculum where each subject area has a head of department to coordinate its activities but social studies is included with other subjects, yet charged with an important responsibility of developing citizens in a democracy like Botswana. The marginalization of social studies both in research and policy made me rethink on the way social studies is understood more especially its goal of citizenship education. It is this concern on the way social studies is treated that makes me wonder if indeed its role and importance in terms of developing citizens in a democracy is understood. I believe this role has to begin with the teachers as they are agents of change.

The upper primary standards (5, 6, and 7) were chosen for this study because this is the only place within primary education where social studies is taught. For lower standards (1, 2, 3 and 4) students are taught cultural studies as preparation for social studies in upper primary classes. Cultural studies as taught in lower primary classes combines content from religious education, moral education and social studies. Secondly, primary education is the bedrock of our education system and forms the basis of understanding citizenship from a tender age which may be translated to action in later life.

The overall purpose of this study was to explore social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of citizenship education in upper primary classes in Botswana. The guiding question for the study was; “What are the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of citizenship education in a democracy?” In order to answer this broad research problem the following questions guided the study:
1. What do social studies teachers think and say about citizenship education in Botswana primary schools?

2. How do social studies teachers prepare students for democratic citizenship in a democracy?

3. Are there any issues or problems in the schools regarding citizenship education, if any, what can be done to improve the situation?

4. What are the curricular and other implications of the findings for developing citizens in Botswana?

The study was conducted in a naturalistic setting at six primary schools in Maretlweng village (pseudonym) in an attempt to understand how teachers construct meaning and their interpretations of citizenship education in a democracy. The study was qualitative in nature and adopted a naturalistic paradigm.

**Nature of Qualitative Inquiry**

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) view qualitative research as something more than a set of data gathering techniques but as a way of approaching the empirical world. Qualitative research is defined as “research that describes phenomena in words instead of numbers or measures…” (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 740). Qualitative research provided me with the opportunity to observe selected informants daily interactions and behaviors. Rather than reporting statistics, qualitative research enabled me as a researcher to present the results in a narrative fashion, rich with descriptive data, emergent themes and story lines (Krathwohl, 1993). Qualitative research was seen as the most appropriate approach for this study in that it is based on the belief that behavior is context specific and that it is significantly influenced by the environment in which it occurs (Wiersma and Jurs, 2005).
According to Miles and Huberman (1984) qualitative data are a source of a well-grounded rich description and explanation of processes occurring in local contexts.

**Characteristics of Qualitative Research**

I chose to use qualitative research for its potential suitability for my study and this involves the following reasons:

1. Qualitative research is said to be inductive, meaning that researchers develop concepts, insights and understanding from patterns of data rather than collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses or theories. The research design is flexible and studies begin with only vaguely formulated research questions (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984)

2. Qualitative research has been described as naturalistic. This means that the researchers study things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of, or interpret, a phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 1998)

3. Qualitative researchers try to understand people from their own frame of reference, as a result they empathize and identify with the people they study in order to understand how they see things (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984)

4. Qualitative research puts primacy on the researcher as the “human Instrument” (Patton, 1990).

5. Qualitative research values multiple-perspectives. The researcher seeks not “truth” or “morality” but rather a detailed understanding of other peoples’ perspectives. All people are viewed as equals (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984).
6. Qualitative research is context-specific with the researchers’ role being one of inclusion in the situation. Qualitative research believes in context sensitivity, that the particular physical and social environments have a great bearing on human behavior. Qualitative researchers emphasize a holistic interpretation of the phenomena under study (Wiersma and Jurs, 2005).

7. Qualitative methods are humanistic. This allows qualitative researchers to get to know their informants personally and experience what they experience in their daily struggles in society (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984).

8. Qualitative researchers emphasize validity in their research. The use of qualitative methods allows the researchers to stay as close to the empirical world. By observing people in their everyday lives, listening to them talk about what is on their minds, and looking at the documents they produce, the qualitative researcher obtains first-hand knowledge of social life unfiltered through concepts, operational definitions and rating scales (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984).

In order to obtain rich and detailed description of the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy, it was advantageous for me to use a qualitative approach that permits the researcher to continually focus and refocus the direction of the study as it unfolds. Qualitative inquiry has been praised for its ability to allow the researcher to reflect and interact with the study on an ongoing basis, a feature that makes it more valuable in this research as it is not rigid and allows flexibility.

**Naturalistic Paradigm**

Qualitative researchers describe a paradigm as “a world view, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. As such paradigms
are deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners; paradigms tell them what is important, legitimate, and reasonable…” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 150). The authors further assert that research paradigms involve three domains and these are; ontological, epistemological, and methodological. In this study I used the naturalistic paradigm to explore the social studies teachers views, beliefs and experiences about educating citizens in a democracy in Botswana primary schools, how they prepare their students for democratic citizenship and the challenges they face in developing citizens in social studies classrooms.

Naturalistic inquiry raises questions over the relationship between the knower and the known hence the need to look into the different naturalistic axioms on ontology, epistemology and axiology. Ontology involves the nature of reality (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). According to Creswell (1998) for the qualitative researcher, reality is constructed by individuals that are involved in the research situation denoting that multiple realities exist such as those of the researcher, participants, reader or audience interpreting the study. As a qualitative researcher, I too believe that multiple realities exist and as such I relied on the voices and interpretations of the informants and these were captured through interviews, focus groups and observations.

Epistemology addresses the relationship of the knower to the known (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Qualitative researchers interact with those they study over a prolonged period of time or actual collaboration in an effort to minimize “distance” or “objective separateness” (Creswell, 1998). As a researcher, I maintained my role as a participant observer in order to gain acceptance as an “insider” or part of the researched. However I was cautious not to interrupt the normalcy of the classroom as I often sat next to a group
of students and became part of their group. I also made sure that I helped the teacher in distributing materials like textbooks and papers for group work.

Axiology refers to the role of values in inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As a qualitative researcher, I too believe that research is value-laden and as such I actively reported and reflected on my values and biases as well as the value-laden nature of the information gathered from the field (Creswell, 1998) in my reflexive journal. Methodology refers to the ways or practices used to attain knowledge what Crotty (1988) refers to as a strategy or plan of action. Qualitative researchers work inductively through developing categories from informants rather than specifying them in advance.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) naturalistic inquiry is based on five axioms that are pertinent for the understanding of the paradigm. The axioms as captured from Lincoln and Guba (1985; pp. 37-38) are as follows:

Axiom 1: The nature of reality (ontology)

For the naturalistic paradigm there are multiple constructed realities and that these realities can only be studied holistically. Inquiry into these realities will raise more questions than it answers.

Axiom 2: The relationship of knower to known (epistemology)

To the naturalist, the inquirer and the “object” of inquiry interact to influence one another; the knower and known are inseparable.

Axiom 3: The possibility of generalization

The aim of inquiry is to develop an idiographic body of knowledge in the form of “working hypotheses” that describe the individual case.

Axiom 4: The possibility of causal linkages
All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping so that it is impossible to
distinguish causes from effects.

Axiom 5: The role of values in inquiry (axiology)

To the naturalistic paradigm, inquiry is value-bound in at least five ways that are captured
in the corollaries below:

Corollary 1: Inquiries are influenced by inquirer values as expressed in the choice
of the problem, evaluand, or policy option.

Corollary 2: Inquiry is influenced by the choice of the paradigm that guides the
investigation into the problem.

Corollary 3: Inquiry is influenced by the choice of the substantive theory that
guide the collection and analysis of data and interpretation of findings.

Corollary 4: Inquiry is influenced by the values that inhere in the context.

Corollary 5: … Problem, evaluand, or policy option, paradigm, theory, and
context must exhibit congruence (value-resonance) if inquiry is to produce
meaningful results (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 38).

It is stated that any researcher who follows the naturalistic paradigm needs the five
axioms as guides to the study and must note that these axioms are not sufficient without
the important implications of the paradigm for actual research operations (Lincoln and
Guba, 1985). Following is a discussion of the basic elements of the naturalistic inquiry
that formed the rationale for adopting the naturalistic paradigm and how my study is
aligned to the naturalistic paradigm.
**Basic Elements/ Characteristics of Naturalistic inquiry**

*Natural setting*

Naturalistic inquiry is said to demand a natural setting (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Norris and Walker, 2005). This is so because “phenomena of study, whatever they may be-physical, chemical, biological, social, psychological- *take their meaning as much from their contexts as they do from themselves*” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 189). Lincoln and Guba (1985) elaborate on the essence of a natural setting, that naturalist inquirers begin their research with the belief that constructions of realities cannot be separated from the world in which they occur or are experienced therefore emphasizing the relationship between time and context to understanding the phenomena under study. This study was conducted among eleven social studies teachers in six primary schools in one of the major villages in the central district in Botswana, in this study this village is referred to as *Maretlweng village* (pseudonym). The teachers were observed and interviewed in their natural settings- in this case their classrooms.

In order to maintain what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as the “natural flow”, I tried to familiarize myself with the setting by spending a week with these teachers before data collection such that they get to consider my presence as part of the social setting. Getting acquainted with the schools and teachers was not very difficult since I found some teachers and school-heads that I knew from my connections as a teacher educator. However, in getting to know the participants, I assured the participants of confidentiality on what they said and that pseudonyms would be used to protect them.
The Human as Instrument

The primary research instrument in naturalistic inquiry is the Human Instrument. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) the naturalist chooses to “use him or herself as well as other humans as the primary data-gathering instruments…” (p.39). The justification for using humans as primary instruments is based on the premise that:

1. It would be virtually impossible to devise \textit{a priori} a non human instrument with sufficient adaptability to encompass and adjust to the variety of realities that will be constructed

2. The understanding that all instruments interact with respondents and objects but that only the human instrument is capable of grasping and evaluating meaning of that differential interaction

3. All instruments are value-based and interact with local values but only the human is in a position to identify and take into account those resulting biases (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 40).

As a naturalistic inquirer, my background as a Motswana and experiences as a social studies educator helped me understand how the social studies teachers construct and interpret citizenship education within the Botswana context.

Utilization of Tacit Knowledge

Naturalistic inquiry does not only dwell on observable objects and events but also focuses on personal experiences. Lincoln and Guba (1985) cite Stake (1978) who views tacit (intuitive, felt) knowledge as “knowledge gained from experience…” (p.196). The authors further elaborate on tacit knowledge and describe it as:

\ldots all that is remembered somehow, minus that which is remembered in
the form of words, symbols, or other rhetorical forms. It is that which permits us to recognize faces, to comprehend metaphors, and to “know ourselves”. Tacit knowledge includes a multitude of inexpressible associations which give rise to new meanings, new ideas, and new applications of the old (p. 196).

The argument is that everyone has the experience of tacit knowledge and how it is used (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.196). We usually speak of non verbal cues and making reference to information gleaned from a situation unaware that we are using tacit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is said to capture the nuances of multiple realities and mirrors more fairly and accurately the value patterns of the researcher. In this study, I used my personal experiences as a social studies teacher educator and a product of Botswana’s education system to understand the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of citizenship education in Botswana. My familiarity with the Botswana education system and social studies curriculum in particular helped me interpret the individual teachers’ beliefs, attitudes and values in terms of citizenship education in my country.

*Qualitative Methods*

Naturalistic inquiry emphasizes the use of qualitative methods over quantitative because they allow the researcher to deal with multiple realities (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Norris and Walker, 2005). Qualitative methods expose more directly the relationship between the researcher and the respondent and hence make it easier to assess the extent to which the phenomena under study is described in terms of the researcher’s own poster or biases. Qualitative methods are also sensitive to and adaptable to the many mutually shaping influences and value patterns that may be encountered (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).
Naturalistic inquiry prefers methods of research such as observation sometimes participant observation, interview, documents and artifacts collection because they allow a face-to-face interaction (Norris and Walker, 2005). I used a variety of qualitative methods to learn about the social teachers’ views and experiences of citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana.

These qualitative methods that I used in this study included interviews, focus groups, participant observations and document analysis. Interviews were used to gather biographic data and what teachers think and say about citizenship. Focus groups were used to understand how teachers prepare their students for democratic citizenship and the challenges that they face in preparing citizens in social studies classrooms. Participant observation was used to further understand the social teachers’ conceptualization of democratic citizenship and the school contexts. Documents were obtained and analyzed to further understand what knowledge about citizenship is emphasized and if that resonates with what teachers are saying. I also kept a reflexive journal to inform and query my observations and biases.

*Purposeful Sampling*

Naturalistic inquiry prefers purposive sampling over random or representative sampling (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), It therefore goes without saying that “all sampling is done with some purpose in mind” (p. 198). The major purpose of purposive sampling also referred to as theoretical sampling is to “select information-rich cases for study in depth” (Patton, 1990, p.169). The naturalistic inquirer prefers purposive sampling because it allows for the increase of the scope and range of data and the likelihood that a full array of multiple realities will be uncovered; it also maximizes the researcher’s
ability to devise grounded theory that “takes account of local conditions, local mutual shaping’s, and local values” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 40). In this study I used a type of purposive sampling known as snowball sampling to select the social studies teachers who participated in the study (Patton, 1990).

This sampling technique is tackled fully when I explain the selection of the participants later on in this chapter. I focused on the social studies teachers’ because I wanted to gain a better understanding of how they make meaning and interpret citizenship education in a post colonial society like Botswana. Their understanding of citizenship is critical as subject specialists as it has the potential to influence their approach to citizenship education. Focusing on social studies teachers’ perceptions in primary schools provides better understandings of their views, experiences and beliefs about citizenship education since they are at the helm of developing citizens in a democracy like Botswana.

In order to understand the teachers’ experiences, beliefs and attitudes, I combined naturalistic inquiry with post colonial theory. Post colonial theory focuses on decolonizing knowledge. It examines how the perpetual legacy of colonialism continues to manifest itself unconsciously within post colonial societies. It further queries the discourse of nationalism (Subedi and Daza, 2008). In the educational sphere, post colonial theory examines how knowledge is constructed and reproduced. So researchers recognize that educational institutions more especially the curriculum have the potential to reinforce stereotypes and misinformation about the “other” as well as reinforcing the western imperialist and hegemonic ideas as the only form of knowledge worthy of learning (Smith-Crocco, 2005).
**Inductive Data Analysis**

Naturalistic inquiry prefers inductive data analysis over deductive one. Lincoln and Guba (1985) define inductive data analysis as “a process for “making sense” of field data” (p. 202). Naturalistic inquirers use inductive data analysis because: 1) It makes the investigator-respondent interaction explicit, recognizable and accountable; 2) It is more likely to identify the multiple realities to be found in the data; 3) It is likely to describe the setting and make decisions about the transferability to other settings easier; 4) Allows for the identification of patterns in the data and their connections to the themes (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). As a naturalistic researcher I employed inductive data analysis where I constantly transcribed, coded and categorized data on social studies teachers’ views and experiences as well as how they prepare their students for citizenship immediately after transcribing them.

**Emergent Design**

Naturalistic inquiry design allows for the research to emerge or unfold as the study progresses, that is to say “the design must therefore be “played by ear”; it must unfold, cascade, roll, emerge” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 209). The emergent design is said to be advantageous in that: 1) meaning is to a large extent determined by context; 2) captures multiple realities; 3) shows how the outcome of the study is dependent on the interaction between the researcher and context. Lincoln and Guba (1985) further remind us that using an emergent design do not mean that the naturalist enters the field empty-handed but rather may have tacit knowledge that is germane to the phenomena under study.
As a naturalistic inquirer, I was engaged in continuous data analysis where immediately after conducting an interview or observing a class I would immediately transcribe the data, code and categorize it in order to see commonalities and differences and raise questions for further investigation. This process of continuous data analysis was performed on a daily basis so that insights, elements of theory, hypotheses, questions, or gaps, could be identified and pursued beginning with the next day’s work (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Furthermore, I kept records of my methodological decisions in the form of a personal journal which may be availed for public scrutiny where need arises.

*Negotiated Outcomes*

Negotiated outcomes implies that “both facts and interpretations that will ultimately find their way into the case report must be subjected to scrutiny by respondents who earlier acted as sources for that data or by other persons who are like them” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 211). Naturalist inquirers are therefore, required to share their data with the participants so that they have a common understanding since they are the sources of that knowledge. The importance of negotiated outcomes is vividly illustrated by Heron (1981) cited in (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.213) who provides a justification for working with respondents because:

1. it honors the fulfillment of their need for autonomously acquired knowledge;
2. it protects them from becoming the unwitting accessories to knowledge-claims that may be inappropriately or harmfully applied to others; (3) it protects them from being excluded from the formation of knowledge that purports to be about them and so from being managed and manipulated, both in the acquisition and in
the application of the knowledge, in ways that they do not understand and so
cannot assent to or dissent from (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, pp. 34-35).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) further argue that negotiated outcomes are essential if
the criteria of trustworthiness are to be met adequately. This is more evident where the
trustworthiness criteria of credibility cannot be established. As a naturalistic inquirer,
conducting a naturalistic inquiry, I used member-checks as a way of negotiating the
outcomes of my study. A discussion on how I conducted member checks follows in this
chapter where I discuss the trustworthiness of my research.

**Research Design**

**Research Site and Context**

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) assert that in an attempt to select a research site, the
researcher has to scout for possible places and people that might be the subject or source
of data, identify the location and determine the feasibility of the site. Coming from the
aforementioned premise, this study was conducted in six primary schools in *Marethweng*
 village (pseudonym) in the central district in Botswana. *Marethweng* village has a total of
twelve primary schools and is one of the big villages in the country. I chose *Marethweng*
village because it is my home village and is a typical example of a melting pot. Its
population is diverse and comprises of different ethnic groups including those groups of
people whose origins can be traced from the neighboring countries such as the *Xhosa’s*
and Colored’s from South Africa, *Baherero* from Namibia, *Barotsi* from Zambia, and
*Shona’s* and *Ndebele’s* from Zimbabwe.

These ethnic groups have their own wards with schools located in them. *Marethweng* village is regarded as a semi-urban area in this study. Semi-urban areas in
Botswana are places with a combination of traditional and modern lifestyles and as such give this study the flavor of both rural and urban settings. My belief is that such areas are usually marginalized in research due to their distance from the capital city (Gaborone) since most research is carried out in either urban or remote areas. The primary schools that were used for this study are public schools run by the Botswana government except for one school that is co-owned by the Botswana government and the catholic mission. These schools are typical of any primary school in the country and have teachers who come from various parts of the country.

Participant Selection

The study focused on eleven social studies teachers in upper classes (standards 5, 6, and 7) in six primary schools at Maretlweng village (pseudonym). These teachers who teach social studies in these primary schools hold either a Diploma or Bachelors Degree in primary education. All of these teachers obtained their qualifications to teach social studies from either Primary Colleges of Education or the University of Botswana. It should be noted that, even though these teachers have been trained as social studies teachers, they teach all the subjects within the school curriculum but remain experts in their area of specialization. These teachers were chosen for this study on the basis that they are experts in what they do and therefore, I can learn a lot more from them than from novices. This view resonates with the view that “teaching is explained by those who teach; and in this case, those who teach well” (Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 155).

Purposive sampling also referred to in Goetz and LeCompte (1984) as criterion-based sampling (Merriam, 1988), was employed for the selection of the participants for this study. This type of sampling requires that one establishes a criteria, bases, or
standards necessary for units to be included in the investigation. Patton (1990) further states that the logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information rich cases for in-depth study. The sample of the study was restricted to eleven social studies teachers because the purpose of this study was to explore the social studies teachers’ perceptions on citizenship education and intends to understand the phenomena under study and not to generalize the findings to all the social studies teachers in Botswana. Patton (1990) reinforces the notion of sample size by asserting that there are no rules to sample size but what matters is what the researcher wants to know, the purpose of the inquiry and the usefulness and credibility of the study. According to Creswell (2005) the ability to provide a detailed picture of the subject’s experience is diminished with each additional participant.

There are different strategies used under purposeful sampling, and in this study, social studies teachers were selected using what Patton (1990) refers to as snowball or chain sampling. In this type of sampling the researcher identifies cases of interest from people who know what cases are information rich, that is, good examples for the study, good interview subjects” (Patton, 1990, p.182). In this study I asked the Education Officers and School-heads that I knew to recommend teachers who they felt were “good” social studies teachers. I then followed on the previously identified social studies teachers to refer me to possible participants who meet the set criteria. I later conducted pre-interviews on the identified teachers to come up with the final selection of the participants in the study.

Social studies teachers were chosen following a selection criteria based on; (1) area of specialization during teacher education as social studies, (2) knowledge about
primary social studies curriculum and citizenship education in Botswana, (3) evidence of substantive teaching for at least three years; (4) varied views about purposes and practices of citizenship education in Botswana, and (5) encourage students to expand learning beyond the classroom. These criteria are based on the notion that it serves as proxy for “good” social studies teachers (Marri, 2008). In the end I had eleven teachers who were willing to participate voluntarily in my study.

*Gaining Access*

Negotiating entry or gaining access into a field of study is an important element of qualitative research design and one of the most difficult encounters in research because it determines the success of the study. Failure to gain entry results in the study not undertaken (Jones, Torres and Amino, 2006). Access is a process which refers to the acquisition of consent “to go where you want, observe what you want, talk to whoever you want, obtain and read whatever documents you require, and do all this for whatever period of time you need to satisfy your research purposes” (Glesne, 2006, p.44). It requires making contact with various gate-keepers within the institution or agency that you want to conduct your research in. Titchen and Hobson (2005) provide an illuminating account of the need to develop a relationship with the participants in order to gain entry into the field. They contend that in order to achieve shared social and situated ways of being with participants, one need to be willing to do the things they do and experience for themselves the backgrounds, practices and social contexts of the researched. This is where the idea of participant observer comes into play, because the researcher becomes part of the researched.
For this study, I began by getting approval from the Human Subject Review Board (IRB) of the Ohio State University. After being granted permission from the Human Subject Review Board of the Ohio State University, I began the process of requesting for permission to conduct my study from the Botswana Government since my research was based in Botswana. In Botswana gaining access and entry into the research site was done through Office of Research within the Ministry of Education. In order to seek permission from the Botswana Government, I completed a research form (which is available online) requesting for permission to conduct research in primary schools from the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education.

Upon receipt of permission to conduct research in Botswana from the Ministry of Education, I then presented the letter of permission to the Principal Education Officer responsible for primary schools in Maretlweng region and asked for his permission and support to conduct research in their schools. I made an appointment to meet with the Principal Education Officer in charge to explain the intent of my study. After getting permission from the Principal Education Officer, I went to the selected schools to talk to the School-heads’ to seek permission and explain my study to them. Once I got permission from the school-heads ‘and identifying teachers who met the criteria set in the study, I contacted individual teachers that have been identified or suggested and requested them to participate in the study. Eleven social studies teachers and three school-heads agreed to participate in the study.

Data Collection

In this study, I used interviews, participant observation, focus groups, and document analysis in order to understand the social studies teachers’ perceptions of
citizenship education. I also kept a reflexive journal to capture my methodological learning’s and keep the study in focus.

*Interviews*

For interviews, Berg (2004) identifies three interview structures mainly; standardized interviews, semi-standardized interviews and un-standardized interviews. I used the face-to-face individual semi-standardized interviews with the social studies teachers participating in the study. These types of interviews were advantageous because they allowed some flexibility in the way questions were being asked and answered and that they are viewed as the best ways of interviewing in qualitative studies. Semi-standardized interviews also known as semi-structured interviews involve the use of predetermined questions which are asked in a systematic and consistent order and allows the interviewer to probe beyond the questions stipulated (Berg, 2004).

Berg (2004) has identified reasons for using semi-structured interviews that they: (1) obtain in-depth information on selected topics; (2) obtain personal histories (3) gain cultural knowledge and beliefs (4) describe practices. The use of semi structured interviews with individual teachers was used in order to obtain more explicit information about the teachers perceptions on educating citizens in a democracy and what characteristics they think a good citizen in Botswana should possess.

Teachers were provided with a tentative data collection schedule that indicated when I would be visiting their school and were reminded that the schedule was subject to change on a weekly basis as need arises (*See Appendix D*). The interviews were set up by contacting the participants in advance and making an appointment for the interviews. The teachers were also reminded of the appointment for the interview date and time a day
before the interview by telephone. The interviews were conducted for approximately 35-
50 minutes at the most convenient time for the participants preferably after school or
during lunch or break time. Each interview began with a restatement of the purpose of the
interview, a promise of confidentiality and a reassurance that there are no right or wrong
answers and that the interview truly desired to know what they thought.

The assurance of confidentiality during interviews was important in order to curb
any misunderstandings from the beginning. Each teacher participating in this study was
interviewed three or four times during the course of the study depending on their
availability and willingness to do more. I conducted a total of forty-three interviews with
the social studies teachers participating in the study and a total of five interviews with the
school-heads where two school heads were interviewed twice each and the other school-
head was interviewed once.

The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed immediately after the session
while my mind was still fresh on what transpired. As I was transcribing data from the
tape recorders, I kept on highlighting with different colors some of the notes that were
interesting, questionable and answering the study questions. This process then made the
coding exercise easier and gave me the opportunity to mine the data even more. Towards
the end of the study, teachers were given transcripts of their notes to read, correct,
comment and approve or disapprove. The edited transcripts from the interview were
corrected and retyped. This process insured that the data captured the information in the
exact words of the teachers interviewed.
Follow-up Questions Prior to the Interview

**MM**: Do you have a reason for allowing students to answer questions by reading from the textbook?

**GD**: Yes, you know, the way we were taught where we memorized facts was not good at all. Now students used their textbook to read and we summarized the sentences to show understanding. Learning nowadays is dynamic. If we were taught to memorize and it did not work, we need to change it and make it user friendly for the learners.

**MM**: As I entered your classroom, your students quickly stood up and greeted me with a smile, Any reason for that?

**GD**: Yes, at the assembly they have been taught to greet people whenever they enter their classroom or school. It is one way of cherishing the values of greeting elders whenever you see them. This is the culture of the school as children are taught to respect other people and is entrenched in the Setswana culture as even in the Kgotla when a visitor arrives, everybody stands up as a way of welcoming the person and as such we are reinforcing what is taught at home and society.(Kgotla, Respect, Culture, greetings???)

If you look at vision 2016 there is an emphasis on the issue of “Botho” where we encourage people to show respect to one another, regardless of his/her status.(Vision 2016???)

Table 3.1: Sample of Transcribed Data

The individual interviews were used to solicit more in depth ideas that informed the classroom observations and further interviews.
Research Protocol for Individual Interviews

1. What in your view is the best way to prepare our children in citizenship development in a democracy?

2. In your view does our social studies curriculum emphasize democratic citizenship education and what is the meaning of citizenship education within the Botswana context?

3. What is the relationship between social studies and citizenship education?

The questions listed above were used to guide the interviews to discuss issues of citizenship in Botswana at the beginning. These questions were used as ice breakers and were intended to develop a base for subsequent interviews. These questions were put this way in order to allow the researcher to probe more deeply into the social studies teachers’ thoughts and perceptions about citizenship and were subject to change as the design of the study allowed for flexibility and in-depth exploration. The questions were based on what the teachers’ think as opposed to asking content knowledge. Glesne (1999) believes that good interview questions should be specific and should not represent a test by asking more of the content knowledge; however, this does not imply not asking more challenging questions. During interviews I also kept a research log where all the activities were recorded. This log reflected the data collection method, date, time, location, a pseudonym for the participant (See example below Table 3.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Teachers’ Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Mokoba</td>
<td>Ms Kabo</td>
<td>01/19/2010</td>
<td>9.00-10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Mokoba</td>
<td>Ms Kabo</td>
<td>01/19/2010</td>
<td>14.00-14.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Mokgalo</td>
<td>Mr Nkwe</td>
<td>01/26/2010</td>
<td>7.30-8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Mokgalo</td>
<td>Mr Nkwe</td>
<td>01/26/2010</td>
<td>11.00-1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>Mokgalo</td>
<td>Mr Tau</td>
<td>01/26/2010</td>
<td>10.00-10.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Mokgalo</td>
<td>Mr Tau</td>
<td>01/26/2010</td>
<td>13.00-1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>Mosetlheng</td>
<td>Ms Mpho</td>
<td>01/27/2010</td>
<td>13.00-14.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: An Example of a Research Log

Interviews as one method of data collection have their own limitations. For instance; I interviewed teachers at break time, lunch time or after school. This made me rush over the interviews as teachers would either be in a hurry to go to the next class or tired after a long day of teaching. Though I interviewed a few students towards the end of the study, I was unable to get their perspectives on what is being taught. I believe that if I had interviewed selected students’ in all the schools that participated in the study that would have provided more insight and their perspectives would have enhanced this study.

*Participant Observation*

Norris and Walker (2005) emphasize that another important method of data collection in naturalistic inquiry and qualitative research is participant observation. Participant observation is appropriate for this study as it is concerned with covert behavior or the participants’ point of view, and in this case the social studies teachers’ views about citizenship education and how they prepare their students in that endeavor.
Qualitative researchers put primacy on participant observation over other methods as they need to “get inside the experience of the actor” (Jacob, 1987, p. 30), what has been referred to as ‘sympathetic introspection’ (Jacob, 1987). This involves getting close to the people and making them feel comfortable enough in your presence as a researcher. Glesne (1999) emphasizes the importance of participant observation, that;

Through participant observation- through being a part of a social setting- you learn firsthand how the actions of research participants correspond to their words; see patterns of behavior; experience the unexpected, as well as the expected; and develop a quality of trust with your others that motivates them to tell you what otherwise they might not (p.43).

Mathews and Dilworth (2008) in examining pre-service teachers’ ideas about the role of multicultural citizenship education in social studies classrooms used participant observation to collect data on classroom interactions. The data obtained through participant observations were used to construct follow up interview questions and this provided the teachers with an opportunity to explain their work.

In this study, social studies teachers were observed in different settings such as; classrooms and other outside activities in debate clubs, sports activities, break time and traditional music practices in an effort to understand what they do and why they do what they do in relation to citizenship education. The data obtained through observations was used to construct follow up interview questions and vice-versa. I observed teachers; during co-curricular activities at the play grounds, during break time when feeding students, in the staffroom, classroom teaching and corridors to listen to their normal chats and gossips. Each school was designated 3-5 days a week during which I was observing
them in and outside the classrooms. I observed each teacher teaching social studies twice, at the beginning and towards the end.

The total number of classroom observations was twenty-two. As a novice researcher, not familiar with qualitative research, observing participants in other places other than the classroom assisted me in improving issues of engagement, multiple voices and willingness of self-reflexivity. The following questions were used to guide the observation in the social studies classes.

*Research Protocol Guide for Participant Observation*

1. What instructional methods are used in the teaching of social studies?
2. What values are being promoted through the teaching of social studies?
3. What skills are developed during social studies instruction?

Table 3.3 below is an example of an excerpt from classroom observations.

**Table 3.3: An Example of Classroom Observation Notes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observation1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>School:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. of students:</strong> 14 Boys; 15 Girls (Total: 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teacher:</strong> Ms Neo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time:</strong> 07:30-08:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topic:</strong> Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong> 04/02/2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard:</strong> 7C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(I arrived at 7:30 to observe the lesson. Teacher ready and starts promptly. Teacher writes objective, topic and date on the board and tells students what they are going to learn about today).*

**Teacher:** Why are people concentrated in towns?
Student: People want to live in modernised and developed places

Student: They want to find jobs.

Teacher: Yes, the other reason is population density.

What is population density?

*(Students are quiet and there is no response)*

Teacher: Please check your dictionary and tell me what population density is - please read what the dictionary says.

Student: Density is the number of people or things.

Teacher: What is population?

Student: The number of people living in an area.

Teacher: Now let us combine the two words and come up with the meaning of population density. According to my source, *(teacher pastes a sentence strip on the board and reads from it)* Density means the number of people living in a particular area.

Teacher: What is then the population distribution of M.? Population distribution is calculated by dividing the number of people by the area of land. Let us say that … has a 1600 000 people and the area is 2500 km$^2$, lets calculate that.

*(Teacher writes the problem on the board and they calculate with the students).*

Table 3.3: An Example of Classroom Observation Notes

During my study I managed to observe all teachers teaching twice, at the beginning and towards the end of my study. Only two observations were conducted because teachers were not comfortable with observations and took more time for me to help them adjust and understand that I am not here to evaluate them. Although I spent a
lot of time in the schools observing teachers outside the classrooms in their staff room, corridors, playgrounds, break time and working with them I was unable to observe their everyday activities and teacher-student classroom interactions on a daily basis. This basically limited the observations in providing a holistic view of the teacher practices on citizenship education.

**Document Analysis**

One of the data collection methods that this study employed was that of document analysis. Documentary sources of information such as books, diaries, newspapers and similar sources are rarely given attention in accounts of sociological research (Harber, 1997a). He further contends that such sources of data are important in situations where there is lack of funding and time constraints. In his extensive research in Africa, in countries like Kenya, Botswana, Tanzania, Namibia and Zimbabwe on teacher education, he has had to resort to documents as sources of information due to time and financial constraints (Harber, 1997a). In this study, I collected documents used in the schools such as textbooks, syllabus, teacher’s schemes of work and tests. The importance of documents in research has been observed by Harber (1997a) that “they can be a useful support to other research methods and, with due acknowledgement of the need for triangulation” (p.114).

The use of documents helped me appreciate why document analysis has been used as a method of research and reinforced Harber’s (1997a) contention that they can be used to analyze and interpret the meanings transmitted by certain types of documents. Documents also helped me compliment other methods used in the study and ensure that I learned more about what was not said either in the interviews or focus group interviews.
(Merriam, 1988). Doing document analysis helped me as a novice researcher to visibilize data by reading between the lines and beyond the surface, and drawing relationships among data.

Document analysis requires that researchers should do what Berg (2004) refers to as immersing in the document in order to identify the themes that appear meaningful to the producers of each message. Document analysis is seen as the most convenient method of research since documents are easy to get, can be obtained within a short period of time and can be analyzed when government offices are closed (Harber, 1997a). Like other qualitative research methods, the use of documents can contribute to “flesh and blood” to our understanding of the often ambiguous and problematic nature of education in developing countries (and elsewhere) that is difficult with ordered, tidy and generalizeable statistical sampling based on controlled sampling” (Harber, 1997a, p. 114).

As a novice researcher in qualitative research, coming from the so called “developing world”, I found document analysis suitable for this study as it shed light on how citizenship education is understood, interpreted and enacted in classrooms through the activities that teachers’ do with their students and the content they teach. In assessing the documents, I was able to develop themes that emerged from the materials and found strings that were attached to them from the individual interviews and focus groups. Berg (2004) defines a theme as “a simple sentence, string of words with a subject and a predicate” (p.272). The following questions were used to guide the document analysis.

1. What is the title, producer, and purpose of the document?

2. What is the nature of the content (theme, patterns, issues, any relevant information)?

3. What is the significance of the document for this study?

4. Does the document reinforce other aspects of the study and the setting or raises new questions?

The documents were analyzed on an individual basis and what they portray that is related to the study was captured as depicted in Table 3.4 as shown below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Analysis</th>
<th>Thematic Analysis and Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title of Document</strong></td>
<td>e.g. Social studies for Standard Seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose of Document</strong></td>
<td><strong>Textbook</strong> : To assist students with knowledge on social studies and citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major pertinent Issues discussed in the document</strong></td>
<td><strong>Theme 6: Governance and Citizenship</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.1 Good governance and the rule of law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2 Vision 2016 and national principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3 Our Government and how it works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4 Human rights violations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.5 Peace-keeping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: An Example of Document Analysis

*Focus Groups*

One of the methods of data collection advocated for in qualitative research is the use of focus groups. Berg (2004) defines focus groups as “an interview style designed for small groups” (p.123). They usually take the form of a discussion in which the researchers strive to learn about the socio-cultural characteristics and processes among various groups. Since this study intends to explore social studies teachers’ perceptions on citizenship education, what they think, say and do in social studies classrooms, I found
focus groups to be more suitable. Berg (2004) further identifies a number of significant advantages that can be associated with the use of focus groups as a data-gathering strategy and among them are;

1. They are highly flexible
2. They permit observation of interaction
3. They allow the researchers to access substantive content of verbally expressed views, opinions, experiences, and attitudes
4. They can produce speedy results
5. They place participants on a more even footing with each other and the investigator

Therefore, participant discussion enables both participants and the researcher to see how the individual responses contributed during discussions differ from or reinforce those of peers (Kubow, 2007). In this study, I conducted a total of two focus groups, each lasting between one hour thirty minutes and two hours with eleven social studies teachers from Maretlweng (Pseudonym) primary schools. I used the following questions as guidelines in initiating the discussions and challenging questions unfolded during the focus group discussion.

Research Protocol for Focus Group

1. What do you perceive to be the importance of citizenship education in a democracy?
2. What teaching methods are predominantly used in your classes that are meant to develop citizenship?
3. Do you have any suggestions of what can be done to make social studies more relevant in the development of citizens?

4. What values, skills, and knowledge do you think citizens must possess in regard to good citizenship?

Attention was paid to ensure that both male and female teachers are included where possible as I was interested in finding out if there were any gender differences in responses between both males and females. I gave particular attention to fostering an environment where the participants were free to critique the liberal conceptions of citizenship as taught and presented in the social studies curriculum. This allowed the participants not to take in a simplistic manner the presumed tenets of citizenship as given or decided a priori. Table 3.5 below is an example of an excerpt from the teachers’ focus group discussions.
Table 3.5: An Example of Focus Group

Focus groups have their limitations in that they compromise confidentiality. At times teachers were not free to say what they would have said if interviewed individually. However, they enabled me to get socio-cultural aspects of the study on that I was able to observe them when they are together on issues they agree or disagree on. For instance when they discussed gender issues in focus groups it was easy for me understand their
positions better than when I interviewed them individually. However, their possibility as an innovative and evolving strategy of data gathering that might otherwise be fairly difficult to obtain should be considered (Berg, 2004).

