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TEACHER TALK VERSUS PRACTICE: CONTRADICTIONS AND DILEMMAS IN SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSROOMS IN BOTSWANA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the social studies teachers' pedagogical practices on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana. The study draws largely from post colonial theory using Said (1978) notion of orientalism and knowledge construction for its theoretical framework. The study was qualitative in nature and used the naturalistic inquiry paradigm. The focus of the study was based on eleven exemplary social studies teachers in six primary schools in one of the major villages in Botswana. Qualitative methods were used to collect data. Data were analyzed using grounded theory through the constant comparative technique. The findings of the study revealed that there are contradictions between what teachers' say they do and what actually transpires in their classrooms. These findings reflect a gloomy picture on the state and practice of citizenship education in Botswana primary schools. The study, therefore, recommends that the pedagogical practices on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana should be re-visited such that they become culturally relevant to both teachers and the recipients of such an education.

Keywords: Citizenship education, Botswana, Teacher practices, Primary schools, Post colonial theory, Knowledge construction, *Orientalism*, Teacher talk, Perceptions.

INTRODUCTION

Social studies is one of the curriculum subjects that is offered across the different levels of education in Botswana from primary to junior secondary education. Recently it was introduced in senior secondary schools. Botswana has a national curriculum at primary school level; therefore, materials and resources used in social studies classrooms are similar throughout the country (Revised National Policy on Education RNPE (1994). Social studies teachers in primary schools also undergo their training or teacher education within government institutions popularly referred as primary colleges of education, hence the probability that their methods of teaching might be

similar. The government of Botswana has implemented a number of reforms in education that were aimed at improving the quality of education specifically in methods of teaching and learning such as breakthrough to Setswana, project method, inquiry and discovery methods, all of which were considered child-centered (RNPE, 1994).

Botswana like many other African states is experiencing teething problems with the social studies curriculum implementation in schools. One of the challenges that face social studies in Botswana includes the culture of teaching and the availability of teaching resources (Mautle, 2000; Mhlauli, 2012). Numerous studies undertaken at primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education on the state of social studies classrooms and teaching have revealed that social studies teaching is teacher dominated, didactic and predominantly authoritarian (Harber, 1997; Tabulawa, 1998; Mautle, 2000; Mhlauli, 2010). The observation that classrooms are teacher centered is a widespread challenge across the continent of Africa (Harber, 1997; Asimeng-Boahene, 2000) and has remained such despite the fact that such education systems have implemented a number of educational reforms geared towards improving the quality of teaching and learning.

This authoritarian nature of schools in Africa has been associated with "the colonial legacy of school organization and curriculum institutionalized during colonialism in the first part of the twentieth century, which has come to be regarded as 'normal' or the only available model" (Harber, 1997). Classrooms are characterized by silence on the part of students who act as recipients of knowledge and are not challenged to take responsibility of their own learning (Tabulawa, 1998; Mhlauli, 2010). The state of affairs in schools regarding the methods of teaching as observed in Mautle (2000) is unlikely to change very soon due to a number of reasons among them being that teacher educators at the colleges of education do not realize that there is a discrepancy between what they teach and what they preach to students as good methods of teaching and the methods that they themselves employ in their teaching. Secondly, at the University of Botswana, teacher educators appreciated the discrepancy between teacher practices and ideas. However, chairs and podiums fixed on the floors of classrooms were introduced as one way of improving the teaching and learning environment and this nature of classroom arrangement dictates that only lecturing should take place (Mautle, 2000).

This study on teachers' pedagogical practices on educating citizens in a democracy comes at a crucial time when social studies teaching in Botswana have been under serious scrutiny and criticism (Harber, 1997; Mautle, 2000; Mhlauli, 2010). These criticisms emanate from the fact that social studies curriculum in Botswana calls for students to be active and participate in their own learning. The methods that are recommended in the teaching of social studies include group work, debates, presentations, role-plays, observation and inquiry, problem-solving…(Ministry of Education, 2005) which are always based on western thoughts with very little relevance to the local contexts and indigenous pedagogies. However, teaching in social studies classrooms is said to be didactic (Harber, 1997; Tabulawa, 2003; Mhlauli, 2010) and reflects a totally different scenario

from that which is recommended in the school curriculum. This scenario has always been associated with the legacy of colonialism and the new imperialism.

The Inheritance of Colonial Education

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

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

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

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

McCarthy (1998) augments the ruthlessness and ambiguity of colonial education by explaining how it tended to reproduce colonial effects that were seemingly untouched by indigenous cultures or movements, often characterized by the absence of the subjects' voices and cultural practices.

