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# CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN KENYA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF STATE- SPONSORED SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN KENYA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS  
OF STATE-SPONSORED SOCIAL STUDIES  
INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

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A Dissertation  
Presented to  
the Graduate School of  
Clemson University

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Curriculum and Instruction

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by  
Anna Nabuyaya Mukhongo  
May 2010

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine whether or not the principal citizenship issues identified by scholars as significant with regard to the African experience were addressed in state-endorsed Kenyan social studies instructional materials. This study also determined whether or not the treatment of the principal citizenship issues was consistent with the recommendations in the citizenship literature. In addition, this study analyzed and evaluated the pedagogical exercises present in social studies instructional materials.

A qualitative content analysis was used for the study. Content in the social studies materials was read iteratively to determine patterns and generate themes. The generated themes were evaluated against the scholars' recommendations. Pedagogical exercises in social studies instructional materials were also identified and classified into two categories, passive and active learning exercises. For the purpose of analysis, data were collected separately from the elementary and secondary textbooks. The analysis of data was done through descriptive and critical analysis.

Although the textbooks addressed virtually all the citizenship issues at some level or to some degree, some important trends emerged. For example, the textbooks gave more coverage to democracy and human rights, secondary school textbooks contained more complex content than primary school textbooks, and the textbooks contained descriptive and superficial content on the main citizenship issues. The analysis of data revealed that most of the recommended pedagogical methods such as debates, role play and discussions recommended by scholars were found in learning activities. Although the

textbooks contained a higher percentage of learning activities that promoted active learning, most practice questions at the end of each chapter required students to memorize the same content form in the textbooks.

The study had a number of implications. Some of these were that the ministry of education needs to include content on diversity in secondary school textbooks, there is need for more elaborate discussions of the citizenship issues, and the ministry of education ought to recommend the inclusion of content on ethnic conflicts and skills in content resolution in the contemporary Kenyan society.

## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my parents Rose Wekalao Mukhongo and Jack Mukhongo who have been an inspiration throughout my education and gave me the best foundation, character and taught me the essence of working hard. From early in life my parents taught me the value of education and hard work. My mum through her generosity and value for extended family members taught me the need to share and unknowingly exposed me to the challenges of liberal democracy in the communal African context.

I also dedicate this work to people who genuinely seek to contribute to “good” and relevant governance in Africa, Kenya in particular.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

While in one of the churches around Clemson University, I met a married couple from Uganda, a neighboring country to Kenya. After a conversation with this couple, in which we all talked about our nationality, mother tongue and our home areas, the man insisted that I should be related to him because we spoke the same mother tongue (Bukusu in Kenya and Gishu in Uganda). In such a case were we to identify ourselves based on our countries as citizens first or our lineage? What identity was more important? And if we had the same kinship, why were we citizens of different countries?

While chatting with one Kenyan that I met in the USA, we asked each other about our ethnic groups and our home districts. I discovered that his home area is in a district that borders Uganda. One thing I knew was that people from his ethnic group, the Teso, are in both Uganda and Kenya. Out of curiosity I wanted to know if he was aware that there is a Teso ethnic group in Uganda. He answered that not only was he aware of it, but that his uncles and other relatives were in Uganda. When I asked him why some of his relatives are Ugandan citizens, he told me that there is a river in his ancestral land and some of his relatives live across the river. He further explained that during colonialism the river was used as a boundary between Kenya and Uganda, and that meant that some of his relatives became Ugandan citizens. I further asked him if he often sees his relatives. He laughed and said, “we do almost everything together and I see them almost daily because I just walk across the river to meet them.”

At one particular time, Kenya's former vice president, Moody Awori, had a brother vying for a parliamentary seat in Uganda. The two brothers were citizens of two different countries. I discovered that their father had a large piece of land during colonialism, and when the borders for the two countries were drawn, one part was on Ugandan side and the other on the Kenyan side. This meant that part of the family was in Uganda and the other in Kenya.

The experiences described above, typical of post-colonial African setting, illustrate one outcome of the formation of African nation-states. The formation of Kenya, Uganda and other African nation-states dates back to colonialism, when the colonial powers drew arbitrary boundaries across the continent with no respect to ethno-linguistic, social and geographical realities of the African people (Herbst, 1989; Blanton, Mason & Athow, 2001). As a result, in some cases groups that shared the same language, customs and kinship were placed in different nation-states as citizens of those particular states. Currently, it is clear that many ethnic groups in one particular country have an equivalent group that claims the same heritage, has the same customs, and speaks the same language in another African country. In the face of this phenomenon, how do African countries create a sense of identity? Citizenship education is one way that has been used in many countries, and that is why I am interested in exploring citizenship education in Kenya.

In fact, there has been a renewal of interest in citizenship education in most countries around the world (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994; McCowan, 2006; Waghid, 2004). That interest has led some countries to question the main purpose of citizenship education and, in turn, to look for ways to reform their citizenship education. Some

countries, such as the United Kingdom, that did not have a citizenship education curriculum have been prompted to look for ways of introducing citizenship education across their curricula. In other countries, scholars have attributed this renewal to an attempt to address the lack of interest in politics at both the local and national level among citizens; restoration of nationalistic movements in Eastern Europe; increased multicultural populations in Western Europe; and globalization, perceived to have led to the loss of national sovereignty (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994; Damaine, 2000).

In general, citizenship education is viewed as a way of teaching students how to live in a particular context (Pike, 2008). Hoge (2002) defines citizenship education as an explicit endeavor to equip students with knowledge about government, law and politics and how they evolved through history and function in the students' current society. According to Print and Coleman (2003), the main purpose of citizenship education is to "prepare the next generation of citizens for enlightened political engagement" (p. 130). Because the type of citizenship education adopted by a country is determined by its "cultural norms, political priorities, social expectations, national economic development aspirations, geographical political contexts and historical antecedents" (Kennedy, 2004, p. 17), different countries have different methods of instilling citizenship skills and attitudes in their students. One explicit method adopted by many countries is social studies. Social studies as a subject is an integration of social science and humanities (National Council for the Social Studies, 1994). That is, it draws its content from social science and humanities disciplines such as history, economics, geography, sociology and psychology. Lybarger (as cited in Hahn, 2001) noted that, historically, social studies has

been viewed as instrumental in preparing citizens for a democratic society. That is, social studies has been adopted as an approach to citizenship education (Jenness, 1990; Ross and Marker, 2005). Barth (1989) argued that social studies takes different forms, and there is no single social studies curriculum. That is, each country adopts a curriculum that enables it to effectively respond to the requirements of citizenship locally, nationally and globally.

### **The Development of Social Studies in Africa**

The social studies was particularly important to post-colonial African countries as emerging nations. Most African countries sought to identify a different model from the colonial model of citizenship (Barth, 1989). Barth noted that in most of the former colonies, the social studies approach to citizenship education replaced the inherited British and French conception of citizenship that ensured unquestioned loyalty to the colonial government. The flexibility inherent in social studies also enabled emerging nations to easily fit the approach into their contexts while dismantling colonial traditions.

The first regional conference to promote an African social studies curriculum took place in 1967 at Queen's College, Oxford. The participating nations from eleven African countries agreed on team development of a new African curriculum and promotion of the new curriculum via a regional social studies secretariat (Contreras, 1990). The conference paved the way for the seventeen-nation Mombasa conference held in 1968 at Mombasa, Kenya. The agreement on the parameters of social studies during this meeting still guides the social studies in Africa. The Mombasa conference team agreed on four broad goals:

“to enable students to understand people’s interaction with their cultural, social, and physical environment; help students appreciate their homes and heritage; develop the skills and attitudes expected of citizens; and teach students to express their ideas in a variety of ways” (p. 289). The participants at the Mombasa conference also recommended that social studies link students with their communities and countries and emphasize the study of local issues before foreign issues. In addition, the participants proposed that social studies should emphasize skills, attitudes and facts through inquiry methods that allow students to ask questions, raise and solve problems.

Barth (1989) noted that many African countries adopted the social studies approach to citizenship education because of developments in social studies in the United States where a number of African educators were completing their advanced degrees. The Mombasa report’s aims and objectives were similar to objectives and aims of the new social studies as identified by Edwin Fenton in the United States. The social studies in the United States influenced pedagogy in African countries. The new social studies promoted the reflective inquiry tradition and was based on relevance to individual needs, interests and serious social problems. The purpose of reflective inquiry was to define citizenship as “decision making in social political context” (Barr et al., 1977, p.65). That is, reflective inquiry required students to make a choice when given a particular social problem. According to Barr et al., the method of reflective inquiry involved the process of choosing between alternative courses of action and analyzing what was involved in the decision.



Despite the propositions that were suggested at the Mombasa conference, Contreras noted that the propositions were not put into practice because of untrained teachers, ambiguous social studies goals, the inferior status of social studies in both schools and colleges, the scarcity of teaching materials, and examinations that were inherited from the colonial system. After the Mombasa conference, subsequent conferences were held to address issues that affect social studies. These conferences led to the formation of the African Social Studies Programme (ASSP) in 1969.

Social studies in Kenya was made possible by the Mombasa conference. Barth (1989) noted that the African Social Studies Program formed by the African social studies conferences was influential in enabling the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), a center responsible for curriculum development, to draft social studies materials that were launched and tested in standards one to four. The testing took four years but did not continue because of various challenges such as lack of experienced social studies educators. Social studies was a requirement for all standards (grades) from one to eight by 1989, and it was also introduced in primary teachers' colleges in the same year.

Most African countries are also confronted with a number of issues such as ethnic conflict and political instability that are central to identity and nationhood. The education system of a country is instrumental in addressing such issues (Harber, 2002). Social studies, a subject area that explicitly addresses issues of citizenship, should effectively sensitize students to the issues that characterize their context as well as introduce skills that supply the means to address these issues. Furthermore, in Africa, social studies mirrors what the nations perceive as relevant knowledge and values for young people.

Therefore, analysis of the social studies curriculum is relevant to understanding what African countries view as important for their citizens (Merryfield, 1985). Furthermore, the analysis is significant to understanding how social studies, the central focus of which is citizenship education, plays a role in nurturing a sense of national identity while sensitizing students to citizenship issues that characterize contemporary African life.

### **Purpose of the Study**

Social studies with its central focus on citizenship education in Kenya has the role of addressing major citizenship issues, as identified by scholars, that are crucial to the emerging nations in the post-colonial African context in the twenty-first century.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to determine whether or not these issues were addressed in Kenyan social studies instructional materials. This study also determined whether or not the issues addressed were consistent with that which was advocated in the citizenship literature. In addition, this study sought to establish the pedagogical exercises and methods present in social studies instructional materials, and whether or not they were consistent with what was recommended in citizenship literature.

### **Research Questions**

This study addressed three main research questions: First, did the Kenyan state-owned social studies instructional materials address key citizenship issues identified by scholars: democracy and human rights, national unity and multicultural identity, ethnic conflict and resolution, globalization, and the legacy of colonialism in African education?

Second, were the addressed citizenship issues treated in a manner consistent with that which was advocated in the citizenship literature? Third, what pedagogical exercises and methods were present in state-owned social studies instructional materials and were they consistent with that which was recommended in the citizenship literature?

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review reveals the principal citizenship issues that are seen as significant with regard to the African experience. The principal citizenship issues discussed are: democracy and human rights, national unity and multicultural identity in Africa, ethnic conflict and resolution, globalization, and the legacy of colonialism in African education. The section will also discuss pedagogy in African classes. In addition, the section describes the type of citizenship education that is necessary in addressing the five key citizenship issues. This section will also discuss the scholars' recommended pedagogy in African classes.

#### **Democracy and Human Rights**

The word “democracy” has its origin from the Greek words *demo* “the people,” and *kratein*, “to rule” (Bollen, 1993). The simplest definition of democracy is the rule of the people (Plattner, 2008). However, democracy is a concept that is defined in different ways, and there is no single definition with which all agree (Schmitter & Karl; Ichilov, 1990; William, 2003). In fact Ichilov (1990) argued that because of the many different ways in which democracy is conceived, it would be more practical to talk of democracies instead of democracy. Schmitter and Karl (1991) noted that due to the ambiguity surrounding the term democracy, many scholars have, historically, resorted to adding adjectives such as communitarian, liberal, and deliberative to the term democracy in their discussions of democracy issues. Due to different ways in which democracy is practiced,

a form of democracy adopted by a country depends on its socio-economic conditions, government structures, and policies (Schmitter & Karl, 1991). However, Enslin and Horsthemke (2004) argued that although democracy and democratic citizenship involve sensitivity to the local context, the fundamental principles and tenets of democracy and democratic citizenship are universal.

Clark (as cited in Sifuna, 2000) outlined four features that may constitute democracy, when it is defined in a narrow way. These are: (1) accountability of parties through regular multiparty, free and competitive elections, (2) political institutions and policies which reflect societal values as established and changed via formal electoral and legislative mechanisms, (3) the freedom to associate and organize politically, and (4) the rule of law. Lijphart (1999) noted that although controversies exist on how to define democracy, Robert A. Dahl's definition is the most acknowledged definition. Dahl (as cited in Lijphart, 1999) listed major features of democracy as (1) the right to vote, (2) the right to be elected, (3) the right of political leaders to compete for support and votes, (4) elections that are free and fair, (5) the freedom of association, (6) freedom of expression, (7) alternative sources of information, and (8) institutions for making public policies depending on votes and other expressions of preference (p. 48).

The use of democracy is typically equated to liberal democracy (Bollen, 1993; Plattner, 2008). The salient issues discussed in the African context revolve around liberal democracy. Liberal democracy closely adheres to liberal values. Reich (2002) summed up core values that liberalism espouses as “autonomy, individual rights, the freedom to

develop and revise a life plan, and the need for civic education and a common political identity to provide unity in a diverse society” (p. 3).

Bollen (1993) defined liberal democracy as “the extent to which the political system allows political liberties and democratic rule” (p. 1208). According to Bollen, political liberties exist in a country where people are allowed to express varying political views in any media, and they are free to form and participate in different political groups. Democratic rule (political rights) “exists to the extent that the national government is accountable to the general population and each individual is entitled to participate in the government directly or through a representative” (Bollen, 1993, p. 1209).

According to Evans (2001), there are five assumptions that have guided the definition of liberal democracy. First, democracy is confined to a particular nation-state. That is, it is the state that defines members and non-members. Second, the state grants rights to citizens. Third, accountability is at the core of liberal democracy. Accountability is manifested through freedoms such as civil freedoms and freedom of speech as well as multiparty elections, an element of representation in liberal democracy. Fourth, liberal democratic states are autonomous in taking care of the interests of their citizens without external influence or pressure. Democratic states base their action on the interests of the citizens and not on particular nations or global groups.

In addition to the above major components of liberal democracy, there are essential values that liberal democracy supports. The core values of liberalism and liberal democracy are individual autonomy, rationalism, tolerance of pluralism, and equality (Hellsten, 1998; Pike, 2008; Hellsten, 1999). A brief description of each value is

discussed. Although autonomy may be perceived differently, Reich (2002) gave a comprehensive definition of autonomy as a person's "ability to reflect independently and critically upon basic commitments, desires and beliefs, be they chosen or unchosen and to enjoy a range of meaningful life options from which to choose, upon which to act, and around which to orient and pursue one's life projects" (p46). Closely related to individual autonomy is individual rationality as an essential aspect of liberalism and liberal democracy (Pike, 2008). In fact, Callan (1997) argued that autonomy is only good when it is based on reason. According to Pike (2008), individual rationality means the capacity to make decisions based on rational justification. Liberal democracy promotes tolerance for pluralistic ways of living and diversity of ideas (Hellsten, 1999). Hellsten noted that tolerance does not mean uncritical acceptance of diversity. Instead, it implies being empathetic but also critically evaluating different cultures, values, and beliefs. He further noted that the egalitarian aspect of liberal democracy views individuals as equal irrespective of any differences such as ethnic, linguistic, or gender.

Liberal democracy and human rights are closely linked (Sifuna, 2000). According to Plattner (2008), human rights have their origin in liberalism. Plattner (2008) noted that liberal democracy has two crucial components: "rule by the majority and the protection of the rights of the individual" (p. 45). To emphasize the relationship between democracy and human rights, Plattner (2008) argued that democracy necessitates the adherence to human rights, just like the respect of human rights requires democracy. Human rights are linked to democracy because, usually, nation-states that are democratic

are more likely to embrace the idea of granting human rights to their citizens (Plattener, 2008).

The idea of human rights in contemporary society has its origin in the United Nations' adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (Murithi, 2007; Clapham, 2007). Human Rights are different from other rights (Clapham, 2007; Freeman, 2002; Delanty, 2000). Clapham (2007) quoted William Edmundson's distinction: "Human rights recognize extraordinarily special, basic interests, and this sets them apart from rights, even moral rights, generally" (p.4-5). Likewise, Tambakaki (2009) distinguished human rights from citizenship rights. According to Tambakaki (2009), although both address rights of an individual they differ in terms of their universality. Tambakaki outlines the differences: (1) Human rights are supposed to be granted to anyone irrespective of their political community, whereas citizenship only applies to members of a particular state or territorial communities, (2) human rights are universal whereas citizenship rights are only given to members of a particular nation-state, (3) human rights are both moral and legal rights whereas citizenship has political implications, (4) citizenship is only granted by nation-states whereas human rights go beyond the nation-state, and (5) human rights are seen as passive because of the "protective function" (p.9) whereas citizenship is an active status where citizens can actively participate. The concept of human rights provides a tool that determines goals to be given more priority, and the most effective way to achieve the selected goals. The concept of human rights challenges the injustices and oppression that prevail in society (Clapham, 2007; Beitz, 2001; Freeman, 2002; Callan, 1997). According to Freeman



(2002), human rights are “designed to protect morally valid and fundamental human interests, in particular against the abuse of political power” (p. 61).

Beitz (2001) listed five categories of international human rights as outlined in International documents as:

- Rights of the person refer to life, liberty, and security of the person; privacy and freedom of movement; ownership of property; freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, including freedom of religious teaching and practice "in public and private"; and prohibition of slavery, torture, and cruel or degrading punishment.
- Rights associated with the rule of law include equal recognition before the law and equal protection of the law; effective legal remedy for violation of legal rights; impartial hearing and trial; presumption of innocence; and prohibition of arbitrary arrest.
- Political rights encompass freedom of expression, assembly, and association; the right to take part in government; and periodic and genuine elections by universal and equal suffrage.
- Economic and social rights refer to an adequate standard of living; free choice of employment; protection against unemployment; "just and favorable remuneration"; the right to join trade unions; "reasonable limitation of working hours"; free elementary education; social security; and the "highest attainable standard of physical and mental health."

- Rights of communities include self-determination and protection of minority cultures. (p. 271)

### **Democracy and Human Rights in the African Context**

A wave of democratization took place in Africa in the 1990's (Abdi, Shizha & Bwalya, 2006). During this time, most African countries adopted a multiparty political system as a move towards democratization. Despite the wave of democratization in African countries, there are debates on whether liberal democracy is relevant to the African context. Admitting the challenge of liberal democracy to non-Western contexts, Kennedy (2004) noted that:

For the nation-states that have evolved historically, politically, socially, and freely in what might be called the 'Western tradition,' the yoking together of liberal and economic development may not be so problematic. Yet for nation-states whose history, culture and social mores derive from other sources, Western democratic values are neither natural nor necessarily consistent with local values and cultures (p.10).

Scholars who view democracy as not new to the African context argue that democracy existed even in the pre colonial/indigenous African context (Abdi, Ellis, & Shizha, 2005; Avoseh, 2001; Adeyemi & Asimeng-Boahene, 2001; Enslin and Horsthemke, 2004). Among the scholars that argued that democracy is not a foreign construct to the African context, some noted that although democracy was prevalent among indigenous groups, it was different from liberal democracy (Avoseh, 2001;

Adeyemi &Asimeng-Boahene, 2001). Avoseh (2001) argued that African traditional societies valued collective democracy that was based on collective responsibility that required the minority in decision-making to agree with the decision of the majority. African indigenous democracy was therefore based on consensus (Adeyemi &Asimeng-Boahene, 2001; Avoseh, 2001). Avoseh (2001) further stated that the idea of the minority's agreeing with the majorities' decision ensured unity and cohesion among people. Adeyemi and Asimeng-Boahene (2001) noted that because democracy has always existed in non-Western countries, though with varying definitions such as "village democracy" in pre-colonial Africa (p.17), democracy should not only be defined from a Western point of view, but from other cultures' points of view. Ake (1993) also distinguished liberal democracy from African democracy by arguing that, unlike African democracy which is distinct in the way it reflects the socio-economic context of Africa, liberal democracy is specific to a particular type of society that is "essentially a market" (243).

Some scholars argue that democracy is a Western construct. Ake (1993) argued that the West has often supported democratic movements in Africa because of the West's desire to universalize the Western model of society. He further argued this desire has ensured that the West has not supported the adaption of liberal democracy to the African context. He argued that African countries can easily succumb to the external pressure by adopting liberal democracy. Ake maintained that for democracy to thrive in Africa it must be different from liberal democracy. This alternative democracy must stop putting emphasis on political rights and instead focus more on economic rights. Ake's argument

is based on the notion that the clamor for democracy in Africa is closely linked to the economic situation at a particular moment. In fact, he noted that most Africans associate political democracy with economic well being. That is, economic failure is often linked to political failure. It is, therefore, important that democracy in Africa is addressed from the economic point of view. Issues of economic equality and rights must be addressed. Ake admits that this may not be welcomed by either the African elites who view democracy in terms of power or Western nations and international development agencies that associate economic equality with socialism.

Some scholars view liberal democracy as practiced in Western countries to be problematic to the African context (Abdi, et. al, 2006; Chabal, 1994). Owusu (1992) warned against the use of democratic theoretical models in any country without giving attention to a country's culture, history and economic situation. Owusu noted that it is important to address the issue of using foreign models when discussing democratization in the African context. He further argued for African democracy that is based on the "integration of indigenous methods of village co-operation with innovative forms of government, combining the power of universal rights with uniqueness of each district's or nation's own customs and respected traditions" (p. 384). Similarly, Osamba (2001) maintained that the adaptation of liberal democracy may not be a solution to Africa's problems because the democratization process that began in the 1990s in most African countries has not facilitated economic and political stability.

Koelbe and Lipuma (2008) stated that people from different countries may have different conceptions of what constitutes democracy, and their views on what defines

good governance may be influenced by their national historical experiences. Scholars such as Chabal (1994) argued that African nation-states should be perceived differently from a modern European state because the states in Africa went through a different historical line. Chabal further noted that it was much harder to form nation-states in Africa than any part of the world because the African people after colonialism were only bound together on the basis of being Africans, but differed in many other aspects. Chabal contrasted the formation of nation states in Africa with Europe and Latin America. In his contrast, Chabal argued that, unlike European states which were bound together by language and class, and Latin America nationalism which was based on one elites' homogenous Creole language that necessitated the mobilization of the racially different people, most African countries did not have something to unite them.