Reflexive Notes

Keeping a reflexive journal is one way of documenting and reflecting upon methodological learning’s (Burns & Walker, 2005). Berg further reminds us that the reflexivity does not merely require the researcher to report the findings as facts but actively constructs interpretations of experiences in the field and then questions how these interpretations actually came about. The reflexive journal was kept for any observations made within the schools while talking to teachers, interviewing them and watching them interact with their students at the playgrounds. These notes were important in that they informed my research, helped me raise questions and allowed me to reflect on my next course of action as well. They were useful in that they helped keep me on track and enabled me to deal with my biases and perceptions. The ability to reflect on my interactions with the teachers provided an opportunity for me as a researcher to engage in an internal dialogue or have a conversation with oneself that repeatedly examined “what the researcher knows and how the researcher got to know this” (Berg, 2004, p.154).
While I was still familiarizing myself with the schools, I met with Ms Batho, while talking to her about my study she got so excited that she immediately invited me to come to her class the following day and I took advantage and went to observe her teach about culture. In her teaching she was cheerful and had developed a lot of rapport with her students. She was quick to address stereotypes and labeling other people. This provided me with insight on what types of questions to ask in my first interview. To follow-up on why she was quick to address stereotypes and even using her race (Colored’s) as an example. Could it be because she belongs to an ethnic group that is regarded as “Minor” in Botswana? She also heightened my curiosity to see what happens with the other teachers. This is what I needed as it made me feel that teachers really needed this, or am I wrong?

Table 3.6: An Example of Reflexive Notes

Data Analysis

This study adopted grounded theory techniques for data analysis. Data analysis involves what the researcher had seen, heard, and read so that he/she can make sense of what he/she learned and it also requires categorizing, synthesizing, searching for patterns and interpreting the data (Glesne, 1999). Data was analyzed using the constant comparative analysis (Merriam, 1998, Patton, 1990). Constant comparative analysis “combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all social incidents observed and coded (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993, p.256). My data analysis took place at the same time with data collection as I constantly compared data from
interviews, observations, focus groups and documents to raise more questions and close the gaps. This form of data analysis allowed me as a researcher to shape my data collection process while still ongoing and also assisted me to develop new themes that were initially not thought of.

This development of new themes was done as I went back and forth in reading and re-reading my data corpus and identifying lines of text that support the identified categories, this is what Ray (2007) refers to as “grounding” the theory in the data. Ray further reminds us that this grounding of theory and use of the emergent design concept are associated with Glaser and Strauss (1969). Grounded theory is beneficial when used in data analysis because it allowed me as a researcher the opportunity to systematically cross reference data and uncover issues that were previously not mentioned or known (Patton, 2002). In this study I collected data through interviews, focus groups, participant observation, and document analysis and this data was transcribed, coded, and categorized to form themes. I followed Miles and Huberman (1994) basic steps for coding qualitative data and they involved;

1. Transcribing data so that you have it in print
2. Reading through the data, making notes and memos about key points
3. Categorizing or label passages of data according to content so that identically labeled or categorized data can be retrieved as needed
4. Conceptually organizing the categories. This should start early in the process and continue throughout

Data analysis was done simultaneously with data collection as I was trying to familiarize myself with the data so as to improve it as the study progresses. Themes were
electronically and manually developed, sorted and put into specific major themes and sub-themes. The major themes that emerged from the study were:

1. Teachers’ conceptualizations of citizenship
2. Influence on teacher thinking
3. Teacher’s beliefs and actions
4. Teaching about Botswana as citizenship education
5. Teaching about the world
6. Controversial Issues
7. Challenges on citizenship education

These themes were kept safely in my computer which was locked at all times when I was not using it. This allowed confidentiality and safety of the data and the sources.

Data Management

Data collected from this study was derived from individual interviews, research journals, participant observation, focus group interviews, and document analysis. All the data collected was transcribed and kept in a safe place that was always locked.

Trustworthiness of Research

Establishing the trustworthiness of a research lies at the heart of conventional methods such as validity and reliability often associated with quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). They propose a four point criteria for establishing trustworthiness for qualitative researchers and these include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. At the heart of credibility are two questions that the researcher has to ask “Do the constructed realities of the participants match the realities as represented by the researcher?” (Patton, 1990, p. 286) and “What techniques were used
to ensure the integrity, validity, and accuracy of the findings?” (Patton, 1990, p.461).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that credibility in qualitative research is attained through prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, and triangulation exercises as well as exposure of the research report to a disinterested peer reviewer for criticism. The second criterion is that of transferability. Transferability is basically achieved by providing a detailed rich description of the setting such that readers are given sufficient information to be able to judge the applicability of findings to other settings that they know.

The third criterion is that of dependability. Dependability can be achieved through the procedure called ‘auditing’ where auditors examine an audit trail for adequacy. The fourth criterion is that of confirmability which involves the provision of a methodological self-critical account of how the research was done and can also involve triangulation (Seale, 2002, p.104-105). To insure trustworthiness, I employed the first criterion in Lincoln and Guba (1985), that of credibility. This involved the use of multiple methods, persistent observation, peer debriefing and member checks.

Triangulation

I employed multiple methods of data collection such as interviews, focus groups, document analysis and reflexive journals for triangulation purposes. Creswell (1998) sees triangulation as a process of corroborating evidence from multiple sources in an effort to shed light on a theme, issue or perspective. The purpose of triangulation is to judge the accuracy of the specific data items and not to seek universal truths (Guba and Lincoln, 1985). I chose to start with interviews because the focus of the study was on perceptions. I then used observations to enrich my interviews. Focus groups were used to gather
different viewpoints at a time and see areas of agreements and disagreements. However, at times classroom observations preceded the interviews because teachers could only take interviews after school or during break time. The use of multiple data collection methods helped me as a researcher to be able to get data that is trustworthy as each method I used compensated for the short comings of the other.

Persistent Observation and Prolonged Engagement

Persistent observation was used as it assisted me in building rapport and trust with the participants. This involved identifying “those characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued and focusing on them in detail” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.304). Data collection for this study began in January, 2010 and ended in April, 2010. In order to employ persistent observation and prolonged engagement, as a researcher, I spent more time in the sites such as classrooms, playgrounds, hallways, and staff room talking to people in the school in order to “revisit existing discrepancies, and identify emerging issues” (James-Brown, 1995, p.82).

By spending more time in the schools I realized that it was a necessary undertaking as it allowed me to critically examine my prior perceptions or biases related to the study and to adjust to the research context. This study was conducted over a period of three months (12 Weeks) beginning in January and ending in April, 2010. During this time I talked to the teachers informally through conversations and formally through interviews, observations and focus groups. Spending more time with these teachers allowed me to build rapport and gain confidence among some teachers as well as accessing some information that boosted the progress of my study.
**Peer Debriefing**

Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe an ideal peer as “someone who is the researcher’s peer in every sense, knowledgeable about the substantive area of the inquiry and the methodological issues” (p.308-309). Kasai (2007) explains that a peer should be someone who is neither junior nor senior to the researcher and is not in an authority relationship to the researcher. In employing peer debriefing in my study, I identified one of my peers who is Doctoral Candidate and working on data analysis for her dissertation work, who I trusted and has the knowledge on citizenship education and qualitative research methods. I suggested to her that I make a schedule that we both agreed upon for our meetings to discuss my writing.

My peer was given the opportunity to listen to me read what I have written and I required her to comment, correct and suggest new ideas. We met once a month from June up to the end of my study. The use of peer debriefing allowed me as a researcher to be honest by challenging those suppositions that led to my interpretations as well as my prejudices, biases and the ability to seek meaning and clarifications as noted by James-Brown (1995) in his dissertation work.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of Meeting</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Venue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Face-to-Face</td>
<td>06/20/2010</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
<td>BV Community Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face-to Face</td>
<td>07/15/2010</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
<td>BV Community Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Face-to-face</td>
<td>08/16/2010</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
<td>BV Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face-to-Face</td>
<td>09/10/2010</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
<td>BV Community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Peer Debriefing Schedule

**Member Checks**

Member checks were also be conducted. Member check is “the most crucial technique for establishing credibility’ because it allows the researcher to test data, analytical categories, interpretations, and conclusions with the stakeholders from whom the data were originally collected (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.314). These member checks are vital as they raise the quality of the credibility of the study and allow teachers to confirm or disconfirm what they said and did. These were done through constant negotiation with the participants as Lincoln and Guba (1985) conclude by saying that trustworthiness is always negotiable and open-ended and not a final proof where readers are expected to accept an account.

In preparation for doing the member checks, I went through the notes (Interviews, focus group notes and observation transcripts) to check for all the spelling mistakes. I
read and re-read the document to work on the typographical errors and sentence structure where possible. Where I did not understand and was failing to correct, I put some question marks to allow the participants to assist in filling in the gaps. I designed a cover page that briefly explained what the participants were expected to do and this cover page had a place where the participants wrote their final comments on the document (See Appendix I). I scheduled a day and time convenient for each participant and met with him/her individually. I also gave each participant the document and explained to him/her what the purpose of the meeting was all about.

I also explained that all I needed was for them to go through the document (observation and interview transcripts) and make any modifications, corrections and additions in order to make the document reflective of what they said and what transpired in their classes. They were rest assured that their contribution and honesty in this process is highly appreciated and required and that they do not need to agree with what is written if they feel it is not true. After writing the comments on the margins of the document, it is required that they make some general comments and show whether they agree or disagree with the document. The notion of allowing teachers to read the transcripts was very exciting to them as they felt that their voices were recognized.

They expressed appreciation for being part of this study as they believed that it informed them on issues of citizenship education that they never thought about. In expressing his views one of the School-Heads, Mr Jeremiah had this to say: “The interviews helped me a lot to understand the significance of citizenship education as a democrat. I have learned a lot and would use some of the interview contents to widen scope of my colleagues in teaching. This represents my views to the best”.
Some teachers even said that they have never been interviewed before and this study was a learning curve for them. Ms Neo had this to say:

Meeting in focus groups and sharing ideas has really helped to perceive citizenship education in a broader sense. We never have an opportunity to meet as social studies teachers, and this was an eye opener. This has also helped me to understand what an interview is like because we never get these things.

The ability for these teachers to express appreciation for participating and learning from this study provided me with gratitude that at least, I have contributed something instead of the guilt associated with getting information from them without giving back. Member checks helped me as a researcher to confront my assumptions and biases in order to establish trustworthiness. The process of member checking is essential in that it insures that the researcher’s conclusion is an accurate representation of the participant’s own reality (Lincoln and Guba, 1985)

**Ethical Considerations**

A successful research design for a qualitative study is one that adheres to the research ethics. In this part of the chapter, I address the issue of informed consent and confidentiality, researcher’s positionality, teacher/researcher and participants

*Informed Consent and Confidentiality*

Somekh et al (2005) state that ethical issues are centrally important in social research because knowledge confers power, in collecting data researchers need to be guided by principles of respect for persons and obtaining informed consent. For this study I followed the ORRP’s recommendation that the researcher must obtain consent from the participants in order to protect their rights and identities. The social studies
teachers participating in the study were requested to sign some consent forms that indicated that they have given the researcher permission to collect data from them in their schools. Each participant was given a signed copy of the consent form. This was done to ensure that the participants have agreed voluntarily without any physical or psychological coercion (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). They were rest assured of the confidentiality of what they said. I used pseudonyms to represent the participants instead of their names in order to protect their identity.

*Researcher Positionality and Authenticity*

The researchers’ positionality and power is pivotal in qualitative research. Burns and Walker (2005) define positionality as “the implication of the researcher in the production of knowledge… (p.68). This basically implies being aware of your own lens and position as a researcher and the responsibility. I have to become aware of my own influence and take steps to understand others. A good research design involves the researchers’ understanding of his/her subjectivity and being able to constantly reexamine them in light of the study as it unfolds. The issue of positionality is exemplified in Ladson-Billings (1994) where the researcher studies a group of people/community who may be seen as a ‘minority’ and she happens to be a member of that community. This on its own becomes problematic and calls for the researcher to keep on questioning his/her power and influence throughout the study. There is an argument that “research is never truly impartial and always involves researchers in positioning their work socio-politically and engaging in communicative dialogues (Somekh et al, 2005, p.335).

I am a Motswana, a former teacher, and teacher educator, carrying out a study in my own country Botswana. I found myself having to deal with my positionality as an
“outsider” and “insider” (Daza, 2008) and having to negotiate and renegotiate my presence in the school, among teachers and students. My positionality as an “outsider” or insider carried with it some perceptions among teachers where they were at times not being free to talk about certain issues openly. There were times when teachers saw me as their teacher and wanted me to provide information on certain issues taking place in the schools. At the same time I carried some biases since I am familiar with the education system in the country and was often tempted to give advice although I resisted the temptation.

As a Motswana by birth and being able to speak Setswana which is a national language of Botswana, I was seen as an “insider” as whenever I came to the principal’s office to report my presence in the school I was often told “Feel free to do what you want, this is your school”. However, not being a member of the researched community also rendered me an “outsider” as well. For example there were instances where the school-heads’ gave me permission to be free to do as I wish and turned around and said something different in my absence. This dual positionality was both advantageous and problematic at the same time. This needed me as a researcher to continuously reflect upon my experiences where I often had to negotiate and renegotiate my identity and presence in these schools.

The possibility of having to negotiate and renegotiate my identity as an “insider” or “outsider” dovetailed with Daza (2008) contention that being able to speak the same language with the participants may help in gaining access and building rapport but may not allow the participants to see the researcher as one of them. This showed that the researcher’s positionality and authenticity is complex and discursively shaped. I relied on
my fieldwork journal and reflected on my position and how it impacted my study either positively or negatively. Journaling is used as “a check and balance vehicle through which the researcher checks his or her own attitudes, beliefs, values and suppositions and balance them with data obtained from the actual contexts, as voiced by the participants” (James –Brown, 1995, p. 93). This assisted me to revisit my beliefs and values on some issues.

*Researcher and Participants*

The study from the beginning attempted to redefine my role as a researcher and participants in order to avoid any pitfalls of researcher bias and distortion of cultural phenomena (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Researchers vary in terms of the kinds of relationships they establish with participants, as indicated by the terms they use to describe them” (Somekh et al.,2005). They further assert that, “ Some adopt the stance of an outsider carrying out research on subjects; some adopt the stance of partner, carrying out research with ‘co-researchers’; some adopt the stance of facilitators, inviting ‘practitioner-researchers’ to carry out research rather than having research done for them by an outsider” (Somekh et al.,2005, p.3). The teachers in the study were regarded as experts since they are the ones who teach and can explain and define exemplary teaching practices, democracy, citizenship and citizenship education since that is their core business.

I took the participant-observer role, however care was taken to insure that I become unobtrusive as much as I could. This participation by me was done in such a way that it did not disrupt the normal teachers’ routine that made them treat me as part of them and not see me in what Tabulawa (1998) refers to as “another fly on the wall”.
Through such interactions I was able to develop some rapport with the teachers and students this enhanced my research in that my presence did not distract students on their daily activities. I strived to ensure that my relationship as a researcher and teachers remained collaborative. However, I support the view that; “unpacking our positioning makes clear the lenses we are drawing on as we grapple with our data and relate to the participants at our site” (Sipe and Ghiso, 2004, p. 475).

**Limitations of Research**

This study on social studies teachers’ perceptions of educating citizens in a democracy has its limitations. The study was limited to only eleven selected social studies teachers’ and the findings from the study cannot be generalized to all social studies teachers in primary schools in Botswana. The use of multi-site posed some challenges as I could not be in all the schools at the same time. This inability to be in all schools at the same time affected my data collection at times. For instance, during the commonwealth day celebrations I was unable to observe what was happening in all the schools because due to time constraints and the distance between the schools.

The research was prone to the researcher’s cultural biases as I am a Motswana and teacher educator within Botswana. The school time-table also provided some challenges as it was not flexible enough due to the fact that it was centralized and as such social studies was taught at the same time in all the schools that participated. This posed some limitations as it was often difficult for me to hop from one school to the other. The introduction of specialization also posed problems for teachers as it was confusing for them and they were unable to afford any flexibility with the time-table or topics taught which often affected our schedules for interviews and observations.
I observed teachers in their classrooms teaching twice, at the beginning and towards the end of the study and this on its own did not allow me the opportunity to observe various lessons in session in order to get clear insights of the phenomena under study. My interviews with the teachers were also conducted at break time, lunch time or after school, and as such were more often rushed because the teacher was in a hurry to do some other things or tired after a long day of teaching. At times I had to reschedule the interviews due to the teacher’s request citing burnout.

**Problems Emerging in the Study**

The study also experienced some hiccups emanating from the teachers’ misinformation and other external influences. During the second phase of the interviews (February, 2010), I discovered that teachers were reluctant to participate in the interviews. I went to three schools where teachers cancelled the interviews at the last minute when I was already in the school premises. They cited burn out due to preparations for sports competitions. One of the teachers, Ms Mpho, who I was supposed to observe the next day, wrote me a text message saying “we will not be on duty tomorrow”, implying that both teachers in the school would not be available. However, I went to the school the following day to observe the general school environment only to find that they were both on duty and I did not say anything to them but instead requested for a re-schedule of the observations and interviews.

Upon investigating, I discovered that one of the teachers in the participating schools who was not even a participant in the study had told them that they are being used and that they should seek payment for participating in the study. One of the participants, Mr Morubisi, then sent me a text message saying that “we really need better
incentives this time”. That afforded me the opportunity to consult with each teacher individually to find out what was going on and asked them if they wanted to continue or withdraw from the study. I reminded them that the idea that they have to be paid for participating is against the ethics of research and contradicts their agreement with me to participate voluntarily as stipulated in their consent form. They apologized for the misunderstandings, and the study resumed immediately.

The other problem emerged in one of the schools where the school-head was new and at a time when I got permission to use the school for the study she had not yet arrived. When she joined the school I met her with the Deputy School-head who had been acting as school-head to explain what was going on. The school-head welcomed me and seemed interested in the study. During the first focus group meeting (February, 2010), I called the school-head to remind her three days in advance about the meeting with the participants and her response was; “That’s fine, I am aware of the meeting and the teachers have already informed me about the meeting”. Interestingly, her teachers did not attend the focus group meeting. Following up on the teachers they told me that the school-head deliberately scheduled a special meeting on the same date and time and gave them the tasks of secretary and vice secretary respectively for the meeting. When they reminded her of the meeting with me she told them that,” the study is for her (Researcher) own benefit and not the school”.

These two incidents taught me the importance of having to negotiate and renegotiate my identity throughout my study, that even though I am a Motswana and a well known teacher educator that it was not a guarantee that everyone would cooperate. I also had to learn about the researcher’s positionality, that in research power relations are
always at play and as a researcher I need to be able to know how to navigate them in such a way that they do not disrupt or jeopardize the study. The other lesson I learned was the need to be patient as I had to tread with caution not to upset them and not to appear to report or seem to exert my power over them or discuss them with their supervisors.

I also learned a way to bring participants along by contacting each one of them on an individual basis after collecting enough information from those who appear keen and loyal to the study. This situation brought the notion of developing rapport with the participants to light, because it was the rapport that I had developed with the teachers that enabled me to get information about the problem from the loyal participants and address it before it got out of hand. This was quite a complex situation, but I managed to thaw the waters before they ran deep and immediately everything was back on track and all teachers were on board willingly and happily up to the end of the study.

**Writing Up**

One of the major purposes for undertaking this study was to narrow the gap in research in the area of citizenship education in primary schools by providing empirical knowledge that may influence policy and practice. The findings of this study were communicated through providing a write-up of my study. Writing up is an important aspect of research as it “gives form to the researcher’s clumps of carefully categorized and organized data. It links together thoughts that have been developing throughout the research process. The act of writing also stimulates new thoughts, new connections” (Glesne, 2006, p.173). It was through the write up process that I managed to organize my thoughts and processes of presenting the findings. Writing up is a lonely process and as a novice researcher I was at times overwhelmed and found myself procrastinating more. In
order to keep myself on track, I took Glesne (2006) advice of developing both the short
term and long term plan of how my writing would be organized. I set up deadlines for
myself on when each one of the findings would be completed. I also identified a place
where I would not have any distractions while writing to allow me all the peace and
stability. However, I was able immerse in my data through a continual process of
organizing and reorganizing the data (Glesne, 2006).

I began my write up process by developing an outline. This outline was helpful
because I organized and reorganized my data into clusters. My writing up started with
ideas that I felt were more challenging and moved to the other parts later on. In my write
up I used direct quotes mostly from the individual interviews, focus groups, field notes in
order to present the participants’ voices. The use of the participants’ voices was done to
support my interpretations of their story and also to avoid any distortions, inaccuracies
and misinterpretations in an effort to represent their views accurately (Lincoln and Guba,
1985). As a qualitative researcher, I took the position of an interpreter where I thought of
myself not as an authority figure but as a meaning maker who makes meaning out of the
interaction of my own experiences with those of the participants (Glesne, 2006).

At the beginning of my writing up process, I needed to make decisions on what to
include or exclude as my findings. My decisions on what to include were based on the
teachers’ voices and ideas that answered the research questions, unintended outcomes of
the study and yet very interesting and some of the issues that raised more questions on
teacher thinking and experiences. My findings were divided into two chapters. Chapter 5
was designated to teachers’ ideas, views, experiences and beliefs on citizenship education
in Botswana. The focus of this chapter was to answer the first research question on “What
do social studies teachers think and say about citizenship education in a democracy?" The findings of the study that answered this research question were organized into broad themes as follows:

1. Teachers conceptualize citizenship education in multiple ways
2. Teachers relationships and experiences influence how they think about citizenship education
3. Teachers teach about the world from a “Motswana” worldview

The decision to group these findings under one chapter was based on understanding the teachers’ beliefs, ideas and experiences on developing citizens in a democracy. This enabled me to interpret their ideas and views based on each one of the teachers own experiences hence contextualizing the findings. The second group of findings were put together under chapter 6. Chapter 6 focused on answering research questions two and three. The research questions that were clustered under chapter 6 basically addressed teacher practices and challenges on citizenship development. The findings were discussed in a sequential order as follows:

1. Contradictions between what teachers say they do and what actually transpires in their teaching
2. The paradox of teaching about Botswana as citizenship education
3. Teachers acknowledge the importance of teaching about controversial issues but are reluctant to discuss some issues
4. Teachers are faced with numerous challenges in developing citizens

These findings were put together because they addressed the teachers’ practices on citizenship education in Botswana primary schools. This involved learning from the
teachers about their instructional methods, skills and assessment techniques that they use in the development of citizens in a democracy.

The last chapter basically discussed the findings and was organized according to the challenges that teachers are faced with in their day to day experiences in an effort to develop citizens in Botswana primary schools. These challenges revolved around the following:

1. The challenge of conflicting goals on citizenship education
2. The challenge of culturally relevant pedagogy
3. The challenge of the status of social studies in the curriculum

The study also presented the implications of the study for teacher educators, social studies teachers, curriculum developers and policy makers. The implications of this study are important in that they shed light on what can be done by the different stakeholders in order to improve the status of citizenship education.

The other decision was based on what not to include in the study. For instance, the study was based on the social studies teachers’ ideas, experiences, beliefs, attitudes and practices on citizenship education and had no intention whatsoever to include the students’ thoughts and beliefs. However, upon collecting the data among teachers through interviews, focus groups and observations, I kept wondering about what students would say more especially on issues of difference such as gender, sexuality and ethnicity. As a result of these questions, I decided to have an informal focus group with the students in one school that was willing to allow me to talk to their students. The findings from the students’ focus group were startling in that their worldview was totally different from that of their teachers. The students’ views on issues of sexuality and gender contradicted the
teachers’ views. For instance, when talking about issues of sexual orientation, students felt that those people were entitled to exercise their rights and that a lack of acceptance of gays, lesbians and bisexuals in the society was a violation of their fundamental basic human rights.

The students’ argument was that gays, lesbians and bisexuals did not choose to be that way and the Botswana Government’s position that such activities are illegal is wrong and discriminatory. These findings though not a representation of the primary school students’ views necessitate a study on the conceptualizations of citizenship education among students. The findings marked a clear departure from citizenship education that avoids controversial issues to one that engages students in a critical thinking, dialogue and discussion on issues pertaining to their lives. Moreover, these findings were indicative of a generational conflict and change in attitudes or ideas between teachers and students.

However, these findings were not included because of the limitations of the research itself. My methodological learning’s from the write up process clearly shows the power of qualitative research, in that it is flexible and as such affords the researcher insights and possibilities on how to shape and reshape the study as it unfolds. The notion of the emergent design from the naturalistic inquiry paradigm or standpoint provided the opportunity for the design of the study to evolve as the study progressed (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This indeed was a learning curve in my study as I was able to adjust to the conditions as they lend themselves within the natural setting.
Introducing the Schools and Teachers in the Study

The study was conducted in six primary schools in one of the big villages in the Central District in Botswana. Eleven social studies teachers participated in the study. Three School-heads were also interviewed. For purposes of confidentiality this village is referred to as Maretlweng (Pseudonym) throughout this study. A description of the six primary schools that participated in the study follows and pseudonyms have been used to refer to the schools. The schools that were involved in this study have been named Motswere, Mohudiri, Mosetlheng, Mokoba, Mokgalo and Morula primary schools. The teachers’ and the school-heads’ portraits follow immediately after a description of the schools.

The Schools

All of the schools that participated in this study are owned and run by the Botswana Government except for one school that is owned by the Catholic Mission but is run by the Government as it provides teachers and resources for the school. Primary schools in Maretlweng village are under the dual responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Local Government. The schools’ infrastructure, equipment and teaching materials are provided by the Ministry of Local Government whereas staffing is under the Ministry of Education. These schools are situated in different areas (wards) within the village. They admit students from the surrounding village wards. The schools’ enrolments range between 600 and 900 hundred students. Teachers and Students in these schools are diverse in terms of ethnicity as they come from different parts of the country.
Teachers’ Portraits

One thing common about the teachers who participated in this study is that they hold either a Diploma or Degree in social studies education. They all acquired their teacher education in various colleges of education in Botswana. They are all Batswana who belong to different ethnic groups. They are experienced teachers who teach social studies in upper classes (Standard 5-7). Below are the portraits of each one of the teachers that participated in this study. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the teachers’ identity.

Portrait of Mr Tau

Mr Tau is an enthusiastic, knowledgeable and charismatic standard seven teacher at Mokgalo primary school. He was born in a small village in the Tswapong area in the Central District. He is married and has three daughters. He is a Motswapong (an ethnic group in Botswana) and is forty-two years old. He holds a Primary Teachers Certificate (PTC) and a Diploma in Primary Education (DPE) with a Specialization in Social Studies and Religious Education. Mr Tau is a well experienced teacher who has taught for has seventeen years. Currently, he is a Head of Department (HoD) for Upper and also serves in a number of committees at regional and school level. He is currently a member of the Performance Management System (PMS) team that is responsible for school transformation and work improvement.

The PMS committee is a committee that usually comprises of School- Heads but because of his capabilities and enthusiasm he was co-opted to be a member. Being a member of the PMS team has landed him into a number of opportunities where he was sent to Oregon, USA to train in Performance Management. He has also served in a task
force that reviewed the Teachers’ Transfer Policy. At school level he supervises teachers in upper classes, mounts workshops on performance management, staff development training and is involved in sports. Describing how he got to be a social studies teacher in our first interview, this is what he had to say:

I became a social studies teacher because during my secondary school education, I was doing history. My teacher by then inspired me because I enjoyed the way he was teaching. That’s how I happened to get interest and even my college training I was specializing in Social studies and Religious and Moral Education. He teaches and talks about social studies with a lot of passion and describes himself as that teacher who does not see himself retiring as a teacher, he believes in individual development and hard work.

His teaching philosophy is best described by him as he elaborates on his mission as a social studies teacher that:

I believe in developing citizens who are curious and questioning. I want Children who question what I say and not only accept what I say as it is. Citizens who can analyze and critique issues and ask questions, for example; are we following the principles of democracy? Do they understand the principles of democracy? Be proud to be a teacher who taught pupils critical thinking skills

His teaching philosophy sums up on the kind of teacher Mr Tau is and what he would like his students to be like; students who question, critique and are curious, and this becomes evident when you enter his classroom.
Portrait of Mr Morubisi

Mr Morubisi is a standard seven social studies teacher at Morula primary school. He is a single man who is a Morolong (ethnic group) and is 37 years old. He holds a Diploma in Primary Education with a specialization in Social Studies and Religious Education. He has been teaching for eleven years all of which he taught social studies. Mr Morubisi became a teacher out of interest and says that he enjoys teaching social studies though at times he feels discouraged as nobody seems interested in what he is doing. His teaching philosophy is based on developing responsible citizens who are law abiding and respect the constitution of the country. His ambition is to see Batswana children one day also competing and winning medals at the Olympics. However, he argues that for this to happen, sports has to be taken very seriously in this country.

Portrait of Mr Kgabo

Mr Kgabo describes himself as a young Mongwato (ethnic group) man from Maretlweng in the Central District. He is married with two sons. He holds a Diploma in Primary Education and specializes in Social Studies and Religious Education. He teaches standard 5 at Mohudiri primary school and has been teaching for eight years. Mr Kgabo is an aspiring and very calm individual who believes in self development and empowerment. He also holds a Diploma in Business Studies from the University of Botswana. He is also currently studying by Distance with the British Council for a Diploma in Purchasing and Supplies. Asking him about his teaching philosophy he calmly and softly says:

I would like to produce citizens who are fully aware of who they are, citizens who will be responsible, accountable in whatever they will be doing -citizens
who are self driven, innovative and competent. For this to happen there need to be resources in schools that can help us as citizenship educators to do our job well of developing citizens in our country, Botswana. Developing a citizen is a demanding job so there is need to allocate more time in the teaching of social studies.

He elaborates on his teaching philosophy that is based on accountability, responsibility and cooperation that:

Citizens here should understand what their country aspires for. Work together for the development of their country. They should be responsible and own up to whatever happens in the country. They should not just be people out there to blame others when something they had expected to be does not happen. Citizens here should understand what their country aspires for. Work together for the development of their country. They should be responsible and own up to whatever happens in the country. They should not just be people out there to blame others when something they had expected does not happen.

In entering Mr Kgabo’s classroom you can feel the warmth in his classroom as he talks to his students calmly, and listens to what they have to say. He is quite an interesting teacher who inspires his students by using his experiences to motivate them. In our interview he mentioned that he usually encourages students to work and identify their strengths because many people cannot believe he is a teacher today because he was not a gifted child but he struggled and in the end it paid off. He says he usually tells students who are not doing well academically that “Don’t give up, keep on trying”.
Portrait of Mr Nkwe

Mr Nkwe is a social studies teacher at Mokgalo primary school. He is quite an experienced and knowledgeable teacher. He is single and does not believe in marriage. He is 53 years old and has been teaching for the past twenty-six years. He has taught in primary schools and was once a Staff Development Fellow at one of the colleges of education. He holds a Bachelors Degree in Primary Education (BEd) and specializes in Social Studies and Religious Education. Mr Nkwe believes in education and sees education as the key to development. In his conversation with me he opines that education is very important and children have to be taken to school. He is a strong believer in culture and teaching children respect is a priority for him as he opines that:

Botho must begin at home because it is said that “charity begins at home”. The way you greet, talk or carry yourself around should reflect who you are and the values of your society or community. Practicing Botho is important in bringing social harmony which is the overall national principle in Botswana.

His vision is on developing citizens who are well mannered and have respect for other people because to him respect is key to peace and harmony.

Portrait of Ms Lorato

Ms Lorato is a standard seven teacher at Morula primary school. She comes from one of the big villages in the country and she is a Mongwato (ethnic group). She is forty-two years and has been teaching for 19 years. She holds a Diploma in Primary Education and specializes in Social studies and religious education. Ms Lorato is a very sociable and energetic teacher who encourages her students to work hard in order to achieve their
goals. She believes in the maintenance of culture and in expressing her teaching philosophy, this is what she had to say:

I focus on cultural identity, cultural heritage and cultural tolerance. I think am who I am because I grew up in a society that helped me know who I am. I believe students should know themselves, their country, and the principles of the country in order to understand who they are.

To her culture is an important determinant of who you are and therefore puts emphasis in children knowing their culture. She believes that students need to know that they belong to a particular ethnic group in Botswana and that is what makes them Batswana. She believes that students should be critical about what they hear, they should ask questions and read a lot. In her class every morning students are encouraged to share with the class members what they might have read, heard on television or radio that is interesting. Her students are a vibrant group that asks questions and is up to date with current affairs.

*Portrait of Ms Batho*

Ms Batho describes herself as a young Motswana woman from Kgalagadi in the Southern District. She is married with three children, two boys and a girl. She is a young teacher who is enthusiastic, charming and quite a joyful person to be around. She loves her job as a social studies teacher and interacts with her students in a way that brings the best in everyone she teaches. She is 32 years old, holds a Diploma in Primary Education (DPE) and has been teaching for eight years. She specializes in Social Studies and Religious Education. She teaches standard seven at Mohudiri primary school. In her teaching she emphasizes issues of difference because of who she is.
She is fast to react to issues of discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity. In one of our conversations during a follow up on her observation on 01/20/2010, I asked her why she kept on using her ethnicity as an example and she said:

You know…More so that I am from an ethnic group that people call a lot of names and from my social studies teachers when we looked at the origins of some ethnic groups, there was no where it fell in Botswana. I know people call me a “Lekutwane” (derogatory term used to refer to Coloreds) which is not good and this happens to all other ethnic groups that are regarded as “minor” and I don’t like this. It is difficult for me because my group does not fall within any of the ethnic groups in this country yet I am a Motswana. So I want my students to understand that we are all equal and we need to respect each other whether black or white.

She is a staunch proponent of culture and believes that students should be proud of their culture respect other cultures and learn to be proud of who they other because that will bring peace and harmony to all Batswana. Her students are full of life and she cajoles and motivates them when they participate in class.

Ms Kabo

Ms Kabo is an experience standard six social studies teacher at Mokoba primary school who has taught for thirty-two years. She is a Mokhurutshi (ethnic group) who is proud to be teaching at 52 years while some of her age-mates have retired. She is a single mother of five children. She holds a Diploma in Primary Education (DPE) and specializes in Social studies and Religious Education. She believes in teaching students moral values, and I observed that in every one of her classes when I came into the classroom, all
students simultaneously stood up, greeted me and sat down. This was exciting to watch as it showed the teacher’s values and beliefs. In talking about her teaching philosophy, she was quick to talk about the type of citizen she would like to develop:

I believe in developing citizens who have good moral values, citizens who believe in who they are and are proud of their own culture and nation. I believe in producing informed citizens. An informed citizen is a citizen who will be able to make his or her decisions, is knowledgeable about his country and what is going on around him/her. Such a citizen must respect the culture, the customs and the beliefs of his/ her country.

It is clear that the she believes in developing a certain kind of citizen who is culturally sensitive and disciplined. Her students are well behaved, very cordial and serious with their work. She moves around her class as she teaches and looks at her students face to face to provoke them to say something even if they did not intend to do so. She encourages her students to speak as they all know that they can be picked even if their hands are not up, this makes them want to be ready all the time.

*Portrait of Ms Thato*

Ms Thato is a very cheerful and enthusiastic standard five teacher at Motswere primary school. She describes herself as a young Motswana woman from Matsiloje village in the Central District. She holds a Diploma in Primary Education (DPE) and specializes in social studies and religious education. She has also taught in junior secondary schools as a temporary teacher before going for teacher training. She has been teaching for seven years during which she had the opportunity of teaching in more than
one school. She is quite a calm and cheerful person who speaks softly but emphasizing a point. In describing her teaching philosophy this is what she had to say:

As a social studies teacher my aim is to develop an all rounded citizen who can face challenges, live up to their responsibilities as citizens and can challenge ideas, critique, accept one another regardless of their race, religion or ethnicity or family background. I believe in developing future leaders, those leaders of tomorrow in order to lead us when we are old … (laughs)

She is quick to smile as she talks about her vision as a social studies teacher indicating her love and interest in what she does. She encourages her students to read and watch news on television in order to understand what is happening around them. She believes that reading widens the students scope and wants to see them being good readers of tomorrow.

*Portrait of Ms Kubu*

Ms Kubu is a social studies teacher at Mokoba primary school. She describes herself as a young single woman from a small village in the Barolong farms who is proud to be a Morolong (ethnic group) in Botswana. She does not have children because as a Christian she believes in getting married before having children. She holds a Diploma in Primary Education (DPE) and has ten years of teaching experience. She a soft spoken and very critical in what she says, always tries to show that she does not agree on things at face value. In expressing her teaching philosophy, this is what she had to say:

I believe in developing citizens who are not scared to face challenges. People who are able to say out their views freely, who are not afraid of criticism and who can discuss things that are beneficial to the nation. I do not like people who do not
want to challenge or be challenged. I encourage my students to speak freely, ask questions and contribute in class since that will prepare them for the future.

Ms Kubu’s classroom atmosphere is quite serious as students are seated in groups quietly. Students seem to be kept busy all the time, if a student has completed a task early they are expected to do pick a book and start reading rather than disturbing others. She believes that being able to teach students critical thinking skills makes her feel good because she knows that she is doing her job well. She encourages her students to ask questions if they do not understand and to always think about what they are told before responding.

*Portrait of Ms Neo*

Ms Neo is a standard seven social studies teacher at Mosetlheng primary school. She comes from the Bobirwa area in the Central District in Botswana. She is a single woman with two children who are both girls. She holds a Diploma in Primary Education (DPE) and her area of specialization is social studies and religious education. She has been teaching social studies for nine years. When entering her classroom one is met by displays of students work and teaching aids arranged according to subject areas. Her students are seated in groups and the atmosphere is welcoming. Ms Neo is quick to remind me that these are standard seven pupils and as such she expects them to be busy working and not to be told what to do.

She describes her teaching philosophy as based on democracy where students have to learn to cooperate, respect one another and discuss issues in order to reach an agreement through consensus. Explaining her beliefs on citizenship education she said:
I believe in democracy, I believe that these kids when I infuse citizenship they should know what is happening in their country democratically, participating in community activities such as if there is a kgotla meeting, if they are free they should go there and listen to what it is being said to them, they should also participate in other activities or just come and view how elections are held and also work together democratically in the classroom, cooperation, I emphasize cooperation in the classroom, tolerance.