Even though education was used as a tool for colonization and decolonization, it is imperative to consider the curriculum choices as they can either sustain imperialist ways of engaging the world

and open up a middle ground between ethnocentrism and cultural relativism (Smith-Crocco, 2005). Smith-Crocco (2005) further argues that western authors and social studies teachers in particular, use approaches that are based on western cultural values. Merryfield and Subedi (2006) also speak to the way Europeans have managed to project their perspectives, myths and misinformation upon the 'other" and how they have exoticized those considered 'other' (Smith-Crocco, 2005) specifically to the Asians, Africans and other populations that were oppressed. This interaction as discussed by Said (1978) and Wa Thiong'o (1981) led to the erasure of the culture of those oppressed and were made to view their culture as inferior and the culture of the colonizers as superior hence developing a dichotomized way of seeing things.

Purpose of Study

The study sought to explore the Social Studies teachers' pedagogical practices on citizenship development through social studies in upper primary schools in Botswana.

Research Questions

The major research question was: What are the social studies teachers' pedagogical practices of educating citizens in a democracy? The broad research questions derived from the major research question that guided the study were as follows**:**

1. What do social studies teachers' say about methods of teaching citizenship education in Botswana primary schools?
2. What skills do social studies teachers emphasize in the development of citizens in their social studies classrooms?
3. What assessment techniques do social studies teachers use in their effort to develop citizenship in a democracy?
4. What are the curricular implications of the findings for developing citizens in Botswana?

Theoretical Framework

The study adopts post colonial theory and draws from *orientalism* as advocated for by Edward Said. Post colonial theory advocates for a number of issues in relation to education that range from decolonizing knowledge, production of transformative knowledge, mapping out the manifestations of power of the west to the rest to challenging the discourse of nationalism (Subedi and Daza, 2008). Said (1978) work on *Orientalism* has helped to understand and unpack the subtleties of the *modus operandi* of colonialism and neocolonialist aspirations in education. In order to put the notion of post coloniality into perspective, it is important that I draw a relationship between postcolonial theory and *orientalism* and how they relate to education and knowledge construction in post colonial societies. *Orientalism* is often regarded as a reference point of postcolonial theory in that it directs its attention to the discursive and textual production of colonial meanings and the concomitant consolidation of colonial hegemony (McCarthy, 1998). One of the issues discussed in post colonial theory is that of how knowledge is constructed, produced and reproduced. Said's project was basically meant to show how "knowledge" about non-Europeans was part of the

process of maintaining power over them, thus the status of 'knowledge' is demystified, and the lines between the ideological and the objective blurred" (Loomba, 1998). Rizvi and Lingard (2006) opine that this Foucauldian idea of knowledge as power can be found throughout Said's critique and is evident in education and social studies classrooms in particular. The educational legacy of imperialism has "shaped many of our ideas about education, a legacy that continues to play a small but significant part in what the young learn of the world" (Willinsky, 1998). This is exemplified in what teachers say they do in their social studies classrooms as opposed to the reality of what actually transpires in their teaching (Mhlauli, 2010). Mhlauli's assertion is further augmented in lieu of the fact that western authors and social studies teachers in particular, use approaches that are based on western cultural values and practices which have no relevance to their ways of knowing (Smith-Crocco, 2005).

McCarthy (1998) identifies work from some writers where the colonial legacy lives on in the imperial text through reproducing neo colonial effects with no accounts of the indigenous voices and their cultural practices. The use of texts is explicated as we are reminded that in relation to Africa, the western epistemological order remains as both context and referent (Mudimbe, 1994). This is exhibited in how the postcolonial intellectuals of Africa have now become the promoters of English language hence systematically annihilating indigenous languages and continuing the legacy of colonialism (Wa Thiong'o, 1981). For instance, in Africa and Botswana in particular, textbooks are important sources of knowledge and are viewed by both teachers and students as embodiments of knowledge. They serve as the most convenient source of instruction about detailed objectives of typical educational programs and the authors to these texts are often alien and detached from the students' everyday life situations (Mhlauli, 2010).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study was qualitative in its approach and employed the naturalistic inquiry paradigm. Naturalistic inquiry is said to demand a natural setting (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Naturalistic inquirers begin their research with the belief that constructions of realities cannot be separated from the world in which they occur or are experienced therefore emphasizing the relationship between time and context to understanding the phenomena under study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This study was undertaken among eleven social studies teachers in six primary schools in one of the big villages in the central district in Botswana which in this study is referred to as *Maretlweng*village (pseudonym). Of the eleven teachers four were males and seven were females. The teachers' age ranged between 30 and 55 years; where four teachers were between 30 and 35 years, three were between 36 and 45 years, two were between 46 and 50 and two were between 51- 55 years.

