CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPABILITIES FORMATION: A CASE STUDY IN TWO ZIMBABWEAN TEACHERS' COLLEGES

by

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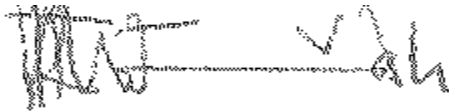
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Declaration

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Citizenship education human capabilities formation: A case study in two Zimbabwean teachers' colleges

I declare that the study hereby submitted for the Philosophiae Doctor in African studies in the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Free State, is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted this work, either as a whole or in part, for a qualification at another university or at another faculty at this university. I also hereby cede copyright of this work to the University of the Free State.

Date: 30 December 2015

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ACRONYMS

Capability Approach	CA
Citizenship Education	CE
Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training	CIET
Department of Teacher Education	DTE
Higher Education	HE
Human Development	HD
Human Development Report	HDR
Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education Science and Technology Development	MHTESTD
Ministry of Education and Culture	MOEC
Movement for Democratic Change	MDC
National and Strategic Studies	NASS
National Youth Service	NYS
Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union	PF ZAPU
Teacher Education	TE
United Nations Developments Programme	UNDP
United Nations Education Science and Culture Organisation	UNESCO
University of Zimbabwe	UZ
Zimbabwe Africa National Union Patriotic Front	ZANU PF

ABSTRACT

This study considers the role of higher education, specifically teacher education colleges in Zimbabwe, in citizenship formation, which has focused on the history, development and implementation of citizenship education. It interrogates the conceptualisation of citizenship, its aims and content; the models of citizenship education that are taught; and the type of citizen sought. The study uses the capability approach as a conceptual framework to analyse citizenship formation and evaluate its significance in the operationalisation of the National and Strategic Studies curriculum, as a form of citizenship education taught in Zimbabwe's teacher colleges. The analysis and evaluation focuses on policy processes and practices, curriculum and pedagogical practices and institutional arrangements under which the formation of citizens' capabilities is experienced in the National and Strategic Studies curriculum. It addresses a gap – the limited consideration of higher education's role in securing the human capabilities essential for critical democratic citizenship that promotes human development.

The study uses an interpretative qualitative research design of two college case studies to explore the role of National and Strategic Studies. The case study institutions are two rural primary school teacher training colleges, one government-run called Charity Teachers' College, and a church-run institution called Good Hope Teachers' College (pseudonyms adopted for the study). In addition to focus group discussions conducted at each college with students, in-depth semi-structured interviews with mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students were also used to gather empirical data. Lecture observations and an analysis of documents that include syllabi, ministerial reports and students' records (coursework files) were also carried out in an effort to understand the institutional arrangements and pedagogical practices that uphold or inhibit the cultivation of human capabilities at each college. The study analyses, from the perspective of three participant categories (mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students), how citizenship is understood, plays itself out in National and Strategic Studies, and the extent to which it fosters critical citizenship.

Findings from the study demonstrate a lack of connection between human development values, policy processes and practices, in the designing and operationalisation of the National and Strategic Studies curriculum. There is also a lack of Sen's instrumental freedoms necessary for the advancement of democratic values and citizens' capabilities in institutional structures and the wider society. Nonetheless, against the context of restricted democratic space, the exercise of individual agency by lecturers and students is evident in curriculum and pedagogical

practices. Finally, a model for a citizenship education curriculum integrating human development and capability approach with *Ubuntu* is advanced in order to foster critical democratic citizenship formation through the National and Strategic Studies curriculum.