Liberal democracy is also perceived to be incompatible with the local realities of most people in the African countries (Nyamjoh, 2004; Ake, 1993). In particular, liberal democracy's emphasis on individual autonomy is not in line with the African value for both individual and collective rights. Liberal democracy stresses individualism, a value that is not prominent in African countries (Hollenback, 1998; Ake, 1993). That is, most people in African countries see themselves as part of an "organic whole" belonging to a community. Ake (1993) argued that communality is still prevalent in African societies, and its manifestation is seen through an increased number of ethnic and voluntary associations in contemporary Africa.

Nyamjoh (2004) further noted that the persistence of the role of ethnicity and the failure of voluntary organizations to bring a major change in most African countries

requires a rethinking of liberal democracy in African countries. That is, democracy in African countries must not only address individual rights and freedoms, but also “the interests of communal and cultural solidarities” (p. 56). Despite the prominence of liberal democracy that views individuals as separate from the overall community, African cultures have continued to value collective rights by integrating individual rights and interests with the rights and interests of various groups. Ake (1993) argued that democracy can be adapted to particular social contexts without compromising its basic principles. In particular, he noted that in Africa the adaptation of democracy to the African context can be done by using ethnic groups and communities as mechanisms of representation.

Addressing ethnicity, Ndegwa (1997) argued that traditional citizenship theory in modern states has hindered its application to ethnic politics because most discussions of citizenship that draw from the North American and European liberal perspective assume a single political community (the modern state), in which individuals participate and those who were previously excluded such as women and minorities are admitted through granting of civil, political and social rights.

The notion of liberalism distinctly separating the private from the public is a challenge in most African countries where individuals are closely linked to their communities (Ondiek, 1986; Komba, 1998; Kubow, 2007). Furthermore, Tedla (as cited in Komba, 1998) argued that the way in which the West understands the community could be different from the way in which Africa understands the community. That is, the West views the community as “a non-organic bringing together of atomic individuals into

a unit akin to an association, whereas the African interpretation assumes an organic relationship between community members consisting of the living, the dead and the unborn” (p. 201). Although some Africans residing in urban areas may enjoy the liberty of being autonomous without experiencing the challenge of fitting into their communities’ expectations, most of the African population resides in their rural areas where the values and cultures of the communities are highly valued (Abdi, 2008). For instance, about 84.5% of the total Kenyan population resides in their rural areas, and still most of those who reside in the urban areas have a close link to their rural relatives (Kenya Central Bureau of statistics, 1996). Similarly, Kubow (2007) argued that the Western conception of democratic citizenship that distinguishes between the individual’s private and public sphere, in turn, separating the notion of the individual and citizen, undervalues local and indigenous knowledge. For example, Kubow noted that Max Weber’s conception of democratic citizenship necessitates detachment from ethnic affiliation and local setting to join the public sphere.

Contrary to the argument that liberal democracy is not viable to the African context, Sandbrook (1998) argued that although liberal democracy has some shortcomings, it has some advantages to some excluded citizens in African nations. Liberal democracy is also a measure against dictatorship. Sandbrook further argued that in Africa, human rights are abused by the few middle class groups such as intellectuals and professionals, and therefore the adoption of liberal democracy will ensure that the majority of the population is guarded against the abuse.

Similarly, Enslin and Horsthemke (2004) asserted that liberal democracy is not a Western construct. Citing examples from the South African political system, they argued that the South African political system is driven by conspicuous liberal features. The political practices of the African community share similar characteristics with contemporary liberal democracy. In particular, citing Ayettey, they argued that pre-colonial African societies' ideals of free expression, deliberation, opposition, representation and participation are similar to features of liberal democracy.

The relevance of human rights to other contexts than Western countries has generated a lot of debate among scholars. Human rights are perceived as Western because of their individualistic nature (Ignatieff, 2001). According to Abdullahi An- Na 'im, as quoted by Clapham (2007), the International human rights standards are not representative of other cultures because the human rights declaration was mainly drafted by committee members from Western countries with an exclusion of most countries including African countries. Abdullahi An- Na 'im noted that among the committee members who drafted the human rights declaration only two members, who had been educated in American universities, were from China and Lebanon. Despite the argument that the drafting of International Human Rights was biased toward Western countries, most African and Asian countries have accepted them, and signed the necessary treaties.

Just as with liberal democracy, some scholars view the individualistic nature of human rights as problematic in the African context (Hollenback, 1998). In fact, Hollenback (1998) noted that despite the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Organization of African Unity went on to adopt the African Charter of Human



and Peoples' Rights in 1981. The African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights was distinct from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in recognizing "not only that all human beings are equal but that all people are as well" (p.308). The African Charter of Human and People's Rights ensured that it emphasized the communal aspect of African culture (Hollenback, 1998). To address the individualistic nature of human rights, Nyamjoh (2004) recommended Africanizing human rights by ensuring that human rights are informed by African cultures, historical experiences, social, and economic realities in the African context.

### **Citizenship**

Citizenship, just like democracy, is a contested concept (Carr, 1991; Niens & Chastenay 2008). Therefore, the concept has various definitions. Citizenship is generally associated with the national identity and the rights and responsibilities of people who live in the nation–state (Abdi, Ellis & Shizha, 2005; Delanty, 2000; Carr, 1991; Ramphele, 2001; Hassim, 1999, Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Hindess, 2002; Adejumobi, 2001). Delanty (2000) summarizes the four elements of citizenship as: rights, responsibilities, participation, and identity. Citizenship is not a fixed phenomenon. That is, rights and responsibilities of citizens, and how citizenship is defined, are constantly reconstructed differently at different historical periods (Ndegwa, 1998; Carr, 1991; Hassim, 1999). According to Abdi, Shizha, and Bwalya (2006), the agency of the people, as individuals and groups, is vital in defining citizenship.

Citizenship is closely linked to liberal democracy (Bickmore, 2006). The notion of citizenship is at the core of democratic political systems because it defines rights and responsibilities of people who live in the nation-state (Ramphela, 2001; Hassim, 1999). Abdi et al. (2005) maintained that citizenship can not be discussed without its association to democracy, human rights, and social justice issues. Liberal citizenship is based on a common national identity, individual rights, equality and equal economic rights to all citizens (Heilman, 1998; Mamdani, 1992). Liberal citizenship views an individual as a holder of rights, and is accorded liberty for personal choice (Abowitz and Harnish, 2006; Gunsteren, 1998). Hence, individual priorities precede the society's priorities. However, the individual must pursue his/her rights without infringing on other people's rights. Liberal citizenship views rights as prior to the individual (Groelsema, 1998; Ramphela, 2001), and these particular individual rights are supposed to be protected against state interference (Hindess, 2002).

Ndegwa (1997) noted that citizenship allows individuals to participate in the community while enjoying certain rights and duties. One way that participation takes place in a liberal democracy is through voting (Hassim, 1999). Voting enables political representation, an essential element of liberal democracy (Edigheji, 2006). Hassim (1999) argued that despite the notion that citizens' participation can effectively be judged by looking at voting, voting is not the only way of determining citizen's participation. According to Hassim (1999), there are other means of participation such as strikes and protest activities.

The concept of citizenship in most African countries is in conflict with the liberal conception of citizenship (Ramphele, 2001; Heilman, 1998). For example, there is tension between liberal citizenship that emphasizes individual rights, and citizenship in African communities that gives priority to group/community interests (Heilman, 1998; Ramphele, 2001). The multi-ethnic nature of most African countries stands as a challenge to liberal citizenship. The existence of different ethnic groups has resulted in dual citizenship, ethnic citizenship and national citizenship, among the African people. Ndegwa (1998) argued that Kenya is an example. He further noted that the two types of citizenship conflict with each other because they are founded on different theories of citizenship. According to Ndegwa national citizenship is founded on a liberal conception of citizenship, whereas ethnic citizenship is based on a civic-republican conception of citizenship. In this case Ndegwa (1998) noted that:

The liberal vision of citizenship holds that rights are inherent in individuals and are prior to their belonging to a community. These rights therefore are granted (protected) with a minimum of obligations to the community. The civic republican vision of citizenship posits that rights are secured by civic practice that upholds obligations to the community. In this view, the individual is not sovereign apart from the community (p. 340)

Ndegwa noted that civic-republican citizenship undermines liberal citizenship in two ways. First, when participating in the nation-state arena, the actions of individuals are shaped by their ethnic experience. Second, the people who are able to enter the nation-

state leadership use the chance to fulfill their community obligations. Usually, the leaders will serve their own ethnic groups at the expense of other ethnic communities.

In discussing citizenship in Africa, and in particular Kenya, Ndegwa (1997) noted that little attention has been given to ethnicity because contemporary citizenship theory has not been applied to ethnic politics. One reason for this is that the dialogue on citizenship is based on North American and European modern states that allow equal individual participation and extension of citizenship rights to groups that were once marginalized. This dialogue on citizenship assumes that citizenship exists only in the context of the “modern democratic nation state” (p. 600) and fails to recognize that rights and responsibilities of citizens can be enacted in other spheres such as ethnic communities in African countries. The second reason that has hindered the applicability of contemporary citizenship theory to ethnic politics is the assumption that, although there are different conceptions of citizenship such as communitarian and liberal citizenship, a modern nation-state should only have liberal citizenship. Ndegwa asserted that there is need to recognize other spheres of citizenship such as ethnic communities other than the modern nation-state. The recognition will facilitate the analysis of ethnic groups as political communities.

### **National Unity and Multicultural Identity in Africa**

Identity is a theme that is closely related to citizenship. How to effectively manage ethnic diversity in a way that it can coexist with common national identity is a challenge to most African countries (Berman, Eyoh & Kymlicka, 2004). Berman, et al.

(2004) argued that although it is not easy to develop a feeling of common citizenship and loyalty to the state among people who are different in many respects, countries that are multi-ethnic can still successfully address the challenge. Most African countries have sought to use the assimilatory type of citizenship that seeks a common identity. Nyamjoh (2004) noted that after political independence from colonialism, most African countries were preoccupied with nation-building and shunned the acknowledgement of linguistic and ethnic differences. For instance, the Kenyan government had an obligation to unite people of various ethnic groups who had been divided by colonial rule (Eshiwani, 1990). Immediately after Kenya's independence, the Ominde education commission was formed with a purpose to establish the goals of the Kenyan education system. The commission developed the seven major goals that have been accepted by the successive education commissions. The following national goals were outlined by the Ominde report in 1964:

- Education in Kenya must foster a sense of nationhood
- Education in Kenya must promote national unity
- Education in Kenya must meet the economic and social needs of national development
- Education must provide opportunities for the fullest development of individual talents and personalities
- Education must promote social equality
- Education must respect, foster and develop Kenya's rich and varied cultures
- Education must foster positive attitudes to other cultures (Ondiek, 1986).

Most of the goals outlined were concerned with the role of education in fostering unity in one way or another. With the focus on achieving harmony among the divided ethnic groups, most of the new African nation-states did not give attention to the ethnic diversity present in their countries.

Although national unity is crucial in pluralistic African states (Woolman, 2001; Okafor, 2004), the lack of recognition for diversity in African nation states has been criticized (Dei, Asgharzadeh, Bahador & Shahjahan, 2006; Adejumobi, 2001). Some scholars have in turn advocated multiculturalism. Adejumobi (2001) argued for multiculturalism that necessitates the recognition of different identities, other than one single notion of national identity. According to Adejumobi (2001) different identities can still co-exist with national citizenship. Similarly, Dei et al. (2001) argued that multiculturalism is not unique to the North American and Canadian context, but a necessary pursuit for the pluralistic African context. Dei et al. argued that although the “anti-colonial project of nation building in Africa was made powerful by stressing a sense of shared belonging” (p.63) continuous emphasis on collective commonality and avoiding differences can hamper the responsible treatment of the tensions that exist in a community.

### **Ethnic Conflict and Resolution**

Different scholars have looked at the origin of ethnic consciousness in Africa from different viewpoints. Some scholars have argued that ‘fixed ethnicity’ is a new phenomenon in Africa that was initiated by colonial governments (Berman, 1998; Spear,

2003). I have used the term “fixed ethnicity” because the pre-colonial African communities had a fluid identification and were not fixed in one rigid ethnic group. Africans existed within multiple and overlapping identities (Berman, 1998; Berman et al., 2004). Similarly, Chachage and Kanyinga (2003) noted that prior to colonialism, Africans viewed and organized themselves in terms of social groups, not ethnic groups. Berman et al. (2004) also asserted that ethnicity in African society is not primordial, but it is as a result of the encounter of African communities with aspects of modernity such as capitalism and the formation of nation states. Ibrahim and Pereira (as cited in Osamba, 2001) argued that colonial rule categorized different linguistic groups as tribes, and also emphasized the differences among different linguistic groups. The emphasis resulted in rigid ethnic identification. On the other hand, Mamdani (2002) maintained that ethnicity did exist in Africa prior to colonialism, but this ethnicity was a reflection of cultural identity not political identity. According to Mamdani (2002), ethnicity is a cultural identity when it is based on a shared culture whereas it is a political identity when the political leaders, and the law of the state, identify people based on ethnicity and discriminate among people based on their ethnicity.

Although Asimeng-Boahene (2007) views ethnic identification as a cause of ethnic violence in the political realm, ethnicity in African countries is not necessarily negative when used constructively (Birbir, 2007; Bakwesegha, 2004). However, when ethnicity is politicized, and used by politicians for their personal gain it becomes negative (Bakwesegha, 2004). For instance, Chachage and Kanyinga (2003) argued that the pursuit of power on the basis of ethnic identities has resulted in ethnic violence and

conflict. Although ethnic conflict and violence is a worldwide phenomenon, it has been destructive in African countries, and it has hindered transition to democracy (Szeftel, 1994; Bakwesegha, 2004).

There have been various explanations, ranging from social to economic, for rampant ethnic violence and wars in African countries. Some scholars argue that ethnic violence and wars have their origin in colonialism (Harber, 1996; Ukpokodu, 1997). Colonialism through its racist action and discrimination contributed to ethnic violence in African countries. That is, colonial administrations in most African countries favored some ethnic groups over others. Favoritism for one group caused hatred among the groups (Ndura, 2006; Ihonvbere, 1994). Other scholars have argued that most incidences of ethnic conflicts in African countries are caused by the struggle to control countries' resources by different ethnic groups (Bakwesegha, 2004; Osamba, 2001; Agbakwa, 2003).

Violent ethnic conflicts are not just caused by having several ethnic groups in one country, but the type of governance, discrimination and marginalization of some groups also contributes to violent ethnic conflict (Owusu, 1992; Bakwesegha, 2004). For example, Bakwesegha (2004) stated that a country that has a dictatorial government is more likely to promote violent ethnic conflict than one that is not because the dictatorial government tends to marginalize some groups. He argued that ethnic conflicts and wars are a response to rulers' "bad governance, arrogance of power, insensitivity and egoism, and total disregard for the rule of law" (p. 55).



Ethnic violence is a major hindrance to democracy in Africa (Bickmore, 2006). African countries' ethnic conflicts are more challenging because the African countries are experiencing political change and economic change, and at the same time experiencing political conflicts. Although conflict is inevitable in a democracy, there is need to resolve the conflicts in a peaceful way (Ichilov, 1990). In realizing the importance of peaceful conflict resolution, peaceful conflict resolution has been a major issue of concern to most African countries (Bakwesegha, 2004).

There are different ways that are seen to be instrumental in reducing incidences of ethnic violence in African states. Bakwesegha (2004) argued that ethnic conflict can be mitigated by protecting and respecting the rights of the minorities, inclusive political participation, equal treatment of all ethnic and religious groups in African countries, accountability from leaders, and respecting the rule of law. Bakwesegha (2004) warned against using Western models in understanding African ethnic conflict and violence and resolving the problems in Africa. In turn, he argued that there was need to generate relevant models generated by people from African countries who understand the context of the ethnic conflicts and wars.

Agbakwa (2003) noted that much scholarly and policy work has focused on the granting of political and civil rights to foster conflict prevention. The lack of attention to the role of social and economic rights in achieving peace in African countries has made ethnic conflict in African countries more rampant and unmanageable. He, therefore, asserted that acknowledging the role of social and economic rights is crucial in achieving peace and resolving conflicts in African countries. Agbakwa based his argument on the

assumption that political power in most African countries is perceived through an economic lens. That is, being in power means enabling your family and members from your home region to have access to the state's resources.

### **Globalization**

Globalization became prominent in the 1980s. The notion of liberalization of markets or neoliberalism is at the core of globalization (Veltmeyer, 2000; Cooper, 2001; Smith, 2009; Guttal, 2007; Prempeh, 2004). Therefore, globalization seeks to restructure the economies of different countries with an aim of forming a universal world economy (Prempeh, 2004). According to Veltmeyer (2000), globalization is capitalistic in nature and is based on an ideology that liberalizing national and global markets leads to economic growth and human wellbeing. Tracing the origin of globalization to colonialism in Asia, Africa and the Americas, Guttal (2007) argued that the present globalization is not an inevitable result of scientific advancement and the growth of technology, but it is a result of “specifically conceived, planned, and targeted neo-liberal policy and structural measures that sought to bring all aspects of social, economic, and political life under the rubric of market capitalism” (p. 525).

Globalization is core in any discussion of contemporary politics. In fact globalization is closely linked to liberal democracy (Plattner, 2008). To emphasize their relationship, Plattner (2008) argued that globalization and democracy are “mutually reinforcing... globalization has fostered democratization, and democratization has fostered globalization” (Plattner, 2008, p. 73). According to Plattner (2008) the link

between liberal democracy and globalization is explained by liberal democratic features such as a market economy and open international trading systems, features that are conducive to globalization. Furthermore, liberal democracy's promotion of individual rights and especially rights to information has led to free communication which has promoted globalization (Plattner, 2008). On the other hand, Smith (2009) argued that although market liberalization is seen as synonymous with democracy, the two counter each other. For example, Kagwanja (2003) noted that globalization in the form of market liberalism has led to denial of rights such as the right to food, shelter and education to people in the African countries.

Despite the rise of globalization, critics have not favorably embraced it. The critics view globalization as an exploitative/oppressive process that has led to inequality within and between states, escalated poverty, and shaken social welfare in nation-states (Prempeh, 2004; Marable, 2006; Kagwanja, 2003). In turn, the critics have called for anti-globalization movements in resisting the effects of globalization (Marable, 2006; Prempeh, 2004). A number of authors argue that globalization has had negative effects on African countries (Bacchus, 2006; Kagwanja, 2003; Avoseh, 2001). Avoseh (2001) noted that globalization is a way of "powerful" countries imposing their "values, aspirations, tastes standards and colours" on the "weak and vulnerable communities of the world" (484). According to Avoseh, globalization destroys African values such as the importance of the extended family. Similarly, Smith (2009) contends that globalization has a negative effect on indigenous languages and cultures across the world.

Because globalization requires countries to reduce public spending to be competitive in the global economy, it has played a negative role in the construction of citizenship by undermining, or minimizing the autonomy of the nation-state, resulting in the reduction of services in most African countries (Kagwanja, 2003; Abdi, et.al, 2005; Chachage & Kanyinga, 2003; Kubow, 2007; Harrison, 2005). The reduction of social welfare services has resulted into stronger ethnic identities that are viewed as support institutions. Similarly, Edigheji (2006) contends that leaders from African countries are unable to respond to the needs of the citizens because of pressure from global organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to liberalize African markets.

Kagwanja (2003) further asserted that globalization has led to “market citizenship.” Kagwanja maintained that ethnic violence should not only be linked to colonialism, but should also be viewed as a consequence of globalization. The escalation of violence in African nations was linked to the African governments’ withdrawal from reinforcing social citizenship that “requires that every member of society has basic necessities of life” (Liebenberg, 1999). That is, with the introduction of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the 1990s, African countries were required by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to stop offering social welfare programs to their citizens. SAPs were policies that required countries to execute political and economic reforms to ensure growth and stabilization of market economies. Although SAPs were implemented differently in various countries, they had four key features: withdrawal/reduction of state influence on the economy, elimination of state’ subsidies to

reduce expenditures, trade liberalization, and devaluation of currency (Riddell, 1992). The withdrawal of social support by the African governments led to economic stress, anxieties and disillusion among most African people (Appadurai, 1998). Bello (as cited in Abdi et al., 2005) noted that structural adjustment programs required that African countries cut down on social spending such as spending on health care and education. Discussing the issue of ethnic violence, Kagwanja (2003) argued that global identity/citizenship marginalizes African countries and other parts of the world that are still experiencing violent ethnic conflicts that undervalue civic citizenship.

In addition, globalization has created a dichotomy between the “local” and “global” citizens in Africa. Global citizens include the African who can speak global languages such as English and French, access the internet, fax, and travel freely to different parts of their countries and the world. In contrast, local citizens are barred from global processes as a result of their lack of formal education, poverty, or lack of abilities to engage in the global market (Kagwanja, 2003).

### **Legacy of Colonialism in African Education**

Post-colonial theory has been a central approach in the analysis of African educational issues. In particular, African post-colonial studies have sought to understand or investigate the impact and the legacy of European imperialism and colonialism. Post-colonial theory is not one specific theory with specific tenets. Post-colonial theory has been used in different fields such as literacy, history, education, and sociology to analyze different issues. It is, however, clear that post-colonial theory is not synonymous with

“after colonialism” (McLeod, 2000). McLeod (2000) argued that the term post-colonial should not be used with a hyphen because using a hyphen connotes a historical period that in turn implies the end of colonialism, an assumption that most post-colonialists have argued against. Basically, post-colonial theory addresses the various issues of dominion by critically analyzing various societal structures, norms and even language. Post-colonial theory seeks to address issues of inequalities and oppressive relationships in the society.

African societies practiced African indigenous education before the invasion of colonial powers. Although African indigenous education was not based on formal institutions such as schools, it effectively transmitted relevant skills, cultural values and knowledge to the young people from one generation to another (Lathi, 2008). Woolman (2001) noted that although indigenous education varied among African communities, most communities had core elements that included informal education that occurred in the context of family, community and cultural group that instilled communal responsibility. Lathi argued that during colonialism, the colonial governments used colonial educational systems to eradicate most of the African indigenous forms of education.

Of particular interest to African post-colonial scholars has been the effect of colonialism and its legacies on African educational systems. Most scholars argue that colonialism had a negative impact on African people and their educational systems (Ngugi, 1994; Owusu, 1992; Blanton, Maso & Athow, 2001). For example, Ukpokodu (1997) noted that colonial education aimed at indoctrinating the African people by

emphasizing British and European history, geography, and literature. He further noted that citizenship education during colonialism “emphasized moral education and explicitly taught respect for colonial authority, and laws, and allegiances to the colonial and home governments” (p. 93).

Ngugi (1994) argued that colonial education alienated the colonized from their social and cultural reality by rejecting African languages and adopting European languages in schools. Ngugi drew a close relationship between language and culture by viewing language as a carrier of people’s culture and a form of identity. According to Ngugi, how people choose a language determines their identity, therefore, by using European languages Africans have continuously defined themselves in terms of European languages. Abdi (2008) contended that the restoration of African indigenous forms of education can only be made possible by the use of African languages as a medium of education.