Purposive sampling was used to select the participants. The major aim of purposive sampling also referred to as theoretical sampling is to "select information-rich cases for study in depth" (Patton, 1990). The naturalistic inquirer prefers purposive sampling because it allows for the increase of the

scope and range of data and the likelihood that a full array of multiple realities will be uncovered; it also maximizes the researcher's ability to devise grounded theory that "takes account of local conditions, local mutual shaping's, and local values" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In this study I used a type of purposive sampling known as snowball sampling to select the social studies teachers who participated in the study (Patton, 1990). These teachers were chosen on the basis that they are experts in their area of concentration which is social studies and are in a better position to explain what they do best.

Individual interviews, participant observations, focus groups and document analysis were used as methods for data collection. The individual interviews were used to solicit more in depth ideas on their perceptions and understandings on citizenship education; this was used to inform the observations and further interviews. Interviews have their own limitations, for instance, I interviewed teachers during break, lunch or after school. This at times made me rush over the interviews as teachers would either be in a hurry to go to the next class or tired after a long day of teaching. I observed the social studies teachers in different settings such as; classrooms and other outside activities in debate clubs, sports activities, staffroom and traditional music practices in an effort to understand what they do and why they do what they do in relation to citizenship education and to listen to their 'normal' conversations and dialogues. The data obtained through observations was used to construct follow up interview questions and vice-versa. Focus groups were used to enable both the participants and researcher to see the group dynamics and how the individual responses contributed during discussions differ from or reinforce those of peers. Focus groups have their limitations in that they compromise confidentiality. At times teachers were not free to say what they would have said if interviewed individually. However, they enabled me to get the socio-cultural aspects of the study in that I was able to observe them when they are together on issues they agree or disagree on. Documents were also analyzed for triangulation purposes.

Data were analyzed inductively using grounded theory and employed the constant comparative data analysis technique (Patton, 1990; Merriam, 1998) where I collected the data, transcribed, coded and categorized them in order to inform the next interviews and observations. Data analysis took place at the same time with data collection and I constantly used the questions raised during transcription to shape the questions for the next interviews. This process allowed me to mine the data thoroughly in order to exhaust all possible gaps. Pseudonyms were used to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings of this study revealed a contradiction between what teachers say and what they do. These contradictions were marked by the teachers' belief on child centered pedagogies over teacher centered pedagogies; development of democratic skills over social skills; advocacy for the use of a variety of assessment techniques but instead they used standardized assessment techniques. The

teachers real names were not used for this study instead pseudonyms *(Nkwe, Kabo, Kgabo, Kubu, Morubisi, Batho, Lorato, Neo, Mpho, Thato and Tau)* were used to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. These findings are presented and discussed below as themes based on the research questions (RQ).

RQ1 Child Centered Vs Teacher Centered Pedagogies

One of the themes that emerged from research question1 was that teachers believe in child centered pedagogies but practice teacher-centered pedagogies**.** Teachers talked passionately about their use of child centered pedagogies in their teaching. They identified child centered pedagogies as discussion, group work, debate, inquiry, dramatization, role play and project method. They believed that these methods were important as they developed in students the ability to be independent, self reliant and responsible decision makers. I asked the teachers to describe what they meant by child centered pedagogies and this is what MsLorato had to say:

> I like using child centered approaches where learners are the key to the learning process. The teacher facilitates as learners find out answers for themselves in groups or pairs. The child centered also entails the research approach where a child comes up with his or her investigation/ inquiry, bring out his ideas and also find out what other authors say in relation to his or her topic.

MsKubu provided a justification for the use of child centered pedagogy and stated that:

> I believe child centered methods are thought provoking, they provoke openness in pupils, they tend to know that it is not only this one person who has to come out with answers or solutions to a problem but, all of them have to participate. Whatever you say is learned, it is discussed and then it encourages divergent thoughts. They can be public speakers in future, I don't know if I am right being able to stand up in front of crowds and discuss issues.

All of the eleven teachers who participated in this study acknowledged the importance and use of child centered methods. They believed that such methods as inquiry, project, discussion, group work, debate and dramatization were good in that they facilitated the development of democratic citizens. Talking about the significance of child centered methods to democratic citizenship MsLorato said:

> I use debate, group work and research, dramatization. They are important because, with debate they are free to express their views and that leads them to be able to express their views tomorrow in terms of political issues and so on. And the group work, they share ideas, they will be able to discuss with others and share those views, if the other one is having his/her opinion then they should be able to know how that person is feeling and may be tolerating that or absorb the motion or so. In research they discover what other people have or know through research because they read, sometimes they interview, so they will be able to know what is happening in other areas. Dramatization, they will know that information is disseminated in different ways and sometimes they have to tolerate those people who speak using gesture because this leads to know we are unique, some

people are different, some are born dumb so they have use those sign languages. So in drama, some of them, most of the time they act. They are important in developing democratic citizens because when they are used, to them they will be able to learn even when the teacher is not there, they help them to be independent learners who are free to ask questions, express their views and be open-minded.