OPSOMMING

Burgerskap opvoeding en menslike vermoëns vorming: 'n gevallestudie van twee Zimbabwiese onderwyskolleges

Hierdie studie oorweeg die rolle van hoër onderwys, spesifiek onderwyskolleges in Zimbabwe en burgerskap opvoeding wat fokus op die geskiedenis, ontwikkeling en implementering van burgerskap vorming. Dit bevraagteken die konseptualisering van burgerskap en gepaardgaande doelwitte, inhoud en modelle van burgerskap opvoeding wat geleer word, asook die tipe burger wat beoog word. Die studie gebruik die vermoënsbenadering as konseptuele raamwerk om burgerskap vorming te analiseer en evalueer die beduidendheid in die operasionalisering van die nasionale en strategiese studies kurrikulum as 'n vorm van burgerskap opvoeding geïmplementeer in Zimbabwe se onderwyskolleges. Die analise en evaluering fokus op beleidsprosesse en gebruike, kurrikulum en pedagogiese praktyke en institusionele ordenings, waaronder die vorming van burgerlike vermoëns ervaar word in die nasionale en strategiese studies kurrikulum. Dit adresseer 'n gaping – die beperkte inagneming van hoër onderwys se rol in die vestiging van menslike vermoëns wat belangrik is vir kritiese demokratiese burgerskap wat menslike ontwikkeling bevorder.

Die studie gebruik 'n interpreterende kwalitatiewe navorsingsontwerp van twee gevallestudies om die rol van nasionale en strategiese studies te ondersoek. Die gevallestudies bestaan uit twee plattelandse primêre skool onderwys opleidingkolleges, waarvan een 'n staat-beheerde kollege is (Charity Teacher's College) en die ander 'n kerk-beheerde kollege is (Good Hope Teacher's College). Fokus groep besprekings, asook in-diepte, semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude met middelvlak beleid belanghebbendes, dosente en studente is gebruik om empiriese data in te samel. In 'n poging om die institusionele ordenings en pedagogiese praktyke wat die vorming van menslike vermoëns bevorder of beperk aan elk van die kolleges beter te verstaan, is dosent observasies en analise van dokumente soos sillabusse, ministeriële verslae en studente rekords ook ingesluit. Vanuit die perspektiewe van drie deelnemer-kategorieë (middelvlak beleid belanghebbendes, dosente en studente) analiseer die studie hoe burgerskap verstaan word, hoe dit uitspeel in nasionale en strategiese studies, asook die omvang waarin dit kritiese burgerskap ondersteun.

Bevindinge wys dat daar 'n ontkoppeling is tussen menslike ontwikkeling waardes, beleidsprossesse en gebruike in die ontwerp en oprasionalisering van die nasionale en strategiese studies kurrikulum. Daar is ook 'n tekortkoming van Sen se 'instrumentele vryhede' wat belangrik is vir die bevordering van demokratiese waardes en burgers se vermoëns in institusionele strukture asook die groter samelewing. Nietemin, teen die agtergrond van beperkte demokratiese spasies, is die beoefening van individuele agentskap deur dosente en studente merklik in die kurrikulum en pedagogiese praktyke. Laastens word 'n model vir 'n burgerskap opvoeding kurrikulum wat die menslike ontwikkeling en vermoënsbenadering met Ubuntu vereenselwig voorgestel om sodoende kritiese demokratiese burgerskap vorming deur die nasionale en strategiese studies kurrikulum te bevorder.

1.0 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Citizenship education in Zimbabwe has been, and continues to be, a contested area that is suffused by a number of complexities derived from the nation's social, political and economic context dating back to the colonial era. This study is situated in discourses about the commitment to uphold citizenship education (CE) in higher education (HE), advancing democratic values, human capabilities and social justice. The thesis thus analyses and evaluates the 'curricular transposition' of the National and Strategic Studies (NASS) curriculum, where curricular transposition, as defined by McCowan (2012, p. 5), is the 'materialisation or concretisation of aspirations or ideals into educational programmes, approaches and activities'.

NASS is a variant of CE that is taught in Zimbabwean HE institutions, such as all post-school technical colleges and teacher training colleges. Formally, NASS aims at forming patriotic, critical, responsible, ethical, moral and humane citizens, but in practice, there exists a limited democratic space and freedom for graduate citizens to engage with and construct themselves as what they reasonably value. This study goes beyond exploring the NASS curriculum from a historiographical perspective, which has been the dominant approach, and thus draws from the capability approach (CA) to argue for human development (HD) and social justice as the core of CE. This expands our understanding of better policy processes and practices, curriculum and pedagogical practices, as well as the context in which NASS is operationalised. The framing of CE in this way enables the potential of HE to uphold democratic values, create human capabilities and advance social justice. The study was motivated by my personal reflexive experiences as a lecturer at one of the teachers' colleges, as narrated in section 1.6.