She encourages her students to read a lot, listen to the news in the radio and television in order to know what is happening in their country and the world. She also encourages her students who have access to the internet to use to find information about topics taught in class and they come and share what they found. She believes that her students should be active and participate in class activities and should inquire and ask questions.

Portrait of Ms Mpho

Ms Mpho is a standard 5 social studies teacher at Mosetlheng primary school. She is a Motswapong (ethnic group) in the central district. She is married in a small village in the southern part of Botswana and has two children, a boy and a girl. She holds a Diploma in Primary Education (DPE) and Bachelor of Education (BEd Primary) from the University of Botswana. She has 13 years teaching experience. Her area of specialization is Social Studies and Religious Education. She says that she developed interest in teaching social studies during her teaching experience before going for her Bachelor’s degree. She felt that social studies is an important subject as it deals with people’s everyday lives and because of its role in the society she found it necessary to pursue a
degree in social studies. Currently, she holds a post of responsibility as Senior Teacher-Practical Subjects though she teaches social studies.

She believes in developing responsible citizens who can become future leaders. In discussing her beliefs on citizenship education Ms Mpho said:

I want to develop responsible citizens. I believe that if you teach pupils citizenship education, you must develop them to be good leaders of tomorrow. At the end pupils should believe in themselves and participate like giving ideas at kgotla meetings, family matters as well.

This shows what she believes is important in citizenship development in her view. Her classroom atmosphere appears to be relaxed as her students are busy working on different activities. She believes that her students should read and ask questions if they do not understand.
Table 3.8: Teachers’ Demographic Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Name of Teacher</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Number of Years Teaching</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Beliefs on Citizenship Education</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Tau</td>
<td>DPE</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Mokswapong</td>
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<td>BED</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>53</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupations</td>
<td>Demographics</td>
<td>Characteristics</td>
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<td>Respect their culture Have Botho Love their country Knowledgeable</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: Teachers’ Demographic Information

The School-Heads’ Portraits

This section presents the portraits of school-heads who agreed to be interviewed for this study. Their participation was important in that they are the drivers of curriculum implementation and what they think and say has a great influence in what the teachers do.
Portrayal of Ms Thomas

Ms Thomas is a knowledgeable, highly motivated and inspirational school-head at Morula primary school. She is a single woman with four children. She holds a Diploma in Primary Education and specializes in languages. She has been teaching for 32 years. She was promoted to the post of school-head in 2002 and enjoys teaching standard 7 classes. Her office is well organized with students work displayed on the walls and a pile of students’ projects are also made available so that you can get a glimpse of what takes place in this school. What is unique about Ms Thomas is that she teaches standard seven classes even though school-heads do not teach. It is very rare to find Ms Thomas in her office because most of the time she is in the classrooms assisting teachers.

Her teaching philosophy revolves around developing autonomous minds and in describing what she does; she had this to say:

I make sure that learners acquire survival skills that can make them compete with others locally and internationally because Botswana is a member of the international community. We engage them in a lot of activities. Research is involved so that the students find information or answers for themselves. This helps them learn and teachers facilitate. We try to build autonomous minds for quality lifelong learning.

Ms Thomas is a self driven school-head who goes out to find assistance from the community and forms relationship with the community, Member of Parliament and the business community in an effort to develop her school. She has through donations acquired about 12 computers, 2 printers and a photo-copier for her school. Standard seven students in her school are taught how to use a computer and they take turns during
the week to get exposure. She has recently started taking her standard seven students to
the community resource center to learn how to use the internet and has been scheduled
for two days in a week.

Ms Thomas has developed a culture of learning in her school what she refers to as
“Morning Classes” where teachers and students have to be in school an hour before
school begins and learn about any topic of their interest. Students are taught about
general issues that affect their lives at the Assembly and these include topics on
HIV/AIDS, Good behavior and Morals, Bullying, Cleanliness, teenage pregnancy and
many others. Teachers are scheduled in pairs on a Rota at the beginning of every term so
that they can prepare materials to teach these students for about 10 minutes. Every year in
their school they celebrate cultural day where parents and students interact within the
school and share the diversity in their cultures. The school even has a cultural house
where artifacts from different cultures are displayed including any art and craft developed
by students. She has introduced “academic day” where teaching is taken outside the
classroom and teachers and students make presentations.

Portrait of Mr Jeremiah

Mr Jeremiah is a well experienced school-head at Mokoba primary school. Mr
Jeremiah is a soft spoken, loving and courteous person who made it easy for me to talk to
as he jokes and laughs a lot during his responses to interview questions. Mr Jeremiah was
born and bred in this village that he teaches in and is a Mokalaka (ethnic group). He is
married and has five children are independent. He has been teaching for over thirty years
and was promoted to the post of school-head in 1996. He holds a Diploma in Primary
Education (DPE) from the University of Botswana which he acquired through distance
education. He specializes in social studies and religious education. His beliefs on citizenship education revolve around culture and developing a well rounded person. He said:

My belief would be that when we talk about citizenship, we want people who will abide by the laws, a well rounded citizen who knows what is wrong and right, how a culture can influence one’s life. A well rounded person is one who has knowledge, good behaviour which includes botho and can think critically

As a school-head he has introduced a few innovations in his school such as the “drop and read” exercise where every morning the first ten minutes of class are devoted to reading. Students have to drop whatever they are doing and grab something to read and he opines that this is done to teach students the importance of reading and information at a tender age. Since he believes that Botswana is a Christian country he has introduced a system where every week they have a pastor to speak to students about the word of God at the morning assembly. He argues that the invitation of the pastor in the school is aimed at developing children with good behaviour and morals who are God fearing. His teaching philosophy is based on developing children who are responsible, disciplined, god fearing as they are “all gods’ children” and obey the law.

Portrait of Ms Joseph

Ms Joseph is a knowledgeable and experienced school-head at Motswere primary school. She is a Mongwato (ethnic group) in the central district. She holds a Bachelors’ Degree in Primary Education (B Ed) and has a major in special education and a minor in social studies. She has been teaching for twenty-eight years during which she has been a Deputy School-head for five years. She was promoted to the post of school-head quite
recently. In describing her teaching philosophy on citizenship education she had this to say:

I believe in developing a true citizen of Botswana who can comply with the national principles of Botswana, free to depend on one another, being able to respect both the teachers and parents, who can greet and direct whoever can come to the school. Children who have passion for one another. Children who are bold enough to tell the teachers what they want done in their school.

She believes that students should be given a voice to express themselves in school and have the opportunity to contribute to the development of the school.

In order to take her students on board, she has recently formed a committee of students and teachers that basically deals with students issues. She believes students should be consulted on matters that concern them. There are rules that govern the school that were made in consultation with the students and the Parents and Teachers’ Association (PTA). Under her leadership one of the rules that students have to abide by is that of cleanliness, and each student is expected to wear a uniform and have short hair, no exotic hairstyles are permitted in the school. She argues that keeping their hair short and wearing a uniform daily will bring about equality among students and as such will not make students from low socio-economic backgrounds to feel out of place.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the methodological sketch/terrain that was employed in this study on the social studies teachers’ perceptions of developing citizens in a democracy. The study was qualitative and adopted the naturalistic paradigm to explore social studies teachers’ experiences and beliefs of citizenship education in upper classes.
in primary schools in Botswana. It has discussed the research design, methods for data collection, data analysis, and trustworthiness of research, ethical procedures and the decision making process in writing up the study. It also discussed some of the problems that emerged during the study and how as a researcher I dealt with them. The last part of the chapter provides a background on the schools and teachers. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the confidentiality of the schools and the teachers.
CHAPTER 4

THE CONTEXT OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an illuminating account of Botswana’s education system to provide a context for social studies and citizenship education. It begins by giving an overview of democracy as Botswana is a democratic nation, its education system, and the social studies program and state of citizenship education in schools in Botswana. This chapter becomes an invaluable tool for readers in understanding the context within which the findings of this study are based, presented and discussed.

Democracy in Botswana

Meaning of Democracy

Democracy is a highly contested concept of which some scholars even suggest that it is meaningless to define it (Adeyemi, 2006; Mautle, 2000) since it does not have one true meaning (Crick, 1989). From a general perspective, Crick (1989) articulates the meaning and usage of the concept democracy, that, democracy can be traced to the Ancient Greeks through the works of Plato’s attack on democracy and Aristotle’s highly qualified defense of democracy. Democracy:
is simply *demos* (the mob, the many) and *kracia* (rule). Plato attacked democracy as being the rule of many, the poor and the ignorant over—what should be, he thought—the rule of the few as the wise and the disinterested. His fundamental distinction was between knowledge and opinion: democracy is thus the rule of mere opinion (Crick, 1989, 15).

This definition lays a foundation for the definition of democracy as used in various places and contexts. In Botswana democracy is defined in relation to giving people a voice and opportunity to participate in the affairs of their lives. It is stated that “democracy involves giving each mature person a voice in the running of affairs and the chance to participate, directly or through representatives, in decisions affecting his life” (Education for *Kagisano*, 1977, p. 25).

Democracy can also be defined as system of government that represents the people and responds to their needs and expectations, and that would essentially be undergirded by a transparent process of public responsibility and accountability (Abdi, 2008). Chief Linchwe (1989) of the *Bakgatla ba ga Kgafela* (ethnic group) in Botswana provides an interesting definition of democracy. In defining democracy he asserts that democracy is a relative term and can be defined in several ways, that:

It is not a matter of theory but a way of life. It is the latter that makes a difference for the average citizen for it involves a *modus of vivendi* or an arrangement for the peaceful coexistence of people in a society. It entails a covenant between the ruled and the rulers to create within the community mutual respect for all citizens and a
collective responsibility for everybody’s political and material survival (Chief Linchwe, 1989, p. 99).

The definition outlined above provide a deeper understanding of democracy in Botswana as it emphasizes collective responsibility, peaceful coexistences, survival of citizens and sees it as a way of life as opposed to the liberal definitions that revolve around participation and voice. Nnoli (1989) in trying to define democracy sees it in terms of elections and that the equality of the individual to vote goes hand in hand with freedom of speech and association as well as fairness with the electoral mission.

Chachange (2001) is very critical about elections in Africa of which Botswana is part that these forms of politics have sworn more seeds of discord since they defend the politics of exclusion and inclusion, privileges and denials. His contention is that the winning and losing of votes is based on mobilization, and that this mobilization includes other forms of identities, imagined or real and as a result the winner ends up excluding the very people who voted him to power. Given all these definitions, one is inclined to support Crick (1989) that democracy is not meaningless but rather means different things to different people. These definitions provide a lens through which democracy within the Botswana context can be viewed and reinforce the notion that it means different things to different people.

The implementation of democracy in education has implications for the stakeholders, teachers and the curriculum (Education for Kagisano, 1977). It is believed that all the stakeholders such as the community, parents, professional workers in education and students must have a direct voice through school committees like the Parents Teachers Associations (PTA). Teachers and other educational professionals must
play an active role in the decision making process involving schools. This means that they have to be consulted about any changes in their conditions of service, participate in the syllabus change and curriculum reform. The curriculum should include teaching about democratic institutions and how they work. This involves incorporating practical experience of democratic institutions through visits to the Kgolala, council or Parliament and instilling democratic values in students (Education for Kagisano, 1977). The Kgolala is a traditional forum by which individuals and the community achieve some consensus about solutions to issues and problems they are faced with. It is led by the Kgosi (Chief) who acts as chair, mediator and adjudicator on tribal matters.

*Nexus between Traditional and Liberal Democracy*

Botswana is hailed as Africa’s premier example of a liberal democracy (Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2003; Bradshaw and Ndegwa, 2000). Botswana’s position as a senior democracy in Africa is attributed to its ability since independence to have been able to have relatively free and fair elections, political tolerance, multiparty competition where political parties are free to organize, meet and engage in intense criticism of one another (Bradshaw and Ndegwa, 2000), and the rule of law and universal franchise have been maintained (Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006). Furthermore, the civil society groups have been formed, private newspapers have become persistent reporters and evaluators of government policies, elected officials and civil servants attend a wide array of public meetings and there has not been a threat of a military coup so far (Bradshaw and Ndegwa, 2000). In view of the aforementioned attributes, there is no doubt that Botswana qualifies to be a liberal democracy.
The current practice of democracy in Botswana is in tandem with the principles of democracy which include “a legal system that protects rights and freedoms of citizens, competitive democratic politics based on multiparty, democratic rules and procedures, free public and private press and active civil society” (Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006, p. 36). Even though democracy has principles that underpin its practice, it is critical to take note of the argument that democracy needs to be aligned to the socio-cultural aspects of the people it serves and that:

an idea of democracy too narrowly confined to the cosmetics of “the liberal” would hardly accommodate and account for the reality of conviviality between individual and community interests that emphasizes negotiation between rules and processes, subjection and citizenship, might and right in any democracy in action (Nyamnjoh, 2003, p.93)

In the above quote Nyamnjoh (2003) rejects the notions of democracy that are solely based on the minimalist liberal view and being presented as the only form of knowledge that is acceptable and important. Bradshaw and Ndegwa (2000) observe an interesting aspect of Botswana’s democracy which is not based on its achievement but rather on the process by which this new system of government is being embedded in the social and political fabric of the society.

In Botswana the kgotla, a traditional institution complements modern democracy with its openness and democratic customs (Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006). The Kgotla as a community institution serves a variety of roles which revolve around political, administrative and judicial functions (Patterson, 2006). Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie (2006) trace the historical functions of the Kgotla that; traditionally, the kgotla
has been a place where tribesmen met to discuss tribal affairs and developmental issues. However, since independence the *kgotla* has been used by both politicians (Ministers, Members of Parliament and Councilors) and government’s officials (Civil Servants) to explain government policies and programs and to solicit views and support from the public. Inherent to the *kgotla* system is that everyone is free to speak irrespective of their social position or standing.

The freedom of speech exercised in *kgotla* meetings is entrenched in some Setswana proverbs such as “*Mmualeb e o bua la gagwe*” meaning that “everyone has a right to speak his/her mind”; “*Mafoko a kgotla a mantle otlhe*” meaning that “all views aired in the *kgotla* are precious”. It is interesting to take note of the argument that: contrary to caricatures in accounts insensitive to alternative philosophies of rights in Africa, Tswana customs in democracy not only acknowledge the individual’s rights to participate in communal affairs…but provide against a *kgosi* abusing his authority through constant reminders that a king only attains that position through his followers (*Kgosi ke kgosi ka batho*) or “by grace of his tribe” (Nyamnjoh, 2006, p. 83).

This view as noted in Nyamnjoh (2006) acknowledges the differences in the conceptualizations of democracy that take into consideration the contextual factors as well as their socio-cultural aspects. As shown in the Botswana context, democracy guards against the abuse of power by the chief and advocates for the people’s voice and rights. The *kgotla* system is also popularly known for its adherence to the *Tswana* political culture of aversion of public conflict and to seek consensus on major issues and decisions.
During the pre-colonial times the chief discussed important matters in private with his headmen and advisors prior to any public discussions and at the kgotla the advisors and headmen would speak first to present a consensus position (Bradshaw and Ndegwa, 2000). After independence the Kgolha has been used for both traditional and political gatherings. Members of Parliament and Ministers also use the kgotla as a means to explain their roles and responsibilities, government policies, solicit views and mobilize people’s participation on issues of national interest (Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006). It is this hybrid system of democracy that Ndegwa (2001) refers to as the “African democratic experiment” which some scholars believe has led to Botswana’s success story of democracy today (Patterson, 2006; Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006; Bradshaw and Ndegwa, 2000).

However, there are noticeable problems with the kgotla as a two way communication structure between the public and members of parliament and among the many are: dwindling attendance, failure to listen to community views, predominance of men as speakers at kgotla meetings, the reluctance of women to participate, youth reluctance to attend kgotla meetings and its highly centralized decision making (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). The proliferation of mass media threatens the existence and functionality of the kgotla as nowadays announcements and information dissemination is done through television, newspapers and the internet. These modes of communication are fast, efficient and not time consuming; hence they have become more favorable than the traditional kgotla meetings or gatherings. Given these changing dynamics within the fabric of the Botswana society it remains to be seen as to whether the traditional kgotla system will continue to flourish and be sustained.
A Critique of Botswana’s Democracy

Though Botswana has been hailed as a “senior” democracy in the African continent (Sebudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006), scholars in the field have expressed concern on the fragility of Botswana’s highly centralized government and its authoritarian liberalism (Ndegwa, 2001, Maundeni, 2003, Good, 2004). Good (2004) is critical of what he terms the liberal political economy of Botswana which he argues is characterized by an executive presidency with extensive powers of control and influence that is differentiated, episodic and latent. Furthermore, there are some noticeable flaws in Botswana’s democracy emanating from a combination of a weak parliament, weak opposition, weak civic associations and a struggling media (Subudubudu and Osei-Hwedie, 2006). The notion of a weak opposition is augmented by Maundeni (2003) who argues that though regular national elections are held with more than three competing political parties, the same party always wins. However, it is interesting that the historical link between traditional chiefs who are not democratically elected and yet control the local kgotla meetings, and their representation in parliament and House of Chiefs is viewed as a major constraint to Botswana’s democratization process (Maundeni, 2003).

The way democracy is understood and practiced in Botswana has implications for my study on citizenship education in that there is a clear disconnect between what takes place in the classroom and society. The curriculum focuses on democracy as defined and practiced in Western liberal thought in terms of participating in elections, voting and community activities but falls short in connecting those ideals to the traditional form of democracy which is characterized by, among other things, consensus, consultation and ascribed status. Even though a combination of traditional and western
types of democracy is practiced, it is publicly and officially denied (Mautle, 2000). This poses problems for teachers who have to constantly grapple with insuring that they relate what students learn to their everyday life experiences.

**Botswana’s Education System**

*Brief history of Botswana’s Education System*

Prior to independence in 1966, Botswana’s education was predominantly western oriented since Botswana was a British colony. The curriculum was tailored along western models with history and geography taught from a Eurocentric view (Mautle, 2000). Even after independence the curriculum continued to be a carbon copy of the colonial system of education with classrooms characterized by authoritative structures of tables and chairs assembled in rows with the teacher at the center of the learning process (Mautle, 2000). After independence the Government of Botswana decided to reform its education system in order for it to address the needs of the society. As a result of the need to reform education, in 1975 a National Commission on Education (NCE) was set up to address the problems in education and make recommendations (Tabulawa, 2003). This commission resulted in the Report of the National Commission on Education of 1977 popularly known as *Education for Kagisano* (Social harmony).

Botswana has since embarked on massive educational reform both qualitatively and quantitatively through the national education commissions namely, the National Commission on Education (1977) popularly known as Education for *Kagisano* (Social harmony) and National Commission on Education (1993) that resulted in the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE) Government paper No. 2 (1994). Meyer, Nagel and Snyder (1993) have stated that:
The 1977 report moves sharply away from a Botswana educational tradition (initially mainly religious and later British and secular) that emphasized elite education in a diffuse way. The 1977 vision directly parallels the prevalent local assumptions discussed above and embraces widespread individual participation in all aspects of life (p. 464).

The authors further opine that the 1977 report led to much educational expansion and change such as the drives for national standardization, universalization, and extension beyond primary school and for curricular modernization.

According to Fuller, Hua & Snyder (1994) Botswana has experienced rapid expansion in access to junior secondary education since independence in 1966. In 1962, there were only 6 secondary schools and that number has increased to 140 junior and senior secondary schools. At independence, girls represented about 56% of all primary school students and their proportion of junior secondary enrolment has ranged between 42 and 46%. Senior secondary enrolments have remained steady at over 40%. This shows the extent to which the education sector has improved since independence and high priority had been put on education due to the lack of human resource at independence. It should also be noted that in spite of its successes in education, Botswana is one of those countries that inherited a backlog of poverty at independence because the colonizers neglected the protectorate and it was only colonized for strategic purposes (Maruatona, 2005).

*Structure of the Education System Today*

Education in Botswana is guided by the National Commissions on Education primarily; Report of the National Commission on Education (1977) popularly known as
Education for *Kagisano* and the Report of the National Commission on Education (RNPE, 1994). In an effort to redirect the future of education in Botswana, the Report of the National Commission on Education (1977) recommended a structure of the education system that had 7 years of primary education, 3 years junior secondary education and 2 years of senior secondary education (7-3-2). This structure was later changed to a 7-2-3 system. The RNPE (1994) reversed the structure to 7-3-2 arguing that the 7-2-3 system did not prepare children for the future and when they finished their Junior Certificate they were too young to enter the labor market. The Government of Botswana abolished school fees in 1980 in an effort to promote literacy and introduced free basic education, a position that has been reversed since 2006. The Botswana Government adopted a policy on universal basic education in which all children in Botswana are entitled to ten (10) years of basic education.

The primary and secondary school curriculum is centralized under the supervision of the Department of the Curriculum Development and Evaluation in the Ministry of Education (MoE). Teacher education is provided by the Botswana Government through a three year diploma from either primary or secondary colleges of education and a four year bachelor’s degree from the University of Botswana. The curriculum in colleges of education is developed through different subject panels. The minimum qualification for teaching in colleges of Botswana is Master’s degree in education. The colleges of education are affiliated institutions of the University of Botswana.

The Government of Botswana sees education as a tool for development (Education for *Kagisano*, 1977; RNPE, 1994). The medium of instruction in schools is Setswana from standard 1-4 and English from standard 5-7 (Education for *Kagisano*,
Although the RNPE (1994) has recommended that Setswana be used as a medium of instruction from standard 1-2 and thereafter English should take over, the recommendation has not been fully implemented, meaning that the medium of instruction remains to be Setswana during the formative years of schooling (standard1-4) (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2000). Educational reform in Botswana has focused primarily on quantitative measures such as infrastructure (more schools and classrooms) and qualitative ones like the structure of education system, curriculum reviews, and teacher education (Tabulawa, 2003). To better put this study into perspective it is imperative that I discuss how social studies came to be taught in Botswana schools.

**Social Studies in Botswana**

The introduction of social studies in the school curriculum in Botswana was a result of the 1968 Mombasa Conference where African countries agreed to set up the African Social Studies Program (ASSP) now referred to as the African Social Studies and Environmental Studies Programme (ASSESP) (Adeyemi, 2008). In Botswana social studies emerged for the first time as a school subject in 1969 as part of the standard one and two curriculum. It was not until 1982 that the subject was introduced into the whole primary school curriculum and eventually became part of the Junior secondary schools curriculum in 1986 (Mautle, 2000). The aims of the social studies curriculum are based on “the philosophical view that social studies must play a leading role in developing the individual learner into a functional citizen of Botswana” (Mautle, 2000). Mautle (2000) further gives an elaborate rationale for introducing social studies in primary and secondary schools in Botswana and among the many to; focus on issues and problems
relevant to the learners’ experiences; de-compartmentalize knowledge, that, it is best to treat knowledge as a whole rather than fragments.

This rationale is augmented by the MoE (2005) in the Upper Primary Social Studies Syllabus when stating that:

The primary reason for Social Studies instruction is to help learners acquire and use information to think critically, logically and rationally in dealing with social, economic, political and environmental issues. It encourages and promotes cultural identity, good citizenship, tolerance as well as social and environmental responsibility. It facilitates in learners the attainment of knowledge, develops skills and promotes desirable attitudes needed to function as informed, productive and responsible citizens (Ministry of Education (MoE), 2005: p. 147).

The syllabus further articulates the main aims of the social studies curriculum. It states that, on completion of the three-year Upper Primary Social Studies programme learners should have:

1. Developed critical thinking, problem solving, interpersonal and inquiry skills

2. Developed desirable attributes such as initiative, curiosity, creativity, assertiveness, self-esteem, open mindedness, respect for the environment and for one’s own life.

3. Acquired knowledge and understanding of their environment and the need for sustainable utilisation of natural resources.

4. Developed desirable attitudes and behavioural patterns in interacting with the environment in a manner that is protective, preserving and nurturing.
5. Acquired knowledge and understanding of their society through the appreciation of their culture and tradition including languages, songs, ceremonies, customs, social norms and a sense of citizenship.

6. Acquired a good knowledge and practice of moral standards and health practices that will prepare them for responsible family life.

7. Gained the necessary knowledge and ability to interact with and learn about their community, government of their country and the world around them.

8. Developed skills for accessing and processing of information using information technology.

9. Developed an awareness of their rights and responsibilities related health, gender, law, violence, identity, civic and other social and moral issues. (MoE, 2005; p.74).

The aims of the social studies curriculum for upper primary schools (MoE, 2005) have not changed much in spite of the recent curriculum reviews and can be summarized around the following themes:

1. Citizenship education

2. Knowledge of the learners physical and social environments

3. Development of skills (Critical thinking skills)

4. Development of desired attitudes

5. Understanding of development issues relevant to Botswana

6. Most serious social problems facing humanity (e.g. Environmental issues; HIV/AIDS)
A cursory look at the current social studies curriculum shows that it is organized according to five modules which are spiraled across the upper primary syllabus (standards 5, 6 and 7). The modules are: Module 1: Society and Culture; Module 2: Physical Environment; Module 3: Our Past; Module 4: Governance and Citizenship; Module 5: Economy. Social studies teachers are therefore, charged with the responsibility to develop citizens that are ideal to Botswana. They have to ensure that the above aims and objectives of the upper primary social studies curriculum are implemented and achieved; this to me is a mammoth task. It is against this backdrop that this study becomes imperative in order to explore the teachers’ perceptions on democratic citizenship education because it is their understanding of their mandate of developing functional citizens that the above aims and objectives can be realized.

The need to introduce social studies in Colleges of Education and the University of Botswana arose in the 1980’s and 1990’s (Adeyemi, 2008). Teacher education is provided by three colleges of education in Tlokweng, Francistown and Serowe, where teachers train for a Diploma in Primary Education. The fourth college of education for primary teachers situated in Lobatse was closed in 2009. The University of Botswana is the only institution in the country which offers Bachelor’s Degrees and Master’s Degrees for teachers in primary schools and graduates from these programs are found in different sectors of the education system. The colleges of education that produce teachers are run by the Government of Botswana through the Department of Teacher Training and Development in the Ministry of Education and Skills Development. Social studies is one of the core curriculum subjects taught at primary and secondary levels of education. It is
examined at the end of the seven years of primary education through the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) (RNPE, 1994).

The Status of Social Studies in Botswana

Social studies is one of the curriculum subjects that is offered across the different levels of education in Botswana from primary to junior secondary levels of education. Botswana has a national curriculum; therefore, materials and resources used in schools are similar throughout the country (Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE), 1994). Teachers also undergo their training or teacher education within Government institutions for teacher education, hence the probability that their methods of teaching might be similar. The government of Botswana has implemented a number of reforms in education that were aimed at improving the quality of education specifically in methods of teaching and learning such as breakthrough to Setswana, Project method, Inquiry and discovery method, all of which were considered child-centered (RNPE, 1994).

Botswana like many other African states is experiencing teething problems with the social studies curriculum implementation in schools. One of the challenges that face social studies in Botswana includes the culture of teaching and the availability of teaching resources (Mautle, 2000). Numerous studies undertaken at primary, secondary and tertiary education on the state of social studies classrooms and teaching have revealed that social studies teaching is teacher dominated, didactic and predominantly authoritarian (Mautle, 2000; Tabulawa, 1998; Harber, 1997b). The observation that classrooms are teacher centered is a widespread challenge across the continent of Africa (Harber, 1997b; Asimeng-Boahene, 2000) and has remained such despite the fact that
such education systems have implemented a number of educational reforms geared towards improving the quality of teaching and learning.

This authoritarian nature of schools in Africa has been associated with “the colonial legacy of school organization and curriculum institutionalized during colonialism in the first part of the twentieth century, which has come to be regarded as ‘normal’ or the only available model” (Harber, 1997b, p.3). Classrooms are characterized by silence on the part of students who act as recipients of knowledge and are not challenged to take responsibility of their own learning (Tabulawa, 1998). The state of affairs in the schools regarding the methods of teaching is unlikely to change very soon due to a number of reasons among them being that:

1. Teacher educators at the colleges of education do not realize that there is a discrepancy between what they teach and what they preach to students as good methods of teaching and the methods that they themselves employ in their teaching.…

2. At the University of Botswana, teacher educators appreciated the discrepancy. However, chairs and podiums fixed on the floors of classrooms were introduced recently (second half of 1999) as one way of improving the teaching environment…The nature of the classroom will dictate that only lecturing should take place. (Mautle, 2000, p.163).

This study on teachers’ perceptions on educating citizens in a democracy comes at a crucial time when social studies teaching in Botswana has been under serious scrutiny and criticism (Mautle, 2000; Harber, 1997b). These criticisms emanate from the fact that social studies curriculum in Botswana calls for students to be active and participate in
their own learning. The methods that are recommended in the teaching of social studies include group work, debates, presentations, role-plays, observation and inquiry, problem-solving…(MoE, 2005). However, teaching in social studies classrooms is said to be didactic (Tabulawa, 2003; Harber, 1997b) and reflects a totally different scenario from that which is recommended in the school curriculum.

**Citizenship Education in Botswana**

African scholars have argued that citizenship education has been part and parcel of the total education of the young in inducting them into the society through the teaching of good citizenship, civic responsibility and human relationships of the African way of life (Mafela and Mgadla, 2000; Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). Therefore, the production of socially responsible and culturally acceptable members of the society was fostered through a curriculum that comprised knowledge of social values, norms, etiquette and morality (Abdi, 2008; Adeyemi, 2000; Asimeng-Boahene, 2000; Otiende and Oanda, 2000 ). Adeyemi (2000) and Asimemeng-Boahene (2000) further contend that citizenship education has evolved through three phases: the pre-colonial, colonial and post independent eras within African societies of which Botswana is a member.

*Pre-Colonial Era*

Citizenship education in past African societies was defined as “an integration of all history, culture, values, and beliefs, in short, the customs of the family, community, and ethnic group” (Department of curriculum development and evaluation, 1990). During the pre-colonial era citizenship education was practiced in two ways; through the informal and formal ways where children were socialized into the norms, traditions and cultures of their communities by the elderly. Children did not have to go to school to
learn to be citizens (Adeyemi, 2000). Informally, young people learned aspects of their respective societies through contact and association with the older members of the community as well as through examples and reprimand (Mafela and Mgadla, 2000). For example Boys learned the skills to carry out duties in their respective communities through herding calves, goats and sheep before graduating to herd cattle while girls learned by imitation and associating with the womenfolk such as mothers, aunts and sisters. Mafela and Mgadla (2000) further contend that this situation was not peculiar to Botswana but was a common feature among African societies.

Another informal method of educating citizens identified was that of teaching mores and values through both examples and reprimand. Young people learned citizenship through lullabies, riddles, proverbs, folklores, oral literature and myths (Adeyemi, 2000; Asimeng Boahene, 2000; Mafela and Mgadla, 2000; Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). A child belonged to the community and any parent could discipline a child if they saw him/her doing anything perceived to be against the norms of the society (Adeyemi, 2000; Abdi, 2008). These informal ways of education provided a platform through which the youth were able to learn about the expectations and obligations of their societies.

In Botswana one distinct formal way of citizenship education was practiced through initiation ceremonies. Mafela and Mgadla (2000) are quick to defend their position that initiation ceremonies were formal in that: “in their operations they had formal and trained instructors, an established time span, place and content of instruction, which was mostly oral” (p. 2). During these ceremonies young people learned about the laws governing their society and other responsibilities that ranged from family to national
duties (Mafela and Mgadla, 2000). These initiation ceremonies were conducted through traditional initiation schools known as **Bogwera** and **Bojale** (Tlou and Campbell, 1997). **Bogwera** was for young men who when they reached puberty were taken for training and initiation into manhood, they learned various rules of conduct, ethnic songs of war and triumph as well as the necessary skills in the respective fields to meet the demands of society (Tlou and Campbell, 1997).

**Bojale** was for young women, who were also taken for training to be initiated into womanhood and how to take care of a family (Tlou and Campbell, 1997). Preece and Mosweunyane (2004) further remind us that this form of cultural knowledge was very rich and was shared from one generation to another. That cultural knowledge is not static and often reflect and represent the connectedness of spirituality centered wisdom and cultural practices that are embedded within the African indigenous knowledge systems.

The most important thing about citizenship education in the Tswana traditional society was aimed at communal achievement where the “good” citizen’s goal was to fit into and share the benefits of the society (Department of curriculum development and evaluation, 1990).

**Colonial Era**

Asimeng-Boahene (2000) contends that citizenship education took a different turn during the colonial period as it introduced the type of formal education that prepared individuals for a higher obligation and loyalty beyond the family, village, ethnic group and the nation. Thus, the colonial phase of citizenship education was tailored along the metropolitan model and was not adapted to the African environment. This citizenship education fostered a concern for and an obligation toward individual achievement and
other values that accompanied western civilization (Department of curriculum development and evaluation, 1990). Therefore, citizenship education was directed at western values and beliefs as dictated by the colonial administration and missionaries.

Therefore, colonial citizenship education was not intended to foster nation building but was rather meant to encourage a belief in the European interpretation of the western world (Asimeng-Boahene, 2000; Abdi, 2008; Abdi, Ellis and Sizha, 2005). The colonial curriculum required students to learn such topics as the kings, queens, princes and princesses of Britain, River Thames, the Coal of New Castle and the British Isles (Adeyemi, 2008). Mautle (2000) shares the same sentiments as the aforementioned authors as he contends that colonial education in Botswana, then called Bechuanaland Protectorate, was foreign and had no relevance to the learners’ local environment.

**Post-Colonial Era**

Citizenship education is not taught as an independent subject but it is rather infused through the social studies curriculum. It is the social studies curriculum that is entrusted with citizenship education as it has to inculcate necessary skills, values, knowledge and attitudes that are necessary for developing responsible citizens (Ajiboye, 2008). The Botswana social studies is modeled around both the traditional village integrated citizenship education and the demands of a modern nation. Therefore, indicating that the curriculum is in agreement with the principles of social studies around the world as “citizenship education starting with a country’s own cultural identity, integration of subject content, and the development of decision-making skills” (Department of curriculum development and evaluation, 1990, p. 7).
Citizenship education is a multi-faceted concept; it is fairly new within the Botswana’s primary school curriculum as it has existed for approximately forty-one years (Ajiboye, 2008). Its meaning is debatable and as such it is still not clear on what it is supposed to cover (Mautle, 2000). Citizenship education after independence focused on what it means to be a citizen of Botswana, that is, the experience of the traditional family, ethnic group, and the nation. This new citizenship education required students to discuss the nation’s problems, effects of the nation’s development and change on itself and other nations (Department of curriculum development and evaluation, 1990). Citizenship education is defined as “educating children from childhood to become clear thinking and enlightened citizens who can participate in decisions concerning society. Generally, it deals with components of rights, duties, participation and identity” (Ajiboye, 2008, p. 127).

Ajiboye (2008) definition of citizenship education falls within the liberal-individualist view that places the rights and duties of an individual at the centre stage (Van Gunsteren, 1998). Through social studies, schools are in a better position to provide opportunities for social interaction through engaging students in extracurricular activities such as sports and music competitions, social functions like HIV/AIDS day and exhibitions (Ajiboye, 2008). However, the current approach to citizenship education in most African countries of which Botswana is included, draws largely from the position articulated by the United States National Council on Social Studies (NCSS) that social studies should focus on helping young people to develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally varied, democratic society in an increasingly interdependent world around the American (Ogunyemi, 2008).
Who is a Citizen in Botswana?

In Botswana the question of citizenship is a complex one as there are tensions brought about by the traditional and cultural make up of the society complicated by the advent of globalization and modernization that have permeated the society (Nyamnjoh, 2006). A citizen in Botswana can be identified by the legal documents such as Omand (Identity Card) which distinguishes him or her from foreigners. Furthermore, a citizen of Botswana has certain entitlements which include the right to obtain land for free and vote from the age of eighteen (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). A citizen of Botswana has duties and responsibilities and these include being patriotic, respect for the constitution, paying taxes, participating in national activities, obeying and upholding laws of the country, protecting your country from enemies and voting during elections (Ngongola, Gatsha and Selwe, 2008). This legal conception of citizenship characterizes citizenship as understood within the school curriculum and is based on the western interpretations of citizenship.

Nyamnjoh (2006) provides a vivid picture of the state of affairs in relation to citizenship, identity and the politics of difference in Botswana. He argues that though there are legal provisions of equality of citizenship to all men and women in principle, in practice there are inequalities in citizenship as there is a hierarchy of citizenship that is fostered by the political, social and cultural inequalities. This hierarchy has resulted in some Batswana (people of Botswana) being of lesser Batswana than others. Running in parallel to this hierarchy is the acceptance and treatment of foreigners and immigrants as not all of them are welcome or accorded similar status, respect, privileges or rights. The tendency has been to scapegoat and label other Black Africans as Makwerekwere, a
situation that denies them of a name of their choice (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Their presence is as well dependent on the degree and is subject to renegotiation in different circumstances.

Nyamnjoh (2006) is quick to remind us that being a rights-bearing Motswana (Citizen of Botswana) is dependent on the degree and power relations that one has, therefore indicating that nothing is fixed, not even the rhetoric of rights as they are dependent on context and issues at stake. Nyamnjoh (2006) further contends that like many countries in Africa, Botswana is one of those countries where ethnic citizenship and belonging has almost disappeared in favor of a single political and legal citizenship and nation-building. As a result of globalization there are growing tensions of belonging and identity politics that are matched by a growing urge of differentiating between “‘locals’, ‘nationals’, ‘citizens’, autochthons’ or ‘insiders’ on the one hand; and ‘foreigners’, ‘immigrants’, ‘strangers’ or ‘outsiders’ on the other, with the focus on opportunities, economic entitlements, cultural recognition and political representation” (Nyamnjoh, 2006, p.3).