Mr Tau spoke elaborately on the relationship between child-centered methods and active participation and development of leaders:

I use child centered methods where pupils can analyze and see things for themselves. Debates help them develop issues of assertiveness, develop reasoning and become independent thinkers but not neglecting other people's views. Group work helps them accept one another as some are slow learners but this method allow them to contribute. It is through group work that leaders are developed as we have secretaries, group leaders, and group representatives. Research method also helps them to understand much better on the topic they are learning rather than spoon feeding. Role play, as they role play I think it makes them to fully participate because when you are involved in a role play you are taking part. This will help them in the future when there is an activity that is being done they have to be fully involved not being speechless.These methods are important because we have one of the principles which say people should be self reliant. They do encourage the spirit of independence and active participation.

Two teachers said that they used guest speakers in their teaching and this is what one of them MrNkwe said:

Having invited guests whose offices are encouraging topics that are related to good citizenship. Such people would include social workers, *Kgosi*(Chief)*,* MP's, District Commissioners and others.

During focus groups I asked teachers to rank their teaching methods according to the way in which they were used in their classrooms. I asked them to list the methods and ranked them on a scale of 1 to 8 with 1 being the mostly used in their teaching and their rankings were as follows:

1. Group work- Students share ideas; cooperate; communicate; decision making through consensus
2. Discussions
3. Inquiry- develops communication skills, research skills
4. Debate because it promotes discussion
5. Project method
6. Excursions/ Field Trips
7. Question and Answer
8. Lecture method

It was interesting to find that the teachers placed group work, discussions, inquiry and debate at the top of their list as the mostly used methods in their teaching. The findings from the focus groups resonate well with the teachers' views and beliefs on teaching methods used as being child centered. However, it is surprising that the question and answer and lecture methods were ranked as

the least methods used in their teaching yet they were predominantly used as observed in all the teachers' lessons.

In observing the social studies lessons and the instructional methods being used, I saw a totally different scenario where teachers basically used teacher centered methods as opposed to what they said they did. The lessons appeared to be characterized by the question and answer method as explicated by the following excerpts from the teachers' classroom practices. Being in MrMorubisi, this is what I observed:

Teacher: We are going to recap, what did we do yesterday?

Student: Positive effects of the expansion of villages

Teacher: If you look at the villages they are now more or less the same with towns. What are some of the things that are found in villages as well as towns?

Students: Building of hospitals, roads and schools

Teacher: What do we benefit from the expansion of villages?

Student: They come to sell things in order to earn money

Teacher: Negative effects of expansion?

Student: Old ways are breaking down

Teacher: What are these old ways?

Student: Because people think they are old fashioned

Teacher: Yes but I want to know those things

Student: Going to the cattle post

Student: People enjoy the bright life villages

Teacher: Traditional and modern forms of cooperation- Where does the cattle post fall?

Student: Traditional form of cooperation

Student: Because it was done in the past people think it is old fashioned

Teacher: I would agree that it falls under the traditional forms of cooperation. In the past we used to have a system called "*Mafisa*" Can anyone tell me what was happening in the " Mafisa system"?

Student: It involves lending cattle to someone who does not have.

I also observed Ms Mpho teaching a topic on "the effects of divorce" and the excerpts that follow are indicative of what transpired in her class:

(Students are seated in groups of six and they quickly stand up as I enter the classroom to greet me. They are then asked to sit down. Teacher quickly writes the topic and objective of the lesson to be taught on the chalkboard)

Teacher: Good morning class

Class: Good morning teacher, how are you?

Teacher: I am very well, thank you and sit down. Today we have a visitor; She has come to observe how we learn social studies. Do not be afraid – She is here just to see how we learn social studies.

Class: Yes teacher

Teacher: During our last social studies lesson, what were we talking about?

(Students raised up their hands and teacher points at one of them)

Student: We were talking about divorce

Teacher: What is meant by divorce? What can you remember? Letamo, tell us what is divorce.

Student: Divorce is when you decide to divorce

Teacher: Stand up all of you, tell your partner what you think divorce is

(Students start whispering to their partners)

Teacher: What did he say? *Thabang* (name of student*)*?

Student: Divorce is when you decide to end the marriage

Teacher: Divorce is when a husband and wife decide to end their marriage.

Teacher: Who can read the objective that we are dealing with today from the chalk board?

(Student reads what is written on the chalkboard loudly)

Student: (*Reading)* Objective1.1.1.7. Discuss the ways in which families can deal with divorce

Teacher: How would you feel if your parents decided to divorce?

(Students respond by raising up their hands)

Girl 1: I will feel unhappy

Girl 2: I will feel angry

Boy: I will cry

Teacher: What about others?