I adopted the CA developed by Sen (1979, 1993, 1999) and Nussbaum (2000, 2003, 2011) as a normative framework to analyse and evaluate the role of NASS in the Teacher Education (TE) curriculum in terms of how or whether it secures human capabilities and promotes HD for critical democratic citizenship. Other approaches used so far, such as the historiographical approach, are limited in that they regard NASS as a history course, rather than a complex interdisciplinary course affecting the development of citizenship identities. In addition, this method takes a simple approach in trying to understand lecturers' and students' perceptions. An analysis and evaluation of the operationalisation of this course at teachers' colleges *in situ*

appeared to me to be the best way of obtaining richer insights into the course and its complex and at times contradictory impact on recipients.

This renewed focus contrasts with previous attention to the history, development and implementation of CE courses, which has had limited consideration of its role in securing human capabilities that are essential for critical democratic citizenship and HD. The analysis and evaluation of the NASS curriculum therefore focuses on three components: 1) policy processes and practices; 2) curriculum and pedagogical practices; and 3) institutional arrangements under which the formation of citizens' capabilities is experienced in the NASS curriculum. To analytically evaluate the three components, four HD values, Ubuntu values and Sen's five instrumental freedoms from the CA were adopted. This is detailed in chapters five, six, seven and eight. I also focus on Nussbaum's three citizenship capabilities, valuable for the formation of critical democratic citizens who can contribute towards HD for strategic and practical reasons. Practically, the number of capabilities (three) is manageable, and strategically, the three capabilities are interconnected and often overlap, thus providing a strong base for an evaluative framework, as will be explained in detail in chapter three.

1.2 Background to the study

Debates about citizenship education in Zimbabwe should be understood within a historical context associated with the transition from colonialism and capitalism to socialism and attempts at changing the citizens' perceptions towards the inculcation of new attitudes and a new consciousness. However, almost 20 years after independence in 1980, towards the end of the 1990s, Zimbabwe experienced a series of challenges that threatened the stability of the country. These were characterised by a gradual economic decline that went hand-in-hand with rising unemployment, underdevelopment and disillusionment with elite corruption; hence incidences of food riots, college and university students' strikes and a 'brain drain' of skilled professionals (Moyana, 1993; Taruvinga, 1997). These socio-political and economic developments have had major implications for how the purpose of education broadly, and CE in HE particularly, can be understood, especially as part of the state's coercive mechanism. To this end, a Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (CIET, 1999) was instituted in 1999. It identified high levels of vandalism, violence and indiscipline in schools and institutions of higher learning as indicative of a lack of Ubuntu values in the formal education processes and the society at large. As a result, the Commission recommended the compulsory teaching and learning of CE from primary school level up to university as a way of developing character and citizenship.

Ubuntu values, explained in detail in chapter three, are derived from African humanist philosophy. The values include compassion, hospitality, respect for elders, decision-making by consensus and respect for human life. Although these values are significant in the formation of ethical, moral and responsible citizens, the CIET's (1999) recommendations seeking to restore the 'lost' values, national identity and patriotism among students raised crucial questions relevant to this study. These questions are: what type of CE was to be taught to students and what type of identity was to be restored or created? Would the patriotism taught be based on love for the nation, without insinuating hatred for others or xenophobic tendencies? Was this teaching to contribute towards HD in education and the society as a whole, or was it an agenda to spread government propaganda?