Most educational systems in African countries are dominated by European and American cultural values (Lathi, 2008; Ntarangwi, 2003). The dominance is attributed to the legacy of colonial education that viewed African values as inferior to European values and sought to alienate students from their social realities (Lathi, 2008; Ntarangwi, 2003). This dominance resulted in an educational system that is not relevant to the needs of young people. Therefore, Ntarangwi recommended the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in the current Kenyan educational system to ensure relevance to the Kenyan context. According to Lathi (2008), an educational system that is incompatible with

young people's social, cultural and political realities is "bound to fail in a country's effort to build a democratic and just society" (p.24).

### **Citizenship Education in African Context**

Citizenship education in Africa, and Kenya in particular, should address the five major issues: democracy and human rights, national unity and multicultural identity in Africa, ethnic conflict and resolution, globalization, and the legacy of colonialism in African education discussed in the literature. In addition, citizenship education should equip learners with the necessary skills through pedagogical exercises and methods to ensure that they effectively deal with the main citizenship issues.

### **Democratic and Human Rights Education**

It is widely accepted that a society needs to educate its population on how to be effective democratic citizens (Sifuna, 2000; Abdi, Shizha, and Bwalya, 2006). In addressing the type of relevant citizenship education in the post-colonial African context, scholars have mainly taken two approaches. The first approach is where scholars have criticized the relevance of certain models of education, and the second approach suggested what could be relevant citizenship education in the African context.

I will start by discussing the critical views that scholars have outlined in their work. Komba (1998) examines the problematic nature of implementing liberal democratic education in Tanzania. He argued that liberal education pays minimal consideration to the political culture that governs the relations of people. Giving an



illustration on how choices are made by individuals, Komba argued that although liberalism espouses individual autonomy, in reality individual autonomy or choice is tied to the collective in Tanzania. Although Komba raises the challenges of implementing liberal civic education, he does not dismiss its applicability to African countries, but recommends that when implementing liberal civic education, the curriculum planners should consider the conflict between democratic education and African traditional values and traditions.

Although not specifically addressing the African context, Kymlicka and Norman (1994) also acknowledged the challenge of implementing liberal ideas of critical reasoning in schools. According to Kymlicka and Norman, insisting that children think critically about authority in the public discourse may lead the children to question authority in their private sphere, a quality that may be opposed by many traditionalists.

For democracy to thrive in African countries there is need for some form of political education (Domatob, 1997; Sifuna 2000). Sifuna (2000) argued that a literate citizenry is able to actively participate in political activities, understand how the government works, the role of the government, and government procedures. Similarly, Woolman (2003) sees the need for students to know how “the political system works; know the procedural rules, basic laws, and constitutional principles” (p.45). Sifuna noted that democracy can only be acquired when it is taught, and therefore he argued that education systems must explicitly participate in creating the required types of citizens. He outlined the key features for education among the young people in African countries, and in particular Kenya. Sifuna asserted that young people in Africa should be trained on how

to live in a democratic and pluralistic society due to the intolerance and violence prevalent in African countries. He further argued that because the school curriculum in most African countries emphasizes national identity and the duties of a citizen, they tend to put less focus on citizens' and human rights. He, therefore, argued that for democracy to flourish in African countries there is need for more emphasis on rights.

According to Sifuna, most African countries, Kenya included, inherited bureaucratic and authoritarian educational systems from their colonial masters. He asserted that the current school structure in Kenya makes it inappropriate for nurturing democratic citizens. Although the schools do not have the appropriate structure for teaching democratic values, Sifuna asserted that schools should play an explicit role in creating citizens. He, therefore, called for a major overhaul in the Kenyan school system to make it an appropriate context for teaching democratic values. Contrary to other scholars' views that elements of liberalism such as human rights and democracy are not appropriate for African countries, he advocated human rights and democratic education in African schools, and in particular Kenyan schools. He argued that the authoritarian character of most African schooling works against education that makes students aware of their citizenship rights. According to Sifuna, schools must take a liberal education approach to instilling societal values in students. He further noted that the liberal approach ought to emphasize individual autonomy in making decisions with consideration of other people's values, fairness, individual rights, and responsibilities. Sifuna also noted that human rights are instrumental in teaching tolerance. Tolerance is

particularly important in the African context because most countries in Africa are still characterized by conflict and instability (Asimeng-Boahene, 2007).

Because a number of scholars have emphasized the need for human rights education in African countries I will briefly outline what human rights education entails. Lohrenscheit (2002) noted that human rights education has two components. That is, learning “about” and learning “for” human rights (p. 176). According to Lohrenscheit, learning about human rights involves acquiring cognitive knowledge and skills about human rights such as the history of human rights, the values of human rights, and major documents on human rights. Learning for human rights empowers and raises an active person. The key differences between learning about and learning for human rights are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

*Learning about and for Human Rights*

<b>Learning about Human Rights</b>	<b>Learning for Human Rights</b>
Emphasis on: Knowledge, understanding and values	Emphasis on: respect, responsibility and solidarity.
Contents: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Genesis, history and relevance of human rights documents.</li> <li>• Controversies and conflicts of international human rights in debates</li> <li>• Contents of various declarations and conventions</li> <li>• Instruments and practice of human rights.</li> </ul>	Contents: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empowerment</li> <li>• Participation in the transformation of community life and society.</li> <li>• Solidarity/ “rights of the others”</li> <li>• Tension between adaptation to the established norms to the society and the resistance and struggle for the fulfillment of basic rights.</li> </ul>

Adeyemi and Asimeng-Boahene (2001) noted that democratic education in Africa needs to address and resist economic and social inequalities and seek the social and economic interests of the all people. Abdi et al. (2005) argued that there is need for citizenship education in African countries that nurtures the value and need for participation.

### **Education for National Unity and Multicultural Identity**

There is need for African schools to acknowledge diversity in African societies as a strength and not as a threat to national unity (Berman, et al. 2004; Ntarangwi, 2003; Dei, et al., 2006; Woolman, 2001). Dei et al. (2006) argued that there is scarcity of information on how schools in African countries can serve diverse students in an equitable way. According to Dei et al., recognizing and respecting differences will ensure longlasting solutions to some of the social and political problems in Africa. With reference to Ghana, a country similar to most African countries in terms of multiethnic and multilingual character, Dei et al. found that ethnicity still privileges some groups over others in terms of access to educational opportunity. They therefore argued that emphasizing nation building without considering differences can make the dominant group fail to admit its privileged status.

Woolman (2001) admits that national unity is still an important goal for African countries. According to Woolman, national unity can be achieved through education that teaches “African economics, geography, government and history, cultural heritage of dance, music and visual arts, literature, and natural resources” (p. 41). Woolman further

noted that social studies should balance the understanding of different cultures and the acknowledgment of similarities among the cultures in order to facilitate unity.

Okafor (2004) offered an approach to integration of various ethnic groups in Africa. According to Okafor, citizenship education needs to use “oral literature.” Okafor (2004) argued that because it is common among various African communities, it is the best approach to instilling relevant citizenship competencies. He defined “oral literature” as the “verbal art of an essentially non-literate community” (p. 410). Oral literature may include genres such as poetry, legends, praise songs, and narratives. Okafor asserted that African traditional/pre-colonial society contained forms of civic education that were practiced through the use of various forms of African oral literature.

Multicultural education has been viewed as one way of acknowledging diversity and encouraging social stability among African students (Woolman, 2001). Multicultural education has been defined in various ways by different scholars in North America. According to Banks and Banks (2004), multicultural education should ensure that all students irrespective of their gender, social class, ethnic or racial group have equal opportunity to learn in school. Pai (1990) discussed four aims of multicultural education. First, multicultural education nurtures respect for, and appreciation for cultural diversity. The appreciation of different cultures enables us to effectively deal with our problems by learning from other cultures. Secondly, it promotes the inherent worth of each person and interest in the well being of the society. This second aim is based on the assumption that people’s identity is rooted in their culture. Third, multicultural education equips us with multicultural competencies that allow us to function effectively in culturally diverse

settings. Last, multicultural education is instrumental in ensuring educational equity for all regardless of ethnicity, race, age or other exceptionalities.

Dei et al. (2006) noted that ethnicity is relevant in discussing education in the African context. With reference to Ghana, Dei et al. argued that it is problematic for students to view themselves as Ghanaians without considering their ethnic identifications because focus on national integration without considering ethnic differences blurs the reality of uneven power relations that exist in a society, which in turn, maintains power inequalities among ethnic groups.

### **Education for Conflict Resolution**

Schools as well as forms of informal education can play a major role in equipping citizens with peaceful conflict resolution strategies. Harber (1996) argued that for democracy to flourish in African countries, and for realization of peaceful conflict resolution, African countries must consider the role of education in achieving these goals. There is need to educate students in nonviolent conflict resolution strategies. According to Bakwesegha (2004), human rights education is one way that can help students be able to resolve conflicts peacefully and should be implemented as early as primary school in African countries. Bakwesegha further noted that human rights education should emphasize “toleration, reconciliation, friendship, comradeship, and value of life among people of different racial, cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds” (p. 59).

Similarly, Osamba (2001) contended that ethnic violence can be reduced by implementing civic education that teaches people how to respect other people’s civil

rights and live together peacefully. In addition, he noted that education that teaches students about political tolerance is crucial in emerging democracies. He also argued that it is only social justice and equality that can ensure peaceful co-existence. He advocated the use of indigenous approaches to conflict resolution in the African context. An example of Africa indigenous approach to conflict resolution is the use of councils of elders at the village level (Omale, 2006)

### **Education for Globalization**

Although few scholars have addressed ways in which schooling in Africa can deal with globalization, Bacchus (2006) outlined some ways that schools adopt. Bacchus noted that because of the impact of globalization on African countries, there is need to encourage students to embrace their cultural identities and also learn intercultural skills of working together in order to increase production in a competitive world. Bacchus further stated that educating students to be culturally sensitive will enable them to interact and work effectively with those from different countries to achieve a just world trading system.

### **Education to Address the Legacy of Colonialism in African education**

Some scholars have recommended a number of ways to counteract the effects of colonialism and its legacy on educational systems in African countries. One way of doing this is through integrating indigenous ways of knowledge with contemporary knowledge in schools, illustrated by the use of Madagascar's indigenous institution known as

*hiragasy* (Antal & Easton, in press). Antal and Easton defined *hiragasy* as “a day long performance of traditional music, dance and *Kabary* (proverb-infused oratory) presented by a single troupe or by two or more in competition” (p. 6). According to Antal and Easton, the theme of *hiragasy* is determined by contemporary events. They further note that the use of *hiragasy* has also ensured that marginalized and illiterate people are equally exposed to current civic information in Madagascar and sensitizing the population on issues of democracy.

Some scholars have advocated the use of *ubuntu* as a basis of citizenship. Although *ubuntu* does not have one specific definition, the term *ubuntu* generally means humanness (Metz, 2007; Murithi, 2007). Venter (2004) defines *ubuntu* as “a philosophy that promotes the common good of society, and includes humanness as an essential element of human growth” (p.150). Murithi (2007) noted that *ubuntu* is a quality that is manifested differently in different African societies. However, there are core values that constitute *ubuntu* philosophy. Murithi (2007) noted that someone who possesses *ubuntu* is “open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good; for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are” (p. 282). Le Roux (2000) noted that a person who has *ubuntu* must be caring, humble, thoughtful, understanding, wise, generous, hospitable, socially mature, socially sensitive, virtuous and blessed. Metz (2007) mentioned 14 qualities of *ubuntu* as “hospitability, compassion, empathy, tolerance, respect, interdependence, collective



solidarity, patience, reconciliation, cooperation, warmth, forgiveness and supportiveness” (p. 131-132).

*Ubuntu* is relevant in discussing education in African countries because *ubuntu* respects basic rights of others, but at the same time *ubuntu* respects the collective identity (Venter, 2004; Murithi, 2007). According to Venter (2004) *ubuntu* is important in ensuring peaceful co-existence in diverse African countries. Murithi (2007) recommended that *ubuntu* philosophy should be made part of both primary and secondary curriculums in African countries. The philosophy of *ubuntu* can be used to promote human rights because both *ubuntu* and human rights seek to promote human dignity.

A study by Kubow (2007) on teachers’ conceptions of democracy and democratic citizenship in South Africa and Kenya reported that teachers from South Africa advocated *ubuntu* in checking the individualistic perception of democracy. Although the teachers from the study argued for the adoption of African cultural values in schools, they also maintained that some African undemocratic values such as unequal treatment of men and women should be discarded.

### **Pedagogy in African Classes**

To ensure that the mentioned issues are effectively analyzed various scholars have suggested ways of teaching and learning that can equip students with necessary skills. For democratic values to be instilled in African young people, Sifuna (2000) argued against passive teaching methods and instead argued for students’ active participation in the teaching-learning process. Sifuna maintained that human rights and democratic education

must be developmental in nature. That is, the content must become more and more complex as a learner moves from a lower to a higher grade. Relating to teaching strategies for human rights and democratic education, he noted that teachers must adopt participatory teaching and learning, activity-based methods such as problem-solving, group work, drama, and role play. Furthermore, he advocated an appropriate class and school environment conducive to implementing democratic and human rights education.

Similarly, Ukpokodu, (1997) noted that teaching must go beyond memorization and passive learning that encouraged regurgitation of basic information. He advocated the use of inquiry-based teaching, cooperative learning, open discussions, community activities, case studies and debates. There is also need to instill critical thinking skills in students (Ukpokodu, 1997; Woolman, 2003). According to Ukpokodu, critical thinking enables students to be aware of their social context.

Critical thinking has often been advocated by scholars as a means of developing autonomy in students. For instance, Reich (2002) argued that “an education that attempts to develop the critical and independent reflective capacities of children is an extremely important vehicle for nurturing the capacity for autonomy” (p. 112). According to Reich, autonomy is an important virtue in a diverse society.

One way of developing critical thinking skills is through the discussion of controversial issues in African countries’ social studies classrooms (Asimeng-Boahene, 2007). According to Asimeng-Boahene, the teaching of controversial issues such as wars and sexual relations is often viewed as a way of preparing students for efficient citizenship. He argued that there is need for social studies education in African schools to

expose students to different views because exposure to different views prepares students to deal with challenges that exist in the twenty-first century.

The literature on citizenship issues in the post-colonial African context, relevant citizenship education, and pedagogy provides a background and a framework for the analysis of Kenyan social studies textbooks, syllabi and teachers' guides. Textbooks form the main medium of instruction and learning resource in most parts of post-colonial African countries (Rotich, 2004) yet there are no studies to determine whether Kenyan social studies textbooks and teachers' guides address issues core to identity and equip students with the necessary skills to analyze and evaluate these issues. Historically, the Kenyan government has been keen to control textbook publication for schools in order to meet the cultural needs of Kenyan students (Rotich, 2004). Therefore, textbooks, particularly published by a state-owned publisher, may offer a clear description on how the state fosters its sense of nationhood through particular content and skills.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes the purpose of the study; the statement of the problem; a description of content analysis; the specific research questions; the rationale for selecting the methodology; an overview of the Kenyan education system, textbook publication and adoption; sampling of textbooks; and the data collection and analysis procedures.

#### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study was to examine if Kenyan state-owned social studies instructional materials addressed five key citizenship issues scholars identified as significant in the post-colonial African context, democracy and human rights, national unity and multicultural identity in Africa, ethnic conflict and resolution, globalization, and the legacy of colonialism in African education. In addition, the study determined if the treatment of the addressed issues aligned with the recommendations in the citizenship literature. The study also analyzed and evaluated pedagogical exercises and methods in social studies instructional materials.

#### **Statement of the Problem**

Despite the global interest in citizenship education and theoretical discussions on the nature of citizenship education in African countries, there is little empirical research on how social studies, a subject area that addresses citizenship education, prepares young Kenyans for effective citizenship by making them aware of major citizenship issues that

surround them and exposes them to skills that are important in dealing with these issues. Therefore, this study analyzed standard five, standard eight, and form one to form four Kenyan state-owned social studies instructional materials to determine whether or not these citizenship issues were addressed. The study also examined whether or not the issues addressed were consistent with those which were advocated in the citizenship literature. In addition, the study analyzed and evaluated the skills used to prepare students for addressing major citizenship issues.

### **Research Design**

The specific research questions will be addressed through qualitative content analysis of social studies instructional materials, students' textbooks and teachers' guide books. Generally, Krippendorff (2004) defined content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use" (p.18). Hsieh and Shannon (2005) offered an elaborate definition of qualitative content analysis as "a research method for subjective interpretation of content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (p. 1278). According to Althide (1996) qualitative content analysis is based on text narratives and descriptions, hence, protocols (a list of questions, items, categories and variables that guide a study) are not elaborate. He further noted that although generated categories and variables may initially guide qualitative content analysis, other categories are allowed to emerge throughout the study.

Content analysis has an advantage of producing data that is not obtrusive (Insch, Moore and Murphy, 1997; Krippendorff, 1980). Therefore, the researcher can use content analysis to examine data that was produced without the respondent's or a writer's prior knowledge that the information could be used as research data. The unobtrusive nature of content analysis reduces the researcher's biases (Insch, Moore and Murphy, 1997). In addition, content analysis is valued for its ability to evaluate the presentation of a certain issue in a large number of texts (McKee, 2003; Carley, 1993).

Content analysis can generate analysis categories from an existing theory or available research (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; Krippendorff, 2004). Therefore, five major citizenship issues will form the *a priori* analysis categories for this study. However, other categories that emerge during data analysis will also be discussed. This study used qualitative content analysis to identify the presence of five major citizenship issues. Qualitative content analysis is guided by the following steps:

1. *Formulating the Research Question.* The first step to qualitative content analysis is to formulate research questions to be answered (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). According to White and Marsh (2006), qualitative content analysis research uses open questions to guide the data collection. White and Marsh further noted that the role of the text in qualitative content analysis research is different from that of quantitative content analysis because in qualitative content analysis, new patterns and concepts may emerge when the researcher scrutinizes the text. Hence, qualitative content analysis researchers

2. *Sample Selection.* Sample selection involves the choice of relevant texts to be used as sources of data. Typically, a qualitative content analysis researcher focuses on the uniqueness of a text (White and Marsh, 2006). In addition, White and Marsh noted that because qualitative content analysis is an iterative process, a small text sample is necessary to allow exhaustive text analysis. Sampling in qualitative content analysis is not based on generalization. Therefore, sampling does not ensure that all materials to be analyzed have equal probability of being selected (White and Marsh, 2006). According to Marsh and White, sampling should be “theoretical and purposive” (p.36). Similarly, Altheide (1996) recommended progressive theoretical sampling which necessitates the selection of texts based on the emerging understanding of the research topic. That is, texts should be selected for conceptual and theoretical reasons.
3. *Coding.* Hsieh and Shannon (2005) noted that the success of any qualitative content analysis is determined by the coding process. Weber (1990) stated that the basic coding process in content analysis involves the organization of large quantities of texts into fewer categories. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) defined categories as “patterns or themes that are directly expressed in the text or are derived from them through analysis” (p. 1285). Unlike traditional content analysis, qualitative content analysis does not require coding rules (Ahuvia,

4. *Data Analysis*. The data analysis process of qualitative content analysis is incorporated into the coding process. Therefore, the data analysis should include the description of the context and theoretical construct (White and Marsh, 2006).

An explanation on how each of the steps discussed above was applied in this study is given below.

### **Specific Research Questions**

The specific research questions are:

1. Do state-owned social studies instructional materials address the main citizenship issues identified in the literature as relevant to the post-colonial African context?
2. Does the treatment of the main citizenship issues in state-owned social studies instructional materials align with the recommendations in the literature on citizenship?



3. What pedagogical exercises are present in state-owned social studies instructional materials and are they consistent with recommendations in the literature on citizenship?

### **Sampling**

A description of the Kenyan educational system and school textbook publication and adoption is helpful in understanding the context of the sampled materials.

### **Overview of Kenyan Education System**

Kenya has a centralized educational system known as the 8-4-4. That is, the system consists of eight years of primary education, four years of secondary education, and a minimum of four years of university education. Education at primary, secondary and university level is not compulsory. A large number of Kenyan schools are public schools. Although there has been an increase in the number of private schools, most of them adopt the government system of education (8-4-4). Few private schools follow the American or British education system. Most Kenyan schools are single sex boarding or day and mixed-schools. Public schools are funded by the government through paying teachers' salaries and subsidies whereas private schools are owned and funded by individuals or private organizations. Most of the secondary schools are single-sex boarding schools. Transition from one level of education to another is marked by passing Kenyan national examinations that are prepared by the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC), a national institution that prepares and conducts national examinations

in primary school, secondary school and colleges other than universities. Usually, the examinations cover content across the educational level. For example, the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examination covers content taught from form one (9th grade) to form four (12th grade).

Although early childhood development and education is not implied in the 8-4-4 system, it is one of the levels in the Kenyan education system. Typically, early childhood education is termed as nursery school and caters for children who are below six years of age. Even though the cost of early childhood development and education has resulted in low enrollment, it is acknowledged by the government of Kenya as a crucial requirement for children who will further proceed to primary school (Kasandi & Akumu, 2008).

Primary school is the second level of education that consists of standard one to standard eight. The common age in primary school is six to fourteen years. However, there are exceptions, making it not unusual to have students who are above fourteen years of age in primary school. Currently, Kenya has free education that was introduced in 2003. Free primary education in Kenya is based on direct government support. The government through the Kenya Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) gives financial support to schools based on the number of students that are enrolled. That is, each student is assigned a specific amount of money each year. Although primary education is termed “free,” parents still incur some costs such as uniforms and lunch fees that have kept some children from poor families away from school (Kasandi & Akumu, 2008).

At the end of eight years in primary school, all students are required to take the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), a national examination that determines entrance to secondary school. KCPE also determines the type of high school, national, provincial, or district, that a student joins. Primary school students are taught more than five subject areas, English, mathematics, Kiswahili, physical education, social studies, creative arts, Christian religious studies, and Islamic religious studies, but the KCPE examination only examines five major areas: English, mathematics, Kiswahili, science and social studies. Students who do not meet the required score to enter secondary schools either drop out or opt to repeat standard eight to meet the required score. Because of a limited number of secondary schools relative to students who take KCPE and the cost of secondary education, most students are not successful in getting admission to schools of their choice (Sawamura & Sifuna, 2008)

The next level of education after primary school is secondary school that runs from form one to form four. Most of the students are fourteen to nineteen years of age. Secondary school education in Kenya has always been expensive, making access hard for some students. The government introduced free secondary education in 2008, a plan that does not seem to be working. Sawamura and Sifuna (2008) noted that the cost of secondary school is so high, approximately 10,265 Kenyan shillings per student each year, that the government can not afford to sustain the policy of free secondary school education. In this plan, the government pays tuition fees for all students, but students are required to meet other costs such as boarding fees and personal expenses. Given that most high quality secondary schools in Kenya are boarding schools, many qualified

students still miss out because they cannot afford the cost of the boarding fee. Therefore, free secondary school education has turned out not to be free because schools are still requiring students to meet some costs.