Due to globalization, there is a growing competition for jobs and limited resources which then call for differentiation between nationals and foreigners with priority being given to the locals’ and the nationals. In recent years Botswana has experienced tensions as marginalized ethnic groups have sought for equity, better representation and more access to national resources and opportunities. This scenario as put in Nyamnjoh’s words demonstrate not only the paradoxes of globalization but also the limits of bounded notions of citizenship and belonging informed by the ‘nation-state’ and its hierarchies.
Conclusion

This chapter has discussed pertinent issues with regards to democracy, citizenship education and being a citizen in Botswana. The discussion reveals how citizenship is understood and interpreted within the Botswana context indicating that Botswana is not immune to the influences of globalization and how it is shaping citizenship, and identities imagined or real. There is a clear indication that citizenship in Botswana is hierarchical and affects individuals and communities differently as informed by race, ethnicity, class, gender and geography. Therefore, citizenship in Botswana is fluid and not homogenous as one might have thought given the national aspirations of kagisano (social harmony), popagano (unity) and nation building that were adopted at independence in 1966. These national aspirations and their product of national citizenship founded on a legally bounded citizenship and belonging are facing the greatest challenge in Botswana today.

Globalization threatens and problematizes notions of bounded citizenship and national citizenship as conceptualized and practiced in established democracies and emerging nation-states of Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. It threatens to undermine the key characteristics of the nation-state such as sovereignty, autonomy and democracy leading to the proliferation of transnational communities, emergence of cross border flows, growth in international migration and technological advances (Castles, 2004).
CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

EXPERIENCES: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION-A REALITY OR ILLUSION?

INTRODUCTION

The Government of Botswana is committed to citizenship education through the teaching of social studies at primary and secondary levels of education. It is believed that through social studies education students will acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to promote citizenship, tolerance and cultural identity (MoE, 2005). This study was an attempt to understand the social studies teachers’ beliefs, experiences, views and interpretations of citizenship education since they are the ones entrusted with this mammoth task of developing citizens in a democracy. Since social studies teachers’ are to some degree related to citizenship development, their understandings and interpretations are pivotal to the quality of citizens produced in this country. The study was guided by the following broad research questions:

1. What do social studies teachers think and say about citizenship education in primary schools?
2. How do social studies teachers prepare students for citizenship in a democracy?

3. Are there any issues or problems in the schools regarding citizenship education, if any, what can be done to improve the situation?

4. What are the curricular and other implications of the findings for developing citizens in Botswana?

This study was qualitative in nature and sought to explore the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices on citizenship education in a democracy. Eleven social studies teachers in six primary schools in Maretlweng village (pseudonym) participated in the study and three school-heads were also interviewed towards the end of the data collection exercise to solicit their views on some of the issues raised by the teachers. A variety of data collection methods were used that included individual interviews, participant observations, focus groups and document analysis. Data were analyzed and developed into themes that draw from all the data sources. In this chapter I present the first three findings from this study that are based on what teachers think and say about citizenship education in a democracy.

The findings on teachers’ views and thoughts provide an in-depth understanding of how teachers conceptualize citizenship, the influence of their relationships and experiences on their decision making processes, and their worldviews. I present the findings in a thematic form and they are as follows:

1. Teachers conceptualize citizenship in multiple ways

2. Teachers’ relationships and experiences influence their thinking about citizenship education

3. Teachers teach about the world from a “Motswana” worldview
Below I present the findings sequentially as they appear above in this chapter.

Findings

Teachers’ conceptualize citizenship in multiple ways.

Teachers conceptualize citizenship in multiple ways as national identity, active participation, collective responsibility and self reliance. There are a number of reasons that may explain why teachers conceptualize citizenship in multiple ways among them the notion of bounded citizenship and nation building, globalization and the economic realities of the nation itself. Firstly, it should be borne in mind that at independence in 1966, Botswana like many African nations emerging from colonialism opted for a form of citizenship that was political, legal, bounded and geared towards nation building as opposed to ethnic citizenship and belonging which was viewed as divisive. However, in recent years the country has experienced tensions of belonging and identity politics as various ethnic groups have sought equity, better representation and more access to national resources and opportunities (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Nyati-Ramahobo, 2002). These identity politics tend to reject and query assimilationist policies of bounded national citizenship in favor of more differentiated ideas of citizenship which distinguishes between insiders and outsiders (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

Secondly, globalization with its accompanying agents of accelerated capital flow of goods, electronic information, diminishing borders and migration have impacted Botswana negatively as they have exacerbated the insecurities and anxieties of both local and foreigners hence bringing about greater obsession with citizenship and belonging. This has led to the re-actualization of boundaries and differences; and the questioning of previous assumptions about nationality and citizenship (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Thirdly, since
independence, Botswana’s development has been guided by the national principles of democracy, development, unity and self reliance. The government of Botswana has been the main provider of education and employment. However, with the advent of the ongoing economic recession in the country and world, growing unemployment rates and lack of a diversified economy, it has become very clear that the government can no longer sustain such aspirations hence the need for citizens to seek alternative ways of survival. It is against this backdrop that there seem to be a shift of emphasis from a dependency on the government to self reliance initiatives.

Lastly, Botswana as a country since independence has experienced rapid economic growth and as such has attracted immigrant communities from different parts of the world such as Africa and Asia. The exodus of foreigners from other parts of the world has led to competition for jobs and this has also heightened the citizens insecurities as they believe that foreigners take up high profiled jobs in the country. This has provoked undesirable attitudes towards foreigners which have sparked notions of xenophobia. The economic realities of some of the neighboring countries such as Zimbabwe have also exacerbated the situation as their citizens come to Botswana illegally and create tensions and problems of illegal immigration. All the aforementioned accounts intersect to make the notion of citizenship complex and not a cut and dry situation.

**Citizenship as National Identity**

All the teachers who participated in the study conceptualized citizenship as national identity. National identity was explained in terms of belonging to a nation, possession of national documents and having pride in national symbols. During my initial interviews with teachers, I asked them “when you hear the word ‘citizenship’, what
comes into your mind?” The teachers’ responses varied and the results are as presented below.

**Belonging to a Nation**

All the teachers who participated in this research perceived citizenship as a sense of belonging to a particular nation or country and being proud of who you are as a Motswana. In explaining the meaning of citizenship Ms Kubu had this to say:

> It means nationality, where you come from. But generally it means belonging to a certain country or nation”. I believe as Batswana, we should be proud of who we are, that is our identity. We do not have to go around copying other people’s cultures to the extent that we forget about who we are.

Ms Kabo defined citizenship as laid down in legal documents and had this to say:

> The word citizenship and what it implies in my mind is that we are talking of individuals who belong to a certain state or country or they are members of the country by descent, origin or naturalization. If you are a foreigner and you adopt to become a citizen of Botswana you become a member of Botswana.

However, it was interesting to find that national belonging does not begin at national level as teachers felt that for one to belong to a nation they have to belong to a certain tribe or ethnic group in the country. This was interesting in that their conception of national identity and belonging was exclusionary as it totally left out ‘foreigners’ or ‘expatriates’ (as they are usually referred to in the country) who have naturalized as citizens. To emphasize the notion of national belonging as preceded by belonging to a tribe or ethnic group in Botswana Ms Lorato mentioned that:
But generally it means belonging to a nation or country by birth or origin. It should be understood that one becomes a citizen of Botswana because he/she belongs to a particular ethnic group in Botswana.

Mr Nkwe shared the same sentiments that:

A citizen of Botswana has to be defined as someone who is originally a Motswana, she has been born within any territory of Botswana and has lived there, went to school in Botswana…, you belong to a certain area of Botswana like your tribe is in Botswana, for example; I am a Mokalaka (ethnic group) because I have lived to be a Motswana because I belong to the central district which is an area controlled in the past by Bangwato.

The findings on national belonging as an element of citizenship and national identity clearly indicate that teachers view national belonging as emanating from one’s ethnic group or tribe. To them ethnic belonging precedes national belonging and therefore, indicating that for one to be a citizen of Botswana (Motswana), she/he should first be a member of one of the ethnic groups in Botswana. These views are not surprising given the recent appeals made by some ethnic groups who have been marginalized as they are now seeking equity and recognition.

National Symbols

The findings also revealed that teachers were in unison in seeing national identity as being expressed through national symbols such as the national anthem, the flag, the coat of arms, national colors. These national symbols to them are a form of national identity and express a sense of pride in who they are. Mr Morubusi in weighing on national symbols and citizenship had this to say:
In my teaching I require my students to bring national symbols such as the flag, t-shirts with national colors, coat of arms to basically show who they are and develop some pride in their country. I encourage them to show support to the national football team by wearing national symbols when they go to watch games. I believe doing so teaches the learners about who they are and develop some pride in their country.

Ms Kubu also talked about the significance of national symbols to national identity and said:

They (citizens) must have respect for the national anthem, you find that at times people just take things for granted where you find that children can use the national anthem during their play –this is not right. It should be respected because it identifies us as a nation and country from the rest of the world. They also saw national symbols as a unifying factor in terms of citizenship since people belong to different ethnic groups. Ms Lorato expressed the importance of national symbols to national identity and mentioned that:

Right now in our country we are from different ethnic groups and there is a flag which has got three colors that represent the country that we are living in. The blue color represents the sky, that we Batswana (people of Botswana) depend on rain because it is unreliable, the white color represents the white people that are also found in our country and black color represents Batswana and other Black Africans who live in our country.

It is not surprising that these teachers saw national symbols as national identity because they represent national unity and nation building as conceived at independence.
National Documents

National documents were also identified as elements of national identity. They mentioned that national documents such as *Omang* (National Identity Card), passport, birth certificate and drivers’ license identified who you are. Ms Neo emphasized the importance of having national documents and acquiring them through the right procedures in order to guard against corruption and nepotism and said that:

…You know, even national documents such as National Identity (*Omang*), people should not take it for granted that people will hear me speaking that I am a Motswana, carry it all the time and produce it when it is needed because these things are important. They show your identity, who you are, where you come from. These things can speak for you, you don’t have to tell a person that you are a Motswana; you just take out these things and show them. Having a drivers’ license, they should know that there are no short cuts to having such documents, procedures should be followed.

Having national documents was also related to being a responsible citizen who obeys the laws and this was echoed by Mr Kgabo when saying:

Responsibility, being responsible, obeying your country’s laws, following the constitution of the country and being responsible in whatever you do. Caring and loving your country. By being responsible according to people is for them to have national identity, passport whatever. They should do what is wanted by the law and not do things that are improper.

The possession of these national documents was also seen as a form of national identity in an effort to be able to differentiate between the nationals (Insiders) and
foreigners (Outsiders). It appears they also see national documents as being able to help tell authentic from non authentic citizens. Ms Kabo in relating national documents to the politics of difference had this to say:

Citizenship means being a Motswana. As a Motswana you should have an identity card Omang). The person must be born in Botswana and be able to speak Setswana. You have to belong to one of the ethnic groups in Botswana “O seka wabo o le Motebele hela jaaka o ntse fa o bo ore o Motswana” (when translated means that: “you should not be a Ndebele (ethnic group in Zimbabwe) as you are seated here and call yourself a Motswana (Referring to me)”

According to Ms Kabo possessing national documents was a way of differentiating between real Batswana (born and belonging to the main ethnic groups in the country) and non real Batswana that is those Batswana who might have acquired citizenship through naturalization like me and do not belong to anyone of the recognized ethnic groups in Botswana. In fact Ms Kabo gave me a reality check in that she used me as an example of a non authentic Motswana and for the first time I came to realize that I am not regarded as a Motswana in my own country of birth.

**Citizenship as Active Participation**

All the teachers who participated in the study conceptualized citizenship as active participation and this involved taking part in political, community and national activities. In their view participating in various activities was related to good citizenship and nation building.
Political Activities

Political activities were viewed in relation to elections and voting for the government of their choice. Teachers expressed the importance of participating in elections as a way of expressing their wishes and a sign of belonging. Talking about participation, Ms Mpho had this to say:

Taking part in elections, it is their own way of expressing themselves by choosing their leaders. Take part in activities that you are asked to take part in as long as they are the ones that will build your nation.

Ms Kubu equated participation in political activities to good citizenship as she saw it as an important aspect of decision making and self expression which basically qualifies someone to be a good citizen at the same time developing national pride and she had this to say:

Even when it comes to elections, it’s high time everybody stands up to choose the government she wants because at times things are changing. We do not have to be saying the one in power is mine so I don’t need to vote. This makes you a proud citizen and know that you have voted and were part of those who chose the government.

Ms Kubu was very critical about people who do not participate during elections and lamented on voter apathy as a negation of good citizenship. Mr Tau saw participation in politics as a gateway to leadership positions. He mentioned that:

Citizenship requires that as citizens we should participate in elections and vote for our leaders. As teachers we should teach our students good citizenship by encouraging them to aspire for higher positions and should not be afraid to take
up leadership positions. If you are an adult, you are 18 years and above, you should be seen to be participating in elections, vote and be voted as a member of the council or parliamentarian.

However, the findings in this category took me by surprise to realize the teachers conceptualize political activities narrowly in terms of elections and voting. There was no mention of participation in political organizations for the youth, attending freedom squares and debating on issues of national interest or engaging in associations that are geared towards political education.

**Community Activities**

Active participation was also seen in relation to taking part in community or local activities that would help others. This would involve taking leadership positions that would benefit the community that they live in. Community activities that were mentioned included attending kgotla meetings, participating in village development committees (VDC’s), Parents Teachers’ Associations (PTA’s), attending funerals and weddings, Drought Relief Projects (*Ipelegeng*) and crime prevention groups (*Twantsho borukuthi*). Teachers saw participating in such activities as ways of making one to be part of or belong to a certain community. Ms Thato had this to say when talking about community activities:

Citizens in Botswana should take part or participate in community activities like weddings, funerals and community projects such as drought relief projects (*Ipelegeng*), village development committees (VDC’s) and Parents Teachers’ Associations (PTA’s). As they are to be good citizens they have to take part, say out their views, make their own decisions, so that they know and feel that they
belong, they are part and parcel of the community. They have to know what is expected from them as good citizens.

Mr Tau had this to say:

Citizens must be seen to be participating in community services, attending *kgotla* meetings to see activities done and issues discussed. It is important to attend *kgotla* meetings in order to make decisions in the area you are living in, the ward, and the village. We should be peace loving society. If there are community issues to be discussed at a *kgotla* meeting, we should be raise them properly the way they should be raised, that is peacefully without any confrontations.

It was interesting to find that the community activities that the teachers discussed ranged from development activities such as VDC’s and PTA’s to social activities such as weddings and funerals. Batswana are popularly known for their kinship ties and associations and it was not surprising to find that funerals and weddings were mostly mentioned as important community activities because that is where social networks are created, and kinship ties rekindled and failure to attend renders one an outcast in the society and no one wants to be seen in that way. The notion of discussing issues properly, peacefully without any confrontation is an interesting one as it is pivotal to our understanding of the teachers’ interpretations of participation, citizenship and democracy in Botswana.

*National Activities (Volunteerism)*

Active participation was also described in terms of being involved in national activities. Though teachers emphasized the difference between national and community
activities it was quite difficult to draw a distinction between the two. In expressing their views on citizenship, active participation and national activities, Mr Kgabo insisted that:

   Citizenship involves participating in national activities such as referendum, population census, conduct of elections on election day, have knowledge about the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and participate in its activities, how it operates, they must know about these things. They must engage in national drama groups that represent the country outside.

Ms Kabo shared the same sentiments when she elaborated on national activities that:

   Citizens in Botswana should take part in national activities like national elections where they vote for their national leaders such as Members of Parliament, referendums to make decisions concerning their lives, crime prevention groups at national level. We should participate in national events like culture day; they do take part around July.

Teachers also associated active participation with national activities and volunteerism which they saw as important aspects of good governance. Ms Batho had this to say:

   Citizenship calls for responsible citizens and as a good citizen you must ascribe to good governance like if there are elections, elect those you feel should be elected. Volunteer a lot. We are also expected to participate in the national activities, for example, national elections, cleaning campaigns or voluntary work. We are also expected to say out our views through councilors and members of parliament.

The findings on citizenship as active participation did not surprise me as they depict a clear picture of how democracy and citizenship are practiced and understood within the Botswana context where elections and voting are seen as the most important
aspects of good citizenship. These forms of citizenship follow the liberal model of citizenship which advocates for citizens rights and civic duties. This narrow conception of active participation being related to elections and voting maybe attributed to the confusion emanating from the understanding of democracy as it is not clear whether democracy should be taught from a Eurocentric view or Tswana traditional view or a combination of the two. Therefore, the way democracy is understood and practiced may be related to the confusion that surrounds the notions of citizenship in Botswana.

**Citizenship as a Collective Responsibility**

All the teachers spoke about citizenship as a collective enterprise involving the family and community as promulgators of moral and societal values and behavior. They saw citizenship in terms of moral values, peaceful coexistence and societal values and these were expressed in the form of *botho* as a source of collective and mutual interest within the family, community or nation.

*Moral Values and Behavior*

Moral values and behavior was expressed in terms of *Botho* and the family, school and community were seen as the main actors in inculcating the values of *botho* among children. Values associated with *botho* were articulated as compassion, cooperation, respect, love for one another, sympathy, being open, peaceful and good behavior. Being asked to define *botho*, this is what teachers had to say:

Ms Lorato said:

*Botho* means being honest with yourself, being honest with other people, self respect and respecting other people. Love for our country and respecting other people’s rights. Respect for people young and old.
Ms Kabo said:

…Botho is where we have to respect each other, care for one another, love one another and protect one another. Yes, botho relates to good moral values. We should display botho as this is what makes us to be who we are, being tolerant, peaceful and patriotic comes from the fact that we are taught to display botho wherever we go.

Mr Tau explained botho thus:

Botho and social harmony are vital in our society. As a person respect others in a way that others will in turn respect you. This will in turn bring peace and harmony. Social harmony- we may be different but at times we may work together to achieve a common goal. We must understand our differences and appreciate norms and cultures of each other.

The findings in this category clearly show that botho is regarded as an embracive concept that describes and embodies the attributes of an ideal Motswana. It is associated with virtues of humanness and compassion hence it is one of the pillars of the nation.

Peaceful-Coexistence and Unity

Citizenship was viewed in line with living peacefully and being united. Teachers emphasized that the notion of their country being regarded as peaceful lies in their ability as a nation to be able to tolerate one another. They believed that students should be taught to be tolerant at an early stage in order for them to be able to live peacefully and maintain the prevailing peace and stability in the country. Alluding to living in peace Ms Neo said:
I want to develop citizens who have tolerance, live in harmony, peace in order to maintain peace and stability that we have enjoyed over the years. We are known to be a peaceful country and we need to teach our children to preserve it.

Ms Mpho also emphasized the need to teach children good behavior and tolerance and her explanation was that:

What is typical about Batswana lies in their behavior, most Batswana are well behaved. One researcher once said that he was so surprised to see that Batswana are not arrogant, he was interviewing small children and they were well behaved, polite and used proper language. They like to solve problems peacefully rather that fighting or war. Batswana are peace-loving people. They believe that “Ntwakgolo ke ya molomo” meaning that “It is better to jaw-jaw than war-war”.

Ms Kubu opines that:

Though we want peace, we should also be tolerant and accept that we are different but united. We should unite and reinforce development because “Setshwarwa ke ntsa pedi ga se thata” (Setswana proverb) meaning that, “when we are a joint effort in carrying out a certain task, it will be completed well in time”. We should encourage each other as citizens, that is, we should live in peaceful coexistence. In our communities we should participate in activities that promote peace.

The findings in this category not only speak to the notion of maintaining peace and unity but also about recognizing diversity in unity. This is an important feature in Botswana as the ideas of citizenship have always centered on national homogeneity as opposed to diversity. This marks a departure from national citizenship towards the
politics of difference and identity. The other interesting point that keeps coming up is that of solving problems peacefully without any confrontations, this raises questions of complacency and good citizenship where people tend to accept views without challenging them in an effort to maintain peace.

_Societal Values (Helping each other)_

Citizenship was also viewed in terms of communal responsibility where each one of the community members depended on the other in times of need. Teachers felt that students need to be taught the spirit of sharing and caring for one another which is entrenched in the Setswana culture. They also felt that students should be taught _botho_ as it reflects one’s identity in the family and community. In expressing the need to help one another Ms Lorato had this to say:

> As Batswana we should be just and caring, not look for support from you but to contribute in caring for others. We should be seen to be contributing towards helping other citizens. In our culture if I happen to have many cattle and my neighbor does not have any, culturally we borrow those without cattle some cattle to milk and plough with them in order to survive, this is called the “_Mafisa System_”. I would not like to see my neighbor suffering. We support those in mourning by making contributions and staying with them in times of need.

The notion of caring for other people was well expressed by Ms Kubu when saying:

> In our communities there are needy people in different forms such as orphans due to HIV/AIDS, old people, terminally ill and the poor. As a good citizen you have to find out if you can be of assistance to your neighbor more so that our culture is a culture of extended relations. Know what is going on within your relatives. If
one of your relatives is sick or dead, know that you have to assist with funeral
arrangements.

Teachers also felt that children should be taught *botho* as a collective enterprise and this
is what Mr Morubisi said:

A citizen of Botswana is somebody who has *botho*, somebody who values other
people. *Botho* must begin at home because it is said that “charity begins at home”.
The way you greet, talk, or carry yourself around should reflect who you are and
the values of your family and community or society.

To further explicate the notion of collectivity in citizenship, Ms Kubu expressed her view
thus:

*Botho* is one of the things that we expect a Motswana child to exhibit where ever
he/she is. It is part of our culture and calls for one to behave in a certain manner in
or outside the country. It is something that must be there in you, to know that the
same respect that I give to my parents I should accord it to any adult person in the
community. Meaning that the child must know that they don’t have to respect
their parents only and that every adult is your parent.

The findings in this category reflect citizenship as a community enterprise as it
focuses on behavior as determined by the family and the community. It is clear that an
individual is viewed as a representative of the community she/he lives in and whatever
they do mirrors the society they come from. Being a member of a particular community
or village is very important in Botswana as one always identifies with where they come
from and the notion of extended family is very crucial for everyone’s survival more
especially in times of need. No matter how wealthy or successful someone is in life, they
still have to maintain family and extended relations within the community that they come from. This view of citizenship marks a departure from the individualistic and autonomous view of citizenship that is usually fostered within the liberal democratic nations (Van Gunsteren, 1998) and provides an alternative view of citizenship.

**Citizenship as Self Reliance**

Not all teachers in the study viewed citizenship as self reliance. All of the four male teachers and three female teachers associated citizenship with self reliance as they felt that the time has come for Batswana generally to start reducing their dependency syndrome on the government. They believe that citizens should be empowered and encouraged to develop entrepreneurial skills in order to generate self employment and produce commodities like food in their own country.

**Citizen Empowerment**

Citizen’s empowerment was listed as one of the important aspects of self reliance. Teachers felt that citizens need to empower themselves through getting the relevant education in order to develop skills that can sustain their livelihoods. Talking about empowerment Mr Tau who appears very passionate about the issue had this to say:

> In the Botswana context we are talking about empowerment, whereby people are taught how they can make a living rather than relying on the government, they are taught self reliance. It is one of the concepts that was brought by a man called Patrick va Ransburg when he brought up the idea of education with production. That is all about teaching the very same people in the country that whatever they have learnt must go and apply in their everyday life. However his ideas were not taken on board as they believed that he was a member of the opposition party.
He further elaborated on the issue of self development by saying that:

Citizens of Botswana should develop themselves. Know what the country expects of them, it looks like most people are looking at the government to do something for them in order to develop. They need to develop themselves academically, find out what their abilities are so that they can bring more money into the country. They need to benchmark with other people who are doing very well, so that when they engage in projects, they have the background of such projects.

Mr Kgabo maintained that:

People need to understand that they need to develop themselves after identifying their abilities. You find that most of us do so many subjects at a go and at the end of the day; we benefit nothing out of them. Probably if people are good at engineering, they must do engineering so that at the end of the day we have engineers and other people doing different jobs, we have people doing electrical and other stuff. That is why I was talking education with production. We won’t even run short of anything.

Ms Kubu weighed in by emphasizing the need for citizens to align their activities to the national principles as they guide citizens on what to aspire for. She said that:

As citizens we should respect the national principles. We should live and abide them because these things are important. The principle of Self Reliance, you will find that Batswana now do not want to do anything; they want to rely on the government hence it becomes very difficult for the government to fend for everyone. People should go out and plough, find jobs, work and help the government to pay for their school fees instead of just sitting and thinking that the
government has to do that for them. They must help the government instead of saying they can’t afford.

The findings on citizen empowerment and self reliance provide a synopsis of the teachers concerns on the type of education that is provided in Botswana. They shed light on concerns about education that does not provide students with the relevant skills and the lack thereof to develop and sustain themselves without over relying on the government to do everything for them, a situation that they believe should change.

Entrepreneurship and Education with Production

In discussing the issue of self reliance and entrepreneurial development, teachers felt that it was high time students were taught skills that will help them engage in small scale self help projects for commercial and subsistence purposes. In discussing the importance of developing entrepreneurial skills among students in order to reduce the citizens reliance on the government Mr Tau had this to say:

I encourage them to discuss issues of personal development whereby they develop themselves, self reliance so that they help in the production of food as suggested by Van Ransburg and his idea of education with Production. For students to be self reliant they need to read, learn how to manage finances and minimize getting loans.

Mr Morubisi emphasized the need for students to be taught to be independent and said:

Yes, self reliance, where they have to be independent and help themselves and not to depend on the government as we are facing this era of recession. As good citizens we should help the government to develop this country by starting
projects and creating employment for our fellow citizens rather than thinking that
the government can do everything.

Ms Thato cautioned people on the overreliance on the government and urged
them to be innovative and hard working as she mentioned that:

They should be people who are self reliant. They should not be seated there
looking at the government to provide them with everything. They should be found
to be putting effort into making their lives better through creating self
employment and engaging in activities such as in agriculture and tourism. They
should come up with new ideas for our leaders to make this country a better place
to live in. They should learn to be self reliant. As Batswana we should not just sit
back and expect the government to do everything for us. We need to work hard
and struggle to achieve our goals.

Ms Batho brought up an interesting point as she related self reliance to the global market
that:

The world is a small village and people have to develop themselves basing at their
abilities so that they can fit in every market not being confined to Botswana only.
For this to happen it is important for these kids to have learned leadership skills so
that they can be able to make decisions and informed decisions for that matter.
They should be able to support themselves and develop projects that can create
employment for themselves. They should be able to come up with their own
projects. They should be able to help the government. Learners who are able to
initiate change in the society, learners who can contribute a lot to the development
of the country.
Teachers emphasized the need to equip learners with entrepreneurial skills as way to develop their country by providing self employment, engaging in food production and relieving the government from having to provide everything for its citizens. It is interesting that teachers brought up the idea of education with production which they believe has been ignored for political reasons. The notion of education with production in Botswana founded on the national principle of self reliance is an old one, however it is noteworthy that 44 years since independence it is still very shady and has not been aggressively taken on board as primary schools no longer provide vegetables through gardening like they used to in the past and Botswana is still insufficient in food production as it still imports most of its food from the neighbouring countries more especially South Africa.

**Teachers’ experiences and relationships influence how they think about citizenship education.**

From time immemorial, experience has been dubbed the best teacher and it is not surprising that the findings in this study indicate that the teachers’ experiences and relationships have a great influence on how they think about citizenship education in Botswana. The findings of this study are indicative of the fact that teachers’ thoughts on citizenship education are influenced by their own educational experiences, socialization, their students, mass media and educational mandates. These experiences intersect and as a result provide a synopsis of the teachers’ thoughts, ideas and interpretations of citizenship education within the Botswana context.
The Influence of the Teachers’ Own Experiences

Teachers expressed that their educational experiences and relationships at various levels such as basic education or schooling, teacher education and professional experience have influenced how they think about citizenship education. The findings under this theme are discussed below.

Basic Education /Schooling

Teachers mentioned their primary or secondary schooling experiences as having impacted their thinking and way of doing things in their teaching today. Drawing from his experiences as a student at primary school level Mr Tau talked about how they were taught to memorize facts and what he does to change that in his own teaching. He believes that the way he was taught has influenced how he thinks about his own teaching and content delivery. I had the opportunity to observe Mr Tau teaching social studies and this is what transpired in his teaching:

Teacher: What did we learn about yesterday?
Teacher: No, No, No please raise up your hands you can’t all speak at the same time raise /Students raise hands, teacher picks on one of them
Student: Population growth rate
Teacher: Yes [Teacher quickly writes the topic of the day on the chalkboard]
Please open your textbooks on page 30 on population and migration. Today we are looking at “the effects of population growth”
Teacher: Now tell me the problems that Botswana is faced with in population increase. Students: The more people the we have, the greater the amount of wast (Students are encouraged to answer questions by rephrasing what is written in their Textbooks)

Following up on Mr Tau’s lesson presentation I asked him why he made his students answer questions by reading from the book and this is what he said:
You know, the way we were taught where we memorized facts was not good at all. Now students used their textbook to read and we summarized the sentences to show understanding. Learning nowadays is dynamic. If we were taught to memorize and it did not work, we need to change it and make it user friendly for the learners.

Emphasizing the relevance of schooling experiences and their influence on thinking, Ms Mpho talked about her teacher at secondary school being her role model and said that:

I became a social studies teacher because during my secondary school education, I was doing history. My teacher by then inspired me because I enjoyed the way he was teaching. That’s how I happened to get interest and even during my college training I was specializing in Social studies and religious and Moral Education.

Echoing the same sentiments on role models and experiences Mr Tau expressed his love and passion for the subject he teaches social studies and passionately had this to say:

I enjoy teaching social studies so much more so that it is something that I love. I have passion for it. I love it because most people I aspire to be like in life have a background of social studies which deals with citizen empowerment, which deals with development of the country, which deals with anything concerning the improvement of the country. I have realized that most of the leaders have done humanities and social sciences which are in line with social studies.

From these findings it is clear that most of what the teachers do is influenced to a large extent by their teachers who they see as their role models. Their teachers influenced their
decisions to become social studies teachers as well as how they teach. This shows the significance of the power of relationships and experiences.

*Teacher Education*

Teacher education was also mentioned as having played a critical role in the way the teachers think about citizenship education. It was surprising that only 2 teachers mentioned how their teacher training influenced their thinking which may probably explain the teachers’ perceptions and conceptualizations being multiple and varied. This may also reveal the teachers’ understanding of citizenship since it is during their teacher education that they learn to become teachers. Ms Neo expresses appreciation for her teacher education as it played a role in molding her behavior and had this to say:

> Another thing is from the college, the knowledge that I got from the college when I was training. There was a topic dealing with citizenship, at times we did a project about citizenship. We had a course that deals with citizenship, we were taught to be good citizens, we were given projects to go around and discuss about good citizens, what are good citizens, how do they handle themselves to show that they are good citizens. The way I behave as a teacher, this citizenship course has taught me how to behave. I have those good moral values that I talked about being trustworthy, being kind, and respect one another. Before I did this course on citizenship education and teaching social studies I was aggressive most of times. I was so aggressive at times and I became good because of that citizenship course, I know that there is negotiation, that you have to sit down and talk and come up with a concrete answer, with a good agreement not to say is me who is always right.

While on the other hand Mr Nkwe explained how his teacher education influenced how he thinks and teaching practices by saying that:

> of course during my teacher education years I was taught lessons that I can teach with regard to citizenship. I went for a course under social studies, of which I learned a lot of things which I am able to give to the students. For example, I learned a lot about democracy and citizenship education and the issue of
democracy in our country has taught me to be free and share my mind and I also practice the democratic style of teaching where my students are free to speak openly.

Mr Nkwe relates his experiences as citizen to the way he teaches. He sees himself as practicing democratic style of teaching and in this case democratic style is equated with openness and freedom to speak.

*Professional Experience*

Professional experience was also mentioned as having influence on teacher thinking. It was surprising that 2 teachers expressed this as their experience when they are all experienced teachers who have been teaching for not less than eight years. Mr Tau talked about how being a member of the Performance Management System (PMS) team has shaped how he thinks and this is what he said:

Since I am one of the facilitators in the region on PMS workshops and transformation which is change for the better, that alone has influenced my way of thinking and reasoning and I don’t see myself retiring as a teacher. I see myself retiring as someone who plans to taste other parts of the world and help people live better. I think people should not only be productive at work only but at their homes or families also.

Ms Kubu expressed how her professional experience has taught her to deal with different students of different abilities and said that:

And then using work experience, where you find that this year you tackle different kids and the other year you tackle different ones and I would say that, those experiences taught me to teach others, so I can teach every class and I am
able to help students with different abilities. I have also learned to be patient in order to attend each kid’s needs.

The findings in this category clearly indicate that the teachers’ own experiences influence how they think about citizenship education. They also indicate that their experiences are varied and not homogeneous even though the school environments are highly centralized.

**Influence of their Socialization**

Teachers also mentioned their socialization as having an influence on how they think. The way these teachers have been socialized either by the family or society has a great influence on how they think about what they. Socialization was discussed in terms of family, societal beliefs and values which included their culture.

*Family*

Teachers also indicated that the family as one of the socialization agents has influenced how they think to a large extent. However, only three teachers expressed this view and there was an intersection of issues of inheritance, gender and culture in their discussions. Mr Nkwe believes that his family socialized him to be a man and as a man he learned that he has to have a son to inherit his legacy, however, things are different for him as he does not have a son, in his own words, said:

As a man I was taught to believe that I should have a son to share things with so that when I get old then that person will take over where I left. Now that I have only 3 girls in my family, that has taught me to look at things differently. I think the information that I share with men I should also share it with these girls. I believe they are all equal and there should be no discrimination between boys and
girls. I now teach my students that boys and girls can perform the same way. Girls should be encouraged to be engineers as well.

Mr Morubisi explained how his family has influenced him into becoming a better person by teaching him some family values that he now puts into action in his teaching, this is what he said:

I think I have learned a lot from my family, for I am a tolerant person, I am in a position to teach my students to be tolerant, it would help them to recognise other people, as people are different, could be in terms religion or political view to help them understand that. It is from the way I was brought up, since I am from a Christian family whereby we were taught to be good to other people, even when it was lunch time you could bring your friends for lunch. Even at school you were expected to behave in a positive manner. You don’t need to have some kind of negative attitudes. I believe I grew up with that kind of attitude. Even at home, there was a time our father would tell that us “I don’t like you to move around with those kind of boys who are not Christians”. I believe he was very protective. I learnt that parents can also play an important role in their children’s lives. Hence it is what I am trying to do, to be a parent and a teacher at the same time.

Ms Lorato who is pro culture believes that her family socialized her to be a woman and as such she sees herself as a mother as well and this was her view that:

As a woman when I teach social studies like you have realized that I like to hit hard on cultural practices, cultural inheritance, tolerance and so forth. I have learnt that as a woman since we are responsible for upbring the children to be real good citizens because we have to show that motherhood. I would like these kids to behave in acceptable manners, you know ladies should talk softly; they shouldn’t be harsh on others. Some teachers even complain that the students I am teaching are very soft and petty.
One of the school-heads that I had the opportunity to interview was Ms Thomas of Morula primary school who talked about her family and how the society socializes the girl-child and how the girl child is then perceived in future. She lamented that:

As a lady and a citizen, I was socialized in a way that I should always work hard and believe in what I do. But, I think at times I am deprived certain things as compared to my male counterparts. For instance, when I am invited for a workshop, because of my gender as a female then people or participants will have doubts as to whether I will offer something vital as compared to a male School Head. I can see that people are beginning to realize that women managers can better manage or lead than males. I also feel that I can do better than men because most of us women are patient to other people and accept people the way they are and that is what my mother raised me to be. I have experienced that as a patient manager, my school has excelled well in both class and outside class.

The findings in this category indicate the extent to which the family as a socializing agent influences how these teachers think and the decisions they make on a day to day basis. The family orientations dictate how they should treat both boys and girls in their classrooms. In Botswana, where modernization is said to have greatly impacted the society, it is interesting that cultural values are still maintained through the family, where in principle both boys and girls are said to be equal yet in practice there is a clear disparity between the two and the girl child is always regarded as subservient to the boy child.

Societal Beliefs and Values

Societal beliefs and values were also seen as influencing teachers’ thinking since they acted both as promoters and deterrents to what was to be learned. Teachers talked about beliefs based on religion, culture and traditions and how they influence what they do. They felt that at times the curriculum is incongruent with the expectations of the society making it difficult for them to teach certain topics. They also felt that most of the
time they are forced to select content that they believed is appropriate for their students while limiting their knowledge on certain issues. In discussing these dilemmas based on cultural limitations and the curriculum Ms Lorato said that:

You know, I am expected to teach about sex education but in our culture parents cannot talk about sexual issues with their children. So students are sometimes eager to know and sometimes as a Motswana woman it is very difficult because students would want to know more and I will hesitate to give or tell them some of the words. I am also afraid that their parents may complain that I am teaching their children wrong things.

They also saw societal beliefs as a way of teaching people about their cultural values and a way of passing on shared cultural knowledge. Two teachers talked about traditional beliefs based on ancestors and myths and taboos. Ms Thato talked about how myths and taboos have shaped how she thinks that:

You know that in our cultural society we were taught not to walk backwards motion because it was believed that your mother will fall into a pot of water. This has taught me that there should always be a reason for everything you do and that is why my students are argumentative in class. I encourage them to ask questions and not accept things as they hear them.

Ms Kubu talked about beliefs and ancestral spirits and how they help her direct her life and the way she does things. She said that:

About beliefs, yes, we as Batswana traditionally believe in ancestors, we depend on them for guidance and talk about being good to them to know what to do. We believe that they are able to see us and if we do wrong they can be able to punish
us or bring some discomfort in our lives. When they are happy we know that, we expect good things to happen.

Most of the teachers talked about Christianity and believe that they are members of a Christian nation and as such believe in god. Mr Nkwe talked about how his beliefs about god have helped him deal with issues of ethnicity and equality and how he encourages his students to deal with such situations and be proud of who they are and had this to say:

I believe that we are in the image of God when I am doing something, I am representing God, I believe is God who created all things on earth. What one has to learn or know under the sun is that we are all God’s children, it doesn’t matter from which group you come from, you have to maintain your ethnic group, don’t think that somebody is better than you, or that anybody’s ethnic group is superior to yours so that’s how I feel. It doesn’t matter how people feel or think about other tribes but you as an individual you have to know that you are responsible to your tribe or ethnic group.