A curriculum for citizenship formation is indeed often controversial. The teaching of NASS, whose fundamental aim is to foster a Zimbabwean identity, patriotism and Ubuntu, among other values, has encountered criticism from scholars working in both History and CE. For example Tendi (2010) notes categories of 'heroes' used to identify patriots associated with the ruling party, and 'traitors', referring to non-patriots associated with opposition politics. The contestations, on the one hand, view the course as a scheme by the Zimbabwean government to indoctrinate society, stifle dissenting voices and perpetuate identities in citizens that are divided along the fault lines of 'heroes' and 'betrayers'. On the other hand, there is a view driven by pan-African chauvinism that perceives the course as necessary and well-timed to unsettle colonial and neo-colonial mentalities, which are deeply-rooted in colonial curricula, as well as the emerging notion of globalisation, largely perceived as a new form of imperialism. Citizenship for genuine democracy, however, views the potential role of CE as that of deepening and strengthening democratic values by respecting individual and group differences. In this regard, citizenship is about empowered citizens who enjoy substantive freedom and equal opportunities to actively participate in decision-making processes in their polity. Citizenship, from a democratic perspective, is about increasing the citizens' confidence and participation in conventional political processes, enhancing citizens' sense of belonging in society, ensuring respect of the law, and fulfilling citizens' duties towards the state.

The nature of the course that was developed and the controversy generated in the literature thus motivated my inquiry into the extent to which identity formation proclaimed by the course contributes to an expansive notion of citizenship by promoting human capabilities (Sen, 2006; Nussbaum, 2011). In this way it is more aligned with the perspective from which citizenship

can deepen democracy. I now turn to an overview of the socio-economic and political context of the introduction of NASS.

1.2.1 Socio-economic and political context

In order to have a broader understanding of contestations of citizenship and CE within the Zimbabwean context, there is need to appreciate how political, social and economic developments over the years have impacted how citizens have been treated in the Zimbabwean context (Matereke, 2012). Secondly, CE in contemporary societies should be understood as a response to a particular problem in society, and as such the context of its introduction should be clarified (Arcodia, 2000; Sears and Hughes, 2006; Veugelers, 2011). For example, when citizens are not forthcoming in participating in democratic processes or young people are not well informed about the country's history or its national values, governments usually introduce CE to deal with these gaps. I begin therefore by setting out historical developments preceding the introduction of NASS in teachers' colleges and how the developments influenced the form of citizenship envisaged.

On achieving independence in 1980, the new Zimbabwean republic inherited segregated systems of government permeating all spheres, social, economic, political and particularly education (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2009). The divisions were race-based, benefitting white settlers in all cases. Hence, this divisive system had to be dismantled in order for a just and coordinated system to prevail. The first move by the new majority ZANU PF government was to declare a policy of reconciliation within the context of a socialist ideology. In tandem with this, free service delivery was initiated, especially in the health and education sectors. In its ideal form, socialism sought to establish an egalitarian society motivated by the desire for equality of all despite race, gender, religion or any other identity, although it did not work as smoothly as intended. For example, Mandaza in Muzondidya (2009, pp. 169-170) argues that 'elite groups in both rural and urban societies, which included rich peasants and farmers, business people and educated professionals, benefitted most from policies which opened up the state and capital accumulation to blacks'. He adds that only three per cent of the population, mainly white farmers and a small black bourgeoisie, continued to own the bulk of resources and to control two-thirds of national income in the 1980s. An egalitarian society thus remained out of reach and this could be registered as a potential cause of discontent among the majority of citizens. The disproportionate distribution of resources, particularly agricultural land owned

by a minority white population, was thus used as a point of departure and justification for the land redistribution in the late 1990s and early 2000s.[1]