Students in form one and two are required to take all the core subject areas at that particular level. These subject areas include: English; Kiswahili; history and government; chemistry; biology; physics; mathematics; religious studies; geography; any applied subject such as home science, agriculture, accounting, or commerce. When students get to form three, they are required to select a minimum of eight subject areas depending on their future career path. In selecting subject areas, all students are required to select the core subject areas: English, mathematics, Kiswahili, and a minimum of two sciences. Usually the students are required to select a minimum of one subject area from humanities (history and government, geography and religious education), and one subject area from applied subjects such as home science, commerce, accounting, agriculture, economics, and woodwork.

During their last year in secondary school, students sit for the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE), an examination that determines entrance to a particular level of college, either middle college, or university. KCSE scores also determine admission to a particular course. KCSE examines students in a minimum of eight subject areas. Students who manage to get a mean grade of C+ qualify to join the Kenyan public and private universities. However, due to a limited capacity in Kenyan public universities and the prestige attached to them, entrance to public universities is highly competitive. As a result, many students who get a mean grade of C+ and above are left out in the

selection process. Public university selection is a rigorous process done by the Joint Admission Board (JAB), a Kenyan inter-university committee that evaluates students' applications to Kenyan public universities.

After secondary school, some students join Kenyan universities while others join middle level or technical training colleges. I will briefly discuss how teacher education training works. Secondary and primary school teachers are typically trained differently. All pre-service students who qualify to join Kenyan universities are trained as secondary school teachers. On average, the university program takes four years with students specializing in two subject areas that they will be required to teach at the secondary school level. Usually, students who plan to teach at the primary school level go through different training from secondary school pre-service teachers. In most cases these students do not merit joining the Kenyan public universities or are not able to meet the cost at the university. Pre-service teachers for primary schools are trained in primary teachers' colleges for two years. To qualify for these colleges, candidates must have a mean grade of C in KCSE (Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2004).

### **School Textbook Publication and Adoption in Kenya**

Before independence and immediately after independence, multinational publishers dominated textbook publication in Kenya (Ogechi & Ogechi, 2002). However, with the introduction of the 8-4-4 system of education in 1985 two government publishers, Kenya Literature Bureau (KLB) and Jomo Kenyatta Foundation (JKF), took over most of the school textbook publication. KLB and JKF were formed at different

times. KLB, the oldest publishing company, acquired its name in 1977 to replace the collapsed East African Literature Bureau that was established in 1948 whereas the JKF was established in 1965. Until 1997, school textbook publication in Kenya was dominated by the two government publishers, KLB and JKF, to ensure that textbooks' content was culturally relevant to the Kenyan students (Ogechi & Ogechi, 2002).

Prior to year 1999, the ministry of education categorized school textbooks into two categories, core and supplementary. The core textbooks consisted of textbooks that were written by the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), and published by KLB and JKF whereas the supplementary were textbooks published by non-government publishers (Rotich, 2000). With liberalization of markets, the Kenyan government allowed other publishers to equally compete for their textbooks' adoption. However, for the textbooks to be approved for use in Kenyan schools, the publishers had to write their textbooks following the guidance of the syllabi produced by the Ministry of Education through the KIE. These textbooks must also be approved by the Ministry of Education. Despite government liberalization of textbook production, Rotich noted that a group of consultants approved by the Ministry of Education found that the government's control of textbook production was still in place. This was confirmed by the highest percentage of school textbooks, published by KLB and JKF, on the market.

Currently, Kenya has two state-owned, a number of local and multinational publishers. Publishers that want their textbooks to be adopted in Kenyan schools must submit a copy of their textbooks and teachers' guide for each textbook to the Kenya Institute of Education for evaluation and approval. These textbooks must meet certain

requirements from the Ministry of education to be approved. In the process of evaluation, some textbooks are approved and others are not. In most cases both or one government publisher's textbook is approved. Among the approved textbooks, six are listed as recommended textbooks in each subject area whereas others are listed as supplementary textbooks. The Ministry of Education publishes a list of recommended textbooks yearly and distributes it to all schools. Schools are then required to choose from a list of recommended textbooks. This choice, usually, depends on the content and the price. Individual primary schools are required to form school textbook selection committees (STSC) that are responsible for the selection of the textbooks (Rotich, 2004). The STSC consists of subject teachers in lower primary (standard 1-3), upper primary (standard 4-8) and two parents. Unlike in primary schools, selection of textbooks in secondary schools is done by subject teachers.

### **Sampling of Materials**

Sampling in content analysis should ensure that the texts selected answer the research questions of a particular study (Krippendorff, 2004). Therefore, the study purposively sampled 2 primary school (standard five and standard eight) and 4 secondary school (form one to form four) social studies/history and government textbooks and teachers' guides. It is important to note that syllabi, guidelines prepared by the Kenya Ministry of Education Science and Technology through the curriculum center, Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), were not used in this study because all instructional objectives in the syllabi matched instructional objectives in teachers' guides. Basically,

common syllabi prepared by KIE must be used by all public schools and private schools that adopt the Kenyan educational system (8-4-4). The selected social studies instructional materials were published by the oldest government publisher, Kenya Literature Bureau (KLB). The selection of social studies instructional material published by KLB was based on the argument that most schools are likely to adopt one textbook from the government publisher because of the centralized system of education and the centralized national examinations. Furthermore, textbooks by the government publishers are always on the list of recommended textbooks.

Standard five social studies instructional materials were selected because this is the first time students are exposed to explicit identity/citizenship issues beyond their home province whereas the selection of standard eight textbook was based on the fact that it is the last class that marks the end of primary school education and some students are not likely to move on to secondary schools because of the cost involved and poor performance. The selection of secondary school history textbooks was based on a different criterion because their content is organized differently. Unlike primary school, where the same topics central to identity/citizenship are taught in each standard with different complexity, secondary school textbooks distribute these topics across all forms (form one to four). Therefore, all secondary school students' textbooks were selected. Next, purposive sampling was used to select topics from the chosen textbooks. According to Krippendorff (2004), purposive sampling in content analysis ensures that all textual units that are helpful in answering the research question are selected. Krippendorff noted that content analysts using purposive sampling must first examine the texts to be



analyzed in determining what to select. Therefore, I used the table of contents to select topics central to national identity/citizenship from each selected textbook. This included topics on: citizenship and government, international relations, developments related to nationhood, developments related to political independence, and the nation's cultural heritage and identity. The topics selected were more likely to generate relevant data for answering my research questions because they articulated the notions of identity and were explicitly linked to the nation and its development.

### **Data Collection**

Data was collected from the books listed in Appendix A. I read the textbooks iteratively to determine overall themes that were expressed. This was done by coding significant statements (words, sentences, and phrases) and sorting them into categories. These categories were created based on similarities among significant statements (Weber, 1990; Krippendorff, 1980). Then the relationship among categories was identified to establish emerging patterns/themes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Each textbook, apart from Standard Five that only had practice questions, included a number of practice questions and learning activities at the end of each chapter. All practice questions in the textbooks were outlined under the topic "work to do" whereas learning activities were stated under the topic "Activity." Therefore, data for the last question "What pedagogical exercises are present in state-owned social studies instructional materials and are they consistent with recommendations in citizenship literature?" was collected by reading through the selected textbooks while highlighting all practice questions and activities under each selected

topic. Teachers' guides were also reviewed to identify all instructional objectives and recommended learners' activities for the selected topics.

### **Analysis of Data**

The analysis of data was divided into two categories, primary and secondary school, reflecting the level of textbooks. Once data were collected from the textbooks, they were compared to the key citizenship issues identified in the literature, democracy and human rights, national unity and multicultural identity in Africa, ethnic conflict and resolution, globalization, and the legacy of colonialism in African education. Descriptive and critical data analyses were used. The analysis of data to answer the questions "Do state-owned social studies instructional materials address the main citizenship issues identified in the literature as relevant to the post-colonial African context?" and "Does the treatment of the main citizenship issues in state-owned social studies instructional materials align with the recommendations in the literature on citizenship?" involved the use of descriptive analysis to describe the citizenship issues that were present and then, a critical evaluation was done to determine the extent to which these issues were consistent with the prescriptions from the literature. Each citizenship issue was analyzed at a time.

The analysis of the question "What pedagogical exercises are present in state-owned social studies instructional materials and are they consistent with recommendations in the literature on citizenship?" entailed grouping recommended pedagogical exercises into two categories, active and passive. Pedagogical exercises included practice questions and learning activities at the end of each selected textbook

chapter, learning activities under every selected textbook chapter in the teachers' guide, and instructional objectives that stated appropriate ways of evaluating students. Passive practice questions and learning activities were those that did not require active student participation whereas active ones required active students' participation through active ways of learning such as discussions, role plays and debates. All recommended pedagogical exercises in teachers' guides and students' textbooks were analyzed descriptively and the analysis also involved determining if they were consistent with what was recommended by scholars in the literature on citizenship.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the results from the data analysis described in chapter three. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the themes that emerged from the content analysis of the selected topics central to national identity in the sampled primary and secondary school textbooks. The second section identifies citizenship issues that were addressed in the textbooks. This section also critically compares the citizenship issues in the literature with the themes that emerged from the selected textbooks topics after content analysis, with the purpose of determining common elements. The third section delineates how the treatment of the main citizenship issues in the textbooks aligns with citizenship education recommended by scholars. The final section presents the findings from the analysis of pedagogical questions, activities and instructional objectives. In addition, the section discusses how the pedagogical exercises reflect the pedagogy recommended by scholars. In this section, the term “scholars” was used to denote the scholars cited in the literature review section (chapter two). The analysis also used the phrases, “Standard Five,” “Standard Eight,” “Form One,” “Form Two,” “Form Three,” and “Form Four” to refer to social studies student’s textbooks for standard five, standard eight, form one, form two, form three, and form four respectively.

#### **Overall Content Analysis Themes**

This section discusses all themes that emerged after content analysis of primary and secondary school textbooks.

## **Themes in Primary School Textbooks**

The analysis of primary school textbooks revealed eight themes, conflict and conflict resolution, democracy and human rights, citizenship, political developments in Kenya, national unity and multicultural identity, values, effects of colonialism on African culture, and globalization. Each theme is presented as it was discussed in the textbooks.

### **Conflict and Conflict Resolution**

In dealing with conflict, Standard Five portrayed ethnic conflict as something that existed prior to colonialism. For example, the textbook noted that some communities such as the Abawanga collaborated with the colonialists in order to get assistance in fighting their enemies. However, it was also noted in both Standard Five and Eight that colonialism exacerbated ethnic hatred by using communities that collaborated to fight those that resisted colonial rule and favored some groups more than others. Standard Eight noted that colonial powers used “divide and rule” administration that emphasized differences among different ethnic groups. It further noted that the current ethnic conflicts in Kenya were partly caused by political leaders who instilled hatred against other ethnic groups and political intolerance among their members.

Standard Five noted that although Kenya was a peaceful country it still experienced ethnic violence as a political problem. “Tribal clashes” in the 1990s were mentioned as an example of ethnic violence that negatively affected national unity and economic development. Both Standard Five and Eight noted that peace was important in ensuring economic development in the country because it promoted tourism, an economic

activity that provided revenue for the country, and also allowed Kenyans to participate in economic activities such as farming and trade. Standard Eight also noted that peace was prerequisite for achieving democracy, for granting rights, and it also attracted foreign investors. Standard Eight noted that peace made it easier for a government to provide basic services such as education and healthcare to the citizens. The importance of peace was also discussed with regard to schools and families. Standard Five noted that peace in families and schools thrived when students obeyed rules at home and in school. Peace ensured order in schools by availing enough time for students to concentrate on their studies and pass their examinations whereas obeying rules at home led to peaceful homes. For example, the textbook noted, “once there is peace in the home, there is love and happiness among members of the family” (p.206). To promote peace, both Standard Five and Eight stated that everyone in the country had to obey the law of the country. Although neither of the textbooks discussed ways of conflict resolution, Standard Eight noted that a sense of common national citizenship ensured peaceful conflict resolution. In discussing the role of the United Nations, Standard Eight indicated that the UN was an organization that sought to achieve peace among nations

Both books discussed elements that cause conflicts. Standard Five discussed the following: the use of police force to harass citizens that participated in peaceful demonstrations, violent ways of resolving disagreements among and between people, denial of rights, discriminating against some members of the society, disobeying the law and corruption that caused lawlessness among citizens.

According to Standard Eight, conflicts were caused by members of one religion discriminating against those of other religions. The discrimination caused disharmony among members of different religions. For example, the textbook stated, “freedom of worship has in the past been abused as followers of one religion hate and discriminate believers of another faith. This practice makes the Christians not to work with Muslims or Muslims refusing to live with or marry non-Muslims” (p.189). The second cause of conflict was favoritism practiced by the people in authority. Specifically, the textbook discussed the practice of favoring members of one’s ethnic group and family as a cause of conflict in Kenya. Favoring certain ethnic groups caused hatred among ethnic groups, a feeling that easily caused violent conflict. Political differences among members of ethnic groups and families caused people to be divided along political parties. The division threatened harmony in the country. The textbook also noted that Kenya had people of different races who came from other countries and were either working and living in Kenya, touring or visiting. The book cautioned against racial discrimination, especially in the allocation of resources and employment, because this discrimination worked against national unity.

### **Democracy and Human Rights**

Both Standard Five and Eight explicitly discussed the concept of democracy, its origin, types, benefits and main principles that underpin democracy. Both textbooks indicated that the term democracy originated from the Greek word “demo,” meaning the people, and “kratos,” authority. Both textbooks defined democracy in the same way, “the

rule of people.” Standard Five further indicated, “Democracy is not just a form of government it is a way of thinking and acting” (p.203). Democracy was also viewed as a culture defined as “a way of life of people” (p. 59). Both the textbooks mentioned two types of democracy, direct/participatory and indirect/representative democracy. Direct democracy was the one that involved all the people in decision making through deliberation whereas indirect democracy involved people through their representatives. Unlike indirect democracy that requires the election of representatives, direct democracy necessitates that all members be present, and all members be given equal opportunity to give their views about an issue being discussed. The books mentioned that direct democracy was the best, but it was only effective with small populations such as the village or classroom. Therefore, Kenya adopted representative democracy. Examples of representative democracy listed were election of representatives in school committees, members of parliaments and local authority councilors. Standard Eight further noted that democracy was not the same in every country because each country had different ways of citizens’ participation. Although the assertion could have revealed more on what the textbook meant by noting that different countries had different ways of practicing democracy, the book did not give any further explanation.

The two textbooks also discussed the importance of democracy in a country. They noted that democracy ensured that there was the rule of law. To explain this Standard Eight noted, “in a democracy no one is above the law, not even the president or ministers” (p179). Other benefits of democracy noted were its promotion of human rights, equality, citizen participation, and national stability.



The main principles that underpin democracy were accountability of the elected members, regular and free elections characterized by multiparty competition, freedom of the media, promotion of diversity of cultures and beliefs, majority rule, participation through vying for elections, voting, debating issues, attending community meetings, protesting against issues, respect for human rights, and the rule of law. Some of the values that characterized democracy were tolerance of other peoples' opinions, equality of all people irrespective of race, gender and ethnic group through provision of equal opportunities. Standard Five indicated that the constitution of Kenya ensured that there was equality among all people. Both books noted that bribery, especially through "buying" votes, and corruption undermined democracy.

Political parties were seen as a feature of democracy. Standard Eight noted that Kenya is a "multi-party" democracy with 43 political parties. The textbook defined the term political party, discussed the role and function of political parties. Having more than one political party promoted democracy because opposition political parties provided different views from that of the government, gave Kenyans the freedom to criticize their leaders and an opportunity to choose from a variety of leaders. The functions of political parties were to encourage freedom of association; ensure an alternative government and accountability from the government; promote political awareness among citizens; participation through voting; human rights, especially, in authoritarian nation-states, and ensure peaceful transition from one government to another.

Citizens' participation was discussed as an element of democracy. In explaining the importance of participation, Standard Five stated, "participation is the main role of

citizens in a democracy. It is not only their right but their duty” (p. 203). Both textbooks noted that participation in the public sphere promoted unity among people. Standard Five noted that citizens could participate in a democracy through vying for elections, voting, engaging in debates about important issues, attending meetings in the community and protesting against an issue. Standard Eight discussed the same ways of participation as listed in Standard Five but added three more ways, caring for the environment, public property, and assisting other people through charitable organizations such as the Red Cross and Rotary Club. Participation in the school context was also discussed.

Both books elaborated on citizens’ participation at the community level through raising funds for community projects such as schools, churches, mosques and roads. The spirit of *harambee* philosophy was seen as a driving force that encouraged people to participate at the community level. Standard Five explained the importance of working together at the community level by giving an example from the school context, “When all members of your class go out to plant trees or clean the compound it is bad when some hide from the rest. When all people join hands, they make work easier and help to bring the people to appreciate one another” (p.192).

Citizens could participate at the national level through taking part in the constitutional review process by giving their views on how to change the constitution. Standard Five gave an example in the year 2000 when members of a constitutional review commission moved around the country collecting information from citizens on their views about what was to be included in the new constitution. Another way of participation at the national level was through national elections. Election as a form of

citizens' participation was given an elaborate discussion in both textbooks. The books noted that all Kenyans who were eighteen years and above were supposed to vote.

Standard Five discussed the formation, administrative structure and functions of the electoral commission of Kenya (ECK), a body in charge of elections in Kenya. Standard Eight mentioned the function of the ECK and focused on a detailed explanation of the national election process in Kenya.

The constitution, drafted by the elected members of parliament, was discussed as an element of democracy. Standard Eight indicated that "It protects the wishes and welfare of the people of Kenya" (p.188). In addition, the constitution ensured harmony among Kenyans. Elaborating on the importance of a constitution in a democratic country Standard Five explained, "Governments that rule without a constitution are dictatorial" (p. 203. Both books noted that the constitution contained a list of individual rights and freedoms. Standard Eight had a thorough discussion on the Kenyan constitution. It covered the definition, the history, and amendments to the constitution since independence.

Standard Eight also discussed the constitutional review process that took place in Kenya between 2001 and 2004. This review involved collecting views of *wananchi* (citizens) on important issues that were to be included in the constitution. It is noted that the after drafting the new constitution, Kenyans, through referendum, voted against the new drafted constitution. Details on why they voted against the new constitutional draft were not explained.

Human rights and democracy were closely linked. In fact, both of the textbooks contained a chapter on “democracy and human rights.” Despite the title, Standard Five did not have a thorough coverage of human rights, only two sentences that talked about human rights. Standard Five defined human rights as “values that show respect for human life and dignity” (p.203). Examples of human rights listed were freedom of expression, association, assembly, right to life and education. Standard Eight had an elaborate discussion on human rights. It was evident that the textbook did not show a clear distinction between human rights and citizens’ rights. The book explained that a bill of rights, included in the constitution of Kenya, was “a list of rights and freedoms enjoyed by all citizens of a country.” These individual rights in the bill of rights were termed as human rights. These human rights promoted fairness and justice for all people. The book explained that the bill of rights “limits and checks the powers of the government and protects *wananchi* from the abuse of power” (p. 181). The textbook also noted that the bill of rights also contained the responsibilities of the people. It further explained that human rights were only granted if people did not interfere with other people’s rights.

Human rights were categorized into three types: civil and political, social and economic rights, and environmental rights. Examples of each type were discussed. There was no discussion on the origin of human rights or the declarations on human rights. However, in discussing international cooperation, the textbook discussed the origin, bodies, administration and membership of the United Nations (UN), an international organization that was instrumental in the origin of human rights. The book indicated that the UN was formed in 1945 to ensure peace among countries. The UN also ensured

justice and resolved conflicts among member nation-states. Among the achievements of the UN, the textbook noted that UN had actively promoted good governance and human rights in member states. In discussing the failures of the UN, it was noted that the UN was powerless because it could not interfere with internal affairs of member countries. This had caused some countries not to respect the UN Charter.

The Commonwealth as an informal organization that promoted good governance and human rights was also discussed by Standard Eight. It was noted that the Commonwealth consists of former British colonies and other voluntary countries. The original purpose of the Commonwealth was to promote positive relationships among member countries in terms of “trade, sports, education, cultural exchange, and industrial development” (p.169).

Both textbooks discussed the government’s abuse of human-rights. One incident discussed by both textbooks was when the second president, Daniel Arap Moi, after the coup d’état in 1982 banned all opposition parties, arrested and detained opposition leaders who went against his decision. The abolition of all opposition parties was seen as a denial of political freedom.

### **Citizenship**

Citizenship as a theme was discussed in both textbooks. Citizenship was defined as membership in a country, and it ensured fairness and national unity. Both books presented the Kenyan citizen as one who legally belonged to Kenya either by birth or through registration. Citizenship was validated through the use of national identity cards

and birth certificates. In explaining its importance, Standard Eight indicated, “citizenship enables Kenyans to share the feeling of belonging to one nation... unites our people who belong to different communities and religious backgrounds” (p.172). In addition, it indicated that a sense of citizenship was instrumental in peaceful conflict resolution and peaceful co-existence. Standard Eight pointed out that Kenyan citizenship was revocable when a Kenyan takes up citizenship of another country, voluntarily gives up his Kenyan citizenship, or when a citizen of Kenya through naturalization does not obey the law of the country and becomes unpatriotic. Although other forms of identity such as cultural and religious identity were mentioned in the textbooks, there was no discussion on how citizenship could be enacted in these spheres.

The books discussed the attributes, rights, and responsibilities of citizens. It was explicitly noted that citizenship determined who was entitled to a country’s rights and who was not. Standard Five noted, “Citizenship allows the citizens of a country to enjoy the benefits that are available to members of that country” (p. 189) whereas Standard Eight noted that “Citizens of Kenya enjoy certain rights or benefits, which non-Kenyans do not enjoy, even if they live in Kenya” (P.171). Citizens had the right to life, own property, education, freedom of worship, movement, expression, association and fair trial. It was noted that these rights were not to interfere with other people’s rights. Standard Five illustrated this by noting, “We should not use abusive language to anybody, just because we have freedom of expression. This means that our rights have limits as long as we do not affect other people’s rights” (p.191). Responsibilities of citizens were seen as a way of making Kenya a “better place to live.” The responsibilities

of citizens discussed were obeying the law, paying taxes, participating in community activities, defending the country against other countries, participating in national elections, respecting other citizens' rights, working hard and taking care of the environment and families.

Both books pointed out “good citizens” were patriotic to their country through accomplishing all the responsibilities of a citizen. Describing patriotic citizens, Standard Five noted, “Patriotic citizens love their country and will never talk bad things about it. If a person talks bad of our country, we should defend it (p. 193). We can infer from this that a critical citizen may not be termed as a good citizen. Similarly, Standard Eight noted that another country could attack Kenya if citizens were not patriotic.