From the findings in this category it is clear that societal beliefs play an important role in influencing teachers’ way of thinking. It was surprising that only two teachers talked about myths and taboos which used to be the hallmark of Botswana’s cultural heritage. Teachers seemed to align themselves to Christianity and God not realizing that these imported cultures brought by modernization have only served to erode, destroy and downplay the Tswana traditional customs, values and beliefs.
The Influence of their Students

Teachers talked about the nature of the students that they have and how they influence to a large extent how they deal with issues. They argued that they live in a changing world where their students do not only learn from the school but get information through other sources as peers, media and technology and as such that forces them to constantly negotiate and renegotiate their thoughts and processes on what they teach. This was evidenced by the caliber of students they have and how they react to the subject matter.

Student Characteristics

Teachers spoke about their students as having an influence on their thinking primarily because they have exposure to so many things outside the classroom such as mass media which includes television, radio, newspapers and the internet. Some children come from affluent families where they have access to the internet and nobody monitors what they see or read. These sources that students use are said to influence them to ask questions about things they do not understand even though they are not related to the curriculum. Ms Neo describing the type of students they have nowadays said that:

Students interact with a lot of media such as the television, radio and books and sometimes the internet. For example many of my students have the internet at home and I usually give them homework to find information from the internet. This means that they have a lot of information that they get from other materials that are not in the school. Media can be good to some people and it can be used in a good way. In a good way, it can give information of what is happening in our country and out there in the world. In a bad way, it can make other people look
bad and destroy their privacies. When students see these things from the media they come and ask questions in class.

Ms Lorato talked about a group of students who when not satisfied with something in class would go and research on it and cannot rest until they got the right answers. She said:

You know we teach children who can find information from other sources and challenge you as a teacher. So you need to be prepared and read a lot because they see things on television programs that are educational and they come back to check if you know about such things. I have a group of students who will not leave you if they are not satisfied with a topic discussed and they will keep on bringing it back for discussion until they are satisfied. These types of students challenge you as a teacher to be always up to date with information.

Mr Morubisi echoed the same sentiments about the character of the students that they teach and how media influences their thought processes, saying that:

These children spend most of the time watching television, and they watch different channels around the world because they like to know what other children do in other countries. This television has brought good and bad things to our students. Even though they learn about a lot of things that are important, they also see things that they are not supposed to see and bring them back to class. As a teacher you need to be ready all the time and be confident about what you say to avoid any embarrassment.

The findings under this category indicate that students in the schools are very curious and are exposed to a lot of information which forces their teachers to be always
ready to answer questions from any direction. This scenario clearly indicates the influence of media on students’ way of thinking and acting as it totally negates the widely held belief that students are always passive in class which may be attributed to their culture and socialization practices.

Their Reaction to the Subject Matter

Three teachers also indicated that students also react to the prescribed subject matter by talking about issues that are of interest to them. Their reaction is shown through bringing issues from the news or the community that they feel are interesting and making sure that other students and the teachers weigh in on such issues. Ms Lorato passionately described how her students react to the subject matter by saying that:

Last week just before we started our first lesson, one of the students shared with me something from the news that President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was taking farms from the white people and that he is intending to stand again for the elections if members of his party can elect him. So we discussed what they have heard from the news. We discussed that to see if it was fair because these people have lived there for a long time. Students were so interested in this topic and started bringing in other issues but I had to stop the discussion so that we could continue with what was scheduled in the time table. My students are like that and I always give them the opportunity to relate what they learn with what is taking place in the community and like that.

Ms Batho also described her students as students who usually are keen to know and debate issues and will exploit every opportunity to discuss issues of their interest. This is what she had to say about her students:

Students do ask questions about same sex relationships since they see them on mass media like television. For example there is a popular South African Soapy called Generations that pupils watch a lot in Botswana. In this Soapy there is a gay couple and students want to know if it is possible to have two men as a
couple. They ask questions like “if there are two men or women who are couples who will bear children?” Students want to know and ask such questions; we discuss and debate such issues. I ask them, what do you think?

Ms Neo described her students as curious and always bringing in issues that she at times is not comfortable in discussing but they always make her talk about such issues and because of that she has become flexible enough to accommodate them. She said that:

Actually at first I couldn’t talk about sex related issues openly in my class, so it is them who came up with those issues about sexuality, they talked about bisexuality and homosexuality, this one they watched it from the television whereby they talked about the men being interested in another men, the same person being interested in the men and women. They talked about it and they asked if is it good, I said that’s how God created some of these people, some have those feelings and some don’t and they talked about how can a man be interested in another man, do they have sexual intercourse? I just told them that, that one I don’t know but I know that they do have sex.

It is interesting that students are bringing the discussion on issues of their interest and concern into the classroom and making teachers talk about them. The findings reflect the extent to which media influences the students thinking and actions. These findings also basically indicate that the caliber of students that these teachers teach exhibit a generational change in attitude and thinking. The traditional Tswana society is hierarchical; the teacher has always been the centre of knowledge and has been seen to be the authority as students have to be subordinate to him/her (Tabulawa, 1998). Children cannot just decide to bring anything to class for discussion that is not authorized by the
teacher and not related to what is being taught at that particular moment. All this demonstrates that students to some extent dictate what teachers have to do in their teaching which basically deviates from the norm as presented within the Tswana socio-cultural context.

The Influence of Mass-Media (Newspapers, Television, Radio)

Almost all the teachers spoke of how mass media more especially television, radio and newspapers shape their worldview. They saw media as an important tool in their teaching as it provided them with information on current events and issues around the world as well as broadening their scope of reference and horizons. These teachers held media in high regard and seemed to depend on it as a source of knowledge for them and their students. They believed that media promotes their knowledge reservoir and makes teaching and learning more viable. However, there were very few dissenting voices that saw media as problematic if not viewed from a critical perspective. Ms Kabo speaking about the importance of mass media to her had this to say:

I also watch news on television which helps me to know what is happening in neighboring countries like South Africa and Zimbabwe. I learn a lot from these news because I get current Affairs and therefore improve my daily teaching by giving examples of what is happening now. Relating what is taught from the syllabus to what is happening around helps students understand what is being taught since they can see and hear it happening.

Ms Mpho shared the same sentiments on the influence of media in her teaching and said:
I teach by using media, I do give students some topics to research on and then they can read from books or sometimes they read magazines, listen to the radio, current affairs, sometimes they just watch the television and then they come up with something that they feel should be discussed as a class. Some of them, who got internet they research.

Ms Thato reiterated the same story on how mass media shapes his way of thinking and teaching:

I read a lot of newspapers and books. I also listen to the radio, television and I like visiting the internet café’ to search the web and learn about what is happening around the world. These things help me in that I learn about other countries more especially current affairs which to me is very important in social studies as it informs me about things.

Mr Nkwe felt that mass media including international news channels provides information that is new and up to date and this is what she said:

I also watch the news on television through channels such as Btv; Sky News and CNN. I sometimes use the Internet if it is available the problem is that I have to spend money in the Internet café. The news on television and radio usually help me with information that enables me to compare myself with what other people are doing. It provides new information that is not out dated, more especially current affairs. I learn about what is taking place in other countries and sometimes copy those ideas to use them in class.

Ms Neo appeared to be conversant with news around the world and how that shapes her way of seeing things and said:
I rely on newspapers and listening to the news especially on the radio and television, magazines. I watch channels in South Africa such as SABC 1 and 2 and France 24. They provide me with information especially in current affairs; they help me a lot because I will know what is happening in the world. I know what is happening in France right now about Nicholas Sarkozy that he is not going to be elected in the next elections. They influence my teaching by helping me get more information from TV and radio. I am going to get more information that maybe I did not find when reading books. They are helpful in providing current and up to date information. They also broaden my scope of thinking and I do not depend on books alone. They also help me to learn more about other countries and what is happening around the world.

Though all of the teachers saw media in a good way, there were about two teachers who were very critical about international media that it sows seeds of discord by perpetuating stereotypes and misinformation about some countries and people. Mr Tau expressed mixed feelings about international media that:

The only thing is that international media and news do not have value to us as most of the time they talk of only negative things about us, e.g. wars, conflicts and diseases. This makes me have no interest in watching them. The good thing is only when it comes to sports which develops us because some of their people like David Beckham and Michael Schumacher were not good at school but now they have contributed to the development of their countries. In other words, they have provided role models for us because we encourage our students’ especially lower achievers not to give up but make use of their talents.

While Mr Nkwe on the other hand felt that international media brought more harm than good to some countries and argued that:

I usually watch television channels like CNN, Sky News and France 24, but you know I have never seen them broadcasting anything good about Africa. Every time they show something on Africa it’s about AIDS, poverty, wars, malaria. Do
they want to tell me that there is nothing good happening in all of Africa? I keep wondering why they have to talk about problems only; maybe since you live there you have an answer for us. Right now the World Cup is going to be held in an African country, South Africa, nothing is said about the neighboring countries and how they are preparing for the event.

It is not surprising that all these teachers saw mass media as good and praised it for assisting them to widen their scope of reference. It should be borne in mind that most of the television stations that these teachers watch are foreign media either from South Africa, Europe and United States. These media continue to perpetuate stereotypes about the “other” and their hegemonic imperialist thoughts in making these teachers believe that what is foreign is better than the local. They affirm the widely held view that knowledge is external and always constructed from and are embodied in western forms of knowing. It is also interesting that the two teachers who are critical of western forms of media are male, have travelled to different countries like the United States and are active in teacher capacity building initiatives in the country. This makes them highly valuable in that they possess critical thinking skills and transformative knowledge.

**The Influence of Educational Mandates**

Teachers also made reference to educational mandates as having an influence in their thinking. They alluded to the fact that educational mandates such as the national syllabus and availability of resources influenced to a large extent what they have to teach and how they have to teach.
National Syllabus

Teachers talked about the national syllabus as having a great influence in how they teach and what they teach. They argued that the curriculum dictated what they had to do and even stipulated the time within which they should have taught a particular subject matter. Narrating on how the syllabus influences what they do Ms Batho said that:

Even the topics in the social studies curriculum, they try to address issues on elections, citizenship and I think that when pupils are taught – they are even taught about their physical environment, they will know Botswana, about tourism, about everything. As a citizen you have to know about what is happening in your country.

Mr Tau remarked on the objectives and subject matter that has to be covered in the syllabus and said that:

They have developed the social studies curriculum in such a way that it addresses topics like the family, cultures in Botswana; history of Botswana and the developing love for their country by teaching about natural resources in the country. There are objectives that also cover citizenship education such as citizenship, governance and democracy as well as regional, continental and international organisations.

Ms Neo had this to say about the curriculum:

if you can go over this social studies syllabus just from Standard 1, you are going to find topics on Botswana, as they go on there are topics on citizenship and governance. This shows that students are taught citizenship.
I also had the opportunity to examine the Upper Primary School Syllabus for Standard Upper Standards (five to Seven) (2005) and discovered that it stipulates the objectives, methods and subject matter that teachers have to teach and as such teachers follow it as it is. For example going through the upper social studies syllabus it was stated that teachers have to use participatory methods of teaching such as group work, debates, presentations, role plays, field trips and inquiry. The syllabus also stipulated that only two hours were allocated for social studies per week distributed in four weekly periods of 30 minutes. The syllabus was also arranged in 5 modules that spiraled across the upper classes from standard 5, 6 and 7.

These modules are arranged in a sequential order and presented as follows:
Module1: Society and Culture; Module 2: Physical Environment; Module3: Our Past; Module 4: Governance and Citizenship and Module 5: Economy. This indicates the prescriptive nature of the syllabus. The teachers’ schemes of work were developed externally and given to the teachers at the beginning of each term. These schemes of work provide the objectives, content and activities to be covered each week and objectives that will be tested at the end of each module. These teachers are then compelled to teach for the attainment of the objectives and tests that follow. These ready-made materials seem to rob the teachers of creativity, innovation and thoughtful and meaningful teaching.

The findings in this category clearly indicate that the national syllabus does influence the teachers’ thoughts and ways of teaching. The topics in the syllabus influence how teachers perceive citizenship. It should be borne in mind that the structure of the school curriculum in Botswana is highly centralized and prescriptive therefore,
making it difficult for teachers to think outside the box. Therefore, the probability is very high for teachers to see the syllabus as god-given with no modifications made with regard to the subject matter.

*Testing and Examinations*

Some teachers also expressed concern on the role of examinations and testing on how they impact their thinking and decision making processes in their choice of the subject matter and instructional methods. Mr Morubisi talked about how he teaches for examinations and how these examinations limit the scope of what he teaches by saying that:

Sometimes we just rush up the objective because we are running after time, so that during the examinations we have covered a lot of topics but not going into details.

Ms Mpho shared the same view but lamented on the amount of time allocated to social studies in the time table which basically influences her approach to the subject matter, she said that:

Time, looking at the fact that the time-table is so tight; you can’t take a trip even for a day because you will be behind the syllabus. Syllabus got a lot of objectives and time is so short to have covered the content for students to be able to pass examinations.

Ms Lorato was sympathetic of the situation and expressed her plight that at times she is compelled to use teaching methods that will help her to cover the syllabus in time. She mentioned that:
Time is also a constraint as social studies is an information subject, it becomes very difficult to cover the whole syllabus within the stipulated period, so in order to finish the syllabus at times we are compelled to use the lecture method for examination purposes.

The findings in this category have shown that not only are examinations and tests major factors that influence the teachers’ thinking and the decisions that they make but most importantly that they determine the mode of delivery and scope of the subject matter. These findings may shed light on issues of citizenship and how it is taught and practiced in Botswana. It is very clear that teachers teach for examinations because what is seen to be important at the end of primary education is the product and not the process. Therefore, indicating that success is measured based on the students’ pass rate of the examinations and not how much those students gained.

**Resources**

Some teachers mentioned the nature of the resources they use as having impacted their thinking and decision making processes. Teachers expressed concern on inadequate resources and documented an outcry of the limitations in the textbooks that they use in their teaching. Mr Nkwe argued that though there are textbooks and exercise books provided there was still a problem of resources in schools, and had this to say:

Well, with textbooks and exercise books are there but for instance next week Monday will be teaching about the commonwealth and those people who are responsible in seeing to it that the commonwealth is done have provided only one poster for this school and the poster is two sided and when you patch it here the other side is hidden so this shows that there are not enough resources in our
schools because we want all the classes to understand what the commonwealth is all about.

Ms Kabo felt that the textbooks that the teachers use were outdated and irrelevant and this is what she had to say:

Resources and teaching materials are inadequate; some of the textbooks that we use are outdated and irrelevant and at times they are not enough for the students and they have to share. But there is nothing that we can do but use them as we do not even have a library where we can go and research. The community library does not have the information we need.

Ms Kubu expressed her concern as follows:

Remember that I rely mostly on the social studies textbook. The Ministry of Education sends pupils textbooks without any teachers’ guides, so we end up using the textbooks in our teaching. Sometimes the textbooks are vague and do not contain a lot of information. Some books have no illustrations on how to handle the topic and students have difficulties understanding them as they have limited pictures.

Ms Lorato talked about the insufficient illustrations in textbooks and argued that:

Sometimes the textbooks that we are using have insufficient information. In social studies there has to be some illustrations but the books do not have some illustrations. Like I said there was this other book that was introduced which had some information about culture. It had good points as it revealed everything that happens during the Baherero (ethnic group) funeral. During the night before the burial the following day, every couple will have sex to try and reproduce to
replace the lost person. The textbook was cleared from the market because the 

*Baherero* were complaining but I think it was not a good idea as people have to be 
given an opportunity to give information about their culture.

It was interesting to recognize that when teachers talked about textbooks they 
were mainly referring to the pupils’ books and it appeared that the textbook was the only 
material they had access to. The dependency on pupils’ textbooks as a source of 
information by these teachers is puzzling and raises concern on the scope of subject 
matter being taught. Teachers used the textbook as a reference material, teaching aid and 
activity book. This reliance on pupils’ textbooks is overwhelmingly surprising given the 
proliferation of information in the 21st century.

In one of the classroom observations I witnessed a classic example of where the 
textbook was predominantly used to teach the subject matter for the day. The teacher, Ms 
Kabo, was teaching about “The Effects of HIV/AIDS in the villages”. The lesson began 
with an introduction characterized by a recap on the previous lesson, followed by a 
question and answer session and then students were directed to open their textbooks. 

What follows below is an excerpt of what took place in Ms Kabo’s class:

**Student:** Families become poor because they spend money in funerals

**Teacher:** Yes, because people die, money is spent more on funerals, taking care 
of the sick

**Teacher:** Let us stand up and take our social studies textbooks and turn to page 8. 
on effects of HIV/AIDS in villages

*(Students take out their textbooks and start reading paragraphs and the teacher 
explains what they have just read)*
(Students are corrected on pronunciation as they read and teacher keeps on moving and helping those who are reading and explaining new concepts)

(Students volunteer to read as the teacher acknowledges those who are reading)

Teacher: Sit down class, now we are going to take some notes

(Teacher begins to write notes on the chalkboard while students start to copy them.

I also observed Mr Tau teaching about “The effects of population growth” and I noticed that he also depended on the textbook to teach the subject for that particular day. What follows below is a synopsis of what transpired in his class:

Student: Population growth rate

Teacher: Yes [Teacher quickly writes the topic of the day on the chalkboard]

Teacher: Please open your books on page 30 on population and migration.

Today we are looking at the effects of population growth

Teacher: Now look at your book and tell me the problems that Botswana is faced with the population increase.

Given what the teachers said about the nature of the pupils’ textbooks, I was compelled to do a document analysis of some of the social studies textbooks used for standard 5, 6 and 7 classes in order to ascertain the teachers’ concerns. The textbooks that were analyzed included the following (see Table 2 below):
Table 5.1: Pupils’ Social Studies Textbooks for Upper Primary in Botswana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Title of Textbook (Pupils)</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
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<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>Social Studies is Fun</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Ngongola, Gatsha &amp; Selwe</td>
<td>Collegium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>Bokamoso Series: Social Studies</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>B.S. Thebe</td>
<td>Vision</td>
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<td>for Botswana</td>
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<td>Saurombe &amp; Thakadu</td>
<td>Publishing</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Social Studies 6</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td></td>
<td>Longman</td>
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<td>Seven</td>
<td>Explorations in Social Studies 7</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>K.M. Kebiditswe &amp; P.S. Maphane</td>
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A thorough analysis of these textbooks indicated that these textbooks are current as they were all published between 2006 and 2008 and are in line with the objectives of the social studies curriculum as articulated in the upper primary syllabus (2005). All these books were authored by Batswana who are teachers or have a teaching background at both primary and secondary levels of education. The topics in the textbooks are arranged sequentially according to the modules in the upper primary social studies syllabus. The subject matter in the textbooks was presented with illustrations, tables, graphs, maps and activities for students to do.

The findings in this category raise a lot of questions on the nature of teacher education in Botswana as they reveal the extent to which teachers rely on pupils’
books/textbooks for their teaching. It appears that the textbooks are the only available resource for teachers as they were unable to direct me to the other sources of information that they use for their teaching. It also appears that teachers were unable to differentiate between teachers’ resources and students’ resources as they kept on referring to the textbook (pupils’ books) as the only resource that they use.

There was also an indication of teachers’ over-reliance on the pupils’ book as it was used as a reference book, teaching aid and activity book. The findings in this category from the document analysis negate the widely held belief that textbooks used in schools are authored by people who are foreign to the education system and do not have knowledge of the target group they write for. However, it would be interesting to see their references and publishers’ base as they may reveal the nature and problems related to the subject matter being presented in these textbooks.

**Teachers teach about the world from a “Motswana” worldview.**

The findings in this category indicate that the teachers teach about the world from a “Motswana” worldview. To them teaching about Botswana is more of a priority than teaching about the world and their discussion on world issues is based on how those issues affect them as a country and a people. Historically, there are many reasons that may explain the teachers’ worldview that are related to the colonial legacy. Firstly, the colonial education system was oriented towards instilling western values and beliefs and upon independence Botswana like many African countries transformed its education into an African-centered education such that it reflected the views, needs and aspirations of the Batswana. Secondly, this Afro-centered education necessitated that aspects of the curriculum such as the objectives, content, methods and resources be redirected to reflect
the lives of the indigenous people it was supposed to serve (Merryfield and Tlou, 1995).

Thirdly, the Africanization of the school curriculum was seen as a means to nation building and the development of citizens. As a result of all this, the social studies curriculum was revised to reflect the culture, language, literature and traditions of Batswana and adopted an approach to teaching where students had to learn about their immediate environment before learning about the distant environments (Mautle, 2000; Merryfield and Tlou, 1995). This premise has characterized curriculum development at primary education level in Botswana ever since. It is therefore, not surprising to find that teachers perceive teaching about Botswana as more of a priority than teaching about the world.

Teaching about World Issues

Teachers believed that they teach about issues that are taking place around the world. The issues that they said they discuss in their teaching revolved around socio-political issues such as poverty, conflicts and wars, and tribalism. They also mentioned discussing environmental and economic issues. They felt that these issues were important in that they are happening around them and may as well happen to them.

*Socio-Political Issues (Poverty, Conflicts/Wars, Tribalism)*

Teachers talked about the socio-political issues that were a concern to them such as poverty, conflicts and wars, religion and tribalism. There was an intersection of issues such that it was difficult for teachers to discuss each one in isolation as they are typically interwoven. These issues were important to them because they affected people in the African continent and their immediate neighbors. Talking about the relevance of teaching about poverty Mr Tau had this to say:
I discuss issues of Poverty so that students are aware of what is happening in the country and other African countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya and other countries that I have not mentioned. I make students understand that what is happening in these countries may happen to them one day. The importance of teaching about these issues is to develop citizens who can understand other people’s problems, be compassionate, caring and supportive.

Ms Kubu also spoke about discussing issues on poverty and explained that:

We discuss issues about starvation or Poverty. Most African countries are experiencing some political unrest and as such their people are caught in poverty due to wars and conflicts.

Teachers also talked about conflicts and wars and their implications as well as conflict resolution. They reiterated on the consequences of conflicts such as refugees, competition for social amenities and the job market. Ms Kabo had this to say about conflicts and wars:

Conflicts in other countries, like the Zimbabwean issue, and it is affecting us because those people are coming here and some of them seek medication and end up getting medication which could be used by Batswana. They get job opportunities. If today Botswana finds itself fighting with Zimbabwe or Namibia what it means is that some Batswana might find themselves in Zambia, Malawi or South Africa as refugees. We have refugees; we have people moving from those countries to other countries for security reasons.

Ms Thato talked about the need to teach about conflict resolution and said that:
The other one I talked about earlier on that I discuss with my students is conflict resolution, that there are different conflicts around the world, people fighting over the borders, where they share resources. They know that they have to come together discuss issues peacefully and come up with solutions to the problems rather than fight. The countries should listen to one another.

Ms Batho also weighed in on teaching about conflict resolution and associated it with issues about human rights and said:

They should think about ways that countries affected by wars can apply to resolve their problems...If you teach them about human rights they should know that the rights that they are having in that country is the right that other people in outside their country should have.

Some of the socio-political issues that teachers said they taught their students about was on discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, tribalism and race. Ms Lorato who belongs to one of the so called “minor” ethnic groups was very critical about teaching about issues of tribalism and mentioned that:

I also teach them about tribalism because this is a concern since in other countries people have gone to war because of tribalism where some tribes are regarded as minor while others are seen as major tribes. This may cause emotions as our grandparents have fought for this country and we are not recognized. Knowing about these things will help us avoid problems like riots and discrimination which have caused civil wars in other countries. Citizens should know what is taking place in the world… I think there is an issue of tribalism that I think even today
tribalism is still there I think to the extent that some people do not feel free to identify themselves with their ethnicity.

Mr Tau spoke elaborately on ethnicity arguing that students need to be taught about what is happening around the world as these conflicts can provide teachable moments for Botswana. Reacting to teaching about issues of ethnicity he had this to say:

Ethnicity-One area where people are discriminated in is due to their ethnicity. For example many countries have gone to war because of discrimination based on ethnicity. Even in Botswana here the issue of major and minor tribes nearly divided the nation if it was not attended immediately. The world has witnessed genocides in countries like Rwanda/Burundi between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Such things should be avoided at all costs. As we speak there are riots in Nigeria based on either Ethnicity or religion between the Christians and Muslims. Let’s look at what is happening in Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Afghanistan and many other countries in the Middle East. There are serious lessons that we can learn from these countries that are marred with conflicts

Ms Kabo spoke about discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and race and how these provide a breeding space for xenophobia citing the way Batswana treat Zimbabweans who are in the country due to economic problems in their country, she said that:

Yes I do teach about issues of difference such as discrimination on the basis of ethnicity; xenophobia that is; ill-treating of foreigners like where Batswana mistreat Zimbabweans while knowing what they are experiencing. We talk about racism because it violates other people’s human rights and freedoms as we saw it
dividing people in the former South Africa. We discourage our students from thinking that some people are better than others based on the colour of their skin. This is bad and can divide a nation.

The findings in this category do indicate that teachers teach about issues that they believe affect them either directly or indirectly such as poverty, conflict and discrimination. To them these issues are important as they might find themselves in the same situation. Their concerns are valid in view of the fact that Africa, where Botswana is situated is always portrayed as a continent in turmoil due to wars, conflicts and disease. There is never a situation where the continent is portrayed as peaceful or progressive economically as is the case with Botswana. So there is need for these teachers to be able to recognize these stereotypes and misinformation and make their students aware of the realities of life.

**Environmental Issues and Natural Disasters**

Almost all of the teachers talked about teaching about environmental issues and natural disasters. They reiterated on how these environmental issues and natural disasters affected people socially, psychologically and economically. Their argument was that students need to learn about these issues because they have an effect on their lives even if they are taking place elsewhere and used global warming to illustrate global interconnectedness. Ms Mpho mentioned that:

We discuss about environmental issues because what is happening in other countries may also affect us for example, some areas have turned into deserts due to human activities. We talk about climatic issues such as global warming, the effects of factories and industries on the depletion of the ozone layer.
Ms Lorato talked about the need to recycle and issues that her students raise when discussing environmental issues and said:

The other thing is recycling because there are companies moving around asking people to collect litter so that it can be recycled at Gaborone. They sometimes ask questions to find out how can it really be possible for the litter to be re-cycled. There is this other issue which brought class into vibration about the re-using of waste from the sewage. Others were thinking that it’s impossible. They wondered how people can re-use waste that has been polluted and the lesson was very interesting as pupils argued.

Teachers also spoke about natural disasters and their effects on people’s lives and an excerpt below from Mr Nkwe’s interview explicitly shows his opinion with regards to natural disasters

Global issues like natural disasters, like in Haiti, children must understand the problems that those people could be facing today as a result of what happened to them because that can also happen in our country. They must understand the social effects of those natural disasters or of that earthquake, that people will lose their relatives; some will lose their parents, siblings. You will find that as a child you will be adopted maybe live her life to the fullest knowing that her mother was found dead buried by buildings that just collapsed on top. Yes, we discuss about natural disasters, how they affect peoples’ lives and how they can be reduced.

In their focus groups teachers spoke about water conservation, what they called “water economy” as Botswana is prone to drought and unreliable and insufficient rainfall. Their argument was based on how countries depend on one another and the
commonalities that they share in terms of resources. One of the male participants had this to say:

Water economy; especially in Southern Africa where a lot of countries are dry and water is very scarce. As well as shortage of power where electricity is scarce like in Southern Africa E.g. Lesotho relies on South Africa in terms of water whereas Botswana relies on South Africa for power. There is need to maintain good relations with other countries to share and preserve the natural resources that are scarce such as water in Botswana. Students need to understand the importance of such resources and that is why I teach about them.

It is interesting that teachers did not speak about the immediate environmental issues that Botswana is prone to such as pollution, desertification, drought and floods. This may be due to the fact that they see world issues in relation to how they affect them from outside.

Economic Issues

One of the economic issues that teachers talked about was the economic recession. They felt that students need to know about the economic crisis that some countries are going through. Ms Neo was very adamant that students have to learn about the world economic recession and said that:

we are living with Recession today, we must know that this Economic Problem is not for us only it affects the whole world and we teach them precautions of what the government is doing to help stabilize this, what we have to do so that at the end we are not hardly hit like other countries will be.

Mr Tau echoed his views on teaching about the economic recession by emphasizing wise use of resources citing examples from neighboring Zimbabwe had this to say:
Economic recession, that is, if we have the resources we have to manage them and use them wisely, because if we happen to just use them wrongly, we might end up having a problem, like we often hear that in some countries they owe the World Bank, so we have to be careful. I teach about the economic crisis and use example of countries like Zimbabwe which used to be very rich and are now faced with starvation.

The findings from this category clearly show that teachers teach about Botswana from “Motswana” worldview in that they spoke to issues that resonated with their livelihoods and gave those issues as a priority.

**Teaching about Other Cultures**

Teachers felt that in teaching about the world it was important to teach students about other cultures that were not in Botswana. They attributed the need to learn about other cultures to globalization and trans-border migration. Their discussion focused on the reasons for learning about different cultures and how they help their students learn about other cultures.

*Learning about Different Cultures*

Almost all teachers talked about the need to discuss about different cultures. They provided a variety of reasons for learning about other cultures among them; developing understanding and appreciation of other people, tolerance, avoiding cultural shock and promoting peace and harmony. The overwhelming support of teaching about other cultures is not surprising in that Botswana is a multicultural society and yet some ethnic groups’ cultures have gone unrecognized for many years under the pretext that it is a homogeneous society. Therefore, marginalized groups are beginning to realize the need
to teach about their cultures and have sought recognition within the curriculum, which is why today the social studies curriculum no longer talks about the eight principal tribes only but incorporates the different ethnic groups that are found in the country. The issue of international migration has also affected how teachers teach about other cultures as they find students in their classrooms who are not Batswana by origin or are refugees as well as a result of the need to seek careers elsewhere.

Mr Tau eloquently justified the need to teach students about different cultures and said that:

Yes it is important to learn about other cultures because life is a journey; you never know where you will end up. We need to learn about other cultures in order to tolerate one another and be united as the human race. Globalization has made the world smaller therefore we need to understand other cultures as we may find ourselves in such countries one day. Knowledge and understanding about other cultures helps in promoting good communication and such interaction becomes easy. There is also an acceptance of difference also become easier as people are aware of such differences. There is also understanding of other cultures making it possible for people to live peacefully.

Ms Lorato also provided the reasons for learning about different cultures and said:

To give our students room to be able to appreciate other people who are from outside Botswana since sometimes we have expatriates and refugees in our classrooms. To give them an element of respecting other people’s cultures. If they have to reside in other countries they will know what is expected out of them. This will also allow them to find out how our cultures differ from other people’s...
cultures. They need to recognize that as Africans we are the same though we differ in terms of culture. It is important to learn about other cultures to avoid saying negative things about other people, so we need to understand them.

Mr Nkwe not only provided a justification for teaching about other cultures addressed the notion of global mobility that:

When going to other countries, we will not be in a situation where we have cultural shock. This knowledge will make us fit well in other cultures;

Accommodate other cultures also who are different. Knowledge about other cultures will help us avoid conflicts, misunderstandings and wars that are based on cultural ignorance and stereotypes. This knowledge of other cultures will help promote the culture of peace which is already prevailing in our country Botswana. Teaching about other cultures will lead to avoiding conflicts, promote peace, and curbing issues of xenophobia that we see happening in South Africa where foreigners are being brutally whipped and killed because it is believed that they are taking jobs that are meant for South Africans.

The findings in this category indicate that teachers see the importance of teaching about different cultures but they are weary about external influences from other countries since they emphasize the need to maintain peace and relations in their country.

*Cross-Cultural Teaching*

Teachers also talked about the ways in which they infuse cross-cultural learning in their teaching. They talked about using field trips, guest speakers and pen pals. Mr Tau who is a well experienced teacher and who has travelled to other countries outside the
region such as the United kingdom and United States mentioned that he requires his students to write pen pals to learn about other people and this is what he said:

Through composition of letters such as writing to a pen-friend to establish a relationship with their counterparts in other countries. For example when I was teaching at Mafithhakgosi in Tlokweng my class had pen-friends with Students in Carmarthen; Wales in the United Kingdom. They wrote letters to one another an shared information about school activities, home, country, culture and many other issues.

Mr Nkwe who attempted his Masters’ degree in the United States had this to say about what he does in his class:

In my social studies classes for instance, I have been encouraging students to write pen pals letters where students write to other students in other countries and talk about Botswana, I remember in 2001 when America was hit in the trade centers, when the Americans were now beginning to understand what was happening they encouraged some children to write to some children in Iraq to exchange ideas on what is happening. I was there in 2001. So Penpals is one of them, the other thing is visiting, the curriculum allows us that we should be taking international trips so that our students can go and learn about cultures of other countries and see how other countries look like.

Ms Lorato seemed to develop world-mindedness among her students and said that:

I encourage pupils to learn other languages. For example there are Chinese, Indians and other people from different countries; they need to learn at least how
to greet in those languages that are not based in Botswana. I usually give them group projects where they go and inquire about any culture of people who are not from Botswana and come back to present to the whole class. This will help them if they have to live in other countries outside Botswana.

In one of the focus group discussions teachers mentioned the use of guest speakers and field trips. One of the male participants had this to say:

We do invite people like chiefs, head men to be our resource person to come and explain further about how things are done and how they were done in the past.

Sometimes we take field trips during school holidays where we learn about other cultures and communities in the country.

A female participant in the focus groups said that:

Sometimes we take kids on a field trip so that they see places like in Botswana, they visited some places where there are paintings, road tracking’s that were done by the Basarwa etc. Field trips are good the only problem is that they are expensive to undertake and most of the time parents do not have money to fund them.

The findings in this category show some disparities between teachers views on cross cultural teaching. Teachers who have been outside the country talked about their experiences and what they saw happening in other countries. However, teachers who have not travelled outside the country talked about guest speakers and field trips within the confines of the country hence indicating that to them teaching about other cultures meant teaching about cultures in Botswana.
Understanding Global Connections

Teachers felt that students need to know and understand that the world is interconnected as countries are dependent on one another for survival. They felt that students need to know about the challenges that the world is faced with and should be equipped with the necessary skills to be able to confront such challenges. During their focus groups one male participant explained the interdependent nature of the countries of the world and said:

Make the pupils understand that the world is a globe, we belong together, and we should make the people understand that we belong together but separated by oceans. Make them aware that what is done in our country might be done somewhere else; if it has negative impact it might affect all. For instance; the issue of global warming and gasses which affect the ozone layer, if one country is affected it might affect all. Issues of political stability, if one country is affected neighbours may be affected, for example, many refugees may go to neighbours’ countries that would spend a lot of money on that and as such host countries would use a lot of resources that might have been used for other developments.

Teachers felt that the people of the world are connected socially, economically, and politically. This interconnectedness was discussed from a “Motswana” point of view in that they related what is taking place in their country to the world. The views held by the teachers to approach issues from a “Motswana” perspective dovetails with the expanding horizons phenomenon that requires that students be exposed to the immediate environment first before learning about environments that are far away from their reality.
This approach to curriculum development and implementation has been the cornerstone of curriculum innovation and implementation in Botswana since independence.

_Socially: Communications and Technology_

Almost all of the teachers said that they taught their students about technology and how it has influenced their lives and how it has turned the world into a small global village. They talked about the impact of computers, internet, cell phones and text messaging in making communication easy and accessibility to information quicker.

Speaking about the power of technology and how it has transformed communication and information Mr Kgabo had this to say:

Communication has changed due to interaction and technology. Today we communicate using the internet and email and we can communicate with people in Europe while here due to technology.

Ms Lorato mentioned on how technology has connected them to other parts of the world and said:

As we discussed that is when they will learn more on technology that it is really improving their lives and interconnecting them with other countries like cell phones we used to. Nowadays we use telephones and cell phones, internet and text messages. So you see that we are connected you can communicate with your relatives abroad when you are still in Botswana.

The significance of technology as a source of information was also discussed and Mr Nkwe had this to say:

I teach them about the use of technology, the internet, computers even the media. For them to know the information around the world they need to use the internet
like if there are wars around the world they need to know all these things.

Knowledge must be in line with what the outer world supports. What we do is affecting others as well for example; the issue of Haiti, media informed the nation and nation made a contribution towards that.

Though teachers appreciated the role of social media in making the world smaller, it was not surprising that they talked about the availability of these communication modes and did not practice using the computer or the internet. Teachers appeared to provide information of what is available out there but were limited by the unavailability of such resources in the schools for students and teachers to use.

*Economically: Trade*

Teachers also talked about how Botswana is connected to other parts of the world and what they teach their students. They alluded to the fact that they teach their students about maintaining global connections by focusing on trade relations based on imports and exports that Botswana shares with other countries of the world. In their focus groups teachers talked about the geographical position of Botswana and how it necessitates that Botswana maintain good relations with other countries, an excerpt from the discussion follows below:

Like we are saying, Botswana being a landlocked country, they have to know how do we import and export our commodities outside the country and inside the country. They have to know that, we connect with other countries that are our neighbors to get access to the ports, since we don’t have them. We also do it by teaching those ways of investing like we are selling our diamonds in Europe
which shows connections. That alone shows that we are connected to other people.

Another Female participant shared the same view and uttered the following view:

Things that we produce, we import and export, what they do not have there in their countries, we have them in our country. For example we export beef to European Union and we see them as our economic partners. It is because we rely on other countries. We get other things from other countries. We buy exchange and visit different countries. We also have raw materials and minerals which make us have good relations with other countries in the world.

Teachers expressed the need to help students understand global connections and this was done through discussing the importance of trade denoting that the world is interconnected and no country can be able to live in isolation, that as countries we need each other in order to survive and continue to develop. It is interesting that teachers seemed to concentrate on creating awareness as opposed to engaging in activities that reflected global connections; this scenario raises questions on teacher preparation and global education. 