Some commentators claim that policies in politics, education, and economy to deal with colonial imbalances and a white settler regime did not effectively and sustainably transform the livelihoods of the poor majority, due to other international developments such as the shift towards neo-liberal policies and globalisation (Chung and Ngara, 1985; Muzondidya, 2009). The relative peace in the early '80s was, moreover, disturbed by an ethnic civil war, which lasted from 1982 to 1987 between the Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF ZAPU) (mainly Ndebele ethnic group supporters) and the Shona-dominated ZANU PF. The war was sparked by an alleged discovery of arms caches on one of the PF ZAPU farms (Auret, 2009).[2] The bloodshed caused and the economic cost of the war could not be clearly measured, but the social and political implications were devastating, as this war threatened to divide the country along ethnic lines. The situation was, however, salvaged by the signing of the unity accord between the two contending parties ZANU PF and PF ZAPU in 1988. Auret (2009) describes this onslaught not only as an attempt by the ZANU PF government to deal with the dissident menace; to him, it was a move deliberately aimed at wiping out opposition and a way of meting out vengeance on the Ndebele people of Matabeleland by the Shona, although he concedes that it did not appear as such to him at that time. The devastating horrors of this period cannot be understated; even Robert Mugabe acknowledged that it was a moment of madness (Mahuku and Mbanje, 2012).

This phase is one of the most fertile points of reference for those who capitalise on divisive politics as they appeal to the emotions of the people of Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands against Mugabe and his ZANU PF party. Thus, Auret (2009) and Muzondidya (2009) conclude that there is intolerance of divergent thinking and opposition throughout the reign of Mugabe and the ZANU PF government, accumulating up to the time of the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). However, up to this point, Zimbabwe through its ideological orientation of socialism and the policy of reconciliation was what Hammar and Raftopoulos

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[1] The land question was one of the major reasons for the liberation struggle and one of the sticking points during the Lancaster House conference, the last conference organised to negotiate majority rule in Zimbabwe.
[2] Auret served for many years on Zimbabwe's respected Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) defending human rights. He was an admirer of Mugabe in the early years of his rule, but later became his critic and joined the main opposition party to ZANU (PF), Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) through which he became a member of parliament.

(2003) call a 'civic nation' (though not perfectly so).[3] The policy of reconciliation can thus be regarded as instrumental up to this stage in securing a type of citizenship that immediately made Mugabe into a statesman committed to rebuilding a united nation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). The inclusion of non-blacks such as Joseph Curverwell,[4] Dennis Norman,[5] Ken Flower[6] and Peter Walls[7] in his cabinet and security sector during this phase can be understood as a gesture of reconciliation. However, this assertion can also be questioned on the basis of the atrocities in Matabeleland as discussed above. The above context clearly demonstrates the early efforts by the ZANU PF government to work towards the improvement of citizens' well-being regardless of other challenges associated with populist policies. It also demonstrates increasing state-sanctioned violence against any form of opposing voices and thus explains why a form of CE (namely, political economy) was also removed from the curriculum during this period (Mavhunga *et al.*, 2012). Political economy was introduced to the nation's educational curricula at secondary school level shortly after independence in the early 1980s, but abandoned soon afterwards. Its Marxist inclination worked against the state and religious organisations for its criticism of Christian values and elitism in a country that claimed to be guided by egalitarian values. This probably marks the beginning of a minimalist approach to the conception of citizenship where citizens are expected to conform as passive and uncritical in the affairs of the state.

Meanwhile, in education and other social services, the government concentrated on increasing access, in line with the new drive towards mass education.[8] Dzvimbo (1989) argues that this was necessitated by the fact that the colonial system had denied Africans access to better jobs and participation in both economic and political affairs of the country. However, Chung and

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[3] It is an inclusive nationalism, which maintains that the nation should be composed of all (regardless of race, colour, creed, gender, language or ethnicity) who subscribe to the nation's political creed. This nationalism is called 'civic' because it envisages the nation as a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values.

[4] The Deputy Minister of Education 1980-1988 when he became a minister of State in the President's office.

[5] The first Minister of Agriculture in independent Zimbabwe in 1980 and former head of the Commercial Farmers Union. He spent a total of twelve years in the Cabinet of Robert Mugabe. See *The Zimbabwean*, 3rd December 2007.

[6] In 1980, when Robert Mugabe became the first Prime Minister of the state of Zimbabwe, he kept Flower as central intelligence organisation boss as well as other top officials in his predominantly black, first administration. http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=7980142&jid=AFR&volumeId=75&issueId=02&aid=7980141 Accessed 31/07/2013

[7] The last white commander of the Rhodesian army that opposed Robert Mugabe's guerrilla forces. General Walls was instrumental in assisting Mugabe to integrate the guerrilla armies into the Rhodesian army he commanded. See *The Zimbabwean* 22nd July 2010

[8] For a detailed analysis of number of new schools, colleges and universities built over the years, see MOESC (2005) National Action plan of Zimbabwe: Education for all towards 2015, MOESC, Zimbabwe.