In both Standard Five and Eight, the strongest citizenship concept was national identity, presented as one's identity as a citizen of Kenya. Culture was important in describing national identity. Standard Five defined culture as “the way of life of a people” (p. 56). It further explained that Kenya as a nation did not have one culture but had as many cultures as the number of ethnic groups in Kenya. The textbook urged students not to forget their culture by adopting European culture. This was illustrated by the following statement: “Many of us have taken European culture and forgotten our African ways of life.... but we should not forget some aspects of our culture” (p. 59). The book emphasized that although different communities in Kenya had different cultures, all cultures had common aspects, such as healthy traditional foods, initiation ceremonies that marked transition from childhood to adulthood, important moral laws, traditional dances, songs, and traditional medicine, that were to be preserved. Although students were

encouraged to embrace their cultural heritage, the book also discouraged students against female circumcision that was practiced by some communities. The textbook noted, “circumcision of girls should be ignored altogether” (p. 60).

The books also discussed national symbols, Mount Kenya, the coats of arms, the national currency, anthem, and flag, and how they promoted national identity. For example, Standard Five explained that Kenya as a nation got its name from Mount Kenya, the highest mountain in Kenya. Because of its unique features, Mount Kenya gave Kenyan’s a sense of identity. The textbook reminded students that any time they saw a picture of Mount Kenya they were supposed to remember Kenya.

National heroes have often played a part in national identity. Both books discussed prominent leaders/heroes in Kenya. Standard Five discussed a number of leaders that were considered important in traditional Kenyan societies. The textbook explained that pre-colonial African societies had their leaders, and some of these leaders were prominent. Although the book discussed only four leaders, Masaku, Sakawa, Somoei, and Mekatilili, it noted that those were examples among others. The four leaders had common attributes that were considered outstanding. That is, they were either prophets or medicinemen and offered some important guidance to the people they ruled. In particular, all four warned their members or prophesied against allowing Europeans in their communities for fear of being colonized. For instance, the textbook in explaining the prophetic ability of Sakawa noted, “For example, he foretold the coming of the white man and urged the Abagusi to reject them” (p.163). Among the four leaders three were



men and one was a woman, and they were all from different ethnic groups that were not necessarily dominant groups.

On the other hand, Standard Eight did not focus on traditional leaders, but general “prominent Kenyans.” The textbook discussed the lives and accomplishments of three Kenyans, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi, and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. Among them, two, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi, were former Kenyan presidents and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was the first vice president after political independence. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was acknowledged for his effort to settle landless people who had been displaced by colonialism on settlement schemes. He was also noted for his *harambee* philosophy that encouraged Kenyans to work together on national projects to ensure development in Kenya, introducing free education that ensured that children from poor families went to school, and his active involvement in liberation movements across Africa. Daniel Arap Moi was known for his effort to unite Kenyans through “his motto of Love, Peace and Unity” (p 162); development projects such as schools churches, and hospitals across the country; active involvement in initiating peace meetings in African countries that experienced conflicts; formation of Africa Moi Foundation to improve the state of wellbeing among Kenyans; and providing aid in form of food to parts of Kenya that experienced drought. The textbooks also noted that after a threat to overthrow his government by the Kenyan Air Force in 1982, President Daniel Arap Moi was forced to change the way he governed. Standard Five noted, “Thereafter he allowed little opposition and radical leaders were arrested and detained” (p. 162). Both books also noted that after 1982 President Daniel Arap Moi also banned opposition parties, and

Kenya became a single party state until 1991. Standard Five did not explain why he agreed to let Kenya be a multi-party state but Standard Eight noted that the many protests against one party system led him to allow multi-party elections. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was recognized for “being the grand master of opposition in Kenya” (p. 163). It was noted that he was always against government policies and that on many occasions he thought that Kenya was not yet independent. He was also noted for his argument against capitalism and his campaign for “more freedom and free services given to the people” (p.163).

Both books discussed philosophies and mottos that guided Kenya over time. The philosophies discussed were *harambee*, African socialism, and *nyayo* philosophy. The first President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, adopted the *harambee* philosophy after independence. Standard Five indicated that *harambee* meant “to pull together” (p. 183). *Harambee* spirit drove people to contribute towards community development projects such as hospitals and schools, and without relying on the government. African socialism was initiated by the government in 1965 through the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 to ensure co-existence among Kenyans. Standard Five noted that the paper needed “all Kenyans to be responsible of other people’s welfare” (p. 184) whereas Standard Eight noted that the purpose of African socialism was to seek “suitable plans to identify Kenya’s problems and how to meet local needs without relying on foreign ideologies” (p. 159). Standard Five explained that the word *nyayo* meant “foot steps” in Kiswahili language. This philosophy was adopted by President Daniel Arap Moi and it meant he was going to adopt the same way of governance as his predecessor. The philosophy

promoted peace, love and unity and “formed a cornerstone of national building during Moi’s rule” (p. 185).

Although there was no detailed discussion on challenges to citizenship in Kenya, both books discussed one citizenship challenge that Kenya faced immediately after political independence. It was noted that a war based on citizenship termed as *Shifta* arose in Kenya in 1964. Standard Five explained, “Emergence of *Shifta* war in 1964, by a group of Somalis from North-Eastern province who wanted to join the Somali republic, threatened peace in the country” (p. 184). Explaining the problematic nature of the incident, Standard Eight noted, “Since it is not good for one section of the country to break away, the government spent a lot of resources to stop the war and many people lost their lives” (p. 159).

### **Political Developments in Kenya**

The books discussed political developments in Kenyan history. These developments were divided into three phases. The first one was the pre-colonial period, characterized by governance through the council of elders and chiefs. Each community had its own way of governance. That is, some communities had a centralized way of governance that was based on having one leader who wielded all power in the community whereas some communities had a decentralized form of government that exercised leadership through a council of elders. Traditional leaders were portrayed as people who had unique characters and powers. For example, most of them were medicine men or prophets. The next phase was the colonial period, a phase characterized by dominion of

the African people and abuse of human rights by killing and arresting the Kenyans who resisted colonial rule. There was a detailed explanation of how the Kenyans reacted to colonialism either through resistance or collaboration. Governance during colonial time was either through indirect or direct rule. The use of indirect or direct rule was determined by the type of leadership that existed in a particular community and reaction to colonial rule. Standard Five noted that direct rule was used among communities that resisted colonial rule whereas indirect rule was used among those that collaborated with colonial administrators. Standard Eight indicated that communities that used decentralized way of governance were ruled via indirect rule.

The Legislative Council (LEGCO) formed in 1906 was covered thoroughly in both books. Standard Five noted that “the Legislative Council was a forerunner of the present day National Assembly” (p. 148). For a long time the LEGCO only consisted of the European settlers with no Kenyan or Asian representatives. It was not until 1909 that the first Asian was nominated and 1944 that the first African was nominated. The representation of more Asians and Africans was later granted by their fight for recognition and representation in the LEGCO. The demand for political independence was discussed. Standard Eight noted that participating in the Second World War played a role in sensitizing Africans and Kenyans to their right to political independence. The Second World War also had an impact on Kenyans who fought in the war because “during the war they found out that the whites were not as superior as it was believed. They were killed and injured just like any race” (p. 170). The books discussed political associations such as the Young Kikuyu Association (YKA) and East African Association

that were formed during the colonial period to fight the colonial administration. The books also discussed the Mau Mau movement, a violent movement that fought for political independence, and its role in the achievement of political independence. Standard Five noted, “the members of Mau Mau took an oath to fight the British until they left Kenya for Africans” (p.175). Because the Mau Mau members also killed Africans who collaborated with the European settlers, Standard Eight noted that it created “a division among Africans into loyalists and freedom fighters, which is being felt even today” (p. 153).

The third phase, governance after independence, was also discussed. There was an extensive discussion on role of the government and the current structure of the government with a detailed description of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Both books noted that that the government had a responsibility to protect its citizens. For example, Standard Five noted that the government had a responsibility “to provide security to its citizens” (p. 219). This security is provided through the police and army system whereas Standard Eight noted that “a good government” provided social services to the citizens. In addition, the books discussed ways that the government collected revenue. Standard Eight also discussed local authorities, city, municipal, county, town and urban councils, as extensions of the central government. The textbook noted that local authorities were under the government’s Ministry of Local Government. Therefore, the officers such as clerks, doctors and education officers were appointed by the central government. The local authorities had the role of providing services such as health care, education and infrastructure at a local level.

## **National Unity and Multicultural Identity**

Standard Five and Standard Eight covered aspects of national unity and multicultural identity in varying degrees. However, Standard Eight had more coverage on national unity. Neither of the textbooks had elaborate discussions on multicultural identity, but in one way or another alluded to or explicitly mentioned aspects of multicultural identity. For instance, Standard Five noted the importance of equal treatment of all citizens. The book further noted, “Whenever some people are discriminated upon, they feel rejected by the society. This makes them to take the law into their own hands” (p. 209). The book also acknowledged diversity by noting that Kenya did not have one national culture but had as many cultures as the number of ethnic groups. In explaining why there were different cultures in Kenya, it noted, “Remember we build different types of houses, we celebrate the birth of a child differently...we carry out initiation ceremonies differently and we eat different food.” (p.59). Despite acknowledging differences Standard Five noted that Kenya’s cultural communities also had commonalities such as common traditional foods, dances and songs that could be preserved. In discussing the role of the school in the society, Standard Eight noted that apart from promoting national unity through allowing students from different ethnic groups to freely interact and work together, the school also had the role of promoting ethnic identity and appreciation of diversity by preserving the culture of different ethnic groups through dance, music and drama. Standard Five did not contain a detailed discussion on national unity but discussed some elements of national unity. Both Standard Eight and Standard Five noted that the *nyayo* philosophy promoted unity among

Kenyans. In addition, Standard Five indicated that national citizenship ensured unity among Kenyans.

When discussing national unity Standard Eight recognized the diversity in Kenya by noting that Kenya has “about 42 language communities living in different parts” (p. 184). These communities differed in their ways of life because of different environments around them. The book further noted that although in pre-colonial Africa the Kenyan ethnic communities lived different lifestyles, colonialists emphasized their differences and made some ethnic groups think that they were superior to others. As a result, hatred was instilled among the Kenyan ethnic communities. The racial segregation practiced by the colonial administrators also emphasized the differences among races, Africans, Asians, and Europeans. The Europeans were seen to be at the highest level followed by the Asians, while the Africans were at the lowest level.

Therefore, the new government after independence had a role of uniting all communities that had been divided by colonialism. It was also noted that national unity promoted economic development and ensured that Kenya was not attacked by other countries. Standard Eight discussed national symbols such as the Kenyan flag and national anthem that fostered national unity. The use of a national language was also seen as a factor that promoted national unity because it made it easier for Kenyans from different language groups to understand each other. Other factors that promoted national unity were a national curriculum, a policy that allowed students to attend any school or college across the country, the Kenyan constitution that allowed people to settle in any part of the country, one parliament with representative members that worked together,

government policy that ensured that employees worked in any part of Kenya, interaction through trade, sports, and intermarriages

Some factors were seen as a hindrance to national unity. For example, the book noted that the abuse of freedom of worship resulted in hatred and discrimination among people of different religious groups. Another factor was tribalism, a practice that existed whenever “people in authority give favours to people from their ethnic communities” (p.189). Nepotism was described as the act of favoring people from one’s family or clan. The favoritism encouraged hatred and disunity among groups. Additionally, the lack of tolerance for other people’s political views and formation of political parties along ethnic lines worked against national unity. Besides other factors, racism was seen as a factor that worked against national unity. Racist attitudes that promoted discrimination of people along racial lines were a cause of disunity among people of different racial groups. Describing the racial diversity of Kenya, the textbook noted, “Our country has communities from different parts of the world, who are living and working here” (p. 190).

## **Values**

The books explicitly promoted certain values. Standard Five noted that religious groups are instrumental in teaching positive values such as charity, tolerance, and patience. Respect, especially, for authority and elders was a dominant theme in both textbooks. For example, Standard Five alerted students to inappropriate ways of greeting people by noting “By merely telling someone older than you, “good morning”, is not



enough...it has been African for youth to extend their greetings to the elders, and not the elders to begin their greetings” (p. 60). Another value that is emphasized is obedience. Students were required to obey school rules, their parents, and teachers. For example Standard Five noted, “When we obey our parents and assist them, we make our home a better place to live in” (p.206).

### **Effects of Colonialism on African Culture**

The textbooks discussed educational programs in pre-colonial, colonial and independent Kenya. Standard Five had a thorough coverage of pre-colonial education. Education in pre-colonial Africa did not take place in schools but in communities under the supervision of older members of the society. The book noted that this education was known as non-formal or traditional education. This type of education commenced with the birth of a child. Through observation as children grew up they learned to do what was expected from them. The children also learned through participating in adult activities such as cooking, hunting and caring for younger siblings. Education in pre-colonial Africa was differentiated by gender. For example, Standard Five explained that “the boys and girls were not taught together because they were expected to play different roles in society” (p.53). Songs, legends, narratives and proverbs had a role in teaching the young people. Skills such as practicing medicine and shaping iron were acquired through apprenticeship.

The Kenyan way of life and cultural practices were destroyed by European colonialism and Christianity. Standard Five noted, “When the foreigners first came to

Kenya they did not like the way our people lived” (p. 59). The book explained that Europeans did not value traditional forms of education. By despising everything that was African, they affected the way Kenyans perceived themselves and “made the Africans to hate their way of life and practice European culture” (p. 59). The book, therefore, urged students not to forget their African way of life by adopting European culture and noted that various positive aspects of culture such as dance and song and moral values were to be preserved.

### **Globalization**

Neither Standard Eight nor Standard Five had an explicit discussion on globalization but mentioned a few elements that characterized market liberalization. For example, Standard Five indicated that during president Moi’s era, the government introduced cost sharing in education, a system that required both the government and parents to share the cost of education. Standard Eight noted that the World Bank was an international institution formed in 1945 to offer financial assistance through loans, grants, and aid to member countries. The financial assistance was geared towards development projects such as education, health, and agriculture.

### **Themes in Secondary School Textbooks**

This section discusses the themes that emerged from content analysis of secondary school textbooks. This section does not compare the themes that emerged from the textbooks to the significant citizenship issues identified by scholars in the literature.

Each theme is presented as it was discussed in the textbooks. In the discussion, the terms “Form One,” “Form Two,” “Form Three,” and “Form Four” were used to refer to form one, form two, form three, and form four social studies students’ textbooks (History and Government) respectively.

### **Citizenship**

Citizenship as a theme or elements of citizenship were covered by all four textbooks. Form One defined citizenship as “the belonging and the membership of an individual to a country” (p. 88). It noted that Kenyans were subjects of the British government and only became citizens after Kenya gained political independence in 1963. The textbook explained that citizenship in Kenya was either by birth, descent, registration or naturalization. Although citizenship in Kenya was by birth, it noted that this applied to children whose fathers were Kenyan citizens and not “diplomats representing foreign governments” (p. 90). Citizenship by descent was based on the father. That is, a child was a Kenyan if the father was a Kenyan, whether born in Kenya or another country. Form One also noted that Kenyan citizenship was revocable in certain circumstances such as treason, or committing an offense that required imprisonment within five years of registration or naturalization. Form Two noted that the laws and rules that governed citizenship were outlined in the Kenyan constitution.

Form One noted that all Kenyan citizens irrespective of their gender, race, religion, ethnic group or class were entitled to certain rights such as the right to life, property, liberty, and freedom of conscience, expression, association and assembly.

However, rights are only to be enjoyed if they did not infringe on other people's rights and were within the confines of the law. In addition, citizenship rights were to "positively contribute to nation's well being and not work against national interests" (p. 93).

Similarly, Form One noted that citizens had responsibilities that included respect and protection of the law, possession of legal government documents, payment of taxes, participation in elections, care for the environment, and engaging in public debates and meetings. It also discussed the attributes of "a good citizen." Good citizens were those who valued nationalism by devoting themselves to serving the nation, especially through uniting all Kenyans; valued patriotism through loving, serving and working to "promote the well being of one's country" (p. 94); respected universal moral values; adhered to what was expected of them at all times, spent their time and money wisely; and respected work ethics such as accountability, hard work, and transparency.

National heroes were discussed in relation to citizenship. That is, the heroes or leaders discussed possessed qualities of "good" citizenship. Form Three discussed the life histories, political careers, and achievements of key leaders, Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi, Oginga Odinga, and Thomas Joseph Mboya. The textbook noted that these leaders were heroic because they contributed to the freedom of Kenyans. The leaders were portrayed as patriotic. For instance the textbook noted, "It was through courage and love for their country that some Kenyans were prepared to risk their own lives for freedom" (p.136). The leaders were also noted for political, social, and economic development in Kenya. Although Form Three discussed achievements and positive qualities of these leaders, it also pointed out some of their failures. For example, the book noted that the

former President, Arap Moi, despite initiating many development projects in Kenya, was not able to curb corruption during his presidency. President Moi was also noted for his intolerance of different views causing him to subdue any kind of opposition political party. However, with the fall of communism and relentless protests against the one political party system, he was prompted to allow opposition parties in Kenya. Form Four also noted that the ethnic violence that arose in Kenya in the 1990s was linked to his government.

Form Four noted that national philosophies were instrumental in uniting members of a country and solving a country's problems. The philosophies discussed were African socialism, *harambee* and *nyayoism*. African socialism was adopted by the first president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, after Kenya's political independence. The main elements of African socialism were political democracy, variety of ownership, mutual social responsibility, measures that ensured that property was used for the interest of the society, a taxation system that ensured equal distribution of wealth and the distribution of ownership to ensure economic equality. The book noted that most of the main elements were based on African traditions such as social responsibility, "an extension of the African family spirit to the nation as a whole" (p.82). Form Four noted that although African socialism in Kenya promoted individual rights and freedoms, it cautioned against greed for personal gain. The book noted that African socialism provided a foundation for Kenya's development. African leaders also adopted African socialism because they needed to "create a new society different from that of the colonial times, free of such evils as political oppression, socio-economic inequalities, racialism and other

discriminatory practices”( p.81). In addition, African socialism was a means to pursue national unity, individual rights/freedoms and democracy. Both the *harambee* and *nyayo* philosophy were grounded in African socialism. *Harambee* philosophy encouraged Kenyans to co-operatively contribute, through labor or cash, to the nation’s development by supporting the government’s effort. The *nyayo* philosophy evolved when Kenya’s second president, Daniel Arap Moi, opted to govern in the same way as the first president through adopting the same economic, social and political policies. According to Form Four, the *nyayo* philosophy was formed on the foundation of peace, love and unity and required all Kenyans to be “mindful of the welfare of each other” (p.83).

### **National Unity**

National unity was portrayed as a goal that had been important to the Kenyan government immediately after political independence. Form One and Form Four noted that that the government had a role of uniting different groups in Kenya, divided by colonial rule, after political independence. Form Four indicated that the first Kenyan president, Jomo Kenyatta, was concerned that having a multiparty political system was going to be detrimental to national unity. To ensure national unity, the government adopted African socialism, *nyayo* and *harambee* philosophies. Through working together in *harambee* projects Kenyans were united. Similarly, the *nyayo* philosophy had “helped Kenyans of different ethnic or racial backgrounds to live together in harmony” (p. 86).

According to Form One and Form Two, national unity was a prerequisite for national peace. Form One also noted that national unity ensured socio-economic

development, political stability, security, and trust among citizens, and promoted foreign investment. Form One discussed elements that promoted national unity. To begin with, the constitution of Kenya through its policy of equal treatment of all individuals promoted national unity. Furthermore, the Kenyan education, especially the integrated educational system, fostered national unity. The integrated educational system, unlike the colonial one that practiced racial segregation in schools, played a role in uniting Kenyans. The book noted, “Through conscious mixing within the educational system, children are encouraged from an early age to think of themselves as Kenyans” (p. 98). The school curriculum also emphasized the need for national unity and fostered national identity among students. Next, the equal distribution of government resources ensured that every part of Kenya had access to social services such as healthcare and education.

Additionally, social interaction through inter-marriages, sports, working together and economic interaction through trade fostered national unity. Besides, social interaction, the use of a national language, Kiswahili, united different ethnic groups by providing a common language. The adoption of national philosophies, especially *nyayo* and *harambee* also promoted national unity. The book noted that *harambee* encouraged “people from different ethnic groups to pull their resources together” (p. 99) whereas *nyayo* promoted peace, love and unity among Kenyans. Similarly, national symbols such as the flag, national anthem, and coat of arms symbolized unity among Kenyans. Finally, the commemoration of national holidays such as Kenyatta day and *Jamhuri* day, and school and college drama and music festivals promoted national unity.

## **Conflict and Conflict Resolution**

Form One and Form Four covered the theme of conflict and conflict resolution. Form One defined conflict as “serious disagreement between people resulting from each having opposing views or interest” (p.102). Conflict was also defined as “armed struggle, or fights between people or soldiers” (p. 102). These conflicts could be familial, national or international. The textbook also stated that conflicts were primordial in man’s history. For example, it noted that pre-colonial Africa had a variety of conflicts such as conflicts over land, political power, property ownership and trade routes. However, with colonialism, new forms of conflict were introduced in African countries. Conflicts during colonial times were caused by forced labor, racial segregation, and loss of traditional authority in African communities, lack of political representation, and lack of freedom for African people. Form Four addressed international wars and, in particular, the book gave a detailed description of the causes and effects of the Cold War.

Form Four noted that many African countries had experienced civil wars since political independence and that, currently, a number of countries were faced with ethnic, regional, and religious wars and conflicts. According to Form One, many conflicts in Kenya after political independence were a result of both traditional and colonial factors.

Both Form One and Form Four discussed various causes of ethnic violence in Africa and Kenya in particular. The two textbooks cited the legacy of colonialism as one cause of conflict in Kenya. For example, Form One noted that economic inequality was one cause of conflict among Kenyans. Economic inequality was linked to colonial times. That is, during colonialism, Europeans were at the highest economic, political and social



ranks, followed by Asians and Arabs, and then Africans occupied the lowest ranks.

Although the civil service was Africanized after political independence, Kenyan society was still stratified with the educated Kenyans at the highest ranks. Poverty as a result of economic inequality hindered people from participating in the economic sphere. The textbook noted that the gap between the rich and the poor was a threat to national unity because “the rich and the poor live as if they do not live in one country” (p. 101).

In addition, colonialism generated violent conflicts in Africa and Kenya in particular through promoting ethnic hatred. According to Form Four, ethnic hatred was generated by the colonial “divide and rule” style of governance. The book explained that during colonialism the colonial government emphasized ethnic and cultural differences among groups in African countries. Therefore, after independence African leaders faced a challenge in uniting different cultural and ethnic groups, and in many cases the divisions among groups resulted to ethnic conflict and violence.

Similarly, Form Four noted that the arbitrary creation of African borders by the colonial powers was a cause of current violent, conflicts in Africa. The textbook indicated African boundaries were created with no consideration of ethnic composition of the African nation-states. Form One noted that Kenya as a nation was “a creation of colonial authorities which drew boundaries from the 1890s to 1920” (p. 90). Giving an example of the result of the arbitrary creation of boundaries, Form Four explained, “the boundary between Kenya and Somali placed one group of Somali people in Kenya and the other in Somali. The Maasai are also in both Kenya and Tanzania” (p. 125).