The findings in this category showed that classroom teaching was teacher dominated and characterized by the question and answer method with no involvement of students in the questioning exercise. The teachers' lessons revolved around three phases with an introduction, delivery of subject matter and a conclusion. The introduction of the lessons followed almost the same pattern where the teacher wrote the topic on the chalk board or made a recap on the previous lesson. This was then followed by the delivery of the subject matter where students were asked to open a chapter that addresses the topic of the day from their textbooks. The teacher then asked questions while students read what was in their books and then the teacher explained what it meant. The last part of the lesson was the conclusion where students were to copy notes from the chalkboard or asked questions as a summary or invited to ask questions if they had any. This trend was observed in all the eleven classes and this raised questions on the teachers' knowledge of the difference between teacher centred and child centred pedagogies as well as teacher preparation in Botswana teacher education institutions.

These findings corroborate those by Evans (2006) where teachers tended to talk about strategies that allowed students to investigate and analyze how citizens and groups participate in decision making around current civic and historical issues and events. In practice, however, these strategies

were less prominent than those discrete activities and strategies used to emphasize knowledge acquisition and skill development. Some teachers did indicate that their schools had introduced citizenship education initiatives at the school level, but that most of the emphasis continued to be subject-based and mostly within the classroom context. Real involvement in civic affairs beyond the classroom, a key feature of citizenship education curricula in both contexts, was even less evident(Evans, 2006). These findings are not surprising in that teachers are expected to use child centred pedagogies as shown in their syllabus (Ministry of Education, 2005) hence their belief that they are using the stipulated instructional methods. This further reinforces the idea that teachers tend to accept what western forms of education dictate in terms of pedagogical practices without understanding them hence the illusion that they practice child centred methods of teaching (Smith-Crocco, 2005). From these findings, it is clear that teachers are not familiar with these chid-centred pedagogies since they are not aligned to their culture hence the need to use culturally relevant pedagogies if indeed citizenship education has to be meaningful. This use of indigenous methodologies is also advocated for in (Tabulawa, 2003; Mhlauli, 2010) as they depart from western forms of knowing that in most cases make learning to be detached from the people's cultural milieu.

RQ2 Democratic and Participatory Skills Vs Social Skills

One of the themes that emerged under research question 2 was that teachers believe in developing democratic and participatory skills while they practice social skills. Teachers opined that they were developing democratic skills among their students and these involved equipping their students with critical thinking skills, study skills, interpersonal skills, leadership skills and problem solving skills. These skills were developed through the use of child centered methods which were seen to encourage participation which is line with democracy. However, what the teachers believed they did was not evident in their lesson progression as well as teacher practices. The lesson progression depicted a situation where students were encouraged to acquaint themselves with one another rather than specifically developing certain skills. What follows below are excerpts from the teachers interviews which indicate what they believe they do to develop democratic skills among their students.

Speaking about the development of democratic skills Ms Thato mentioned that:

They (students) also practice democratic skills by learning how to elect their leaders in the classroom for example; democracy requires them to choose their leaders by majority rule. Through group discussions students are encouraged to say their views without any fear and be assured that they should not shy away from giving what they think are wrong answers.

Mr Kgabo saw democratic skills being taught through the use of methods such as group work and this is what he believes:

In a democracy students choose class monitors, they elect them and the one in the majority wins and they then come to an agreement on who is to represent them. They also practice democratic

skills as they are in group discussions, they will be united to have a decision which they have agreed upon. Choosing group leaders is important in that it gives children an understanding of elections at a tender age. Students are given freedom to choose and this is what I promote in my classroom and teaching. Some teachers spoke about critical thinking, problem solving and conflict resolution as aspects of democratic skills that their students learned about and the following excerpt from Mr Tau explains this better:

They should have critical thinking skills, they should be able to analyze and critique not just to accept things as they are or are being said. They should be able to evaluate choices given. I believe that on a daily basis we are faced with challenges and we should be equipped with skills that help us overcome such challenges; these include problem solving skills and conflict resolution skills. These are important for citizens to have as we are living in a continent that is faced with problems, conflicts and wars.

Relating the importance of critical thinking skills MsThato said:

They need to develop Critical thinking skills, this will enable them to debate issues, discuss them in a friendly manner and analyse what is being said rather than accepting things as they are. They should be able to ask questions and give feedback because Knowledge without analysis is not good. You do not have to consume everything.

Some teachers talked about the development of study skills which they saw as an element of democratic skills as students were taught to be self reliant and to be able to search for information on their own. Study skills were related to developing knowledgeable and informed citizens in a democracy. Relating the need to develop study skills among students, Ms Batho said:

Study skills help them (Students) to be able to study on their own and become self reliant in the search for information. This will help them become informed and not only relying on the teacher for information. This also encourages them to be independent. With research, citizens should have more knowledge on their day to day lives and be able to know what is happening around them. They will be able to compare with other countries.