*Politically: International Relations*

Teachers also said that they teach their students about global connections through discussing political issues on international relations. They argued that countries are connected through international, continental and regional organizations. Speaking about the interdependence among nations of the world Mr Nkwe said:

The issue of co-existence, countries or nations try to live in peace with each other because of bilateral relations and lateral relations. You find that there are
groupings such as SADC, SACU etc. there is also the AU, Africa must live with other continents especially in Europe and America because they need a lot of resources from Africa. There must be an understanding on how these could be done. We know that our diamonds were just about to be named “blood diamonds” and our government had to stand up and talk a lot about that to associate with the financial community about the idea and because of co-existence and the original bodies.

They also saw global connections being actualized through organizations that had certain things in common and in their focus groups this is what the Mr Tau said:

I perceive that through identity, We Africans identify with the continent of Africa e.g. if we say “we Africans”, we are trying to tell people that we have something in common. We also identify with regional groupings such as SADC, AU since these emphasize a sense of belonging to say “I belong to these groups of people and we share the same challenges” This helps us in strengthening relationships as well as benchmarking

Ms Kubu puts emphasis on global connections through organizations made up of countries that share the same history and had this to say:

Through the commonwealth, countries which were former colonies of Britain now exist in a political way through the Commonwealth, where they exchange ideas. Organizations like the commonwealth activities bring us together and show us that we have certain things in common for example we were all once colonies of Britain. That helps see ourselves as having things in common. They are made aware that Botswana is one of the commonwealth countries and therefore, they see that we are not doing things in isolation.
Teachers also discussed the importance of celebrations as an indication of global connections and Mr Nkwe had this to say:

We have days of celebrations for example, World AIDS day to help them take AIDS/HIV seriously as other parts of the world are serious about it. We have Commonwealth Day, International Day of the child and the Day of African Child. We also teach them and share with them on international issues.

The findings in this category clearly show that though the teachers see the need to teach about global issues, their approach to such issues is largely influenced by their socio-political experiences and the history of their country.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the first three findings of the study that focused on the social studies teachers’ conceptualizations, experiences and worldviews on citizenship education. From this chapter it can be learned that citizenship as understood and interpreted by the social studies teachers is complex, not homogeneous and fluid. This is evidenced by the way teachers conceptualize citizenship as national identity, active participation, collective responsibility and self reliance. The findings presented have also shown that the teachers’ experiences and relationships to a large extent influence how they think about issues of citizenship and this ultimately impacts their decision making processes in their day to day interactions with their students. There is clear evidence which reflects that teachers saw teaching about the world as a priority hence presenting their content from a *Motswana* worldview. These findings provide valuable information on teacher thinking and on how they perceive citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana.
CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS: UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS
EXPERIENCES: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: AREALITY OR ILLUSION?

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the last four findings of this study. These findings revolve around the teachers’ beliefs, practices and challenges on citizenship education. The findings in this chapter provide valuable insights that explain on how citizenship education is understood, interpreted and enacted in primary schools in Botswana. They further highlight major challenges affecting teachers that characterize the status of citizenship education in a democracy like Botswana. These findings reflect a gloomy picture on the state and practice of citizenship education in Botswana primary schools. I present the findings in themes as shown below:

4. There are contradictions between teachers’ beliefs and actions
5. The paradox of teaching about Botswana as citizenship education
6. Teachers acknowledge the merits of teaching about controversial issues but are reluctant to discuss some of the issues
7. Teachers are faced with numerous challenges in developing citizens
The findings are presented as outlined above in a sequential order as follows:

**Findings**

**There are contradictions between what teachers’ believe they do and what actually transpires in their teaching**

The findings under this theme revealed a contradiction between the teachers’ beliefs and actions. These contradictions were marked by the belief on child centered pedagogies over teacher centered pedagogy; development of democratic skills over social skills; advocacy for the use of a variety of assessment techniques but instead they used standardized assessment techniques.

*They believe in child centered pedagogies but practice teacher-centered pedagogies*

Teachers believed that they use child centered pedagogies in their teaching.

Teachers identified child centered pedagogies as discussion, group work, debate, inquiry, dramatization, role play and project method. They believed that these methods were important as they developed in students the ability to be independent, self reliant and responsible decision makers. I asked the teachers to describe what they meant by child centered pedagogies and this is what Ms Lorato had to say:

I like using child centered approaches where learners are the key to the learning process. The teacher facilitates as learners find out answers for themselves in groups or pairs. The child centered also entails the research approach where a child comes up with his or her investigation/ inquiry, bring out his ideas and also find out what other authors say in relation to his or her topic.

Ms Kubu in describing child centered pedagogy stated that:
I believe child centered methods are thought provoking, they provoke openness in pupils, they tend to know that it is not only this one person who has to come out with answers or solutions to a problem but, all of them have to participate.

Whatever you say is learned, it is discussed and then it encourages divergent thoughts. They can be public speakers in future, I don’t know if I am right being able to stand up in front of crowds and discuss issues.

All of the eleven teachers who participated in this study acknowledged the importance and use of child centered methods. They believed that such methods as inquiry, project, discussion, group work, debate and dramatization were good in that they facilitated the development of democratic citizens. Talking about the significance of child centered methods to democratic citizenship Ms Lorato said:

I use debate, group work and research, dramatization. They are important because, with debate they are free to express their views and that leads them to be able to express their views tomorrow in terms of political issues and so on. And the group work, they share ideas, they will be able to discuss with others and share those views, if the other one is having his/her opinion then they should be able to know how that person is feeling and may be tolerating that or absorb the motion or so. In research they discover what other people have or know through research because they read, sometimes they interview, so they will be able to know what is happening in other areas. Dramatization, they will know that information is disseminated in different ways and sometimes they have to tolerate those people who speak using gesture because this leads to know we are unique, some people are different, some are born dumb so they have use those sign languages. So in drama, some of them, most of the time they act. They are important in developing democratic citizens because when they are used, to them they will be able to learn even when the teacher is not there, they help them to be independent learners who are free to ask questions, express their views and be open-minded.

Mr Tau spoke elaborately on the relationship between child-centered methods and active participation and development of leaders:
I use child centered methods where pupils can analyze and see things for themselves. Debates help them develop issues of assertiveness, develop reasoning and become independent thinkers but not neglecting other people’s views. Group work helps them accept one another as some are slow learners but this method allow them to contribute. It is through group work that leaders are developed as we have secretaries, group leaders, and group representatives. Research method also helps them to understand much better on the topic they are learning rather than spoon feeding. Role play, as they role play I think it makes them to fully participate because when you are involved in a role play you are taking part. This will help them in the future when there is an activity that is being done they have to be fully involved not being speechless. These methods are important because we have one of the principles which say people should be self reliant. They do encourage the spirit of independence and active participation.

Two teachers said that they used guest speakers in their teaching and this is what one of them Mr Nkwe said:

Having invited guests whose offices are encouraging topics that are related to good citizenship. Such people would include social workers, kgosi, MP’s, District Commissioners and others.

During focus groups I asked teachers to rank their teaching methods according to the way in which they were used in their classrooms. I asked them to list the methods and ranked them on a scale of 1 to 8 with 1 being the mostly used in their teaching and their rankings were as follows:

1. Group work- Students share ideas; cooperate; communicate; decision making through consensus
2. Discussions
3. Inquiry- develops communication skills, research skills
4. Debate because it promotes discussion
5. Project method
6. Excursions/ Field Trips
7. Question and Answer

8. Lecture method

It was interesting to find that the teachers placed group work, discussions, inquiry, and debate at the top of their list as the mostly used methods in their teaching. The findings from the focus groups resonate well with the teachers’ views and beliefs on teaching methods used as being child centered. However, it is surprising that the question and answer and lecture methods were ranked as the least methods used in their teaching yet they were predominantly used as observed in all the teachers’ classrooms.

However, in observing the teachers teaching social studies and the methods they used, I saw a totally different scenario where teachers basically used teacher centered methods as opposed to what they said they did. The lessons appeared to be characterized by the question and answer method as explicated by the following excerpts from the teachers’ classroom practices. Being in Mr Morubisi, this is what I observed:

**Teacher**: We are going to recap, what did we do yesterday?
**Student**: Positive effects of the expansion of villages
**Teacher**: If you look at the villages they are now more or less the same with towns. What are some of the things that are found in villages as well as towns?
**Students**: Building of hospitals, roads and schools
**Teacher**: What do we benefit from the expansion of villages?
**Student**: They come to sell things in order to earn money
**Teacher**: Negative effects of expansion?
**Student**: Old ways are breaking down
**Teacher**: What are these old ways?
**Student**: Because people think they are old fashioned
**Teacher**: Yes but I want to know those things
**Student**: Going to the cattle post
**Student**: People enjoy the bright life villages
**Teacher**: Traditional and modern forms of cooperation- Where does the cattle post fall?
**Student**: Traditional form of cooperation
**Student**: Because it was done in the past people think it is old fashioned
Teacher: I would agree that it falls under the traditional forms of cooperation. In the past we used to have a system called “Mafisa” Can anyone tell me what was happening in the “Mafisa system”?

Student: It involves lending cattle to someone who does not have

I also observed Ms Mpho teaching a topic on “the effects of divorce” and this is what transpired in her class:

(Students are seated in groups of six and they quickly stand up as I enter the classroom to greet me. They are then asked to sit down. Teacher quickly writes the topic and objective of the lesson to be taught on the chalkboard)

Teacher: Good morning class

Class: Good morning teacher, how are you?

Teacher: I am very well, thank you and sit down. Today we have a visitor; She has come to observe how we learn social studies. Do not be afraid – She is here just to see how we learn social studies.

Class: Yes teacher

Teacher: During our last social studies lesson, what were we talking about?

(Students raise up their hands and teacher points at one of them)

Student: We were talking about divorce

Teacher: What is meant by divorce? What can you remember? Letamo, tell us what is divorce.

Student: Divorce is when you decide to divorce

Teacher: Stand up all of you, tell your partner what you think divorce is

(Students start whispering to their partners)

Teacher: What did he say? Thabang?

Student: Divorce is when you decide to end the marriage

Teacher: Divorce is when a husband and wife decide to end their marriage.

Teacher: Who can read the objective that we are dealing with today from the Chalk board?

(Student reads what is written on the Chalk board loudly)

Student: (Reading) Objective1.1.1.7. Discuss the ways in which families can deal with divorce

Teacher: How would you feel if your parents decided to divorce?

(Students respond by raising up their hands)

Girl 1: I will feel unhappy

Girl 2: I will feel angry

Boy: I will cry

Teacher: What about others?

The findings in this category showed that classroom teaching was teacher dominated and characterized by the question and answer method with no involvement of students in the questioning exercise.
The teachers’ lessons revolved around three phases with an introduction, delivery of subject matter and a conclusion. The introduction of the lessons followed almost the same pattern where the teacher wrote the topic on the chalk board or made a recap on the previous lesson. This was then followed by the delivery of the subject matter where students were asked to open a chapter that addresses the topic of the day from their textbooks. The teacher then asked questions while students read what was in their books and then the teacher explained what it meant. The last part of the lesson was the conclusion where students were to copy notes from the chalkboard or asked questions as a summary or invited to ask questions if they had any. This trend was observed in all the eleven classes and this raised questions on the teachers’ knowledge of the difference between teacher centred and child centred pedagogies as well as teacher preparation in Botswana teacher education institutions.

*They believe in developing democratic and participatory skills and practice social skills.*

Teachers believed that they were developing democratic skills among their students and these involved equipping their students with critical thinking skills, study skills, interpersonal skills, leadership skills and problem solving skills. These skills were developed through the use of child centered methods which were seen to encourage participation which is line with democracy. However, what the teachers believed they did was not evident in their lesson progression as well as teacher practices. The lesson progression depicted a situation where students were encouraged to acquaint themselves with one another rather than specifically developing certain skills. What follows below are excerpts from the teachers interviews which indicate what they believe they do to develop democratic skills among their students.
Speaking about the development of democratic skills Ms Thato mentioned that: They (students) also practice democratic skills by learning how to elect their leaders in the classroom for example; democracy requires them to choose their leaders by majority rule. Through group discussions students are encouraged to say their views without any fear and be assured that they should not shy away from giving what they think are wrong answers.

Mr Kgabo saw democratic skills being taught through the use of methods such as group work and this is what he believes:

In a democracy students choose class monitors, they elect them and the one in the majority wins and they then come to an agreement on who is to represent them. They also practice democratic skills as they are in group discussions, they will be united to have a decision which they have agreed upon. Choosing group leaders is important in that it gives children an understanding of elections at a tender age. Students are given freedom to choose and this is what I promote in my classroom and teaching.

Some teachers spoke about critical thinking, problem solving and conflict resolution as aspects of democratic skills that their students learned about and the following excerpt from Mr Tau explains this better:

They should have critical thinking skills, they should be able to analyze and critique not just to accept things as they are or are being said. They should be able to evaluate choices given. I believe that on a daily basis we are faced with challenges and we should be equipped with skills that help us overcome such challenges; these include problem solving skills and conflict resolution skills.
These are important for citizens to have as we are living in a continent that is faced with problems, conflicts and wars.

Relating the importance of critical thinking skills Ms Thato said:

They need to develop Critical thinking skills, this will enable them to debate issues, discuss them in a friendly manner and analyze what is being said rather than accepting things as they are. They should be able to ask questions and give feedback because Knowledge without analysis is not good. You do not have to consume everything.

Some teachers talked about the development of study skills which they saw as an element of democratic skills as students were taught to be self reliant and to be able to search for information on their own. Study skills were related to developing knowledgeable and informed citizens in a democracy. Relating the need to develop study skills among students, Ms Batho said:

Study skills help them (Students) to be able to study on their own and become self reliant in the search for information. This will help them become informed and not only relying on the teacher for information. This also encourages them to be independent. With research, citizens should have more knowledge on their day to day lives and be able to know what is happening around them. They will be able to compare with other countries.

Ms Kabo felt that equipping learners with study skills was pivotal in developing autonomous minds for the future and the following excerpt indicates her beliefs:

Developing research skills is involved so that the students find information or answers for themselves. One other thing about research skills is that they allow
students to speak freely as they understand what they are doing. This helps them learn and teachers facilitate. We try to build autonomous minds for quality lifelong learning. Through research, what comes out is a lot. Learners are guided on compilation of information grasped. We try to make them aware that through research they can develop into authors. Analysis of information gathered is also taught. Evaluation is also done to see progress or failures.

The findings in this category clearly negate the teachers’ beliefs in engaging students in multiple participatory activities which are aimed at the development of democratic skills. However, in observing their social studies lessons there was a remarkable trend of students being put in small groups and given work to discuss which basically did not challenge students to analyze, critique or evaluate information as mentioned during the interviews. The classrooms were also arranged in such a manner that the teacher was the main authority in the classroom who always dominated classroom activities with very little input from the students which totally negated the teachers’ views that their classrooms were democratic.

The following excerpts from the teachers’ lesson observations augment the argument that they in fact concentrated on developing cooperation and social skills instead of democratic participatory skills since this was evidenced by the seating arrangements in the classroom where students were clustered indiscriminately around tables. It should be understood that social skills are an element of democratic skills and are not the panacea of democratic skills as democratic skills resemble a repertoire of skills that are participatory, critical and problem solving based. Below is an excerpt from Ms Thato’s lesson progression:
Teacher: Please try and write activities taking place at the rural settlement- I am giving you only 5 minutes
(Students in their groups and start working on their assignment. It is difficult to hear what they are saying as they keep on whispering. The teacher is standing by the chalkboard waiting for them to finish)
Teacher: Are you all through
Class: Yes teacher
Teacher: Let us present our work
Presentations (One student from each group reads what he/she has to the class)
Group 1: We used to plough crops and rear livestock at the lands
Teacher: They have done well, but are these activities taking placed at the lands?
Class: No
Group 2: Activities in the village. People rear livestock, sell food to get money. People attend Kgotla meetings. People help each other
Teacher: Clap hands for them, they have done well, but is that they have said correct?
Student: No, people do not rear livestock in the village
Teacher: How do we help people in the village?
Student: By taking care of the orphans and the elderly
Group 3: Cattle post We keep livestock there and leave them to graze
We grow crops at the cattle post
Teacher: Are they correct?
Student: They are correct because some people grow crops at the cattle post.
Student: It is not correct because if people grow crops livestock will destroy them and people will always be fighting
Teacher: Yes, crops can be destroyed and people will always be in conflict
Group 4: Activities at the lands
At the lands we grow crops
At the lands we take care of our goats
Teacher: Are they correct? If you do not agree with them raise up your hand
Student: We grow crops at the lands and we do not keep goats
Teacher: Good, clap hands for yourselves for the good work(The whole class clap hands for themselves)
Teacher: Now we are going to do another activity. Here we are going to categorize activities according to the three types of settlements in rural areas.
(Teacher distributes sentence strips to students in their groups and they are to categorize them. Teacher moves around to see how students are doing and helping them to understand what they have to do).

The same trend of teacher practices and lesson progression where students were asked to come together and work on a task was found during my observation in Ms Batho’s class and below is an excerpt from her lesson:
(One student stands up to dance and the other students interpret the dance)

**Teacher:** Which dance is usually done by the Basarwa?

**Student:** Tsutsube

**Teacher:** Any other dance that you know of that is associated with any ethnic group in Botswana?

**Student:** Dikhwaere and the Bakgatla

**Student:** Hosana for Bakalanga

**Teacher:** Let’s talk about cultural dance. Please give me the cultural dance of an ethnic group you know of.

**Teacher:** Culture is important; we need to learn about culture, why? Tolerance goes with “Botho”-culture teaches us that. We do not want to see what is happening in other countries where people kill one another such as the Rwanda genocide. We need to tolerate each other’s differences. I want to give you an assignment

*(Teacher gives students in their groups a chart labelled music, food, totems etc. to complete by filling in the missing information)*

In almost all the classes I observed students were seated in groups of 6 to 8 in each group. These groups appeared to be a seating arrangement as they did not change when students were given tasks to complete as a group. The students also were not assigned individual tasks to insure that each one of them participated. No questions accompanied the group tasks and at the end one student read on behalf of the other students what is presumed to be group effort. There were no checks and balances in group assignments and most of the time they were given five minutes to discuss. During the group discussions it was difficult to hear what these students were talking about as they whispered. These findings reflect a contradiction between teachers’ beliefs and actions.

*They believe in the use of a combination of authentic and standardized assessment techniques and use standardized assessment techniques.*

Teachers believed that they used a variety of assessment techniques which included both authentic and standardized assessment techniques. The standardized
assessment techniques that they talked about included tests, examinations and quizzes. The non standardized assessment techniques that they mentioned were role play, dramatization, portfolios, essays and continuous assessment. Almost all of the participants opined that they value their assessment techniques except for Mr Tau who was critical about assessment techniques used in schools that they do not provide a holistic picture of the students and as such he does not value them at all. However, it was interesting to discover that what they said they did was not evident in their teaching practices which in fact raised doubts on what they really do and whether they understand what they are doing. Ms Batho in talking about the types of assessment techniques that she used had this to say:

I use tests and examinations, role play, dramatization, continuous assessment, portfolio and essays. Sometimes they role play the electoral process and in so doing I am able to see if they have developed certain skills such as communication, leadership and critical thinking. Dramatization allows the teacher to see all the behaviours that the students have. Such assessment techniques are good as they are not test oriented. This can also help the teacher evaluate how much her students have learned and be able to assist them immediately. They help the teacher to identify students’ problems while learning is taking place rather than waiting for the end of term tests or final examinations.

From Ms Batho’s excerpt, it is clear that she knows the importance of using a variety of assessment techniques.

Talking about the assessment techniques that she uses in her class Ms Lorato mentioned that:
Well I would say I value the assessment strategies looking at the fact that, we teach looking at the objectives that are set by the curriculum. When the pupils are able to pass a test or quiz, this shows that they have information but when they fail as a teacher you have to ask yourself why, do they lack information on what you taught or not, passing meaning that they acquired something, failure will mean as a teacher you need to work hard. Quizzes, tests, role plays and students’ portfolios are very important as they give a clear picture of the child. I may want them to role play a scene and let them assess their role play as well.

One of the school-heads, Ms Joseph echoed the same sentiments of using a variety of assessment techniques when saying that:

I encourage them (teachers) to use a variety of assessment techniques like monthly tests, projects, debates, quizzes, and talent shows. I like these assessment strategies because they involve all the students and make them participate.

However, teachers tend to use monthly tests or even during classroom teaching where questions are asked to check understanding. For example, after reading a story in class, they can ask them to list and discuss points that they think have moral lessons for them.

In contrast to what the other teachers said, Mr Tau was quick to mention that he does not value the assessment techniques he uses because they do not give a holistic picture of the child. He further stated that he uses them primarily because they are meant to prepare students for examinations. The excerpt below captures his opinion with regards to assessment techniques that:
I do not value them because of the time factor as you know that we have other subjects to teach as well. So it becomes difficult to give every subject the amount of time it requires, so I end up giving class exercises which are not valuable because I don’t get the exact picture of the child. Secondly, we use these assessment techniques because they are the only ones used in the final exams and we therefore prepare our students for exams.

Mr Tau further expressed his concerns and frustrations on the way assessment is tailored within the school system and said:

On the other hand, our assessment tools are not standard; we need to have the proper tools to measure the performance of our kids. Here assessment should not be based on the marks and examinations only but on the values or moral values like botho. I am trying to say that there are some things that we probably see whereby the child has passed examinations or monthly tests but we don’t have the standard measure for the issue of botho or socialization. We don’t look at the skills as we do not have measures for that.

Mr Tau’s observation is quite interesting in that he knows what he is supposed to do but argues that due to time constraints and the number of subjects that they have to teach it becomes impossible to implement other forms of assessment. He argues that the assessment techniques he uses are deficient in that they do not measure values and skills attained but are only meant to prepare students for the final examinations therefore, indicating that they teach for examinations. The notion of teaching and assessing in order to prepare students for examinations is problematic in that it does not allow any mastery a repertoire of skills that are necessary for students learning. This situation may explain
why some students are said to leave primary school unable to read, or converse in English which is the medium of instruction in Botswana and their inability to engage in participatory learning due to a lack of mastery in communication skills.

However, I also conducted a document analysis on social studies monthly tests for standard 5, 6 and 7 that were constructed by the teachers. The findings from the document analysis reflected a totally different scenario where it was evident that teachers did not vary their assessment techniques but used tests, examinations and class activities for assessment. The schools’ policy was that teachers should administer monthly tests and end of term tests at the end of each term of school. The end of term test is set by the Region and in this case the Central South Region where teachers are drawn from the different schools in the region to form a panel that then set the end of term tests. All the schools in the region sit for the same end of term test that was set by the Region under the supervision of the Principal Education Officer. In their daily teaching, teachers are expected to give students class exercises and quizzes to check understanding and give students practice. Some teachers like Ms Batho and Ms Kabo gave their students weekly tests to check mastery of the subject matter.

A thorough analysis of the items in the monthly tests and end of term tests revealed that they were all multiple choice questions which addressed objectives under each module in the syllabus. All of the questions were recall type of questions that required the memorization and recall of the facts as they were characterized by questions in the range of “Who? What? Which?” and very few questions in the “Why?” category. For example in a Monthly test for std 7 at Morula primary school there were 50 multiple choice items and only one question was in the “Why?” category. The same trend of
assessment techniques was seen in all the schools. Going through the previous final examinations that were set by the Examinations Unit under the auspices of the Ministry of Education it was not surprising that these teachers asked questions that were knowledge based and did not challenge the students to think as they followed the Ministry of Education final examinations format where test items are constructed based on the Module in the syllabus, objective being tested and the test items which were multiple choice type of questions. An example of the test items follows in table 6.1 below;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module: Society and Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Objective 1.1.1.1: Discuss the elements of culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test Item: All of the following are elements of culture EXCEPT-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Language  B. Beliefs  C. Skin Color  D. Food</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: An Example of Test Item

These test items followed the same pattern and were made such that they covered the whole syllabus and each module had questions to show that it has been covered. A quick look at the students’ work as they were writing I also discovered that what they did as quizzes were in fact exercises or activities that were in their textbooks. The use of the students’ textbook for quizzes and activities was also an indication of how teachers rely on the students’ textbook for their assessment. These findings reflect a serious contradiction between what teachers say they do and what actually transpires in their teaching.
The paradox of teaching about Botswana as citizenship education

The findings under this theme indicate a complex scenario where teachers perceive teaching about Botswana as citizenship education. There was consensus among the teachers that citizenship education is the type of education that prepares an individual to be a real Motswana (citizen of Botswana). Teachers perceive citizenship education as having knowledge about the culture of the different ethnic groups, knowledge about the country and political issues in the country. These findings are not surprising given the history of African nations and colonialism. It should be borne in mind that when African nations of which Botswana is a member decolonized, their first project was nation building and citizenship, and education was viewed as the key to attaining the national aspirations. With nation building and the development of good citizens came numerous education reforms among them the provision of basic education, promulgation of educational policies and Africanization of the social studies curriculum which was meant to align the curriculum to the needs and aspirations of the African people and in this case Batswana (citizens of Botswana).

In an interview with the teachers, I asked them to define citizenship education and what follows is an excerpt of what some of the teachers said. In responding to the question Ms Kabo had this to say:

Citizenship education includes teaching pupils about the cultures in Botswana, other peoples’ cultures, the values- they learn about the tribes within the country i.e. BaHerero, Bangwato and may others; learning about differences among different ethnic groups. I believe in developing citizens who have good moral values, citizens who believe in who they are and are proud of their own culture.
and nation. I believe in producing informed citizens. An informed citizen is a citizen who will be able to make his or her decisions, is knowledgeable about his country and what is going on around him/her. Such a citizen must respect the culture, the customs and the beliefs of his/ her country.

Ms Batho defined citizenship education in terms of teaching citizens about their country and its people and this is what she had to say:

Citizenship education in the Botswana context is education that teaches its citizens about their country, the governance, the constitution, the people and what is expected of them. Some initiatives, its relationship with other countries, its culture and even though we have different cultures, there is the umbrella culture. I would say so because as a Motswana you have to know the ethnic groups that are in your country, their values, their norms, their cultural practices and their modern practices, the way they associate, their heritage, their shelter and by so doing you will begin to have a clear picture of a real Motswana somebody.

Ms Lorato who is a strong advocate for culture and cultural heritage saw citizenship as education that teaches learners about their history, heritage and identity with an emphasis on their ethnic groups. An excerpt from her interview follows below:

Citizenship Education teaches the learners about who they are, where they come from and what their country aspires for. It teaches learners to be proud of their culture and promote it. Culture is an important aspect of our lives and makes us who we are. Citizenship education teaches children about their identity and to be real Batswana. We should let our kids to know their culture, the values and norms of the ethnic group they come from. They should also be taught to tolerate other
people’s opinions. They should be taught the Setswana proverbs used in their culture because they are the ones that mould us to know who we are and be aware of other peoples thinking and it will prepare us to be pure Batswana.

Mr Tau saw citizenship education as developing an individual into becoming a proud Motswana and had this to say:

Citizenship Education is that curriculum that allows the individual to understand how the people around him live, his culture, norms, values and customs that make him to be a proud Motswana. It teaches students to understand that they do not live in isolation but are part of a group and as such should have a common understanding. Democracy and citizenship cannot exist in isolation.

Teachers not only saw citizenship education as aimed at the development of a “Real Motswana” but also believed that it should equip learners with knowledge about their culture, country and political issues in the country.

**Knowledge about their Culture**

Teachers believed that citizenship education should teach children about their culture, the history of their cultures and issues of unity and cultural diversity. Knowledge about their culture was specifically understood to mean knowing about the values, norms and cultures of the different ethnic groups in the country.

*Cultures, Values, Norms of different Ethnic Groups*

All the teachers felt that students should know who they are first before learning about other people and this meant understanding and having knowledge of their own culture and that of the other different ethnic groups in the country. There was emphasis on learning also an emphasis on learning Setswana culture which is embracive of other
cultures through the use of proverbs. It should be understood that oral traditions of proverbs are essential elements if indigenous wisdom as they are viewed as a vehicle for transmitting shared cultural knowledge from one generation to the other. However, it is important to note that these oral traditions have been impacted heavily by both religion and education imported from Europe as they saw them as barbaric and outdated.

Speaking about the importance of teaching students about their culture Ms Lorato had this to say:

We should let our kids to know their culture, the values and norms of the ethnic group they come from. They should also be taught to tolerate other people’s opinions. They should be taught the Setswana proverbs used in their culture because they are the ones that mould us to know who we are and be aware of other peoples thinking and it will prepare us to be tolerant people.

Mr Nkwe who comes from one of the so called ‘minor’ ethnic groups felt that it was important that he knows about his own culture and said:

Let them know their culture, values, norms, their traditions, beliefs as a group. The group that they belong to as a Nkalanga, Mongwato, Motswapong, like me as a Kalanga, I should understand where I am coming from first before I can become a Motswana.

Mr Morubisi who comes from one of the so called ‘major’ ethnic groups believed that as a Motswana you have to have knowledge of the other ethnic groups in the country and said:

because as a Motswana you have to know the ethnic groups that are in your country, their values, their norms their cultural practices and their modern
practices, the way they associate, their heritage, their shelter and by so doing you will begin to have a clear picture of a Motswana somebody.

It is quite interesting that all the teachers cited above do agree that students need to have knowledge about “their” culture yet they differ in terms of “whose” culture was referred to as “their” culture. Ms Lorato and Mr Nkwe who belong to the marginalized ethnic groups believe that students should learn about their ethnic group culture first before learning about the Tswana culture in general therefore, arguing for the politics of difference and identity. Whereas, Mr Morubisi who belongs to one of the ‘so called’ principal tribes (major ethnic groups) believes that to be a real Motswana you should have knowledge about the ethnic groups in the country but does not emphasize knowledge about your own ethnic group first.

These findings basically show the salient tensions between the so called “minor” and “major” ethnic groups in Botswana. Teachers from the marginalized groups felt that it was important for students to learn about their ethnic group’s culture whereas those from the dominant groups felt that students should learn mainstream culture first and did not see anything wrong in that. These issues need to be addressed before they grow and get out of hand and a national conversation on issues of ethnicity and tribalism needs to be initiated.

History of their Cultures

Two teachers talked about the need to teach children about their culture, emphasizing the importance of history in understanding their own cultures. Ms Neo elaborately spoke to the idea of teaching children about the history of their culture and had this to say:
I think the most important thing that our kids have to know is our culture. So that they can know who they are, where they come from and other things they need to know to better their culture. I think culture is very important they should learn the histories of their culture, even if they get more educated they should still respect their culture. Our first president once said “A nation without a culture is a lost nation”. These kids really, in the curriculum I think most of the topics should be on culture- they should teach them up to secondary but at all levels of education students have to be taught their culture and how it got to be where it is today.

Mr Kgabo also expressed his views on equipping learners with knowledge about the history of their culture and said:

We have to teach them about our culture, we have to let them know as to where we are from, the challenges that we came across, how we have been able to overcome them. Learning about the history of their cultures is important as it will really make them proud of who they are. They will also be able to understand why things are the way they are because culture is dynamic.

Though not many teachers spoke about the significance of history, the findings of this study reveal some kind of renaissance on the teachers’ views on teaching children about their culture and its history. This is the history that the same religion and education imported from Europe worked to erase and destroy making Batswana to believe that they did not have a history prior to their contact with Europeans.
Unity and Cultural Diversity

Some teachers felt that it was important to promote unity however; they believed that there should also be recognition of diversity. The teachers argued for the politics of difference because since independence Botswana has followed assimilationist policies that advocated for unity rather than diversity. Though the Botswana Government’s intentions of promoting unity and downplaying diversity were geared towards nation building they seem to have marginalized the other members of the society. Speaking about the importance of teaching students about different cultures Ms Mpho said that:

Teach them about their culture more especially the different cultures since Botswana is a multicultural and pluralistic society. They need to learn that they have to be united and the same time they are different. Since they are different they need to learn to tolerate each other’s cultures. Other countries have gone to war because of lack of respect of other cultures. They need to be taught a sense of belonging to know and understand that though they are all Batswana they are different and need to know what they can do for their country.

Mr Kgabo emphasized the need to understand differences and had this to say:

they should learn cultures of different people because today we are living in a pluralistic society that encompasses different ethnicities that are different from where the child comes from. Accept and tolerate the differences they see in other people- when they know and accept all these dynamics, they will be good ambassadors of this country outside.

Mr Tau spoke on the need to appreciate and maintain our differences and argued that:
They should be knowledgeable in terms of how cultural diversification is important. Citizenship and democratic education are important to avoid unplanned wars or civil wars. We have to maintain our democracy because it binds us since we have different ethnic groups such as Bakalanga, Bakgatla and so on. Though we are united we also have to maintain our differences.

The findings in this category reflect a paradigm shift on issues of nationality and identity. The three teachers who spoke about issues of unity and diversity all belong to the so called minor ethnic groups and seem to contend that though unity is important, diversity is as well crucial. These findings signify a clear departure from the notion of being “Batswana of Botswana” to being “A Kalanga or Motswapong of Botswana”. This is an interesting development as people are beginning to show some doubts and insecurities towards nation building and query its twin paradigms of democracy and citizenship.

**Knowledge about their Country**

Some of the teachers felt that there is need for citizens in a democracy to possess knowledge about their country hence they associated being knowledgeable with good citizenship. They believe that students in Botswana should be taught about their country and some of what featured in their interviews is that students need learn about the physical environment, the government, and political issues and provided some justification of why they felt that was important.

**Physical Environment**

Two teachers talked about the importance of teaching students about the physical environment and argued that students need to have geographical knowledge of their
country. They associated knowledge about their country with good citizenship. Mr Nkwe who is very passionate about environmental issues had this to say:

They (citizens) should have basic knowledge about their environment if we really want to develop knowledgeable citizens. This means that students have to be taught about the physical features in the country such as rivers, hills, plateaus and many others. They have to know about the natural resources in their country so that when someone asks them about their country they should be able to talk about it.

Mr Morubisi talked about knowledge about natural resources and had this to say:

I think when you talk about our country Botswana, things that happen in our country especially those natural resources, taking students to game reserves to view animals. They should be taught what is happening in their country, I think that is the main idea. Students have to be informed about their country in order for them to be good citizens.

It is surprising that the teachers who talked about having knowledge about the physical environment were both male and only two teachers spoke about the issue. The findings in this category raise questions on teachers knowledge of what really makes up the content of citizenship.

*Their Government and how it Works*

Some teachers advocated for the need to teach students about their government and how it works. They felt that good citizens need to know about their constitution, branches of the government and channels of communication. They believe that knowing
about the government will help students understand their country better. Supporting this issue Ms Kubu had this to say:

I think citizens should know what is happening around them, in the country and their communities. They should have knowledge about governance, procedures, and should have knowledge about their constitution. They should know the channels of communication.

Mr Kgabo talked about knowledge of the branches of the government and said that:

They should have knowledge on how their country should be run, how different activities are run for example, government ministries, legislature and the judiciary. Students need to know how these arms of government operate in order to understand their country.

Ms Neo briefly spoke about the constitution and had this to say:

Know their country they should know their country, respect it and they should follow what the constitution ask them to do and abide by it.

Teachers appeared to associate knowledge about the government with abiding by the constitution and respecting it. The findings in this category are not surprising in that a good citizen in Botswana is one who among others is law abiding, patriotic and obedient and any sense of a dissenting view is seen as arrogance.

**Knowledge about Political Issues**

Most of the teachers felt that for Botswana to maintain its peace and stability democratic knowledge and political issues should be taught in schools. They attributed the peace and stability that is reining in the country on knowledge of political issues more
especially the practice of democracy. Under political knowledge special emphasis was put on the need to teach children about democracy and human rights.

Learning about Democracy

There was consensus among most of the teachers that students need to have democratic knowledge. They felt that democratic knowledge was important in sustaining and maintaining democracy, peace and stability in the country. The findings in this category should be understood within the realities and context of Botswana that Botswana is regarded as a liberal democracy and has held elections after every 5 years since independence and there has been peaceful transitions of the government and presidency ever since. This may explain why teachers elaborately justified the need for students to be taught democracy and Ms Mpho mentioned that:

They (students) should possess democratic knowledge. They should take part in the affairs of the nation and their communities. In democratic knowledge they need to know the process of elections, voting choosing leaders and participating in every aspect pertaining to the development of their communities and country at large.

Mr Tau shared similar sentiments that democracy needs to be taught and argued that not much is being done to teach children about democracy in schools and had this to say:

The most important thing that has to be done I think is to teach our children about democracy at an early stage. I think not much has been done to teach democracy in schools. I want our children to live Democracy- That is talking, eating, dreaming and sleeping democracy- by so doing we will be able to maintain our democracy because without democracy there is no peace.
Some teachers associated democracy with elections and peace in the country and advanced reasons why they believe democracy should be taught and among them Ms Neo had this to say:

Should be conversant with political knowledge such as elections. They should understand the importance of politics - like why do we have politics? It is important to have knowledge on politics as - they can in future be able to choose leaders fairly and equally. I think the way we do things, it shows that democracy is there, it starts from our roots even now the way Mmm… from the elderly people the way they talk, the way they address other people it shows that there is democracy, there is peace in our country. Botswana is a peaceful country, if there was no democracy, Botswana would not be a peaceful country.

Ms Mpho associated democracy with elections, consultation and peace that prevails in the country and said:

Especially from my understanding we Batswana we believe that when we talk of democracy, we talk of free elections, people are free to vote their own parties, people are free to come up with their own views about anything that is happening in their country and they are listen to, whether they query or they do something they are listen to. The government listens to them; they attend meetings without being disturbed.

In their focus group all the teachers attributed the peace and stability that prevails in the country on the way democracy is practiced in Botswana through the kgotla system.

This is what Mr Nkwe said:
There are free elections and ever since independence, there have been no fights or conflicts over elections. If there is a conflict or misunderstanding, it is settled though negotiations that is why it is a shining star in Africa. People in Botswana are free to elect the leaders they want during elections without being forced. We negotiate if there is something. In some African countries their governments are controlled by their army... The other thing that promotes democracy is through Kgottla meetings where the government goes out and sells its policies to people and people suggest better ways of developing the country. We also see councilors from the local government talking about development of their villages. People are consulted on issues relating to their villages through representatives like councilors. There is peace and stability which attracts tourists and investments.