Another cause of conflicts as noted by Form Four was the lack of agreement on the best way of governance among African leaders. That is, some leaders preferred regional governance to centralized governance. This disagreement resulted in political instability in some countries such as Ethiopia, Burundi, and Rwanda.

Form One gave a more detailed explanation of causes of conflicts in Kenya and other countries. It noted that the use of religion to pursue power was one cause of conflict in societies. In discussing this, the textbook cited Northern Ireland and Sudan as countries that had suffered conflict because of religious contentions. Exempting Kenya from this kind of conflict, the textbook noted, “We are very fortunate in Kenya that we have not had religious strife and we have not had difficulty in respecting each other’s beliefs” (p. 100).

Form One also noted that divisive politics played a role in causing conflicts. According to Form One, divisive politics were manifested when the party in power used all means to retain power and the opposition parties opposed constructive government policies. The use of propaganda and misinformation, particularly during election campaigns, was also an element of divisive politics. The textbook noted that many times political parties divided people along party affiliations and “tribal” lines. Political parties formed along “tribal” lines discouraged tolerance of different political views among their members. This intolerance was seen as a cause of hostility and conflict among people.

Form One noted ethnicity as a factor that contributed to conflicts. The book defined ethnicity as “favouring of people from one’s own ethnic group in such things as employment and admission to educational institutions” (p. 100). The textbook noted that

ethnicity created frustration among the disadvantaged groups. This frustration led to violent ethnic conflicts such as those that arose in the Rift valley, Nyanza , and Western provinces of Kenya in the 1990s.

Form One also listed modernization and interaction with other countries as a cause of conflicts. In particular, the textbook noted that modernization and interaction had led to the adoption of Western education, religions such as Christianity and Islam, and cultural values that contradicted traditional African practices and values.

Both Form Four and Form One cited the entrance of refugees from neighboring countries as a cause of conflict in Kenya. Refugees caused scarcity of resources in a country. Other causes of conflicts mentioned in Form One but did not receive an elaborate discussion were disputes over natural resources such as lakes by neighboring countries, the marginalization of minority groups, racism, disputes between an employer and employee over payment and working conditions, and corruption.

Form One defined conflict resolution as “the working out of a settlement to defuse or solve an ongoing conflict or an emerging conflict to the satisfaction of parties in the conflict” (p. 102). The textbook noted that the size and technological development of a particular community determined the conflict resolution strategy to be used. That is, the bigger the communities the more complex conflicts they experienced. Although Form Four discussed some causes of conflicts in Africa, it only pointed out one method of conflict resolution. To address conflict in many African nation-states, the book noted that these nation-states were required to “address the problem of insufficient institutional and constitutional structures to manage disputes peacefully” (p. 66).

The conflict resolution strategies discussed in Form One included arbitration, diplomacy, political understanding, legislation, traditional resolutions, religious action, and policing. The textbook noted that the Kenyan law approved arbitration as a way of resolving conflicts. Diplomacy was “the act of negotiation between individuals or countries to resolve conflicts and may involve creating understanding and room for reconciliation” (p. 103), whereas arbitration involved solving conflict out of court through face-face discussions. It noted that negotiation in many cases involved the use of mediators such as religious leaders, diplomats, professionals and commissions. The United Nations was an organization noted for its initiation of diplomacy in the world. Parliamentary legislation through laws that mitigate conflicts was noted as one way of resolving conflicts. Form One noted that traditional ways of conflict resolution such as use of elders and wise men were important in resolving current conflicts among African communities. The textbook noted that elders were instrumental in resolving conflicts in the pre-colonial time.

Religion, especially using religious leaders, was discussed as one way of resolving conflicts. In explaining the role of religious leaders in solving both social and political conflicts, Form One noted “Religious leaders have been called upon several times to resolve political and social conflicts in Kenya” (p. 103). Similarly, courts were also discussed as institutions for resolving conflicts because the Kenyan constitution gave power to the judiciary to resolve conflicts among citizens. The textbook noted that not all cases in Kenya were resolved in courts. It was only those conflicts that could not be resolved out of the court and criminal cases that were taken to courts. The use of police

and armed forces to ensure law and order was seen as a way of resolving certain types of conflicts such as ethnic and land conflicts. The textbook also noted that Kenya had used international agreements to resolve conflicts over natural resources and borders with other countries.

### **Democracy and Human Rights**

All secondary school textbooks apart from Form One either gave an elaborate discussion of democracy and human rights or covered some elements of democracy. Form Two had a more detailed discussion of democracy and human rights than Form Three and Four. Form Two noted that the term democracy originated from the Greek words, “demo” meaning people and “cracia,” power (p.130). The textbook noted that there were two types of democracy, direct and indirect democracy. Direct democracy required direct participation of every citizen whereas indirect democracy involved the representation of citizens by elected members. According to Form Two, representative democracy was more prominent because it was easily implemented.

Democracy was closely linked to human rights. For example, Form Two noted that for a government to be democratic citizens had to enjoy basic rights and freedoms. The main principles that constituted democracy discussed were majority rule that protected minority rights; free and fair elections devoid of corruption and other vices; citizen participation through voting, or contributing to debates that address relevant national issues; political, social and economic equality among all citizens irrespective of gender, religion or race; free access to all sources of information including information

on individual rights and responsibilities; free expression of individuals' views; the rule of law where every person was ruled and subjected under the same law; representation; accountability; and freedom of press.

Form Two discussed the constitution, “a body of principles and rules that enables people within a state to live together in harmony” (p. 113), as an element of democracy offering examples from various nation-states. The textbook also focused on the history and current structure of the Kenyan constitution.

In addition to the main democratic principles discussed, Form Two noted that for democracy to flourish it had to accomplish certain conditions. For example, democracy had a role in promoting patriotism in order to “reduce the possibility of revolution” (p.133). Next, democracy had to ensure the co-existence of nations through instilling virtues such as co-operation, love, and self- sacrifice. Besides the virtues, democratic leadership qualities such as “leaders being wise, able, enlightened and morally upright” (p. 134) were emphasized. In addition, democracy had to ensure that the educational system of a country educated citizens on democratic principles, including citizen rights and responsibilities. It was also important to ground democracy in a country's own traditions, culture, and national unity.

Form Four noted that after independence the Kenyan government adopted the African socialism philosophy as a way to achieve democracy and individual rights. It further indicated that the fall of communism in the Soviet Union led to the demand for multi-party democratization in African countries. The textbook noted that democratization in African countries, especially in the form of multiparty political

systems, was a result of external pressure from Western countries. For example, at the beginning of 1990, Western countries “made it clear that they would in future grant aid only to the developing countries that initiated democratic policies and were willing to change to pluralistic politics” (p 94) claiming that democracy and human rights could only be achieved in multiparty democratic states. Form Four also discussed the role of the ruling and opposition political parties in a nation.

Form Four noted that multi-party democracy faced challenges in Kenya because many political parties were formed along ethnic lines, a factor that had hindered national unity; many political parties were not financially capable for providing civic classes to citizens in order to explain their policies; political parties were used as a means to get power and have access to the country’s resources; parties were weak because of internal disagreements; and many citizens were politically illiterate.

Form Three noted that human rights addressed issues of justice. Form Two discussed the origin of the concept of human rights, defined human rights and discussed human rights in Kenya. The book defined human rights as rights that were “essential for development of human personality” (p. 134). Some of the examples of human rights listed were right to life, liberty, security and freedom of expression. Form Two also noted that because human rights were essential and acknowledged the intrinsic dignity of a person, they were formally recognized as basic state laws.

Form Two described the origin of human rights, classification of human rights, the formation of the United Nations, and discussed the adoption and content of the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” The book divided human rights into political,

civil, economic, and cultural and noted that in Kenya, human rights were outlined in the constitution. Political and civil rights protected individuals against abuse by the state whereas economic and cultural rights required the state to “create the conditions necessary for the individual’s development and meeting of material needs” (p.141). Emphasizing the importance of the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “Form Two noted, “Since 1948 the declaration continues to be the most important and far-reaching of all United Nations declarations and a fundamental source of inspiration for international efforts to promote and protect human rights” (p. 137).

Apart from discussing the United Nations, Form Four covered the African Union (AU). The textbook noted that the AU was instrumental in ensuring the establishment of democracy and human rights in Africa. One aim of the AU was to “promote and protect human and peoples’ rights, consolidate democratic institutions and culture, ensure good governance and the rule of law in the continent of Africa” (p. 62). According to Form Three, Kenyan law was required to safeguard the freedoms and rights of Kenyans that were outlined in the United Nations Charter. The textbook pointed out the abuse of human rights by the Kenya police through the use of oppressive means such as torture and beating. Therefore, in addressing the abuse of human rights by the police, the textbook noted that the Kenyan government was addressing the problem by training the police and prison officers to respect human rights.

Form Two also gave an in-depth coverage of the rights of a child as stated in the “United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.” It further discussed the rights of a child in the Kenyan context and noted that Kenya adopted the United Nations Child



Rights Convention in 1990 and established the Children Act in 2001 to protect the rights of children.

Form Four pointed out that Africans around the world had historically fought for economic, social and political rights. One way was through Pan-Africanism, a “manifestation of African protest against the universal discrimination of the black race” (p.50) that originated from African Diasporas in the Americas. The book also discussed developments and challenges in the Pan-Africanism movement.

### **Globalization**

Forms One and Four mentioned aspects of free market policy in their discussions. According to Form One, free market policy resulted to competition that caused some companies to monopolize the market and the prices. This monopolization disadvantaged the consumer. Although the book did not elaborate on how monopolization disadvantaged the consumer, it noted that this happened through “monopolistic pricing policies in industry and employment” (p. 102). Furthermore, Form One noted that trading policies such as unfavorable tariffs could cause conflicts.

Form Four discussed the role of the United Nations, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in international trade. The text noted that although the World Bank was managed by members from member states, some countries such as the USA, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and India wielded more power. The main role of the World Bank was to facilitate development in nation-states through financial assistance in the form of loans. In addition, the World Bank and IMF worked cooperatively to

facilitate trade among nations. The book indicated that the United Nations played a major role in facilitating interaction among nation-states and resolving international economic problems. Besides, the United Nations, IMF and World Bank the book noted that the Commonwealth was also an organization that facilitated international trade among member states. For example, one principle of the Commonwealth was to ensure “free flow of international trade” (p. 36). The book also discussed the key principles of the Commonwealth, its structure, functions, and administration.

Form Four discussed the different aspects of the African Union such as structure and formation and noted that it was an organization that sought to effectively address the economic challenges of globalization, for example, through establishing the African Economic Community to help African countries “face more effectively the challenges posed by globalisation” (p.62) and creating the necessary conditions that enabled African countries to play a role in the global economy. The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) promoted international trade in African countries by strengthening “ the relations between the common market and the rest of world and the adoption of common positions in international fora” ( p.77). Although COMESA had the aim of ensuring economic development in African countries, the book noted that most African countries were disadvantaged by conditions such as unfavorable terms of trade, large debts from international loaning bodies, and the IMF and World Bank policies.

Form Four noted that international trade had disadvantaged African countries because most African countries were still affected by colonial policies that discouraged industrialization. Therefore, most African countries have continued to be suppliers of raw

material to Western countries and importers of finished products. In many cases the expensive imported products led to a large amount of external debts, “scarcity of foreign exchange and continued dependence” (p.126). In addition, developed countries took advantage of African countries by fixing low prices for African products.

## **Government**

Forms Two, Three and Four discussed the Kenyan government. Form Three defined government as “the way a people administer, govern, and manage the affairs of their state” (p. 155). It also defined the government as the “execution of authority as well as the facilitation of the means and ways to organize, regulate and perform administrative duties” (p.155).

Both Form Two and Three discussed three branches of the government, executive, legislative, and judicial. Form Three discussed the formation, organization and the structure of government whereas Form Four focused on local authorities in Kenya and how they complemented the central government. In addition, Form Four discussed government revenue and expenditure. Form Three noted that the Kenyan government was formed through the electoral process.

Form Three also explained how the Kenyan government worked administratively. The textbook noted that Kenya was divided into eight provinces. Each province was divided into districts, each district into divisions, each division into locations, and then each location into sub-locations. The textbook noted that the provincial commissioner was in charge of the province, the district commissioner was in charge of the district, the

district officer headed the division, the chief headed the location and then the assistant chief headed the sub-location.

Form Three further discussed the functions and the selection of each administrator. Of all the administrators, the assistant chief and chief had a major role in working directly with citizens at the local level. The textbook noted that the appointed chief worked in his local community. Some of the responsibilities of the chief that involved direct contact with the citizens were ensuring co-existence among people in his community, settling disputes between people in his location, and encouraging citizens to participate in development projects such as building roads and bridges. The assistant chiefs were responsible for maintaining order in the sub-location, explaining government policies to the people during *barazas* (community meetings), and ensuring peace among people. The textbook noted that village elders assisted the sub-chief in managing the sub-location. The textbook noted that village elders were appointed by the chief and the assistant chief and not paid by the government. The village elders maintained law in the village, educated people about government policy, and organized people for communal participation.

### **Neo-Colonialism and the Legacy of Colonialism in African Countries**

The legacy of colonialism in both economic and political aspects of African countries was noted. Form One noted that economic inequality was a legacy of colonialism that stratified members of the community into economic ranks, usually with Europeans occupying the highest rank, followed by Asians and then Africans. This

economic inequality persisted after colonialism because the Africans who were educated were placed at the highest ranks.

Form Four noted that ethnic conflict could be traced back to colonial times. Because the colonial government emphasized ethnic and cultural differences among groups in African countries, after independence African leaders had a challenge in uniting different cultural and ethnic groups. In many cases divisions created during colonial times persisted in many African countries.

Similarly, Form Four noted that the inability of the first post-independence African leaders to democratize African nation-states led to political instability. The inability was caused by colonial rulers who applied tyranny as a way of governance. Therefore, the colonial type of governance did not expose African leaders to the practice of democratic governance. The book noted that although the legacy of undemocratic rule had persisted in many African nations, not all undemocratic practices were linked to colonialism but some were due to “greedy” African leaders who were motivated by the need for power and wealth.

The persistent dependence of former European colonies on Western countries was portrayed as a problem that affected many African countries. For example, Form Four noted that one challenge of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that had been formed in 1963 by African nation-states was the persistent co-operation of some African countries with former colonial powers. Although the book did not give a detailed explanation, it noted that because of economic and security reasons after political independence many African countries could not “dissociate themselves from European

influence” (p. 126). Consequently, the dependence of African countries on Western countries resulted in Western influence on African political and economic policies.

### **Political and Socio-Economic Developments in Africa**

There were discussions on the struggle for political independence in Africa, social, political and economic developments after political independence. Form Three discussed events that led to political independence in African countries with examples from Ghana, South Africa, Mozambique and Kenya. In all these countries African nationalism played a role in the attainment of political independence. In addition, the book gave a detailed discussion of how Kenya became an independent nation. It illustrated that political independence in Kenya was not an easy process. It involved Kenyans’ determination and struggle that at times led to death. This struggle was seen through the formation of political associations, freedom movements, independent churches and schools, and nationalist movements. Liberation in Kenya did not just involve the pursuit of political freedom but also cultural freedom. From the 1920s, Africans in Kenya formed different social and political associations to express their social, political and economic issues. These political associations were not unchallenged. In many cases the colonial government banned these associations for fear of resistance from its members. For example, the colonial government banned the East African Association because “it was too vocal” (p.87). Because the colonial government discouraged national movements, the African political associations and movements in the

1920s were mainly ethnic and not national. In describing this association, the textbook indicated that the associations were “local and tribal and less radical in demands” (p. 86).

In addition to various associations, the independent churches and schools, formed between the 1920s and 1952, played a major role in the struggle for independence. These churches and schools had to “protest against mission churches and schools established by different missionary societies” (p.92). The independent churches were also used to resist colonial injustices. The textbook noted that pre-colonial Kenyan societies had an education system that was distinct from that established by the European missionaries. Education in traditional African societies was informal and took place in homes through the guidance of parents, relative and elders. This education also included youth initiation ceremonies and apprenticeship. Traditional African education was “mostly practical and equipped them with the skills and knowledge for life” (p.92). However, with the coming of missionaries, education in Kenya changed to formal education.

Form Three noted that, apart from spreading Christianity, the missionaries also promoted Western cultural practices and devalued the African culture and education. In particular the textbook cited female circumcision, polygamy and paying of dowry among some African communities as some of the cultural practices that were shunned by the missionaries. Because some African communities did not approve the missionaries’ education, they established African independent schools and churches.

Further, the Second World War played a role in Kenyan political independence, especially through exposing Kenyans who had participated in the War to Africans from other colonies. Through contact with Africans from other colonies, both groups were able

to discuss the issues of political independence. In explaining the effect of the Second World War, the textbook noted that “African soldiers who fought alongside the Europeans in the Second World War,[sic] made certain discoveries which not only made them resent imperialism, but also boosted their confidence in their own abilities” (p. 99).

The Mau Mau Movement, an armed movement that fought for Kenyan liberation, also contributed to Kenyan independence. The movement caused the colonial government to allow Kenyans to form political parties that included two main parties, the Kenya National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The textbook specifically discussed the role of Kenyan women in the achievement of independence. It noted that “beginning from the advent of colonization women played a vital role in opposing colonization” (p. 110). Form Four focused on economic, political and social developments in some African countries and Kenya after political independence. In particular the book focused on formation of parties and development of multiparty political systems and socio-economic developments and challenges in African countries.

The table below shows a summary of themes that emerged from the content analysis of primary and secondary school textbooks and the *a priori* themes (principal citizenship issues discussed by scholars).



Table 2

*Content Analysis Themes and A Priori Themes*

<b>Scholars' Principal Issues (<i>a priori</i> themes)</b>	<b>Content Analysis of Primary School Textbooks</b>	<b>Content Analysis of Secondary School Textbooks</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Democracy and human rights</li> <li>• National unity and multicultural identity in Africa</li> <li>• Ethnic conflict and resolution</li> <li>• Globalization</li> <li>• Legacy of colonialism in African education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict and conflict resolution</li> <li>• Democracy and human rights</li> <li>• Citizenship</li> <li>• Political developments in Kenya</li> <li>• National unity and multicultural identity</li> <li>• Values</li> <li>• Effects of colonialism on Africa culture</li> <li>• Globalization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Citizenship</li> <li>• Nation unity</li> <li>• Conflict and conflict resolution</li> <li>• Democracy and human rights</li> <li>• Globalization</li> <li>• Government</li> <li>• Neo-colonialism and the legacy of colonialism on African countries</li> <li>• Political and socio-economic developments in Africa</li> </ul>

**Citizenship Issues Addressed**

This section outlines the results for the research question: Do state-owned social studies instructional materials the address main the citizenship issues identified in the literature as relevant to the post-colonial African context?

**Democracy and Human Rights**

The origin and general definition of the concept democracy was outlined in the literature. The scholars noted the main principles of democracy that included free and fair elections, freedom of expression, accountability, and multiparty political systems. In addition, values of liberal democracy, autonomy, rationalism, tolerance and equality were discussed. Scholars (Sifuna, 2000; Platterner, 2008; Bickmore, 2006; Abdi et al, 2005)

drew a close link between liberal democracy, human rights and citizenship. Citizenship was seen to be central in democratic political systems that promote respect for human rights. Further, the definition, origin, purpose and classification of human rights were discussed.

In addition, scholars (Chabal, 1994; Abdi, 2006; Ake, 1993; Hollenback, 1998; Ramphela, 2001; Ndegwa, 1998; Ignatieff, 2001) discussed the relevance and challenges of human rights, liberal democracy and citizenship in the African context. Although scholars acknowledged the importance of democracy in Africa, they argued that the individualistic nature of liberal democracy and human rights conflicts with the reality of the African communities that give priority to communal interest. Similarly, liberal citizenship promotes a common national identity without recognizing other spheres where citizenship roles can be enacted. This emphasis on common national identity was viewed as a challenge to many African countries where citizens enact citizenship in both the nation and their ethnic communities (Ndegwa, 1998)

### **Primary School Textbooks' Discussion of Democracy and Human Rights**

Primary school textbooks covered the issue of democracy and human rights. The description of the origin of the term democracy was similar to that in the literature. For example, the textbooks noted that the term “democracy,” originated from Greek words “demo” and “kratos.” The definition and discussion of the main principles and values that underpin indirect democracy, practiced in Kenya, were similar to those of liberal democracy in the literature. Examples of principles discussed in the books that were

similar to those in the literature were leaders' accountability, regular and free elections, multi-party political systems, citizens' participation, majority rule and equality. However, the books did not mention individual autonomy and rationality as values in a democratic society.

As in the literature, the textbooks closely linked democracy and human rights. Although the books covered content on human rights, only some of the important aspects of human rights were addressed. The aspects covered were the importance and classification of human rights. Although Standard Eight discussed the United Nations, there was no discussion on the origin, important declarations in the adoption of human rights, and the universality of human rights. Standard Five defined human rights as "values that show respect for human life and dignity," (p. 203) but none of the books showed a clear distinction between human rights and citizenship rights.

Although scholars including Ake (1993) and Nyamjoh (2004) discussed the problematic nature of liberal democracy and human rights, focus on the individual with no attention to the community, the books neither addressed the controversy that surrounded the applicability of liberal democracy nor discussed democracy in traditional African societies.

Scholars including Kymlicka and Norman (1994) in the literature defined citizenship and noted elements that were central to citizenship. Hassim (1999) and Ramphele (2001) also noted that citizenship was central to democratic political systems because it delineated rights and responsibilities of members in a particular nation-state. In addition, the scholars (Ramphele, 2001; Heilman, 1998; Ndegwa, 1998) discussed the

challenges of having only one notion of citizenship, liberal citizenship, in African nation-states and the need for dual citizenship, ethnic and national. There were some similarities in how the books and scholars addressed the issues of citizenship. For example, both the scholars and textbooks viewed citizenship as membership in a nation. The books also discussed the four main citizenship elements, rights, responsibilities, participation, and identity, as identified in the literature. They portrayed a liberal conception of citizenship with an emphasis on common national identity. Although other forms of identity such as cultural and religious were mentioned, they were not discussed as spheres where citizenship could be enacted. Ndegwa (1998) noted that many citizens in African countries enact citizenship in both their ethnic communities and nations. This dual citizenship makes the emphasis on liberal citizenship problematic in African nation-states because liberal citizenship emphasizes the need for individual rights whereas citizenship in ethnic communities prioritizes communal interests. The books did not address the challenges of liberal citizenship and the need to recognize dual-citizenship, national and ethnic, in Kenya.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Discussion of Democracy and Human Rights**

Secondary school textbooks covered the issue of democracy and human rights. The discussion on the origin of the concept democracy was similar to that in the literature. Although direct democracy was briefly discussed, the focus was on representative democracy, the kind that was widely practiced. The discussion on democracy was closely related to human rights. The main principles of democracy that

were discussed in the books were similar to those of liberal democracy discussed in the literature. For example, the books noted that democracy was based on majority rule, equality, individual rights, and the rule of law. Form Four agreed with some scholars' views that democracy should take into consideration the people's culture and traditions. The textbooks did not discuss the core values of democracy, individual autonomy and rationality, identified in the literature. Instead, Form Two mentioned the importance of values such as co-operation, love and self-sacrifice in a democratic society. The discussion on the origin, importance, and classification of human rights was similar to that in the literature. Although the books did not address the challenges of liberal democracy that were discussed in the literature, Form Four covered the challenges of the multi-party political system in Kenya. The textbooks neither discussed democracy in the pre-colonial Kenyan/African context nor the problematic nature of human rights and liberal democracy in Kenya.