Ms Kabo felt that equipping learners with study skills was pivotal in developing autonomous minds for the future and the following excerpt indicates her beliefs:

Developing research skills is involved so that the students find information or answers for themselves. One other thing about research skills is that they allow students to speak freely as they understand what they are doing. We try to build autonomous minds for quality lifelong learning. Learners are guided on compilation of information grasped. We try to make them aware that through research they can develop into authors. Analysis of information gathered is also taught. Evaluation is also done to see progress or failures.

The findings in this category clearly negate the teachers' belief in engaging students in multiple participatory activities which are aimed at the development of democratic skills. However, in observing their social studies lessons there was a remarkable trend of students being put in small groups and given work to discuss which basically did not challenge students to analyze, critique or evaluate information as mentioned during the interviews. The classrooms were also arranged in such a manner that the teacher was the main authority in the classroom who always dominated classroom activities with very little input from the students which totally negated the teachers' views that their classrooms were democratic.

The following excerpts from the teachers' lesson observations augment the argument that they in fact concentrated on developing cooperation and social skills instead of democratic participatory skills since this was evidenced by the seating arrangements in the classroom where students were clustered indiscriminately around tables. It should be understood that social skills are an element of democratic skills and are not the panacea for democratic skills as democratic skills resemble a repertoire of skills that are participatory, critical and problem solving based. Below is an excerpt from MsThato's lesson progression:

Teacher: Please try and write activities taking place at the rural settlement- I am giving you only 5 minutes. *(Students in their groups and start working on their assignment. It is difficult to hear what they are saying as they keep on whispering. The teacher is standing by the chalkboard waiting for them to finish)*

> **Teacher:** Are you all through
>
> **Class:** Yes teacher
>
> **Teacher:** Let us present our work
>
> **Presentation**s *(One student from each group reads what he/she has to the class)*
>
> **Group`1**: We used to plough crops and rear livestock at the lands
>
> **Teacher**: They have done well, but are these activities taking placed at the lands?
>
> **Class**: No
>
> **Group 2**: Activities in the village. People rear livestock, sell food to get money. People attend *Kgotla*meetings. People help each other
>
> **Teacher**: Clap hands for them, they have done well, but is that they have said   correct?
>
> **Student**: No, people do not rear livestock in the village
>
> **Teacher**: How do we help people in the village?
>
> **Student**: By taking care of the orphans and the elderly
>
> **Group 3**: Cattle post, we keep livestock there and leave them to graze
>
> We grow crops at the cattle post
>
> **Teacher**: Are they correct?
>
> **Student**: They are correct because some people grow crops at the cattle post.

Student: It is not correct because if people grow crops livestock will destroy them and people will always be fighting

Teacher: Yes, crops can be destroyed and people will always be in conflict

Group 4: Activities at the lands

At the lands we grow crops

At the lands we take care of our goats

Teacher: Are they correct? If you do not agree with them raise up your hand

Student: We grow crops at the lands and we do not keep goats

Te**acher**: Good, clap hands for yourselves for the good work *(The whole class clap hands for themselves)*

Teacher: Now we are going to do another activity. Here we are going to categorize activities according to the three types of settlements in rural areas. *(Teacher distributes sentence strips to students in their groups and they are to categorize them. Teacher moves around to see how students are doing and helping them to understand what they have to do).*

The same trend of teacher practices and lesson progression where students were asked to come together and work on a task was found during my observation in Ms Batho's class and below is an excerpt from her lesson:

(One student stands up to dance and the other students' interpret the dance)

Teacher: Which dance is usually done by the *Basarwa?*

Student: *Tsutsube*

Teacher: Any other dance that you know of that is associated with any ethnic group in Botswana?

Student: *Dikhwaere* and the *Bakgatla*

Student: *Hosana* for *Bakalanga*

Teacher: Let's talk about cultural dance. Please give me the cultural dance of an ethnic   group you know of.

Teacher: Culture is important; we need to learn about culture, why? Tolerance goes with *"Botho"*-culture teaches us that. We do not want to see what is happening in other   countries where people kill one another such as the Rwanda genocide. We need to tolerate each other's differences. I want to give you an assignment

(Teacher gives students in their groups a chart labelled music, food, totems etc. to complete by filling in the missing information)

In almost all the classes I observed students were seated in groups of 6 to 8 per group. These groups appeared to be a seating arrangement as they did not change when students were given tasks to complete as a group. The students also were not assigned individual tasks to insure that each one of them participated. No questions accompanied the group tasks and at the end one student read on behalf of the other students what is presumed to be group effort. There were no checks and balances in group assignments and most of the time they were given five minutes to discuss.