Ms Thato mentioned this during focus group discussions:

Botswana is a democratic country because the government is elected by the people and most of the policies are implemented after consultation, people have been consulted through Kgottla meetings and political rallies, they have a say. People have the freedom to express their views, they are free to choose the political party that they want to join and there are free to speak their own languages, free to practice their own cultures, free to dress according to their culture/religion.

Ms Batho augmented the previous speakers’ views by saying:

The political system; Since independence Botswana holds elections every 5 years and people are free to elect who they want and follow political parties of their choice. We don’t have wars like other countries and the crime rate is low as well. There is tolerance. We are also a society that is rich in culture through Kgottla system which strengthens our democracy. People are consulted in Kgottla meetings to reach a consensus. This has promoted the notion of democracy.

The findings in this category clearly indicate the teachers’ understanding and interpretation of democracy. There seem to be a departure from democracy being viewed from a western perspective to the practice of democracy that combines both the Western
and traditional type of democracy. Though this combination of the western and
traditional democracy is done in practice, officially and publicly it is denied as
democracy within the school curriculum is defined only according to the Western
tradition which is in contrast with the political reality within which the school is located.
This creates problems for teachers who have to make learning meaningful to the learners
and relate what they learn to their everyday life experiences. These findings clearly
indicate that it is time that alternative ways of knowing, meanings and knowledge
construction are examined and recognized.

Rights and Responsibilities

Only one teacher talked about the relationship between human rights and
democracy. The teacher felt that students need to be taught about democracy as it exposes
them to issues of equality and human rights. Mr Kgabo had this to say about equality,
human rights and democracy:

I want to say that it is important to teach about democracy and politics because it helps learners to know about what is happening around the world, it teaches about issues of equality and human rights. So young citizens of Botswana need to learn about these things if we want to maintain the peace and stability that we are enjoying right now.

It is quite alarming that only one teacher mentioned about human rights and equality.
There was no mention on issues of social justice. Given the history of the country on issues of ethnicity and tribalism, one would have expected teachers to weigh in on inequality, inequity and social justice.
Teachers acknowledge the merits of teaching controversial issues while finding it difficult to discuss some of the issues with their students

The discussion of controversial issues has been widely recognized as a crucial aspect in the development of democratic citizens as it promotes discussion, debate, deliberation, decision making and critical thinking. Interestingly, all the participants agreed that the discussion of controversial issues was necessary in the development of good citizens however, they were reluctant to discuss any controversial issue they may be confronted with and tended to be selective in what they needed to discuss with the view that students do not need to be told everything. The teachers’ reluctance may be a result of their socialization, culture or religion as in Tswana cultures discussion of sexual matters has always been a taboo.

One participant, Ms Batho, had an interesting view about the importance of teaching controversial issues that:

Controversial issues are important in that they broaden the students’ knowledge, to be aware of different sides to a story and what is happening around the world. It encourages students to gain knowledge about their surroundings. It also helps them to build the spirit of tolerance when they discuss, argue or debate issues. They also accept diversity in views as they listen to one another. But as teachers we have to be careful on what we discuss with these students because some information is not necessary.

The view held by Ms Batho clearly shows how she perceives the teaching of controversial issues and solidifies the notion of content selection. There is no doubt in her mind that such issues have to be taught. However, Mr Morubisi was quick to
acknowledge the importance of discussing controversial issues but offered a different perspective that:

You see controversial issues are important but they are not covered in our social studies curriculum. I follow the curriculum most of the time but I do discuss them whenever they crop up depending on what they are or how sensitive they are. I was brought up as a Christian and some issues are not supposed to be discussed in my religion.

From Mr Morubisi’s perspective, it can be deduced that he selects what he feels is important to teach and ignores anything that is against his values and beliefs as he confides about his Christian religion. From his explanation there is a clear reluctance to discuss any issue brought up by the students or one that does not comply with his belief system.

Throughout the interviews, teachers expressed difficulty in discussing certain controversial topics such as sexual orientation because they violated their beliefs, religion, culture or legal system. Even those issues such as gender that they believed they discussed, it was evident that they perpetuated cultural stereotypes and biases. Some of the controversial issues that teachers felt were important to discuss in their classrooms were on gender and HIV/AIDS. They felt that they were important in that they affected their everyday lives hence students needed to know and debate about them. Interestingly, all the participants even when probed avoided talking about issues of sexuality.

**HIV/AIDS Issues**

One of the controversial issues that teachers felt were important to be discussed with their students was that of HIV/AIDS. Though in their culture it is taboo to discuss
sexual matters with children they believed that when it comes to HIV/AIDS students needed to be made aware for a number of reasons. Advancing the reasons for teaching about HIV/AIDS, Ms Lorato commented that:

Even though in my culture I am not supposed to talk about sex with children when it comes to HIV/AIDS I am forced to. You know, with HIV/AIDS it is because Botswana is one of the countries that are affected. They should know how to take care of themselves when they are affected or infected. They should know what to do and what is expected out of them.

Ms Kubu shared the same view that:

HIV/AIDS, the scourge that affects all and makes them sick, young or old, rich or poor. They have to know what to do when they are infected or affected. They have to be knowledgeable on this issue as it is a serious and hazardous issue. We are living with them. We meet them, we can share this knowledge and experience with them. So they have to have the knowledge on these issues, so that they will make their own choices and decisions. They will also impart this knowledge to others. Some people are illiterate and they are living with the disease.

Ms Kabo laid her concerns and fears about HIV/AIDS by commenting that:

there’s this one of HIV/AIDS, I talked about it because I didn’t want them to come to a situation whereby they discriminate one another. They have to know that HIV is there is not a joke and when there’s an infected person they know they shouldn’t discriminate him/her. Like when they work together in groups in classroom, by so doing there are going to accept and tolerate one another regardless whether there are sick or not.
The reasons advanced by the three teachers are a clear indication that they struggle with the idea of discussing about HIV/AIDS but are forced to equip students with knowledge about it since it is a problem that they are faced with in their society. It appears that if it was not of the fears and concerns that they have about HIV/AIDS, it would not be an issue for discussion as it relates to sexual matters which are not open for discussion in their culture. It is also interesting that all the teachers who expressed their concerns about the disease were women and this may be attributed to their role as caregivers within the society.

*Dealing with Stereotypes and Stigmatization*

Teachers also spoke about what they do to dismantle some of the stereotypes that students may have about HIV/AIDS. They wanted their students to understand that the disease is real and does not discriminate among people and wanted their students to exercise caution. In trying to deal with the stereotypes associated with HIV/AIDS, Ms Kubu said:

> Issues that are usually talked about here in Botswana we have got a problem of HIV/AIDS of which these pupils must know. I believe they must know that the disease or this infection is not only for people in Botswana and that it is there in other countries around the world. All they have to know is how the disease is spread, how can you be infected by the disease and that does not mean if you leave Botswana and go and study in Europe you are not going to get infected by the disease as long as you have sexual relationships with people who may be positive, then that is how you will be infected by disease. It is not for a black person only is for everyone.
Though Ms Kubu wants to deal with the stereotypes associated with HIV/AIDS, she appears to be raising a concern about the way the disease is being portrayed as though it is a problem for people of Botswana or Africans only. Ms Neo alluded to the issue of discrimination and stigmatization for people with HIV/AIDS and had this to say:

There’s this one of HIV/AIDS, I talked about it because I didn’t want them to come to a situation whereby they discriminate one another. They have to know that HIV is there is not a joke and when there’s an infected person they know they shouldn’t discriminate or stigmatize him/her. Like when they work together in groups in classroom, by so doing there are going to accept and tolerate one another regardless whether there are sick or not.

The results in this category are indicative of the realities and perceptions of teachers on HIV/AIDS and the teaching of controversial issues. Teachers appeared to talk about it because it is a threat to their children’s lives and not because it is necessary for the development of citizens. However, it was difficult to sense the controversial nature of the issue as teachers appeared to be taking a more subtle approach to the issue by providing information as opposed to discussion or raising a debate.

**Gender Issues**

One of the controversial issues that teachers mentioned discussing in their classrooms was that of gender. It should be borne in mind that traditionally the Tswana culture is highly stratified when it comes to gender relations and women are usually subservient to their male counterparts. For example, in marriage women are regarded as minors and often dependent on their husbands’ even if they earn a higher income than their spouses. Though things are changing in urban areas due to the permeation of the
feminist agenda and the Botswana government’s ratification of the Beijing platform of action, in rural areas the discourse may be seen as a threat to the Tswana traditions and culture. Listening to the teachers’ views, it appeared as though they all believe in gender equality in principle but in practice it was a totally different scenario. Teachers believed they were teaching gender equality while they were at the same time promoting gender stereotypes and biases.

*Teaching for Gender Equality*

Almost all of the teachers talked about promoting gender equality in their classrooms and ensuring that their students had equal treatment. Talking about gender equality Ms Thato mentioned that:

> We talk about gender issues by encouraging both girls and boys to follow their potential rather than stick to what used to male jobs or female jobs. They should understand that they are equal and no one is better than the other. They should understand that there is no difference between boys and girls, they should work together and understand that they can be both leaders unlike in the past where men were the only ones in leadership positions.

Mr Tau also spoke about gender equality emphasising on gender typing and commented that:

> In the past there used to be division of roles but nowadays roles are or can be done by both sexes. We teach them that there should not be roles that they think are just for men only so that there is gender equality. For example, women these days are no longer housemaids and housewives as they work in professional jobs.
The findings in this category are indicative of the teachers commitment to teaching and promoting gender equality as they understand the cultural biases embedded in gender relations within their society. It is also noteworthy that both male and female teachers appeared to be conversant with issues of gender relations and were keen to address them.

*Gender Stereotypes and Biases*

Even though teachers acknowledged addressing the gender disparities in their classrooms, there appeared to be tensions of power relations between both males and females as male teachers saw gender equality as a threat to male hegemony and supremacy as dictated by their culture and tradition. Showing some discontent on issues of gender equality Mr Morubisi mentioned that:

I believe that women can perform what men used to do. Though they (men and women) are equal but not in marriage. I believe that the husband is the head of the family; women should remember that, just like it was done in the past. Nowadays women talk about being equal, I feel that they are lost somehow and that is why we experience a lot of problems these days. During those days it was difficult to see a woman who has had a miscarriage walking around people which is not acceptable in our culture. This is a result of trying to be modernized, moving away from our culture.

Commenting on gender equality Mr Tau expressed concern on issues of women empowerment as promoting corruption and nepotism as he stated that:

The other issue is that of women empowerment which empowered a lot of women. This issue of women empowerment raises eye-brows. Where have they been? They have never been deprived of anything. Women are given positions
that they do not deserve for example the current Assistant Minister of….

Everything must be done on merit. Our upbringing has always been that men should lead.

Mr Nkwe argued that this issue of gender equality appears to be the struggle for power between men and women as they have formed associations and said:

other issue is of gender, you find that today when you teach about it, it is always about women against men. They seem to take more on roles that could have been taken by men, some are calling themselves “Emang Basadi” (Stand up women) or “Tsogang Banna” (wake up men)

Men appeared to express discomfort with issues of gender equality and saw associations and movements geared towards gender equality as a threat to male domination and supremacy. While women on the other hand seemed to promote and perpetuate gender bias and stereotypes that are held about women and men in the society.

Ms Lorato who is a strong proponent of culture had this to say:

Yes, I discuss gender issues; I want them to know that they have differences and that they should accept each other’s motions. Ladies are sometimes emotional, ladies speak softly and boys are loud and talk with hard voices. Boys are usually strong while girls are weak and soft.

Ms Kubu held similar views on the differences between males and females and said:

I also talk about gender issues, I teach them that as boys and girls they are different and the way they approach things, they have to understand that boys are masculine and have short tempers while girls are weaker, speak softly and that boys have to understand that they are different.
In one of their focus groups, teachers emphasized the vulnerability of the girl child and one female participant said:

being a woman in my family and because of being brought up like that, I grew up being taught that a woman is not heard but seen. Even in my classroom I train my girl students that as a woman you have to be quite, soft even in the bedroom your voice should not be heard by people outside.

In response to the previous speaker, one Male participant reinforced the susceptibility of the girl child and related that to their socialization process, that:

to add to that, because we as Batswana bringing in the element of culture, and taking it back to during our school days we find out that a lot of boys were brought up to be strong and always told that a man never cries. According to our culture a woman is a woman, like Mme Mma- Lorato said, a woman must be more descent. You should not fight or act somehow like women being a soldier that is how I feel.

The findings in this category clearly indicate that teachers are still lagging behind on knowledge about issues of gender equality and equity. These findings raise alarm in that Botswana ratified the Beijing platform of action in 1995, and after 15 years teachers are still trailing behind in understanding issues of gender. The irony of it is that teachers feel that they are dealing with gender issues while in fact they are reinforcing and perpetuating gender biases and stereotypes.

**Issues of Sexuality**

Another controversial issue that teachers tended to avoid talking about is that of sexual orientation. Even when probed in their interviews teachers were uncomfortable
and reluctant to discuss issues about gays, homosexuals and lesbians. They confided in me that they do not talk about “such” issues and the use of “such” carried negative connotations in that it indicated that it was something abominable and could not even say the words. While probing on issues of sexuality, Mr Morubisi emotionally charged equated same sex relationships with an act of sin and had this to say:

I usually infuse issues of sex education and this includes teenage pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases. I never talk about same sex relationships because I am not comfortable with such issues. I feel it is a practice of Satanism or related to Satanism. From long time back we only know a man should be married to a wife. This is just out of hand! Talking about such things will be bringing negative things to the students. I don’t think they should be included in the curriculum because pupils may try to practice them.

Mr Nkwe shared similar sentiments using religion and the notion that Botswana is a Christian country to advance his argument said:

Issues of homosexuals are new in our society that’s why there is resentment on them. Honestly, I never teach about same sex issues or marriages because I don’t know why they happen. This is wrong and students should be discouraged from them. Since Botswana is a Christian country, it is stated in the bible that marriage is between a man and a woman, to have same sex marriages is against our beliefs and culture.

Mr Kgabo insisted that he did not talk about same sex relationships because they are not in the syllabus and against his culture and religion. His comments were:
I do not discuss such issues because they are not part of the curriculum and I also do not see the importance of talking about them. Same sex marriages or relationships are not good to the society since they go against the society’s culture sometimes I even wonder how they reproduce. In Botswana these things are unacceptable and very recently there were demonstrations against gays and lesbians by churches in Botswana, this is an indication that they are against our culture because Botswana is a Christian country and follow the bible. In the bible it is clearly stated that marriage is between a man and a woman, what are these people trying to teach our children? They copy things from other countries and want to bring them here.

Ms Thato who describes herself as a Christian saw same sex relationships as immoral had this to say:

I do not discuss such issues because I am not comfortable talking about them. I am a Christian and I grew up knowing that a man should marry a woman not gays, lesbians or homo sexuality. According to me this is a sin and children should not be taught about such issues. They are also illegal in our country, against our culture and immoral.

Almost all the teachers mentioned that they would not discuss or teach about homosexuality, gays or lesbians because they are against their culture. It is interesting that in talking about their culture they tended to make reference to Christianity, immorality and sin. Teachers also described themselves as Christians and their country as a Christian country. The notion of Batswana seeing themselves as Christians clearly shows the extent to which modernization has permeated the very fabric of the Botswana
society. This is very interesting in that these teachers are unaware of the fact that Christianity and colonialism in Botswana are inseparable as missionaries paved way for the colonization of the Batswana lands. It was Christianity through missionaries that undermined and eroded their culture, identity and religions and has often been associated with promoting the African “Otherness” as it labeled Batswana as uncivilized, barbaric, and illiterate.

**Teachers are faced with numerous challenges in developing citizens**

The findings have shown that teachers are faced with numerous challenges in the development of citizens in primary schools. They attributed these challenges to both the way citizenship education through social studies is structured and practiced and the cultural milieu that students bring to school. Citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana does not exist as an independent subject within the school curriculum but is infused within social studies. Teachers also believed that the culture of learning that students bring from home to school also played a role in citizenship development. The traditional Tswana culture does not allow young children to talk back at elders and asking questions is viewed as bad behavior among the young, therefore, it encourages passivity over active participation. It is against this background that teachers believe that the socialization process of the students poses challenges for democratic citizenship development

**Structural Challenges**

Teachers felt that there were structural challenges that they were faced with and these made it difficult for citizenship education to be taught well. These structural
challenges were in various forms such as a lack of understanding of citizenship education, recognition of the subject and inadequate resources.

*Lack of Understanding of Citizenship Education*

Almost all of the teachers including school-heads talked about a lack of understanding of what citizenship education is and felt that it was important for the concept to be redefined and re-conceptualized within the Botswana context. This lack of understanding was attributed to the ineffectiveness of teacher education and the government’s reluctance to invest in teacher education. Ms Kabo raised an important issue regarding definitional problems that:

I think citizenship education is not clearly defined in Botswana, there is need for teachers to understand what citizenship is and the teacher educators have to equip teachers to be with such knowledge. Teacher education has to play an important role in following their students after training to see if they are doing what they are supposed to do.

Ms Thato slammed the pedagogical aspects of social studies as attributable to definitional problems and said:

social studies, the way it is being taught in primary schools is not that effective, the teachers are not much into developing citizenship as they are more into imparting knowledge because some do not even understand what it is all about.

One of the school-heads, Mr Jeremiah, who has majored in social studies education talked about the controversies that surround citizenship and remarked that:

I was saying that may be the theory that supports the understanding of citizenship is not being understood well because proponents of this theory might be different
themselves and they might be arguing about it themselves not what is real about citizenship so I am saying we have to have a better understanding of this theory to appreciate what they are telling us to know about citizenship. As a society or community in Botswana, we should understand issues of citizenship as they are taught in schools. We should also review them and make some additions where necessary.

From Mr Jeremiah’s comments it could be deduced that citizenship education as taught in schools is alien and therefore called for it to be reimagined. He went further to talk about the ambiguity that characterizes citizenship education as he mentioned that:

like I say I don’t have much background particularly when we talk about citizenship education, we are just teaching social studies as a subject, we do not go deep to citizenship education; what social studies is and what it can be, how it can influence or change the lives to know what social studies is all about. When you talk of citizenship education, it’s something that did not come into my mind, that some of these things you just do them in principle, not knowing that we are educating citizens, how their expectations should be like particularly that they are the rulers of tomorrow

The findings in this category raise serious issues with regards to the teachers’ understandings and interpretations of citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana. There is clear evidence that not only are teachers faced with these challenges but even school-heads who are the drivers of curriculum implementation have shown that they do not understand what social studies or citizenship education is all about.
Lack of Recognition of the Subject

All of the teachers also expressed concerns on how citizenship education through social studies was handled within the school curriculum. They were appalled by the state of affairs concerning the status of social studies in the curriculum as it was totally ignored, not monitored nor supervised and argued that it was left at the mercy of those who teach it. Mr Tau elaborately commented on the lack of recognition that as social studies teachers are concerned about that:

It is only that social studies on its own as compared to other subjects it is not that much monitored. If you look at other subjects you find that they are monitored, they have people who give reports on them on a term basis, but with social studies it is the burden of the teachers who are teaching it. You find that whether you are doing the right thing or not it is upon an individual. Or one would prefer to do it the way they understand it, or the way I was taught from the college. The most important thing is that the Government should recognize that teachers determine the nation or country because right now we have shortage of Social Studies teachers and there is no department that coordinates it like other subjects such as Mathematics and Science.

Ms Lorato also talked about the non existence of a post of responsibility within the establishment and had this to say:

It is only that social studies on its own as compared to other subjects it is not that much monitored. If you look at other subjects you find that they are monitored, they have people who give reports on them on a term basis, but with social studies it is the burden of the teachers who are teaching it. You find that whether you are
doing the right thing or not it is upon an individual. Or one would prefer to do it the way they understand it, or the way I was taught from the college.

The teachers’ concerns were also augmented by the school-heads who expressed a lot of frustration on the state of affairs surrounding the status of social studies within the school establishment. Ms Joseph, who has social studies as a minor had this to say:

There are also no workshops for social studies teachers compared to other subjects. The teachers normally don’t even update themselves with information. They just teach outdated information. They just take things exactly as they are from the syllabus.

Mr Jeremiah lamented on the conspiracy within the government to sabotage their own efforts in citizenship development that:

You See, Like I said earlier on, if people know what social studies is, we would be having somebody heading the department. To the Policy Makers social studies is not important, what is important is Maths and Science, Languages and Arts. That’s why we are having heads of Departments in these areas. When you talk about social studies people will say no, Senior Teacher Sports and Culture would be rightly placed to head that department. Why? Because people don’t really want to know what social studies is about? But somebody somewhere knows what social studies is, and because they think it’s a political subject have decided to ignore it.

He went on to say that:

What I would like to say about social studies as a subject, very important as it is; to the “Powers that be” to know the importance of social studies particularly
when we talk about citizenship education people need to know and understand their roles... Otherwise, if citizenship education is not taken aboard people will be left behind. And I would be very happy if the “powers that be” meaning politicians and policy makers can listen and take note of this, so that at the end of the day we have Senior Teachers; HoD’s for social studies. It is not only about creating jobs but all about educating people and informing them about citizenship education because it is very important.

From these findings it is clear that both the teachers and school-heads expressed frustration and concerns in the way citizenship education is handled and the lack of recognition that exists. The school-heads called for policy makers to inform themselves on citizenship education if indeed they are committed to the development a certain kind of a citizen in Botswana.

Dearth of Teaching Resources

All the teachers spoke about the shortage of resources as one of the challenges that limits citizenship education in their schools. Teachers also recognized the importance of technology in order to be active players in the world. This dearth of resources was experienced across the different subjects. These inadequate materials ranged from technology to teaching materials such as resource books for teachers and funds to carry out educational tours or field trips. Talking about the lack of technology in schools resulting in computer illiteracy Mr Tau said:

I think we are living in a changing world and as such citizens need to have technological skills such as using modern technology devices like the computer, internet and all that is related to them. It appears Batswana are lacking in
scientific skills and knowledge and therefore it is necessary to develop such skills. The government of Botswana has totally neglected primary schools when it comes to technology and therefore this affects the teaching of subjects such as social studies.

Ms Thato explained how the availability of computers would facilitate learning and had this to say:

The resources again i.e. computers, internet where pupils could be researching for themselves, our kids are computer illiterate, so if these things were here in our school, I think our pupils were going to manipulate, they will learn better. We are now living in modern society where all these things are now used. When they interact with other pupils of their age who are using this, they seem to be left behind in a way and those other kids will look down upon them.

From the above dictum, it is clear that teachers are faced with a mammoth task of having to improvise on teaching resources in a world that is constantly changing and getting even more complicated. Teachers also recognized that social studies is a living subject and as such requires them to embark on field trips, however, they expressed that their efforts are void in that there have challenges and Ms Neo had this to say:

Lack of resources or teaching materials such as computers, globes, lack of funds as teachers are not provided with funds to help in teaching citizenship education. For example, if children are to go out for a trip, parents have to pay the money from their pockets and for those who fail to pay their children do not go for that trip. The government has to pay so that all kids benefit. We do not have places of
research as the school library has insufficient resources. Even public libraries sometimes do not have relevant information.

Ms Thato also expressed concerns on her inability to embark on field trips which are essential for students and lamented that:

another one is lack of resources, sometimes you will find that we want pupils to visit certain places to take field trips and due to lack of funds it is difficult for us to search such places, for instance, we talked about different religions, our pupils are used to Christianity or African Traditional Religion because in Botswana these are the dominating religions, when we talk about Islam for instance, we don’t have a mosque here in... Talking about a mosque which your pupil have never been to that place is very difficult for them to understand it, but taking them in a field trip, let’s say to Gaborone to see a mosque, to see the Muslims in real life it becomes difficult.

All these teachers expressed concerns with the inadequate resources and argued that these problems militated against their efforts to develop citizens in their classrooms. It is quite difficult to believe that up to now the recommendations of the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE, 1994) on equipping students with skills for accessing and processing information through Information technology has not been implemented in primary schools. This situation both devalues and de-motivates teachers who are charged with the responsibility of the development of informed and effective citizens in this ever changing world.
Low Teacher Qualifications

Some teachers as Mr Tau, Ms Kabo, Ms Thato and Mr Kgabo also reiterated on the slow upgrading of teachers from primary teachers’ certificate to at least a diploma or bachelors degree in primarily education. They attributed the delay to a lack of recognition of primary school teachers and the role they play in the development of children at a tender age, failure to see the need to improve primary education and a political agenda.

One of the school-heads, Mr Jeremiah, expressed concern and frustrations when he mentioned that:

It has taken the powers that be a long time to upgrade the qualifications of teachers at primary- it has taken time- this has brought a lot of challenges because if you are upgraded to a higher level/qualification, it means that it affects one’s salary; therefore upgrading of teachers has financial implications. So it is better for them to leave the teachers at a lower qualifications level so that their remuneration should be there- but it has taken time for people to understand that it is not about paying somebody, it is about bringing quality education because for as long as you are upgraded academically, then you will be able to bring about quality education.

The teachers’ argument was that the slow upgrading of teachers to a higher level is not based on financial implications on the side of the government but rather on the fact that a primary school teacher cannot earn that amount of money. They believe that they are stereotyped and degraded at the expense of the quality of education provided. Teachers believed that as a result of these stereotypes, their morale was very low.
Socialization and Cultural Practices

Almost all of the teachers felt that the socialization and culture of their students presented challenges for them in developing citizens. Teachers argued that some students were not participating in class due to their perceptions on education and their socialization.

Lack of Participation

Almost all the teachers talked about the challenge of students’ participation. Teachers provided reasons for some of their students not participating in class. Some teachers argued that the way the girl child is socialized at home may be responsible for their lack of participation in class. Mr Tau said that: “Culture is also a problem as girls don’t want to become leaders in school but we try as much as possible to encourage them to be positive and have an input”. Ms Batho though not focusing on the girl-child also talked about the socialization process saying: “Whereas some due to how they have been brought up cannot feel free to say some issues concerning them and are at times unwilling to share their ideas with others”.

Mr Kgabo talked about the family background as influencing students’ participation and said:

Some lack motivation because of their family background, some are from poor families, their parents don’t know the importance of education, so when the kids come here in school, they only wait for the bell to ring to go home. They just come because they are told to come but the parents don’t tell them the importance of education.

The challenges raised by these teachers under this category are important in that they reflect disparities between the realities of the school and the home. These realities are
indicative that the culture of the school and the home are totally different which may explain why students are passive in class and call for teacher educators, curriculum developers and teachers to reconsider the cultural milieu that students bring to school and how it impacts the learning process.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of a study on teachers’ conceptualizations, experiences and practices on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana. The findings of this study reflect a wide spectrum of ideas and views about the social studies teachers’ understandings, interpretations and practices of citizenship education within the Botswana context. These findings have revealed enormous contradictions, paradoxes and challenges on citizenship education in the primary schools that participated in the study. Citizenship education is a complex concept and teachers need to understand what it means in order for them to be able to provide citizenship education that is relevant to the needs of the society it serves. There is clear evidence that citizenship education is not well understood and the way it is taught and practiced in schools raises more questions than answers. Based on these findings, citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana needs to be reimagined and reconceptualized such that it becomes meaningful to both the teachers and the recipients of such an education.
CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I focus on the discussion of the findings and their implications on teaching, learning and research. The purpose of this study was to explore the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of developing citizens in a democracy. This involved understanding the teachers’ conceptualizations, views, beliefs, experiences and practices with regards to citizenship education in Botswana primary schools. The study sought to interrogate the major question on: “What are the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of citizenship education in a democracy?

The following broad research questions were formulated to guide the research: 1. What do social studies teachers think and say about citizenship education in Botswana primary schools? 2. How do social studies teachers prepare students for citizenship in their classrooms? 3. Are there any issues or problems in the schools regarding citizenship education, if any, what can be done? 4. What are the curricular and other implications of the findings for developing effective and functional citizens in Botswana? The study used post colonial theory to interrogate the teachers’ interpretations and understanding of citizenship education and to highlight that mainstream academic knowledge in post
colonial societies continues to ignore, marginalize and suppress other forms of knowledge.

**Summary of Research**

After a thorough investigation into the social studies teachers’ perceptions and practices of educating citizens in a democracy, seven major findings emerged and these were that: 1. Teachers’ conceptualize citizenship in multiple ways. 2. Teachers’ experiences and relationships influence how they think about citizenship education. 3. Teachers teach about the world from a “Motswana” worldview. 4. There are contradictions between what teachers’ believe they do and what actually transpires in their teaching. 5. The paradox of teaching about Botswana as Citizenship Education. 6. Teachers acknowledge the merits of teaching controversial issues while finding it difficult to discuss some issues with their students. 7. Teachers are faced with numerous challenges in developing democratic citizens. The findings in this study paint a gloomy picture on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana and if the situation remains as is, then citizenship education will remain an illusion rather than a reality.

In this last chapter, I focus on the discussion of these findings and their implications thereof for teaching, learning and research on social studies and citizenship education in particular. The discussion mainly focuses on three pertinent challenges that emerged from the study and they are: 1. The challenge of conflicting goals on citizenship education. 2. The challenge of culturally relevant pedagogy. 3. The challenge of the status of citizenship education in the curriculum. I offer major implications for the study that are based on ameliorating the situation in terms of standards and practices of
citizenship education in Botswana directed towards social studies teachers, policy makers, curriculum developers and teacher education.

**Discussion: Towards A Critical Citizenship Education Framework**

*The Challenge of Conflicting Goals on Citizenship Education*

The findings in this study have shown that teachers are faced with numerous challenges and among them the conflicting goals on citizenship education. Teachers on a day to day basis have to grapple with balancing the notion of developing a good citizen who is loyal, compliant, peaceful and patriotic (“Real Motswana”) with one who is critical and global. This notion of developing an ideal citizen of Botswana who is a “Real Motswana”, critical and global poses a major challenge for teachers since it is not easy to develop someone who is compliant and critical at the same time. Citizenship education in Botswana through social studies aims to facilitate in learners the attainment of knowledge, development of skills and promotion of desirable attitudes needed to function as informed, productive and responsible citizens (MoE, 205, p. 147).

The MoE further articulates its mission through the syllabus as promoting critical thinking, cultural identity, good citizenship, tolerance and social and environmental responsibility. Good citizenship among teachers was interpreted along virtuous characteristics of “being obedient, law abiding, patriotic, and well mannered and having botho, being honest, tolerant and peaceful”. However, Kahne and Westheimer (2006) are quick to remind us that though such democratic values of tolerance, respect for individual and group identities and concerns for the greater good are of fundamental importance, they are not enough for democratic citizenship as it requires more than good deeds. They
contend that democratic citizens must also possess content knowledge of issues and analytical skills for informed decision making, the ability to dialogue with people who hold different perspectives from theirs and promote their own goals in contentious political arenas.

All the teachers also saw a “good” citizen as someone who is honest, kind, loving, and transparent and has botho and according to Mr Tau, “If someone is honest, the person will always like things to be done in a good manner so that nobody is hurt and will always want good outcomes”. Ms Neo described a good citizen in terms of pride of being a Motswana and mentioned that:

As a citizen I think you have to be proud of being a real Motswana and your country. We have to work hard for our country so that we develop Botswana, we should love and protect this country-protect it from people who want to destroy it or commit crime. If you are a good citizen your behavior should be accepted in the community, they should know what is expected from them as citizens of a country starting from the school setup to the community level.

The conception of a good citizen among these teachers is that someone should aspire for good behavior characterized by tolerance, hard work, peace, consensus, and patriotism and avoid any confrontations and disagreements.

This conformity to community values are associated with avoidance of confrontation which is embedded in the Setswana culture where people would rather opt for consensus in order to promote peace and unity, as a dissenting view is often perceived as arrogance (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004; Scanlon,2002). The teachers’ views on
citizenship should be understood in light of the country’s history and colonialism, the view that it is a new and emerging democracy and its aspirations for nation building. At independence the national education strategy was geared towards nation building which translated into social harmony (*kagisano*), interdependence, mutual assistance (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004) and unity.

Scanlon (2002) in her evaluation of the national education policies in Botswana discovered that education was not meant to develop critical thinkers. The idea of not instilling critical thinking was based on the fear that too much awareness of one’s rights might lead to people who can challenge the status quo, a situation that was not desirable at that time since it posed a threat to authoritarian liberalism practiced in the country (Scanlon, 2002). Such a citizen who holds so much affection and pride in his or her country as well as working towards the approval of the community he or she comes from is hard to be critical of national issues and events.

Such notions of citizenship that are based on forms of allegiance to the nation and national pride are what Waghid (2009) refers to as blind patriotism. He argues that blind patriotism has nothing to do with developing democratic citizens because both totalitarian and democratic governments need patriotism. His contention is that creating democratic citizenship requires creating civil spaces for learners to learn about others’ differences, engaging deliberatively with others and establishing an apparent appreciation of the rights of oneself and others and respect for the rule of law (Waghid, 2009, p.401).

Another goal for citizenship education that emerged in this study is that of developing citizens who can think critically. Teachers also saw the importance of
developing critical thinkers as an aspect of good citizenship. The dilemma then lies with the salient national goal of developing citizens who are compliant and obedient on the other hand and critical and self-reliant on the other side. The notion of developing citizens who are critical was emphasized by Mr. Tau during our interviews when he mentioned that:

I believe in developing citizens who are curious and questioning. I want children who question what I say and not only accept what I say as it is. Citizens who can analyze and critique issues and ask questions, for example; are we following the principles of democracy? Do they understand the principles of democracy? Be proud to be a teacher who taught pupils critical thinking skills.

The notion of developing critical thinkers contradicts the government’s goal of developing compliant and submissive people as observed by Scanlon (2002) aimed at promoting peace, and unity which are the building blocks of nation building and social harmony (*kagisano*). Mr Tau’s views are in agreement with Anderson et al (1997) who contend that citizenship education should help students to question the status quo, develop critical thinking and questioning skills and encourage open-mindedness and tolerance. This model of citizenship education is what Banks (2008) refers to as the transformational model in that it views citizenship as a process of socialization and counter socialization.

Transformational learning is augmented by Waghid (2009) who when advocating for deliberation in promoting critical thinking among learners argues that democratic citizenship education has in mind that teachers and students should engage in deliberation
through argument and narrative and deconstructing meanings that are always inconclusive. Hahn (2001) is a strong proponent of deliberation in democratic citizenship education as it affords citizens to learn how to explore, debate, and make decisions about public policy issues. One wonders if teachers are prepared enough with content knowledge, skills and pedagogies to be able to deal with the dynamics related to the conflicting goals on citizenship education. From the classroom observations I made, it appeared teachers lacked the skills to provoke a discussion or debate in their teaching. Dilworth and Mathews (2008) contend that teachers hold their own preconceived notions of citizenship and even when they are exposed to transformative academic knowledge as content knowledge during their training they are still reluctant to incorporate it into their thinking, classroom practices and the curriculum.

Another goal of citizenship education that teachers mentioned is that of developing citizens who are world-minded. The Botswana government through its national document popularly referred to as Vision 2016 (Presidential Task Group, 1997) acknowledges the impact of globalization, the advent of change and the role that Botswana as a country has to play in the global arena. There is a clear indication that the government recognizes the interactions between Batswana and people from diverse foreign cultures or the global society and calls for the preparation of students for life, citizenship and the world of work, and the maintenance of traditional values of botho (Presidential Task Group, 1997).

The Botswana government’s concern is augmented by Banks (2008) who opines that “schools need to work hard to implement multicultural citizenship which recognizes
the right and need for students to maintain commitments to their cultural communities, to transnational community and to the nation-state in which they are legal citizens” (p. 134). Given the findings from this study I cannot stop and wonder if teachers are prepared enough to deal with global issues in their teaching. Teachers as the critical players in the education of young children have embraced such national endeavors of developing citizens who can fit in the world market. In describing a global citizen Ms Lorato mentioned that:

You see, global citizens are people who are able to relocate, seek employment in other countries, being able to cope and live with people who are not similar to you. And these citizens travel to different places and have the ability to adapt to situations. Since there is no employment these days one must not just stay here at home but go to other countries to search for employment since we are living in a global world or village… They are determined to gain experience, knowledge and money through traveling to other countries.

It is interesting that these teachers brought up the issue of jobs and immigration which have been associated with xenophobia in the Southern Africa region including Botswana. Waghid (2009) in critiquing the South African ‘Oath of Allegiance’ argues that it focuses on South Africans only, therefore, promoting the welfare of South Africans poses a dilemma in that it does not seem to protect “outsiders” or immigrants nor provide respect for their rights which may as well rekindle feelings of xenophobia that have characterized South Africa today. The notion of transnational’s and immigration have become topical in the citizenship discourse, however, it is important to take note of Banks
(2008) argument that citizenship education should help students to develop an identity and attachments to the global community and human connection to people around the world.

Teachers mentioned that they covered issues about the world in their teaching which were socio-political such as poverty, xenophobia, refugees and, conflicts and wars. They also said that they covered environmental issues and natural disasters; economic issues; cross-cultural learning; and global connections through topics like communications and technology, trade and international relations and international migration. However, it was interesting that they discussed world issues from a Motswana worldview by concentrating on issues that were immediate and of relevance to them as well as having an impact in their lives.