The textbooks described citizenship as membership in a country. Citizens were also represented as holders of rights and responsibilities, a conception consistent with liberal citizenship in the literature. However, Form One further noted that the rights of a citizen were limited by the idea that they were to contribute to the nation's welfare, a concept that did not fit liberal citizenship in the literature. This concept was closely related to the civic-republican citizenship (Ndegwa, 1998) that emphasized the need for citizens' rights to contribute to the good of the community.

## **National Unity and Multicultural Identity in Africa**

The literature showed that most African countries focused more on achieving national unity and gave little or no attention to multicultural identity in order to ensure unity among various ethnic groups that had been divided by colonialism (Nyamjoh, 2004). Scholars (Dei et al., 2006; Adejumobi, 2001) argued that there was need to balance the pursuit for national unity and multicultural identity as a way of addressing the tensions that exist among African communities.

### **Primary School Textbooks' Discussion of National Unity and Multicultural Identity**

Primary school books covered the issue of national unity and multicultural identity. Although the books gave a more thorough coverage to national unity, they also acknowledged Kenyan cultural diversity. In fact, Standard Five noted that one role of the school was to preserve the culture of different ethnic groups in Kenya.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Discussion of National Unity and Multicultural Identity**

Secondary school textbooks discussed national unity but did not have any discussion on multicultural identity in Kenya or Africa. The books made a similar assertion to that in the literature by noting that the government of Kenya had a priority after political independence to unite people of different ethnic groups that had been divided by colonialism. The discussion in the books focused on the importance of

national unity and factors that promote national unity without acknowledging the need for diversity or a balance between national unity and diversity.

### **Ethnic Conflict and Resolution**

Ethnic conflict is a political problem that hinders democratization in African countries (Bickmore, 2006). In their discussion, scholars (Owusu, 1992; Ukpokodu, 1997; Osamba, 2001; Bakwesegha, 2004) addressed the origin of ethnicity, causes of ethnic conflicts, and ways to reduce ethnic conflicts.

The literature revealed two views on ethnic consciousness. The first view argued that ethnic consciousness resulted from colonial rule whereas the other noted that ethnic consciousness existed prior to colonialism as a cultural and not political identity. Scholars (Ukpokodu, 1997; Owusu, 1992; Agbakwa, 2003; Osamba, 2001) noted that ethnic violence and wars in Africa were a result of the colonial legacy, marginalization of some groups, struggle for political power, competition to control countries' resources along ethnic lines, and dictatorial governments. Ethnic violence and conflicts in Africa could be alleviated through respect for minority rights, equal rights to political participation, equal treatment of all cultural groups, adherence to the rule of law and accountability from leaders (Bakwesegha, 2004). Although scholars did not specifically discuss various ways of resolving conflicts they noted that there was need to peacefully resolve ethnic conflicts in African countries.

### **Primary School Textbooks' Discussion of Ethnic Conflict and Resolution**

Even if primary school textbooks did not discuss the origin of ethnic identification, they alluded to the notion that ethnic identification existed in pre-colonial times. For example, Standard Five noted that the Abawanga community collaborated with colonialists in order to seek help in fighting its enemies. This meant that Kenyan's identified themselves as ethnic members in pre-colonial times. The origin of ethnic conflicts and violence were not linked to colonialism in Standard Eight, but the book noted that colonial administrators worsened ethnic conflict by using some ethnic communities to fight others. The book discussed factors that caused conflicts in general. Some of these factors, such as discrimination against some members, disrespecting the law, and bad governance, were similar to factors that were identified in the literature.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Discussion of Ethnic Conflict and Resolution**

Secondary school books covered the causes of conflicts in general. However, the books also, specifically, discussed causes of ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Causes of ethnic conflicts that were similar to those discussed in the literature were the legacy of colonialism that created ethnic hatred and economic inequality, use of ethnicity to compete for political power, and marginalization of some ethnic groups. Although scholars did not discuss specific ways of peacefully resolving ethnic conflicts, the secondary school books discussed specific ways, such as arbitration, religious action and traditional approaches. The books did not discuss ways of reducing conflicts, such as the



accountability from leaders and respect of the rule of law, that were discussed in the literature.

### **Globalization**

Scholars (Bacchus, 2006; Kagwanja, 2003; Avoseh, 2001; Edigheji, 2006) discussed the negative consequences of globalization, such as the destruction of indigenous languages and cultures, on African countries. In addition, they also discussed the effects of market liberalism on citizenship in African nation-states. According to scholars, market liberalism requires nation-states to reduce expenditures in order to be economically competitive. The policy has reduced African nation-states capacity to provide social services such as health and education to their citizens. This, in turn, has resulted in stronger ethnic affiliations.

### **Primary School Textbooks' Discussion of Globalization**

Primary school books did not include a detailed discussion of globalization. However, Standard Eight noted the role of the World Bank in giving financial aid to member countries. Although Standard Eight did not, specifically, address the effects of structural adjustment programs, it noted that during President Moi's presidency the government introduced cost sharing in the education system as a way of reducing government's expenditure on social services.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Discussion of Globalization**

Secondary school textbooks discussed some aspects of market liberalization that were noted in the literature. Form Four noted the role of the UN, World Bank, and IMF in promoting international trade. However, Form Four noted that globalization had disadvantaged African countries through adverse IMF and World Bank policies. Form One linked market liberalism to conflicts in Kenya. The books also noted the inequalities in international trade, an aspect that corresponded to the exploitative nature of market liberalism discussed in the literature. Secondary school textbooks did not discuss the negative effects of globalization on African languages and culture. Similarly, there was no content that addressed the effects of market liberalism on citizenship in African-nation states.

### **Legacy of Colonialism in African Education**

Scholars (Lathi, 2008; Ngugi, 1994; Owusu, 1992) in the literature discussed education in the pre-colonial African context and the negative effect of colonialism on this education. According to the scholars, colonialism destroyed and devalued African cultures and forms of education. To address the legacy of colonial education in African education, scholars including Ntarangwi (2003) suggested that African curriculums should integrate indigenous African knowledge in their current education systems.

### **Primary School Textbooks' Discussion of the Legacy of Colonialism in African Education**

Primary school books covered African indigenous education in the pre-colonial times and the effect of colonialism on African education. Although Standard Five did not give an elaborate discussion on the effect of colonialism on indigenous education and culture, the book argued that colonial rule and European religion destroyed African cultural practices and education. The book also acknowledged the importance of some African cultural practices and recommended that students should embrace and preserve the positive African cultural practices.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Discussion of the Legacy of Colonialism in African Education**

Secondary school textbooks addressed the legacy of colonialism on African economic and political systems. However, the textbooks neither included any content to address the legacy of colonialism in African education nor discussed the effect of colonialism on African culture.

### **Treatment of Citizenship Issues**

This section presents results for the question: Does the treatment of the main citizenship issues in state-owned social studies instructional materials align with the recommendations in the citizenship literature?

## **Treatment of Democracy and Human Rights**

The literature revealed various elements that constitute citizenship education for democracy and human rights. These were teaching autonomy while addressing its challenges to African traditions and values; equipping students with knowledge on how the government functions, its structure, laws and constitutional principles; addressing and discouraging economic and social inequalities; and emphasizing rights, tolerance and participation (Komba, 1998; Sifuna, 2000; Asimeng-Boahene, 2007; Abdi et al., 2005 Adeyemi & Asimeng-Boahene, 2001).

### **Primary School Textbooks' Treatment of Democracy and Human Rights**

Primary school books covered most of the important elements that scholars viewed as crucial for education for democracy and human rights. However, the concept of autonomy or individual decision making was not mentioned in any of the books. Although the concept of economic and social inequality was mentioned, there was no explicit content that discouraged these inequalities.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Treatment of Democracy and Human Rights**

Although secondary school books covered most democratic and human rights education elements identified by scholars, none of the books addressed the issue of autonomy or contained content that plainly resisted economic and social inequalities.

### **Treatment of National Unity and Multicultural Identity**

To achieve national unity and multicultural identity, scholars (Dei et al., 2006; Ntarangwi, 2003) noted that citizenship education had to balance education for national unity and multicultural identity. In particular, social studies should give a balanced coverage of both the diversity of cultures and similarities among the diverse cultures (Woolman, 2001). To ensure national unity, citizenship education needed to cover content that was relevant to the African context such as African economics, geography and cultural heritage (Woolman, 2001). In addition, there was need to use oral literature as an approach to instilling citizenship skills and knowledge (Okafor, 2004). According to scholars (Woolman, 2001; Dei et al., 2006), multicultural identity could be achieved through multicultural education that instills respect and appreciation for cultural identity.

### **Primary School Textbooks' Treatment of National Unity and Multicultural Identity**

Primary school books seemed to balance the need for multicultural identity and national unity. For example, Standard Five acknowledged the need for appreciation for diversity and commonalities such as African songs and dance among different communities. The book also taught Kenyan cultural heritage, a way that scholars (Woolman, 2001; Dei et al., 2006) cited as important in ensuring national unity.

## **Secondary School Textbooks' Treatment of National Unity and Multicultural Identity**

Secondary school books did not address the issue of multicultural identity. However, they discussed national unity. Although the books covered content that was relevant to the African context, the books did not discuss oral literature as one way that ensured national unity.

## **Education for Conflict Resolution**

Scholars (Bakwesegha, 2004; Osamba, 2001; Omale, 2006) in the literature noted that education for conflict resolution should teach non-violent conflict resolutions strategies, human rights, political tolerance, and indigenous approaches to conflict resolution.

## **Primary School Textbooks' Treatment of Ethnic Conflict and Resolution**

Primary school books included content on human rights and the role of democracy in ensuring political tolerance. Although the books noted that democracy promoted political tolerance, there was no explicit content that taught students about political tolerance. The books did not discuss peaceful strategies of resolving conflicts and the importance of using indigenous approaches to conflict resolution.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Treatment of Ethnic Conflict and Resolution**

Although secondary school books did not discuss the use of human rights to peacefully resolve conflicts, they gave a detailed discussion on human rights. Form One had an elaborate discussion of various non-violent ways of resolving conflicts such as arbitration, religious actions, and diplomacy. The book also discussed the use of African indigenous ways such as the use of elders in resolving conflicts. Although intolerance for other people's political views was discussed as a cause of ethnic conflict, the books did not actively teach students to be tolerant of other people's political views.

### **Education for Globalization**

Bacchus (2006) in the literature noted that for education to address the issue of globalization, it should motivate students to appreciate and value their cultural identities as a way to counter the effects of globalization. In addition, education must teach intercultural skills that facilitate increase in economic production.

### **Primary School Textbooks' Treatment of Globalization**

Although the books did not encourage students to value their ethnic identities as a way of dealing with globalization, in general, when discussing other issues such as citizenship the books taught students about their diverse cultures. Standard Five, specifically, urged students to embrace their important cultural practices and values. There was no explicit content that taught intercultural skills.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Treatment of Globalization**

Although the books covered content on globalization, none of the books noted the need for students to embrace their cultural heritage as a way to address the challenges of globalization, or taught intercultural skills.

#### **Education to Address the Legacy of Colonialism in African Education**

To address the legacy of colonialism in African education, schools need to integrate indigenous African knowledge in African curriculums (Antal & Easton, in press). In addition, they argued for the use of *ubuntu* core values in African education systems (Murithi, 2007; Venter, 2004).

### **Primary School Textbooks' Treatment of the Legacy of Colonialism in African Education**

Primary schools books, specifically Standard Five in addressing the legacy of colonialism in African education, discussed indigenous forms of African culture and education. In general, the books promoted values such as respect for older people and obedience that were similar to *ubuntu* values. For example, Standard Five emphasized the need for obeying parents and teachers.

### **Secondary School Textbooks' Treatment of the Legacy of Colonialism in African Education**

Secondary school books neither addressed the need to integrate indigenous African ways in the curriculum nor discussed indigenous African knowledge. In discussing the legacy of colonialism, the books did not discuss *ubuntu* core values.



### **Analysis of Pedagogical Exercises**

This section presents the findings from the analysis of pedagogical exercises. The pedagogical exercises consisted of all questions and suggested learning activities at the end of each selected chapter in students' textbooks, all learning activities in teachers' guides under selected chapters and instructional objectives for each selected chapter in the teachers' guides. In addition, the section discusses how the pedagogical exercises reflect the pedagogy recommended by scholars.

To determine how social studies instructional materials prepared students to effectively analyze main citizenship issues identified by scholars in the literature review, I identified all pedagogical exercises in the form of practice questions and activities at the end of every sampled chapter in the textbooks. These practice questions, activities, and instructional objectives were classified into two categories based on what the scholars suggested as effective teaching and learning strategies in African countries' classrooms. The first category was passive learning that involved memorization and remembering basic information. All practice questions, activities, and instructional objectives that required students to remember exactly what was written in the textbooks were classified under passive learning. For example, under the first category Standard Five asked, "Give three skills that were taught to boys and girls," Standard Eight asked, "What is national unity?", Form One asked, "Define the term citizenship," Form Two asked, "What is democracy?", Form Three asked, "Highlight the life history of the late president Jomo Kenyatta," and Form Four asked, "Define the term National philosophy."

The second category was active/participatory learning. Instructional objectives, activities and questions that required the use of active learning processes and strategies such as debates, inquiry, problem solving and role play were grouped under this category. Instructional objectives, questions and activities in the second categories required students to go beyond remembering the same content form that was in the textbooks by either manipulating the information, producing the information in a different form, or using it any other way that actively involved students' cognitive processes. For example, Standard Five asked, "According to you, which is the best form of democracy? Give reasons," Standard Eight asked, "Compare roles and responsibilities of a wife and husband in your family. In your opinion: who should play more roles? Who is overburdened with responsibilities?" Form Two asked, "What is the difference between a written and an unwritten constitution?" Form Three asked, "Thomas Mboya was one of the great sons of Kenya, discuss." Form Four asked, "Differentiate between capital expenditure and recurrent expenditure."

Student learning activities were included in the Standard Eight textbook and all secondary school textbooks. In requiring passive learning through remembering the information written in the textbooks, Standard Eight asked students, "You have been asked to draft a Bill of Rights for the new constitution that will increase democracy in Kenya. List six rights you would include in your Bill of Rights," and Form Two asked, "Explain the importance of the Rights of the Child."

The following are activities that required students' active participation: "With the help of your teacher, dramatize the process of law making in Kenya" from Standard

Eight; “Hold a class debate on the topic ‘the youth are important in national integration’ from Form One; “Extract information on human rights and democracy from daily newspapers and write a report” from Form Two; “Dramatise Jomo Kenyatta being sworn in as the Prime Minister of Kenya” from Form Three; and “Organise a mock Africa Union Summit to discuss the problems facing Africa” from Form Four. To ensure trustworthiness in classifying students’ pedagogical exercises and objectives, a second rater was used. We both scored 30 items independently. After scoring the items we agreed on the scoring of 24 items and failed to agree on 6 items. We, therefore, achieved 80 percent agreement.

### **Findings for Primary School Social Studies Textbooks**

The results for primary school textbooks analysis are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3

#### *Number and Categories of Questions and Activities in Primary School Textbooks*

<b>Class</b>	<b>Total Questions</b>	<b># ( %) Passive</b>	<b>Active/ Participatory # ( %)</b>	<b>Total Activities</b>	<b>Passive # ( %)</b>	<b>Active/ Participatory # (%)</b>
Standard Five	74	72 (97.3)	2 (2.7)	-	-	-
Standard Eight	98	91( 92.9)	7( 7.1)	35	14 (40)	21(60)
Total	172	163(94.8)	9 (5.2)	35	14 (40)	21( 60)

Most questions (163) in Standard Five and Eight required students to remember in statement or essay form what the students had memorized. Few questions (9) required

students to go beyond memorizing what they had read in the textbook. These questions can be divided into three categories. The first category required students to give their opinions while giving support for their opinions and views. The second category required students to compare aspects learned and the third category of questions required students to analyze an aspect by giving advantages and disadvantages. Below are examples from each category.

**Supporting opinion.**

1. According to you, which is the best democracy? Give reasons. (Standard Five, p. 204)
2. Find out the rights of the husband and wife in your community. In your opinion do each of them have equal rights? Give reasons for your answer. (Standard Eight, p.47)

**Contrasting.**

1. How does interaction in the past differ with interaction today? ( Standard Five p.70)

**Analysis.**

1. Write down advantages and disadvantages of each marriage system. ( Standard Eight, p. 46)

In addition to practice questions at the end of each chapter, Standard Eight had student learning activities. A total of 14 learning activities required students to recall memorized information whereas 21 required students to actively engage in the learning process. The activities that required students to actively engage in the learning process were classified into three groups, inquiry, or discovering information, giving an opinion about an issue and dramatizing an event or a process. Below are examples of active activities.

**Inquiry.**

1. Find out MPs who have lost their seats by resigning. (Standard Eight, p. 194)
2. Find out the other political associations that were formed in Kenya before 1939. Why were they formed and who were the officials? (Standard Eight, p. 148)
3. Make a visit to the ECK office nearest to your school and find out the details in voters register. ( Standard Five, p.196)

**Dramatization.**

1. With the help of your teacher, dramatize the process of law making in Kenya. (Standard Eight, p.205)

**Giving and supporting an opinion about an issue.**

1. Give your opinion on how property should be shared. (Standard Eight, p.48)

### **Findings for Secondary School Textbooks**

Form One had 11 questions and all of them were questions that required students to remember what was in their textbooks. Form Two had seven questions and only one question required students to go beyond remembering what they had memorized. The question needed students to contrast concepts. Form Three had 35 questions that asked students to remember the exact form of content covered in the book and 1 question that required students to engage in a discussion by giving reasons for their argument. Form Four had 29 questions that needed students to remember the same form of content that had been covered in the textbook and 1 question that required students to go beyond remembering what was in the textbook by contrasting two concepts.

All secondary school textbooks had student learning activities. There were a total 34 learning activities in four secondary school textbooks. Table 4 shows a number questions and learning activities in secondary school textbooks. Only one learning activity required students to remember the same form of content that had been covered in the textbook. The rest required students to engage in an active learning process. The analysis of the learning activities that needed students to actively engage in the learning process revealed the following required skills: collecting samples of materials learned in class, engaging in debates, summarizing information learned in the form of a chart, map or diagram form, and application of the learned information, enacting an event or a process, researching on a topic, and discussions. Below are examples of questions in each category.

**Collecting sample materials.**

1. Ask your teacher to assist you to make a collection of copies of documents issued to citizens only. (Form One, p. 96)

**Debates.**

1. Hold a class debate on the topic “the youth are important in national integration.” ( Form One, p. 106)
2. Organise a class debate on the topic: The UNO is a toothless bull dog. ( Form Four p. 40)

**Application.**

1. Imagine a conflict between workers and their employer. Explain its origins and impact on the development of a country. How best can this conflict be resolved? (Form One, p. 106)
2. Design a budget for your historical club to last for one year (a) Provide time for the budget to be discussed and approved by club members (b) What measures would you put in place to ensure good use of the club’s money? (Form Four, p.139).

**Enacting an event or a process.**

1. Organise and stage a mock session of parliamentary debate on one of the amendments to the constitution of Kenya. (Form Two, p. 129)

2. Dramatise a parliamentary session. (Four three, p. 177)
3. Organise a mock Africa Union Summit to discuss problems facing Africa.  
(Form Four, p. 80)

**Summarizing information learned in the form of a chart, map or diagram.**

1. Prepare a flow chart of the constitutional making process. (Form Two, p.129)
2. Draw a map of Kenya and locate the places where independent churches and schools were established. (Form Three, p. 116)
3. Draw a map of Africa and indicate/show:
  - i. COMESA countries
  - ii. ECOWAS countries ( Form Four, p. 80)

**Researching/ reporting on a topic.**

1. Extract information on human rights and democracy from daily newspapers  
(Form Two, p. 143)
2. Visit any independent church you know of today and find out by use of a questionnaire:
  - i. Its history
  - ii. Its activities i.e. worship in relation to African culture
  - iii. Its role in the society today (Form Three, p. 116)



3. During school holidays identify and visit harambee projects in your village or estate and find out how they came into existence and their purposes (Form Four, p. 88)

### **Discussions in groups.**

1. Discuss the relationship between the Bill of Rights and Human Rights. (Form Two, p. 143)
2. As a class discuss the topic “O.A.U. was the mother of all liberation movements in Africa since 1963.” (Form Four, p. 80).

Table 4

*Number and Categories of Questions and Activities in Secondary School Textbooks*

<b>Class</b>	<b>Total Questions</b>	<b>Passive # (%)</b>	<b>Active/ Participatory # (%)</b>	<b>Total Activities</b>	<b>Passive # (%)</b>	<b>Active/ Participatory # (%)</b>
Form One	11	11 (100)	-	5	-	5 (100)
Form Two	7	6 (85.7)	1(14.3)	5	1	4
Form Three	36	35 (97.2)	1(2.8)	10	-	10
Form Four	30	29 (96.7)	1(4.3)	14	-	14
Total Secondary	84	81( 94.4)	3( 3.6)	34	1(2.3)	33 (97.1)

### **Analysis of Primary School Social Studies Teachers’ Guides**

The instructional objectives are important in identifying the skills that teachers are required to develop in students. Therefore, I analyzed both instructional objectives and learning activities in primary and secondary school teachers’ guides. There were three

types of activities in the teachers' guides, those that required students to engage in a particular activity, teachers to guide students in an activity, and explained an activity that a teacher was supposed to do. Comparing the content in students' textbooks and the objectives in the teachers' guides was important in classifying objectives into categories because some of the instructional objectives implied an active participation of the students but in essence they required students to memorize the exact content form that was in their textbooks.

Both learning activities and instructional objectives were classified into two categories, passive and active/participatory, that were used in classifying students' learning activities and questions in the textbooks. There were a total of 58 instructional objectives in the Social Studies Standard Five Teachers' Guide. Most (47) of the instructional objectives required students to master the content that was discussed in the textbook whereas 11 were ambiguous because it was not possible to classify the skill that was to be developed in students. All the ambiguous objectives used the verb "appreciate." For example, the textbook stated, "By end of this-unit, the learner should be able to: (a) Appreciate the importance of law and order in the society" (p.95). There was no instructional objective that required students to go beyond mastering the content that was presented in the students' textbook. Therefore, the analysis revealed that all the 47 instructional objectives that could be classified promoted passive learning through memorizing what was in the textbook. One example was "By the end of this sub-unit, the learner should be able to: (a) Describe the traditional forms of government" (p. 76).