During the group discussions it was difficult to hear what these students were talking about as they whispered. The findings in this category are in tandem with Evans (2006) where in most cases, small-group activities appeared to focus on knowledge acquisition and sharing information rather than the development of particular collaborative skills. In a few instances, teachers used more sophisticated cooperative learning structures to nurture social skills and support community building. In another study teachers acknowledged using more complex instructional strategies such as enquiry-based research assignments or issue-based investigations to support not only the development of foundational knowledge but also the development of skills related to analysis and enquiry(Mhlauli, 2012). These findings reflect a contradiction between teachers' beliefs and actions, and are a serious negation of what teachers believe they practice in the social studies classrooms.

RQ3 Authentic Vs Standardized Assessment

Another theme that emerged was that teachers believe in the use of a combination of authentic and standardized assessment techniques while using standardized assessment techniques. They believed that they used a variety of assessment techniques which included both authentic and standardized assessment techniques. The standardized assessment techniques that they talked about included tests, examinations and quizzes. The non standardized assessment techniques that they mentioned were role play, dramatization, portfolios, essays and continuous assessment, unaware that they were confusing assessment and instructional methods. Almost all of the participants opined that they value their assessment techniques except for Mr Tau who was critical about assessment techniques used in schools that they do not provide a holistic picture of the students and as such he does not value them at all. However, it was interesting to discover that what they said they did was not evident in their teaching practices which in fact raised doubts on what they really do and whether they understand what they are doing. MsBatho in talking about the types of assessment techniques that she used had this to say:

I use tests and examinations, role play, dramatization, continuous assessment, portfolio and essays. Sometimes they role play the electoral process and in so doing I am able to see if they have developed certain skills such as communication, leadership and critical thinking. Dramatization allows the teacher to see all the behaviours that the students have. Such assessment techniques are good as they are not test oriented. This can also help the teacher evaluate how much her students have learned and be able to assist them immediately. They help the teacher to identify students' problems while learning is taking place rather than waiting for the end of term tests or final examinations.

From Ms Batho's excerpt, it is clear that she knows the importance of using a variety of assessment techniques. Talking about the assessment techniques that she uses in her class Ms Lorato mentioned that:

Well I would say I value the assessment strategies looking at the fact that, we teach looking at the objectives that are set by the curriculum. When the pupils are able to pass a test or quiz, this shows that they have information but when they fail as a teacher you have to ask yourself why, do they lack information on what you taught or not, passing meaning that they acquired something, failure will mean as a teacher you need to work hard. Quizzes, tests, role plays and students' portfolios are very important as they give a clear picture of the child. I may want them to role play a scene and let them assess their role play as well.

One of the school-heads, Ms Joseph echoed the same sentiments of using a variety of assessment techniques when saying that:

> I encourage them (teachers) to use a variety of assessment techniques like monthly tests, projects, debates, quizzes, and talent shows. I like these assessment strategies because they involve all the students and make them participate. However, teachers tend to use monthly tests or even during classroom teaching where questions are asked to check understanding. For example, after reading a story in class, they can ask them to list and discuss points that they think have moral lessons for them.

In contrast to what the other teachers said, Mr Tau was quick to mention that he does not value the assessment techniques he uses because they do not give a holistic picture of the child. He further stated that he uses them primarily because they are meant to prepare students for examinations. The excerpt below captures his opinion with regards to assessment techniques that:

I do not value them because of the time factor as you know that we have other subjects to teach as well. So it becomes difficult to give every subject the amount of time it requires, so I end up giving class exercises which are not valuable because I don't get the exact picture of the child. Secondly, we use these assessment techniques because they are the only ones used in the final exams and we therefore prepare our students for exams.

Mr Tau further expressed his concerns and frustrations on the way assessment is tailored within the school system and said:

> On the other hand, our assessment tools are not standard; we need to have the proper tools to measure the performance of our kids. Here assessment should not be based on the marks and examinations only but on the values or moral values like *botho*. I am trying to say that there are some things that we probably see whereby the child has passed examinations or monthly tests but we don't have the standard measure for the issue of *botho* or socialization. We don't look at the skills as we do not have measures for that.

Mr Tau's observation is quite interesting in that he knows what he is supposed to do but argues that due to time constraints and the number of subjects that they have to teach it becomes impossible to implement other forms of assessment. Mr Tau argues that the assessment techniques he uses are deficient in that they do not measure values and skills attained but are only meant to prepare students for the final examinations therefore, indicating that they teach for examinations. The notion of teaching and assessing in order to prepare students for examinations is problematic in that it does not allow any mastery of a repertoire of skills that are necessary for students learning and

citizenship in a democracy. This situation may explain why some students are said to leave primary school unable to read, or converse in English which is the medium of instruction in Botswana and their inability to engage in participatory learning due to a lack of mastery in communication skills (Tabulawa, 1998; Mhlauli, 2010). A similar scenario was observed in Evans (2006) in a study conducted in the United Kingdom and Canada where teachers articulated a preference for two main types of assessment: paper-and-pencil short answer/essay answer and performance-based types of assessment and gave limited attention to types of assessment that encouraged self-reflection or showed evidence of ongoing personal learning such as self assessment, reflective journals and portfolios.