The teachers’ position on teaching about the world from a Motswana perspective is not surprising in that there is a developing trend in the citizenship discourse that for citizenship education to meet the challenges of the changing world, it has to do away with national borders, infuse global perspectives and develop the knowledge and skills of world-mindedness (Merryfield and Duty, 2008; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2001). The notion of the diminishing borders and globalization have been viewed with mixed feelings as they have given rise to issues of xenophobia and identity politics in Botswana (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

Though teachers understand the need to be part of the global society, it should be borne in mind that such issues of globalization and global citizenship might be viewed with skepticism as they have been associated with the ‘new imperialism’ in Tickly’s
(2004) words and neo-colonialism in the post colonial discourse. Some scholars advocating for the reading of the western episteme with a critical lens (Ali, 2008; Adjei and Dei, 2008; Tickly, 2004) are very wary about the globalization discourse arguing that the playing field is not leveled because Africa as a continent is not involved in world decision making processes, therefore, querying how it can be considered part of the global world. Their argument is that globalization is meant to expand the literary canon, and perpetuate western hegemony and African “Otherness”

*The Challenge of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy*

Social studies is the only subject within the school curriculum entrusted with studying societal problems and contemporary issues. This requires the social studies teachers to use teaching methods that are cognizant of the dynamism of the social environment that their students come from (Mautle, 2000). Teachers are confronted with the challenge to use methods of teaching that are congruent with the learning styles and cultures of the students they teach. However, there seem to be confusion with regards to the methods of teaching, skills development and assessment techniques used by the social studies teachers.

This confusion supports observations made earlier in research that “our challenge is to teach in creative ways that will ensure interpretation of the concepts within the learners’ social milieu” (Mautle, 2000, p. 166), as this is the only way learning can be meaningful to the learners. The major challenge facing social studies teachers and teacher educators today is to find creative and dynamic ways of involving learners in the teaching and learning process. Skills and attitudes can only be learned through practice and having
students involved in the learning process, and providing opportunities for them to act and reflect on their own social world in order to create valuable experiences and lessons for the future.

The findings in this study have revealed a lot of contradictions between the teachers’ beliefs and actions. All teachers who participated in the study believed that they used child centered methods in their teaching, developed democratic participatory skills and used a variety of assessment techniques but what I observed in their classrooms was totally the opposite of what they said they were doing. What I observed was that teachers used transmission methods such as lecture and question and answer methods and standardized assessment techniques such as quizzes and tests only. The same observation was made by Evans (2006) on his study on English and Canadian teachers where he found that teachers on the whole tended to rely on paper and pencil assessment strategies that focused on knowledge acquisition as opposed to the development of skills.

The use of transmission methods such as the lecture method may be attributed to meeting some curriculum standards such as the examinations as teachers talked about teaching for examinations in order to cover the subject matter within a short period of time. Mr Tau emphasized this point on teaching for examinations when saying that “… Though I like to use a variety of methods that are child-centered, sometimes I am forced to use the lecture method because it allows me to cover the content within the allocated time. After all what is important in the end is for students to pass the examinations and not how they were taught”.

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The sentiments expressed by Mr Tau, though true, are worrisome as they impact negatively on the students’ morale, decrease their interest in learning and may contribute to dropouts and lower retention rates in schools. Most importantly they demotivate teachers as they limit them of their professional outlook and decision making to choose content and to set their own instructional priorities and methods. The same situation seems to be experienced in the United States as it is argued that “Ironically, or perhaps not, standardized curriculum and high stakes testing directly contradict efforts, such as shared decision making, to make schools more democratic, responsive to local needs, and supportive to teacher development and reflective practice” (Mathison, Ross and Vinson, 2006, p.111).

The contradictions were observed in the classrooms and interviews which basically caused a lot of concern. The following is an excerpt from Ms Batho’s classroom practices where she believed she was using a child centered approach to teaching

(Student are seated in groups and quickly stand up as I enter the classroom. They greet me and sit down. The teacher briefly introduces me and tells them that they should participate as they usually do)

Teacher: (Talking to the whole class) Today we are going to learn about the culture of a Motswana child. You are going to learn about culture so that you can display a good culture for the whole year. What is culture to you? Anyone who can tell us what culture is?

Student 1: Culture is a way of a people’s life

Student 2: Culture is something that people have

Student 3: Culture is where people belong

Teacher: (Talking to the whole class) Do you agree with what they have said?

Class: Yes
The excerpt from Ms Batho’s classroom practice clearly shows that she was using both the lecture and question and answer method and students were basically seated in groups which do not necessarily mean that she is using group work. Following up on her lesson during an interview, I asked her about the types of methods she normally uses in her teaching of social studies and Ms Batho said:

I use child centred methods such as inquiry where student go out to find information on their own or investigate issues in groups; Project Method where student have to come up with a finished product; Group work where I encourage cooperation, respect and tolerance as well as participation by all. These child centred methods are important in the development of different skills such as research, communication and analytical skills; map-reading and reasoning skills.

The findings of this study suggest that the teachers’ pedagogical practices tended to be incongruent with their views as they were teacher dominated and supported the recent findings of a study conducted among English and Canadian teachers that indicated that “teacher-led approaches to citizenship-related topics were predominant in the classroom, with more participatory, active approaches less commonly used” (Evans, 2006, p.426).

Teachers also believed that they developed democratic participatory skills through the use of group work as shown in the excerpt above from Ms Batho’s interview and observation notes while in fact what they termed group work was only a seating arrangement. In observing school activities, I found that students were not given the opportunity to be involved in decision making may it be in sports, debate or participating in traditional group activities. Teachers always made decisions on grouping and activities
to be undertaken and students had to do what their teachers told them. The development of skills should always be accompanied by practice which was not the case in these classrooms as students were not engaged in any meaningful activities geared towards developing a repertoire of skills.

Democratic participation skills include the ability to: listen, express and challenge opinions and reasons; participate in classroom, school and decision making; participate in group discussions of public issues within the community, nationally and internationally with people with views different from yours; engaging in discussions leading to mediating, negotiating and compromising; working cooperatively to clarify tasks; and accessing, using, and planning community resources (Parker, 2001; Sears and Hughes, 1996).

I also observed that teachers believed that they were giving their students group work while they were only asking them to memorize and regurgitate the facts in their textbooks. The following is an excerpt from Mr Kgabo’s classroom observation when teaching about traditional and modern forms of cooperation:

**Teacher**: Today we will be looking at forms of cooperation. There are two types of cooperation. The traditional and the modern ways of cooperation. These are ways in which Batswana have been using to cooperate.

**Teacher**: I am going to give you some papers to write the things that Batswana used to work together in the past.

*(Teacher distributes some manila papers to the students in their groups and students are asked to write about the forms of cooperation in the past- what they used to do to work together).*

**Teacher**: Make sure that you write about the activities that people did in the olden days to help one another. Just write it even if is not correct, we will find out. *(Students quickly gather around their tables, open their textbooks and start talking and writing while the teacher moves around to assist them)*

**Teacher**: Can you please take your seats and let us hear what the first group has.

**Group1** *(One student stands up to read what they have written)* Forms of cooperation: gathering wild fruits, *Molaletsa.*
The excerpt from Mr Kgabo’s lesson observation notes further indicates the extent to which the teachers relied on the textbooks for their teaching and how group work as a child centered method is perceived. This over-reliance by teachers on the pupils’ textbook as a resource, teaching aid, reference and authority was very troubling to me. These findings dovetails with Mhlauli (2000) that textbooks in schools are seen as authority and teachers’ rely heavily on them.

The teachers’ perceptions of employing child centered pedagogy are not surprising in that the Social Studies syllabus for upper primary (MoE, 205) clearly stipulates that teachers should use learner-centered pedagogies that call for active participation through a variety of methods such as debates, presentations, role-play, inquiry, drawing, observations, field trips and guest speakers. However, the use of child-centered methods as advocated for by the MoE (2005) have proved futile as teachers seem to lack understanding in them, hence their purported use have been a waste of the students’ and teachers’ time and efforts.

Some scholars have attributed the ineffectiveness of child-centered approaches to a lack of compatibility between such methods with the culture of the students (Tabulawa, 2003; Mautle, 2000; Prophet, 1987) and a lack of training of teachers on such methods (Merryfield, 1986). In a study conducted in science classrooms in secondary schools in Botswana it was observed that:

Within the Botswana context, for example, the values instilled in the home are in fundamental disagreement with the spirit of enquiry required in school science. Within the family, a rigid rote learning approach to child rearing is used which is directed towards a mannerly, conforming and industrious person. An innovative
critical attitude is actively discouraged and this is probably reflected in the
passive, accepting atmosphere observed in the classroom. Learning is unreflective
and by rote, the teachers setting themselves as authority figures whose word is not
questioned, and most pupils simply want clear instructions of what to is expected
of them and clear standards against which they must perform (Prophet, 1987, p.
12).

It is surprising that after two decades since the afore findings were published, there seem
to be no change in classroom practices and teaching approaches used in schools.

This situation on teacher practices raises questions on the quality of education for
both the Ministry of Education and Teacher Education Institutions. Furthermore, it
questions the quality and impact of innovations introduced ever since the implementation
of the first National Commission on Education (Education for Kagisanyo, 1977) and its
successor, the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE, 1994). The observation by
Prophet (1987) justifies the concern for the presentation of child centered pedagogies as
universal with no consideration of the context within which they are applied (Tabulawa,
2003). In another study conducted by Tabulawa (1998) on teachers’ practices in senior
secondary schools in Botswana it was found that students resisted the use of child
centered methods such as group work and discussions and preferred teacher-centered
methods.

Teachers are faced with the struggle of having to implement the requirements as
prescribed in the social studies curriculum and this poses a lot of challenges. Such child-
centered methods advocated for by the social studies curriculum do not include any
pedagogies that are based on the students’ culture and ways of knowing, that is to say,
indigenous forms of knowing such as riddles, proverbs and storytelling (Grant and Asimeng-Boahene, 2006). Tabulawa (2003) is very critical about these ‘so called’ learner centered pedagogies that their treatment as a “one-size-fits-all” approach to teaching is hegemonic as it marginalizes other forms of knowing such as indigenous knowledge systems.

Smith-Crocco (2005) arguing against the social studies teachers’ use of approaches that are based on western cultural values suggests that teachers should consider curriculum choices as they can either sustain imperialist ways of engaging the world or open up a middle ground between ethnocentrism and cultural relativism. It is further recommended that Africans of which Batswana are part of, need to invent alternative culturally relevant pedagogies that are based on their indigenous heritage and knowledge systems (Tabulawa, 2003). I tend to subscribe to the idea of developing indigenous pedagogies in Africa because it has been argued elsewhere that the African continent is replete with cultural tools that have nurtured vast civilizations as Ancient Egypt, Asante and Zulu kingdoms and has long been acknowledged as the cradle of civilization yet its cultural tools remain untapped (Adjei and Dei, 2008; Grant and Asimeng-Boahene, 2006). African scholars in the field are challenged to gather courage to study their own history in order to search for answers that would address our contemporary needs (Adjei and Dei, 2008).

The recommendation made by Tabulawa (2003) is in line with Ladson-Billings (1994) theory of culturally relevant pedagogy where she contends that for learning to be meaningful it has to be aligned to the socio-cultural setting of the child. In an effort to broaden notions of pedagogy beyond the highly credited psychological models, Ladson-
Billings (1995) proposes culturally relevant teaching as a theoretical perspective that takes into consideration the racial, ethnic and cultural characteristics of the teachers and students. She suggests that culturally relevant teaching must meet the following three criteria: “an ability to develop students academically, willingness to nurture and support cultural competence, and the development of a socio-political or critical consciousness” (Ladson-Billings, 1995).

I believe that teachers and teacher educators in Botswana can learn a lot from this theory if they can adopt the tenets of culturally relevant teaching as outlined in Ladson-Billings (1994) that it focuses on students’ achievement with the following considerations: 1. Students whose educational, economic, social, political, and cultural futures are most tenuous are helped to become intellectual leaders in the classroom, 2. Students are apprenticed in a learning community rather than taught in isolated and unrelated way, 3. Students’ real life experiences are legitimized as they become part of the “official” curriculum, 4. Students and teachers engage in a collective struggle against the status quo, 5. Teachers’ are cognizant of themselves as political beings. Such considerations for culturally relevant pedagogy might help in the search for better and appropriate pedagogies that are relevant to the socio-cultural needs of Batswana children.

The findings in this study on the use of child-centered methods support documented evidence in social studies classrooms across the African continent (Mautle, 2000; Adeyemi, 2000, Asimeng-Boahene, 2000; Tabulawa, 1998; Harber, 1997, Merryfield and Muyanda-Mutebi, 1991) that the use of problem based learning has been an ideal in most social studies classrooms in Africa as teachers have not been trained towards the use of such methods. These findings make it urgent for the Ministry of
Education, Teacher Educators and Teachers to reexamine critical issues regarding teaching methods and classroom practices in schools in order to bridge the gap that has been revealed by research undertaken at different levels of the education system.

The Challenge of the Status of Citizenship Education in the Curriculum.

Historically, social studies as a vehicle through which citizenship education is taught has been plagued by controversies and debates over its nature, purpose and methods (Ross, 2006) and this has led to some people dismissing it as a subject (Thornton, 2005). All teachers in the study expressed frustrations at the status of social studies within the curriculum. Citizenship education in Botswana is not taught as a separate subject but is infused within the social studies. Teachers lamented on structural inequalities that hamper the delivery of citizenship education in primary schools and among the many cited the following: lack of recognition; inadequate resources; lower qualifications and a lack of understanding of citizenship education. They also cited challenges emanating from the culture of the society they live in which included the socialization of children and lack of participation in class activities.

Though teachers were aware of the various challenges they are faced with, they also attributed them to conspiracy theories which they believed were political. This notion of conspiracy is explicitly stated by Mr Jeremiah that: “I think to some extent social studies on its own is a political subject and if this can be brought to the attention of the teachers there is going to be a problem”. Therefore, from the excerpt of Mr Jeremiah’s interview it can be deduced that the lack of recognition of social studies within the curriculum was seen as deliberate and aimed at producing citizens who are compliant, uncritical and cannot challenge the status quo. This situation is troubling in that it defies
the fundamental principle within which social studies is grounded that of preparing citizens in a democracy by equipping them with the knowledge, skills and values necessary for active participation (Adler and Sim, 2008; Ross, 2006; Hahn, 2001).

The inadequate resources in schools is generally disappointing given the country’s economic growth over the years, one would expect schools to be widely resourced in terms of teaching and learning materials. One of the aims of the upper social studies curriculum as stated in the syllabus (MoE, 2005) is that: “Learners should have developed skills for accessing and processing of information using information technology (IT). This aim is ridiculous in view of the fact that schools are not equipped with computers and the very few schools that I observed with one or two computers were acquired through donations. Only one school had about twelve computers and all of them were acquired through a donation from the business community through the efforts of the school and their Member of Parliament.

Some schools did not even have a single computer. The question is “how do you expect students to acquire computer skills when teachers themselves do not have them and the majority are computer illiterate?” This situation has serious implications for teaching and learning if indeed social studies is meant to facilitate in learners “the attainment of knowledge, develop skills and promote desirable attitudes needed to function as informed, productive and responsible citizens” (MoE, 2005, p. 147). Given the above mentioned state of affairs, it remains to be seen how teachers can perform miracles of teaching information technology without the required resources.

It is also not surprising that teachers are faced with the challenge of a lack of understanding of citizenship education as an area of study. There is a plethora of
evidence that alludes to the complexity, contentious and rigorous debate surrounding the definition of citizenship education, its purpose and pedagogy (Adler and Sim, 2008; Hahn, 2001). This situation among teachers in Botswana is exacerbated by the fact that citizenship education is defined in the western sense. Ogunyemi (2008) opines that the current approach to citizenship education in most African countries of which Botswana is included, draws largely from the position articulated by the United States National Council on Social Studies (NCSS) that social studies should focus on helping young people to develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an increasingly interdependent world around them.

Therefore, the way citizenship education is defined within the school curriculum does not match the political reality within which the school is based. This creates a problem for teachers who struggle continuously to make learning more meaningful to the learners. Therefore, for citizenship education to be meaningful as educators “our challenge is to teach in creative ways that will ensure interpretation of the concepts within the learners’ social milieu” (Mautle, 2000). The question is: Is this too much to ask for from teachers, teacher educators, policy makers and curriculum developers? I believe together we can do this!

Teachers also cited the lack of participation by students in class activities as a challenge for developing citizens. This lack of participation was attributed to the socialization of the girl-child and the boy child in the Setswana culture. Teachers argued in their focus groups that that from a tender age boys and girls are socialized differently being told that “a man should be strong and never cries” and that “a woman is not heard
but seen”. This differential treatment of girls and boys at home impacts negatively on their participation in class activities.

It is also crucial to note that the school culture where students have to participate through asking questions, speaking directly looking at the teacher’s eyes, and supporting arguments totally contradicts the home culture where asking questions may be seen as being rude or inquisitive, and looking directly at an adult’s (teacher’s) eyes when talking to them and answering back (deliberation) may be viewed as disrespect. The teachers’ arguments are supported in Tabulawa (1998) who contends that the Tswana society emphasizes structures of domination and subordination of the child to his or her elders and children internalize these at a tender age and when they come to school they bring with them that ‘cultural baggage’. This, therefore, shows how the home experiences and relationships influence the teaching and learning process in the schools.

**Implications for the Study**

In this section of the chapter, I discuss the implications of the study with the hope that they will in future trigger or influence the teaching, learning, research and policy formulation on social studies as a subject within which citizenship education is taught. The implications are targeted at teacher educators, social studies teachers, curriculum developers, and policy makers primarily because they are major players in citizenship education in Botswana primary schools.

*Teacher Education*

The findings in this study have revealed numerous contradictions and paradoxes in citizenship education in Botswana primary schools. The paradoxes revolve around teaching about Botswana as citizenship education. Though at independence, this was
relevant, it now raises concern as the discourse of citizenship education has undergone tremendous changes over the years and continues to change as citizenship education is quite a complex and debatable issue. The citizenship education literature has broadened in scope to include contemporary issues of global citizenship (Evans, Ingram, MacDonald, and Weber, 2009), world mindedness and global perspectives (Merryfield and Subedi, 2008), and globalization (Castles, 2004; Nyamnjoh, 2006) to name but a few and controversial issues such as sexism and issues of sexuality or LGBT issues (Jennings, 2006), gender and prejudice (Smith-Crocco, 2006) and racism (Rains, 2006). This growth in the literature calls for teacher educators who are well prepared to deal with such issues and be in a position to infuse them in their teacher education programs to keep up to date.

The findings in this study have shown that there are contradictions between teachers’ beliefs and actions as what they believe in does not at all correspond with what they practice. Teacher educators need to revisit their curriculum to see the extent to which it has incorporated recent developments in the area of citizenship and global education if indeed they aim to develop teachers who can compete in the globally interconnected world that they live in today. There is need for them to infuse global perspectives in their programs and this can be done by creating exchange programs and study abroad programs for in-service and pre-service teachers to benchmark and learn about what is taking place in other parts of the world.

The confusion emanating from the teachers’ interpretation of child-centered methods, development of skills and assessment techniques calls for a thorough evaluation of teacher education programs. Teacher educators need to re-examine their pedagogical stances and practices as they may have an influence on the teachers’ classroom practices.
as observed by Mautle (2000) that teacher educators preach child-centered methods while their classrooms are characterized by the lecture method. This disparity may be accountable for the confusion and contradictions currently being observed in the classrooms. Furthermore, there is need to develop a collaborative link between pre-service and in-service programs such that teacher educators can follow up on their students to see if they practice what they learned during their teacher education.

The current situation where teacher education only concentrates on developing teachers during pre-service and as soon as they complete their studies they are handed to the In-service department in the Ministry of Education (MoE) is not proving to be successful as it creates loopholes and there is continued lack of continuity, monitoring and evaluation. Teacher educators should also be concerned about the novice teachers and offer to provide them with workshops in order to improve the quality of their education and provide professional expertise in the area of social studies. They also have to conduct research in the area of social studies in order to influence policy, practice and theory.

Curriculum Developers

The findings in this study have shown that teachers are faced with challenges that range from their understanding of the concept of citizenship education, use of child-centered methods as prescribed in the curriculum, lack of resources such as technology, use of assessment strategies that are in line with the nature of examinations in the country. These findings basically challenge the legitimacy and existence of the curriculum development unit within the Ministry of Education (MoE) as it develops the curriculum and does not follow up on whether the curriculum meets its intended goals.
These findings therefore, call on curriculum developers to re-think their approach to curriculum development and evaluation.

Curriculum developers should also re-examine the level of teacher involvement in curriculum planning and development because the idea of picking a few teachers to be part of a task force that reviews the curriculum only at a particular point in time has proved to be a failure as teachers only come in to rubber-stamp what has already been approved. The minimalist approach to teacher involvement in curriculum planning and development may have a huge influence on how the curriculum is interpreted, understood and implemented. There is empirical evidence that support the view that the standardized curriculum which is delivered in standardized ways and determined by other people who are very distant from the particular circumstances of classrooms, schools, and neighborhoods and where teachers are regarded as conduits of content knowledge has a negative impact on curriculum implementation (Mathison, Ross and Vinson, 2006).

There is need to develop permanent subject panels that are continually addressing problems and issues related to the teaching and assessment of social studies in order to insure continuity and scrutiny during curriculum implementation and review. Failure to develop standing panels and mechanisms for monitoring progress in social studies may also have contributed to the problems and confusion evident so far. Teachers also need to be given workshops continuously to keep them up to date with emerging trends in social studies and assisting them with relevant approaches and skills necessary for implementing the new curriculum. The current trend in social studies is that teachers never get any workshops on social studies but have to watch other teachers from Mathematics, Science, English, Guidance and Counseling and Practical Subjects being
invited by the In-service department for such workshops. How then are the social studies teachers expected to perform better in their teaching in these appalling circumstances?

Social Studies Teachers

Teachers expressed a lot frustration at the way social studies is treated within the school curriculum and these revolved around: 1. the lack of recognition of the subject within the school establishment 2. inadequate teaching resources and 3. lack of understanding of citizenship education. These challenges that teachers are faced with, though structural, can be overcome by a teaching force that is proactive. These findings call for teachers to be actors in their profession to influence and change policy. This can happen if teachers form a Social Studies Association for lobbying, teacher development, sharing of ideas through conferences, and development of subject panels at regional levels to discuss issues relating to challenges, practices and pedagogy. An active teaching force has the potential to influence both theory and practice.

The formulation of a social studies association can provide a platform within which teachers can debate, discuss and resolve a number of issues relating to the teaching and learning of citizenship education and the growth of social studies as a subject. The complacency among social studies teachers may be hurting the growth of social studies more than they even think. Teachers also need to engage in action research to offer solutions to long term problems related to their practice. Teachers also need to be motivated by providing them with school based and external workshops to improve the teaching and learning process. An evaluation of teacher practices in social studies classrooms needs to be done by the teachers themselves in order to diagnose their own strengths and weaknesses for further redress and improvement.
Policy Makers

Policy makers need to be reminded that democracy is not genetically inherited, it has to be learned, cultivated and practiced for it to prosper (Harher and Serf, 2006) and citizens do not spring from nowhere as they need to be taught desirable attitudes, values, beliefs, skills and knowledge requisite for them to become effective citizens in a democracy. The findings in this study reflect serious flaws in the way citizenship education is perceived, interpreted and enacted within the social studies curriculum. Teachers are demoralized as they find themselves teaching a subject that appears to be a white elephant as it is not monitored with no Head of Department or at least a Senior Teacher.

The state of the teaching resources is still appalling more especially the lack of provision of basic technology such as computers and internet despite the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE, 1994) recommendation for students to be equipped with Information Technology (IT) skills since they live in a technologically changing world. There is need for policy makers to recognize the role of the social studies teachers in developing and nurturing citizenship by creating a post of responsibility for social studies as their discontent can either break or build a nation. The teaching of citizenship education also needs to be reimagined within Botswana primary schools given the emerging trends of globalization, identity politics and the growing feeling of disenfranchisement among the minority groups.

They also need to familiarize themselves with the conditions in schools such that they can be able to influence policy effectively. There seem to be a disconnect between policy makers and practitioners hence the need for the two to have a forum to discuss
issues of policy implementation. There is need for a more inclusive, transparent and cohesive national conversation on education in order to inform policy direction in Botswana schools. Teachers as practitioners need to be engaged in policy making decisions as they are familiar with classroom conditions and can speak to them with clarity and confidence.

There is a strong belief that citizenship education is learned formally through schooling and social studies in particular, but most of what students learn on citizenship education is acquired informally (Preece and Mosweunyane, 2004). It is imperative for policy makers and other stakeholders to be informed on what is happening in schools in order to make informed decisions as parents, government officials and active citizens. This study forms a landmark in providing relevant information on teacher thinking and practices on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana and charts the way forward for further research.

Areas for Further Research

This study is an attempt to provide information on teachers’ thinking and experiences on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana. The findings in this study have revealed numerous contradictions, paradoxes and challenges that hopefully would spark more research in the area of social studies and citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana. Since this study was based on selected teachers in a particular area in Botswana calls for a larger study at national level to understand teachers’ understandings and practices in social studies and citizenship education in Botswana. Given the findings of the study, in this section I offer some areas of research that need to be explored and the list is not exhaustive.
1. There is need to conduct a national study on the evaluation of the social studies curriculum and the extent to which it is achieving what it purports to be doing in order to inform future curriculum reviews.

2. The fact that Botswana is experiencing globalization resulting in identity politics nationally and also considered part of the global society there is need to conduct research to explore the extent to which teachers are conversant with the notion of global citizenship and whether or not they are taking it on board.

3. A study on an evaluation of social studies teacher education programs in Colleges of Education and University of Botswana is needed urgently to find out if they have incorporated mega trends in citizenship education as a field of study in an effort to insure that they prepare teachers who can compete globally.

4. Technology has become a buzz word in education nowadays. The teachers’ knowledge and use of technology need to be explored and researched as technology is an important aspect of citizenship education if we aim at developing citizens who can compete in a globally interconnected world.

5. An investigation on culturally relevant pedagogies is needed to refocus the meaning of child-centered methods within the Botswana context.

**Conclusion**

This study has raised pertinent issues on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana. Though the findings in this study are based on a handful of selected social studies teachers, the findings may be a reflection of what basically takes place in schools nationwide as these teachers were educated in almost similar conditions where teacher education is provided by the government of Botswana and the University of Botswana.
which is partially owned by the government. The curriculum they teach is centralized. The study raised a number of implications which hopefully if considered by all the stakeholders can pave way for more research in primary schools. The study concludes by offering some suggestions on areas of research that can be undertaken in this area of study. If the findings in this study are not taken into consideration as well as the status and practice of social studies in the curriculum, then citizenship education will remain an illusion rather than a reality. As for me this study is just the beginning of my research in social studies education, global education, citizenship education and post colonial theory.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Map of Botswana

Appendix B: Map of Africa

Appendix C: Study Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data Collection</th>
<th>Data analysis</th>
<th>Presentation of the Study</th>
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<td>January to April, 2010</td>
<td>Jan. 2010 to July, 2010</td>
<td>Autumn, 2010</td>
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### Appendix: Data Collection Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schedule (12 weeks)</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Week 1 04/01/-08/01/2010 | Negotiating access  
Selecting teachers  
Signing consent forms |
| Week 2 11/01/-15/01/2010 | Preliminary investigation to focus the investigation  
Getting to know the participants (Bio-data)  
(Rounding all schools) |
| Week 3 18/01/-22/01/2010 | Interviews and Observations with teachers  
Mokoba Primary School  
Mohudiri Primary School |
| Week 4 25/01/-29/01/2010 | Interviewing & Observing teachers  
Motswere Primary School  
Mosetlheng Primary School |
| Week 5 01/02/-05/02/2010 | Interviews & Observations with teachers  
Mokgalo Primary School  
Morula Primary School |
| Week 6 08/02/-12/02/2010 | Interviewing teachers  
Mokoba Primary School  
Mohudiri Primary School |
| Week 7 15/02/-20/02/2010 | Mokgalo Primary School  
Mosetlheng Primary School  
**First round of focus groups**  
@ Mokoba Primary school  
(2 hours) |
| Week 8 22/02/-26/02/2010 | Interviews with teachers  
Motswere Primary School  
Mosetlheng Primary school |
| Week 9 01/03/-05/03/2010 | Interviews & Observations with teachers  
Mokgalo Primary School  
Morula Primary School |
| Week 10 08/03/-12/03/2010 | Mokoba Primary School  
Mohudiri Primary School |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>Week 11</td>
<td><strong>Second round of focus groups</strong> @ Mokgalo Primary School (2 hours)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15/03/-26/03/2010</td>
<td>Interviews and Observations with teachers Motswere Primary School Mosetlheng Primary school (Interviews)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Week 12</td>
<td>Mosetlheng Primary school (Interviews)</td>
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<tr>
<td>29/03/-02/04/2010</td>
<td>Conducting Member Checks (Rounding all schools)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total: 43 Interviews, 22 Observations; 2 Focus Groups</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>
Appendix E: Data Collection Instruments

Principal Investigator: Merry M. Merryfield
Co-Investigator: Mavis Mhlauli

Research Protocol - Guideline questions for Interviews and Focus Groups

Interview 1

The general guiding questions during the first interviews included the following;

1. Let’s talk about your background, who is Ms/Mr……? You may say anything about you that you would like me to know.
2. When you hear the word citizenship, what comes into your mind?
3. What does it mean to be a citizen in Botswana to you? What characteristics do you think of?
4. What do you think citizens should do or not do in Botswana?
5. What does citizenship education mean to you?
6. Do we have a special meaning of “democracy” that is based on the Setswana culture?
7. What in your view is the best way to prepare our children for ideal citizenship in a democracy like Botswana?
8. In your view does our social studies curriculum emphasize citizenship education? How?
9. Where do you get your ideas on teaching about citizenship? How does that influence your teaching about citizenship?
10. Do you have anything else that you would like to share or add?

Interview 2

1. What would you say is your teaching philosophy on citizenship education?
2. Do you think there is any particular knowledge that citizens in Botswana should possess?
3. Do you think there are any particular values that citizens in Botswana should possess?
4. Do you think there are any particular skills that citizens in Botswana should possess?
5. What is it that you would like your students to have learned when they leave school that is related to citizenship development?
6. How do you tell if the future of your students is linked to the future of other people (global issues)?
7. How do you perceive commonalities with people in other countries or parts of the world?
8. Do you have anything else to add or say before we conclude our interview?

Interview 3

9. What issues related to citizenship do you encourage your students to discuss?
10. Do you talk about differences in your classroom? What issues of difference do you discuss?
11. How do you tell if your students are good citizens?
12. Do you value your assessment strategies on citizenship?
13. Are there any other instructional methods that you think are good for citizenship education in a democracy that you may be aware of? Why do you think they are important?
14. Are there any problems that you encounter in preparing students for democratic citizenship?
15. Is there anything that you think should be done to prepare your students for citizenship that is ideal to Botswana?
16. Do you have anything else that you would like to share or add?

Focus Group 1

1. How do your experiences, education, and family background influence how you think?
2. What would you say is the importance of citizenship education in a democracy?
3. What controversial issues do you teach about in your class?
4. Do you think it is important to teach controversial issues? Why or Why not?
5. Do you teach your students about the world? What issues about the world do you talk about? Why or Why not?
6. How do you engage your students in cross-cultural learning? Why?
7. Do you have any suggestions of what can be done to make social studies more relevant in the development of citizens in Botswana?
8. How do you teach about global connections?

School-Heads’ Interview

1. Background information: Position, Qualifications, Professional experience, Teaching experience: area of specialisation.
2. Do you think there is relationship between social studies and citizenship education?
3. What is your teaching philosophy on citizenship education?
4. What do you think are the good qualities of a “good citizen” in Botswana?
5. What are the characteristics of a democratic citizen?
6. What is it that you would like your students to have learned by the time they leave school that is related to citizenship development?

7. What assessment techniques do you encourage your social studies teachers to use that are related to citizenship development?

Interview 2

1. What teaching methods do you encourage your social studies teachers to use that are in line with democratic citizenship?

2. What are the challenges that social studies teachers are faced with regarding citizenship development?

3. What do you think can be done to alleviate such problems?

4. What issues do you think students should learn about? (e.g. ethnic conflict)

5. Do you think teachers assess what they value on citizenship?
Appendix F: Sample of Consent Form

The Ohio State University Consent to Participate in Research

Study Title: Social studies teachers’ perceptions of educating citizens in a democracy in upper classes in primary schools in Botswana

Researcher: Merry Merryfield (Advisor) and Mavis B. Mhlauli

Sponsor: University of Botswana

This is a consent form for research participation. It contains important information about this study and what to expect if you decide to participate.

Your participation is voluntary.
Please consider the information carefully. Feel free to ask questions before making your decision whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and will receive a copy of the form.

Purpose:
The purpose of this study is to explore the social studies teachers’ perceptions of educating democratic citizens in upper classes in primary schools in Botswana. This involves understanding the teachers’ views, beliefs, attitudes, values and experiences with regards to democratic citizenship education in Botswana. Basically trying to understand how they make meaning of or interpret democratic citizenship in Botswana. The social studies teachers’ understanding of democratic citizenship is crucial to the attainment of the major goal of teaching social studies and in this case the development of good citizens in a democracy.

Procedures/Tasks:
In this study, I use interviews, participant observation, focus groups, reflexive journaling, and document analysis in order to understand the social studies teachers’ perceptions of democratic citizenship.

Duration:
You may leave the study at any time. If you decide to stop participating in the study, there will be no penalty to you, and you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision will not affect your future relationship with The Ohio State University.

Risks and Benefits:
There are no anticipated risks
Confidentiality:

Efforts will be made to keep your study-related information confidential. However, there may be circumstances where this information must be released. For example, personal information regarding your participation in this study may be disclosed if required by state law. Also, your records may be reviewed by the following groups (as applicable to the research):

- Office for Human Research Protections or other federal, state, or international regulatory agencies;
- The Ohio State University Institutional Review Board or Office of Responsible Research Practices;
- The sponsor supporting the study.

Incentives:
None

Participant Rights:

You may refuse to participate in this study without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you are a student or employee at Ohio State, your decision will not affect your grades or employment status.

If you choose to participate in the study, you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits. By signing this form, you do not give up any personal legal rights you may have as a participant in this study.

An Institutional Review Board responsible for human subjects’ research at The Ohio State University reviewed this research project and found it to be acceptable, according to applicable state and federal regulations and University policies designed to protect the rights and welfare of participants in research.

Contacts and Questions:

For questions, concerns, or complaints about the study you may contact: 
Mavis B. Mhlauli, Phone #: 267 71629339 (M) 267 4170979 (H)

For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact Ms. Sandra Meadows in the Office of Responsible Research Practices at 1-800-678-6251.

If you are injured as a result of participating in this study or for questions about a study-related injury, you may contact: No anticipated injury
Signing the consent form

I have read (or someone has read to me) this form and I am aware that I am being asked to participate in a research study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. I will be given a copy of this form.

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Investigator/Research Staff

I have explained the research to the participant or his/her representative before requesting the signature(s) above. There are no blanks in this document. A copy of this form has been given to the participant or his/her representative.

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Appendix G: Permission from Ministry of Education

Ohio State University
Buckeye Village
656 Ashtabula Court
Columbus, OH 43210
November 19, 2009
mhlauli.1@buckeyemail.osu.edu

The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Education
Private Bag 005
Gaborone
Dear Sir /Madam,

Re: Application for research permit to conduct a study in Botswana.

This serves to request your office for permission to conduct a research/study in Botswana. I am a Motswana student currently pursuing a PhD in Social Studies and Global Education at the Ohio State University. I am planning to conduct a research study in your schools on “Social studies teachers’ perceptions of educating citizens in a democracy in upper classes in primary schools in Botswana”. The purpose of the study is to explore the social studies teachers’ beliefs, values, experiences, practices and conceptualizations of democratic citizenship education in Botswana. The proposed study will be conducted in primary schools in Maretlweng village (pseudonym) in the central district council for a period of three months (from December, 2009 to March/April, 2010). The target population for the study will be the social studies teachers in Maretlweng primary schools.

Thank you

Mavis B. Mhlauli
Appendix H: IRB Permission Letter

January 5, 2010
Protocol Number: 2009B0339
Protocol Title: SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATING CITIZENS IN A DEMOCRACY IN UPPER CLASSES IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN BOTSWANA, Merry Merryfield, Mavis Mhlauli, Teaching & Learning Type of Review: Initial Review—Expedited IRB Staff Contact: Jacob R. Stoddard Phone: 614-292-0526 Email: stoddard.13@osu.edu

Dear Dr. Merryfield,
The Behavioral and Social Sciences IRB APPROVED BY EXPEDITED REVIEW the above referenced research. The Board was able to provide expedited approval under 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) because the research presents minimal risk to subjects and qualifies under the expedited review category(s) listed below.

Date of IRB Approval: January 5, 2010
Date of IRB Approval Expiration: December 15, 2010
Expedited Review Category: 7

If applicable, informed consent (and HIPAA research authorization) must be obtained from subjects or their legally authorized representatives and documented prior to research involvement. The IRB-approved consent form and process must be used. Changes in the research (e.g., recruitment procedures, advertisements, enrollment numbers, etc.) or informed consent process must be approved by the IRB before they are implemented (except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to subjects). This approval is valid for one year from the date of IRB review when approval is granted or modifications are required. The approval will no longer be in effect on the date listed above as the IRB expiration date. A Continuing Review application must be approved within this interval to avoid expiration of IRB approval and cessation of all research activities. A final report must be provided to the IRB and all records relating to the research (including signed consent forms) must be retained and available for audit for at least 3 years after the research has ended.

It is the responsibility of all investigators and research staff to promptly report to the IRB any serious, unexpected and related adverse events and potential unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others. This approval is issued under The Ohio State University’s OHRP Federal wide Assurance #00006378. All forms and procedures can be found on the ORRP website – www.orrp.osu.edu. Please feel free to contact the IRB staff contact listed above with any questions or concerns.

Jeanne A. Clement, EdD, Chair Behavioral and Social Sciences Institutional Review Board

Behavioral and Social Sciences Institutional Review Board
Office of Responsible Research Practices
300 Research Foundation
1960 Kenny Road
Columbus, OH 43210-1063
Phone (614) 688-8457
Appendix I: Sample of Member Check Cover Page

Instructions

Please read through the observation and interview notes and provide feedback. You are free to make any modifications on the document. Make sure you give comments and sign at the end to approve of what is written.

Name: ...........................................................................................

Date: ...........................................................................................

Researcher: Mavis B. Mhlauli

COMMENTS

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Signature: ............................ Date:-----------------------------