An analysis of students' activities in Standard Five Teachers' Guide revealed a total of 52 learning activities. Out of these 52, only 5 required students to engage actively in the learning process by requiring students to hold a debate, discussion, role play or use an atlas to identify places. Examples of these activities that required students to go beyond mastering content were "conduct a debate on whether the African culture should be preserved" (p.48), "Let the pupils role-play the role traditional Ameru council of elders" (p.77), "Lead the class in a discussion what would happen in the society if there was no democracy" (p.93), and "Using the atlas and pupils' book, let the pupils give the number of districts per province" (p.104).

There were 95 instructional objectives in the Standard Eight Teachers' Guide. A total of 80 required students to master the exact content in the textbook. For example, the teachers' guide indicated, "By the end of this topic, the learner should be able to: Explain the importance of good citizenship" (p.135). Some (15) instructional objectives were not measurable. In fourteen cases the guide book used the verb "appreciate." For example, it noted that, "By the end of this topic, the learner should be able to: Appreciate the Bill of Rights" (p.143). In one instructional objective the guide book noted that at the end of that particular lesson learners were to, "Respect the rights and obligations of members of the family" (p.61). Further analysis of learners' learning activities revealed 65 learning activities. Only two learning activities required students' active participation. These were "Involve the pupils in a mock election" (p.155) and "Guide the pupils to give examples of MPs who have lost their seats" (p.154). Table 5 summarizes the results from primary school teachers' guides.

Table 5

*Number and Category of Learning Activities and Instructional Objectives in Primary School Teachers' Guides*

<b>Class</b>	<b>Total objectives</b>	<b>Passive # (%)</b>	<b>Active/ Participatory # (%)</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total activities</b>	<b>Passive # (%)</b>	<b>Active/ participatory # (%)</b>
Standard Five	58	47 (81)	-	11	52	47 (90.4)	5 (9.6)
Standard Eight	95	80 (84.2)	-	15	65	63 (96.9)	2 (3.1)
Total Primary	153	127 (83)	-	26	117	110 (94)	7(6)

### **Analysis of Secondary School Social Studies Teachers' Guides**

Form One Teachers' Guide had 6 instructional objectives and none of them required students to go beyond mastering the content in the textbook. Form Two Teachers' Guide had ten instructional objectives and only one was an active learning instructional objective. Form Three Teachers' Guide revealed a total of 14 instructional objectives and all involved mastering the content in the textbook. Form Four Teachers' Guide had 23 instructional objectives and they all required reproducing the exact form of content in the textbook.

The analysis of learning activities in the Form One Teachers' Guide showed nine learning activities. Two were classified as passive learning activities whereas the seven were active learning activities. Form Two Teachers' guide consisted of 17 learning activities. Only four were classified as passive learning activities, the rest (13) were active learning activities. Form Three teachers' guide revealed 21 learning activities, 8 were passive whereas 13 were active learning activities. Four Form Teachers' Guide had

33 learning activities. One learning activity was passive whereas 32 were active student activities that required students to engage in learning by enacting events and processes, debating, participating in community projects, researching, applying learned information, going for field trips and observing events, activities, or relevant sites. The active learning activities were put into categories depending on how they engaged students. Examples from each category are listed below.

- Enacting an event, process or action:
  - “Dramatise a foreigner applying for a Kenyan citizenship.” (Form One Teachers’ Guide, p. 20)
  - “Stage a mock constitutional conference.” (Form Two Teachers’ Guide, p. 31)
  - “Dramatise the Mau Mau movement.” (Form Three Teachers’ Guide, p.80)
  - “Dramatising the O.A.U. summit.” (Form Four Teachers’ Guide, p. 61)
  
- Participating in community projects and activities:
  - “Participate in community projects that enhance good citizenship e.g. tree planting.” (Form One Teachers’ Guide, p. 20)
  - “Attending and recording events taking place during national events.” (Form Four Teachers’ Guide, p.80)

- Debating:
  - “Debate on national issues such as the national budget, national holidays and the constitution.” (Form One Teachers’ Guide, p.23)
  - “Hold class debate on written and unwritten constitution.” (Form Two Teachers’ Guide, p. 31)
  - “Debating on challenges facing the police and prisons departments.” (Form Three Teachers’ Guide, p.107)
  - “Organising a class debate on health problems in the community.” (Form Four Teachers’ Guide, p. 80)
  
- Field trip and observation:
  - “Visit persons’ registration centre.” (Form One, p. 20)
  - “Visit the National Assembly or local council to observe how democracy works.” (Form Two Teachers’ Guide, p. 35)
  - “Visiting courts, parliament, prison and police.” (Form Three Teachers’ Guide, p.107)
  - “Visiting agricultural shows, cultural, sports and games activities to observe what takes place.” (Form Four Teachers’ Guide, p.80)
  
- Research:
  - “Undertake a content analysis of the mass media and extract information on Democracy and Human Rights.” (Form Two Teachers’ Guide, p. 36)

- “Conducting research on the level of illiteracy in the community around your community.” (Form Four, p. 80)
- Applying learned information:
  - “Report examples of good citizenship from local communities.” (Form One Teachers’ Guide, p. 20)
  - “Compose songs and poems on the effects of good and bad constitution.” (Form Two Teachers’ Guide, p. 31)

Table 6

*Number and Category of Learning Activities and Instructional Objectives in Secondary School Teachers’ Guides*

<b>Class</b>	<b>Total Objectives</b>	<b>Passive # (%)</b>	<b>Active/ Participatory # (%)</b>	<b>Total Activities</b>	<b>Passive # (%)</b>	<b>Active/ Participatory # (%)</b>
Form One	6	6 (100)	-	9	2(22.2)	7(77.8)
Form Two	10	9 (90)	1(10)	17	4(23.5)	13(76.5)
Form Three	14	14 (100)	-	21	8 ( 38.1)	13 (61.9)
Form Four	23	23 (100)	-	33	1(3)	32 (97)
Total Secondary	53	52 (98.1)	1(1.9)	80	15 (18.8)	65 ( 81.3)

### **Summary of Pedagogical Exercises**

In general, the analysis of all textbooks and teachers’ guide books revealed an overrepresentation of questions and instructional objectives that encouraged passive learning through memorization and reproduction of the same content form in the textbooks. For example, 94.8 percent of questions in primary school textbooks and 94.4

percent of questions in secondary school textbooks were passive learning questions. A high percentage, 98.1, of instructional objectives in secondary school promoted passive learning. Similarly, primary school textbooks had 83 percent of instructional objectives that encouraged passive learning. However, further analysis of learning activities in all secondary textbooks and teachers' guides showed a higher percentage of active learning activities. For instance, Form One, Two, and Three had a 97.1 percent of active learning activities. Secondary school teachers' guides had 81.3 percent. Although Standard Eight had 60 percent of active learning activities, primary school teachers' guides still had a higher percentage, 94, of learning activities that encouraged passive.

Scholars noted the need to actively engage students in the learning process through the use of teaching-learning strategies such as problem-solving, inquiry, debates, community activities, drama, group work and role play. One scholar noted the importance of developing students' critical skills through the discussion of controversial issues such as wars and sexual relations.

This study also used a critical analysis to determine whether the pedagogy used in the social studies instructional materials was consisted with what scholars recommended. Scholars noted the importance of discussing controversial issues such as sexual relations and wars, in fostering students' critical skills. The analysis revealed that none of the textbooks discussed any controversial issues. All textbooks contained a higher percentage of practice questions that occurred at the end of each selected textbook chapter requiring students to remember the exact form of content presented to them. However, other than Standard Five that did not include students' learning activities, a higher percentage of



students' learning activities in all the textbooks and teachers' guides actively engaged students in the learning process through the use of strategies such as role play, debates and group discussions. Therefore, it was evident that both the textbooks and teachers' guides through learners' activities were able to implement most of the teaching strategies discussed by scholars.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION

The creation of African nation-states based upon arbitrary boundaries established during colonial times cut across different ethnic groups. This resulted in nation-states that were highly diverse. The arbitrary creation of nation-states in Africa fostered my interest for this study. Of particular interest to me are the ways in which these nation-states, Kenya in particular, create a sense of national identity among their young people in the face of ethnic diversity. Specifically, how does social studies, the central focus of which is citizenship education, play a role in nurturing a sense of national identity while sensitizing students to citizenship issues that characterize contemporary African life?

The purpose of the study was to determine whether main citizenship issues viewed as important by scholars were addressed by social studies/history and government textbooks provided by the state publisher. The study further determined how the whether or not that treatment reflected what was recommended by scholars. In addition, the study analyzed the pedagogical exercises and methods both in students' textbooks and social studies/history and government teachers' guides with the purpose of determining their correspondence to what was recommended by scholars. Content analysis was used to answer research questions. The rest of this section discusses some major findings, implications of the findings, and some areas for further research.

The textbooks addressed virtually all the citizenship issues at some level or to some degree. The depth of coverage differed among these issues, with democracy and human rights receiving a more thorough coverage than any other issues. The analysis also

showed that secondary school books covered these issues at a more sophisticated level than primary school books. For example, both Standard Five and Form Two discussed two types of democracy, direct and indirect. However, Form Two further discussed various ways of practicing direct democracy, and examples of countries that practiced direct democracy.

Furthermore, the analysis of the textbooks revealed themes other than the five citizenship issues discussed by scholars, democracy and human rights, national unity and multicultural identity, ethnic conflict and resolution, globalization, and the legacy of colonialism in African education. The analysis of primary school textbooks revealed two more themes, political developments in Kenya and values, such as obedience and respect, that guide relationships among people. The analysis of secondary school textbooks revealed two other themes, government, and political and socio-economic developments in Africa.

Apart from answering the research question, the study also revealed some important findings and observations that are worth noting. Although Sifuna (2002) argued that many African school curriculums emphasize responsibilities and give little attention to rights, the books in the analysis seemed to balance the content on both citizenship and human rights with responsibilities.

The results of the study confirmed Dei's et al. (2001) criticism that many African schools tend to emphasize national unity and pay little attention to diversity. Generally, all textbooks contained more content that focused on national unity, identity and patriotism. Although national identity and unity is relevant in the African context,

focusing on national unity and giving no attention to students' ethnic identities avoids the need to address economic and political inequalities that exist along ethnic lines (Dei et al. 2006). Kenya is characterized with economic and political inequalities that occur along ethnic lines (Githongo, 2006). Githongo noted that the perception of economic and political inequalities by members of an ethnic group tends to affect their political choices and decisions. Githongo's assertion makes it even more important for schools to acknowledge diversity as a starting point for discussing inequalities that exist in Kenyan society.

Among the books analyzed, only Standard Five and Standard Eight acknowledged the ethnic diversity in Kenya. However, it should be noted that the books only gave descriptive coverage of ethnic diversity with minimal content to elaborating important issues that characterize ethnic diversity or the implications of ethnic diversity. Surprisingly, despite the significance of ethnic groups as forms of identification, and their role as safety nets to many citizens in African countries (Githongo, 2006), secondary school textbooks completely omitted the idea of multicultural identity. Given the importance of ethnic communities in Kenya, all textbooks ought to have contained elaborate content on diversity, especially ethnic diversity. One way for recognizing diversity is through multicultural education (Woolman, 2001; Banks & Banks, 2004). Multicultural education is also concerned with inequalities occurring inside and outside the school environment (Yiannis, 2006). Therefore, it would be an important approach to addressing inequalities in Kenya.

Unlike scholars in African countries, including Kenya, those in North America have engaged in elaborate studies and discussions on multicultural education. Multiculturalism and multicultural education are not limited to the United States context (Dei et al. 2001). Some of the aspects of multicultural education can be applied to the Kenyan setting characterized by ethnic diversity. For example, some of Banks and Banks (2004) five dimensions of multicultural education, content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy, and empowering school culture and social structure, could be applicable in African schools. In particular, content integration and prejudice reduction would be appropriate in Kenyan social studies classrooms that consist of students from different ethnic groups. Banks and Banks noted that content integration is the use of examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups in order to illustrate concepts, principles, generalizations and theories in a subject area. Content integration would have enriched the textbooks' discussions on democracy and human rights that did not show much relationship with students' cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the prejudice reduction dimension would be used to foster students' positive attitudes toward people of different ethnic groups. Banks and Banks noted that prejudice reduction is the use of lessons and activities that help students develop positive attitudes towards other races and cultural groups. The use of prejudice reduction may help alleviate violent ethnic conflicts generated by negative attitudes among people of different ethnic groups.

The individualist nature of liberal democracy and human rights renders problematic their applicability in the African communities that prioritize collective

interest (Komba, 1998; Kubow, 2007). However, the individualist nature of liberal democracy and human rights does not make them irrelevant to school in African countries. One way that schools in African countries can address the problematic nature of human rights and liberal democracy is by addressing the conflict that exist between liberal education values and African traditional values (Komba, 1998). The analysis revealed that the textbooks discussed human rights and democracy without including any content that addressed the conflict that exists between liberal democracy and human rights and African traditional values.

The analysis also revealed that both secondary and primary school textbooks covered content on human rights. However, the content focused on basic knowledge about human rights such, as the origin and classification of human rights, and did not include content that actively empowered students to protect human rights (Lohrenscheit, 2002). One content area that textbooks could have included to ensure that students are empowered is the controversy that surrounds the applicability of international human rights to the African setting that prioritizes communal interests (Hollenback, 1998; Ake, 1993).

The discussion of democracy and citizenship was in line with the liberal conception of democracy and citizenship. That is, in discussing democracy, the textbooks noted that democracy adhered to fundamental principles such as accountability, free and competitive elections and multiparty political systems (Lijphart, 1999) whereas the discussion of citizenship was limited to national identity (Ndegwa, 1997; Abdi, Ellis & Shizha, 2006). The analysis showed no treatment of citizenship beyond the nation-state,

this omission raises some concern given the prevalence of ethnicity in defining people's identity in Kenya. As much as Kenyans view themselves as citizens of their nation, they also view themselves as ethnic members (Ndegwa, 1997; Githongo, 2006). However, it was noted that despite more focus on liberal aspects of democracy and citizenship, some core elements of liberal democracy were omitted. For instance, the textbooks did not mention the concept of autonomy or decision making in discussing democracy or citizenship rights. It was not clear whether the omission was unintentional or a way of textbook authors avoiding the controversy that surrounds autonomy in the African context.

Prior to the year 2007 post-election violence, Kenya had not experienced major political violence that was ethnic in nature. However, minor incidences were not uncommon in the 1990s (Kagwanja, 2003; Ndegwa, 2007). Although both primary and secondary school textbooks included brief discussions on causes of ethnic conflicts in Kenya, none of the textbooks gave an elaborate discussion on how ethnic conflict and violence in Kenya can be mitigated or resolved. Only one secondary school textbook discussed conflict resolution strategies. Although students in primary schools are at a stage of developing their ability to understand the inevitability of conflict, and the need to resolve conflicts peacefully (Bodine & Crawford, 1998), content in primary school textbooks did not expose students to various peaceful ways of resolving conflicts. Students were not educated on peaceful conflict strategies at an early age.

Some scholars argued that globalization had negatively affected citizenship in African countries. In particular, market liberalization had weakened the autonomy of

African nation-states in providing basic social services to their citizens. This, in turn, has caused stronger ethnic affiliations and weaker national identities (Kagwanja, 2003; Kubow, 2007; Chachage & Kanyinga, 2003). Although scholars linked market liberalization to citizenship problems in African countries, none of the textbooks included content on this particular effect of market liberalization. This content would have been particularly important in secondary school textbooks because students at the secondary school level are much older and can understand the complexity of market liberalization. Scholars have also noted the marginalization of African countries in the world economy and the need to counter the negative effects of market liberalism (Kagwanja, 2003; Ndoye, 1997; Marable, 2006; Bacchus, 2006). One way to avoid the marginalization of African countries in the world economy and counter the negative effects of globalization is by teaching students the importance of embracing their cultural identity. Through embracing their cultural identity, African countries will contribute unique African products to the world economy (Ndoye, 1997; Bacchus, 2006). The analysis revealed that secondary school textbooks did not contain any content that urged students to embrace their cultural identity. This omission may continue to contribute to marginalization of African countries in the world economy and perpetuate students' desire to value "Western cultures" more than their African cultures (Lathi, 2008).

Moreover, appreciating African cultural identity and forms of knowledge is one way to counter the legacy of colonialism in African education (Lathi, 2008; Ntaragwi, 2003; Antal & Easton, in press). Although primary school textbooks included some African cultural practices and forms of knowledge, secondary school textbooks did not



contain any content on African traditional forms of education or African cultural practices. It appeared that students at the secondary school level were more alienated from their cultural reality.

There are a number of implications of this study. The results of this study showed no content on multicultural identity/ethnic diversity in secondary school textbooks. Therefore, the ministry of education should consider exposing students to content on ethnic diversity and issues such as ethnic inequalities that characterize diversity in the Kenyan context.

Although secondary and primary school textbooks covered content on ethnic conflicts, it was clear that only one secondary school textbook contained content on conflict resolution strategies. None of the primary school textbooks included content on peaceful conflict resolution strategies. This means that the ministry of education should include this content to ensure that students start learning non-violent conflict resolution strategies at early ages. In addition, Kenya, as many other African countries, has experienced a number of ethnic conflicts that are caused by intolerance for other people's values (Sifuna, 2000). The most recent ethnic conflict occurred after the 2007 elections. Therefore, education that teaches tolerance for other people's values and acceptance of differences would be helpful in solving a number of conflicts in Kenya (Sifuna, 2000). While discussing the benefits of democracy, primary school textbooks included a brief discussion of political tolerance. Standard Eight noted that political tolerance exists when all citizen are allowed to "have their own view on different issues" (p.180). However, none of the analyzed textbooks contained explicit content that taught students about

tolerance for other people's values or differences. This meant that students were not well equipped to face the issues of political differences. The ministry of education needs to recommend the inclusion of content on tolerance for different views to ensure that young people are made aware of the importance of different view points and taught to respect other people's rights to voice their political views.

Many people in African countries have dual citizenship, ethnic and national (Ndegwa, 1997). Therefore, many citizens in African nation-states enact their citizenship responsibilities and rights in both their ethnic groups and nations. In fact, market liberalization resulted to stronger ethnic identities because nation-states in many African countries were unable to meet the basic needs of their citizens (Kagwanja, 2003; Kubow, 2007). The analysis showed that there was no recognition of other spheres, especially ethnic, of enacting citizenship. The lack of content to address other spheres of citizenship could continue masking the reality of dual citizenship that exists in Kenya. Therefore, there is need for the ministry of education to recognize this omission and make recommendations for its inclusion in school textbooks.

Scholars noted that the individualistic nature of liberal democracy and human rights raise some challenges in communal African settings (Hollenback, 1998; Kubow, 2007; Abdi, 2008). The findings of this study revealed that the textbooks did not address this challenge. This meant that students are not exposed to this major challenge surrounding the applicability of liberal democracy and human rights in Kenya. Therefore, there is need to revise the textbooks in order to include content that addresses the challenge of liberal democracy and human rights in the African setting.

Despite the negative effects of globalization on African culture, language and citizenship (Avoseh, 2001; Kagwanja, 2003) the textbooks gave scant coverage to the issue of globalization. Globalization is a process that demands more coverage because it affects almost every aspect of citizens' lives in African countries. The lack of knowledge on how it affects citizens could leave students unprepared to tackle the challenges caused by globalization. For example, if students understand that lack of autonomy of African nation-states is partly caused by market liberalism they may less likely resort to viewing the state as "a wicked, exploitative and coercive force" (Ihonvbere, 1994, p.54), but instead embrace ways such as the value for African cultural identity and values as a means to counter negative effects of globalization.

Because the analysis of the textbooks revealed that most textbooks gave a scanty coverage of the main citizenship issues, I would recommend that teachers, especially in upper classes, adopt other supplementary materials that give more coverage to the issues. This will ensure that students are exposed to adequate information on each issue.

Finally, in relation to pedagogy, the results of this study revealed that a higher percentage of questions in both secondary and primary school students' textbooks required students to remember the exact form of content in the textbooks. Although most of the learning activities in both students' textbooks and teachers' guides engaged students in the active learning process through the use of activities such as debates and role play, more questions that promote active learning in students' textbooks would create more opportunity for students to engage in the active learning process. It is not

clear whether there is enough time for students to engage in all group learning activities that were suggested in teachers' guides and students' textbooks.

This study also opened insights into new areas for further research that could contribute toward enriching information on the role of social studies in addressing citizenship issues in the post-colonial Kenyan context. A qualitative study to determine the extent to which teachers engage students in the active learning activities recommended in the textbooks and teachers' guides would be revealing.

A study on social studies teachers' views on what constitutes relevant citizenship issues in the post-colonial African context, and Kenya in particular, would be informative because this study would establish if teachers view the citizenship issues identified by scholars as important to African countries. It is important to determine teachers' views because teachers are more likely to give more attention to what they perceive as important. In addition, further research on each citizenship issue through the use of other qualitative methods such as classroom observations and interviews, and quantitative methods would enrich literature on citizenship education.

Although the ministry of education requires that all schools adopt certain recommended textbooks in each subject area, it also allows the use of other supplementary textbooks by teachers in both secondary and primary schools. A study that compares the depth of coverage of the discussed citizenship issues in recommended textbooks and supplementary textbooks would establish if there is a difference in the coverage of citizenship issues. Similarly, the comparative study would reveal the elements that distinguish recommended textbooks from supplementary ones.

In summary, citizenship issues that scholars viewed as important to the post-colonial African context were viewed as important in Kenyan social studies instructional materials. The importance of these citizenship issues was demonstrated through incorporating content that addressed the issues. Still, I argue that curriculum developers in Kenya should seize the opportunity of using a flexible subject area such as social studies/history and government that plays a central role in citizenship education to expose students to more in-depth discussions on relevant citizenship issues. Although the analyzed books dealt with all citizenship issues identified in the literature, most of the issues received a superficial coverage. If books continue to give a shallow coverage to important citizenship issues, then schools through social studies will fail to sensitize students to main citizenship issues that characterize the post-colonial context. Therefore, there is need for elaborate discussions of these issues to ensure that social studies plays its role in developing effective citizens.

## APPENDIX

### SAMPLE OF SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

- History and Government form one students' book (3 rd ed.). (2003). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- History and Government form two students' book (3 rd ed.).(2006). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau
- History and Government form three students' book (3 rd ed.). (2004). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- History and Government form four students' book (3 rd ed.). (2005). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau
- History and Government form one teachers' guide (2005). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau
- History and Government form two teachers' guide (3rd ed.). (2005). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- History and Government form three teachers' guide (2005). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau
- History and Government form four teachers' guide (2005). Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau
- Omwoyo, M. F. (2006). Social studies standard eights pupils' book. Nairobi, Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Omwoyo, M. F. & Oyaya O. E. (2004). Social studies standard five pupils' book. Nairobi, Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Omwoyo, M. F. & Oyaya, O. E. (2003). Social studies standard five teachers' guide. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Omwoyo, M. F. ( 2005). Social studies standard eight teachers' guide. Nairobi Kenya: Kenya Literature Bureau.

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