However, I also conducted a document analysis on social studies monthly tests for standard 5, 6 and 7 that were constructed by the teachers. The findings from the document analysis reflected a totally different scenario where it was evident that teachers did not vary their assessment techniques but used tests, examinations and class activities for assessment. The schools' policy was that teachers should administer monthly tests and end of term tests at the end of each term of school. The end of term test is set by the Region and in this case the Central South Region where teachers are drawn from different schools in the region to form a panel that will then set the end of term tests. All the schools in the region sit for the same end of term test that was set by the Regional Office under the supervision of the Principal Education Officer. In their daily teaching, teachers are expected to give students class exercises and quizzes to check understanding and give students practice. Some teachers like MsBatho and MsKabo gave their students weekly tests to check mastery of the subject matter.

A thorough analysis of the items in the monthly tests and end of term tests revealed that they were all multiple choice questions which addressed objectives under each module in the syllabus. All of the questions were recall type of questions that required memorization and recall of facts as they were characterized by questions in the range of "who? what? which? and very few questions in the "why?" category. For example in a Monthly test for std 7 at Morula primary school, there were 50 multiple choice items and only one question was in the "Why?" category. The same trend of assessment techniques was seen in all the schools. Going through the previous final examinations that were set by the Botswana Examinations Council it was not surprising that these teachers asked questions that were knowledge based and did not challenge the students to think as they followed the Botswana Examinations Council's final examinations format where test items are constructed based on the Module in the syllabus, objective being tested and the test items which were multiple choice type of questions. An example of the test items follows in table 1 below;

Table-1. An Example of Test Item

Module: Society and Culture
Objective 1.1.1.1: Discuss the elements of culture
Test Item: All of the following are elements of culture EXCEPT--------------
A.   Language   B. Beliefs   C. Skin Color   D. Food

These test items followed the same pattern and were made such that they covered the whole syllabus and each module had questions to show that it has been covered. A quick look at the students' work as they were writing I also discovered that what they did as quizzes were in fact exercises or activities that were in their textbooks. The use of the students' textbook for quizzes and activities was also an indication of how teachers rely on the students' textbook for their assessment. These findings reflect a serious contradiction between what teachers say they do and what actually transpires in their teaching.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study reflect a wide spectrum of ideas and views about the social studies teachers' pedagogical practices on citizenship education within the Botswana context. These findings are indicative of the fact that the teaching of citizenship education remains an illusion rather than a reality in primary schools in Botswana. These findings have revealed enormous contradictions and dilemmas on citizenship education practices in the primary schools that participated in the study. Citizenship education is a complex concept and teachers need '*to walk the talk and talk the walk*' in order to make citizenship education a reality in their classrooms and ensure that it addresses the needs of the society it serves. The study, therefore, recommends that;

1. Teacher education institutions should revisit their pedagogical stances to ensure that the redress the contradictions and dilemmas that teachers encounter in their daily practices on citizenship education.
2. Teachers should be provided with professional development through in-service workshops to address issues of pedagogy, assessment and skill development.
3. Teachers should be equipped with skills to conduct action research in order to be able to address critical pedagogical issues and challenges with a view of improving and sharpening their skills through subject panels.

Implications for Research and Practice

This study provides valuable information on teachers' pedagogical practices on citizenship education in primary schools in Botswana and has the potential to influence research and practice on social studies as a subject within which citizenship education embedded. The findings in this study have implications for teachers' pedagogical practices at all levels of education in Botswana. The study lays a foundation on teachers' pedagogical stances on citizenship education and provokes them to engage in action research in order to solve their day to day theoretical

understandings and pedagogical problems. Furthermore, the study is probably the first of its kind at this level of education in Botswana, therefore, forms a baseline for the re-direction of citizenship education pedagogy among teachers.

The study further provides empirical evidence that is hoped to challenge teacher educators to revisit their curriculum to see the extent to which it has incorporated mega trends on citizenship education pedagogies if indeed they aim to develop teachers who can compete in a globally interconnected world that they live in today. This is important in light of the fact that the discourse on citizenship education has broadened in scope and focus from nationally bounded citizenship to cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. The findings of the study reflect serious contradictions between what teachers say they do and what actually transpires in their classroom leading to dilemmas and questions of whether they really understand what they are doing. Therefore, this study serves as a constant reminder to teachers that democracy is not inborn, it has to be learned, cultivated and practiced through culturally relevant pedagogies for it to prosper and that citizens do not spring from nowhere as they need to be taught desirable attitudes, values, beliefs, skills and knowledge requisite for them to become effective citizens in a democracy. The study further sets the platform for the rethinking and understanding of citizenship education within the Botswana context for the public as whole.

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