Ngara (1985) warned that mass education without improving quality and expanding industry would be disastrous, as school-leavers would not be absorbed by the economy. High levels of unemployment were later experienced in the late 1980s and early 1990s, even though the effects could also be ascribed to the International Monetary Fund-sanctioned (IMF) Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), a free market economic policy meant to 'liberalise' the Zimbabwean economy. According to the African Development Bank Group's report (1997, p. 1), 'by 1989, large deficits had occurred in the balance of payments in addition to the large budget deficits'. The effects of this policy, worsened by a series of droughts, had serious effects on the livelihoods of the general population, to the extent that the acronym ESAP was dubbed 'Extra Suffering for African People'. Withdrawals of subsidies in higher levels of education and other essential social services negatively impacted the education sector. As stated in chapter two, based on World Bank research (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002; Psacharopoulos, 1988) emphasis had been placed on basic education, as HE was considered a luxury for the continent at large (Brock-Utne, 2000). This position was later reversed after research-based evidence (World Bank, 2000) proved that HE also plays a significant role in increasing both personal income and overall economic growth. However, as a result of ESAP, high levels of unemployment and the erosion of income in both the urban and rural population led to simmering anger.

Urban groups, workers' unions, students' unions, civic society and even the Church's criticism against Mugabe's rule increased after 1990. Grievances centred on issues of social justice, such as the abuse of human rights, use of violence to win elections and silencing of independent media. Apart from these, rising levels of unemployment, collapse of the service delivery system, as well as failure to deal with rampant corruption were further sources of anger, among others (Muzondidya, 2009). The citizens' response was evidenced in food riots, demonstrations and workers' and students' strikes throughout the country. This period coincides with the new position of Mugabe as executive president after the abolition of the post of prime minister, which he had held since 1980. However, explanations of Mugabe's misrule or rule conflict are in some cases exaggerated, according to some writers (Freeman, 2014). On one side are those who glorify Mugabe as a true revolutionary, a man of vision who has managed to bring in programmes benefitting the general population (Chari, 2012; Parazi, 2013); on the other are critics who feel he has presided over and personally contributed to the collapse of the nation through his flawed policies; and still others view him as a hero that has changed into a dreaded tyrant (Auret, 2009). In 1999 a host of critics of Mugabe's rule coalesced to form a formidable

opposition party, the MDC, whose first registration of success was its effective campaign against a government-driven constitution in 2000.[9] These developments had implications for CE, in that as socio- economic and political problems increased. The 1990s saw a gradual paradigm shift from a relative democratic and liberal arrangement to a more authoritarian and intolerant stance. State control of citizen life increased and education was regarded as an arena for authoritarian politics in a more overt way: education was always political (for example, it sought to advance a socialist ideology), but now it moved in an authoritarian direction, away from egalitarianism. For example, the demand to have more disciplined and 'cultured graduates' is one of the reasons advanced for the recommendation of CE in Zimbabwe (CIET, 1999).

I now turn to a phase of contested democratic space as attested by rising discontent among workers, university students and civic groups, in which education subsequently becomes an important place for the propagation of national values and ideology. Auret (2009) gives a detailed account of the failures of Mugabe, which he ascribes to his desire to amalgamate power, having failed to create a one-party state, owing to several factors including the fall of the communist bloc in the 1990s. A list of corruption cases involving ZANU PF officials dating back to the era of the likes of Morris Nyagumba in the Willowgate scandal, the Grain Marketing Board scandal involving Kumbirai Kangai, the land redistribution exercise dating back to the 1990s involving senior government officials, the fraudulent claims made in the War Victims compensation fund, and the NOCZIM scandal just to mention a few, testify against ZANU PF. Whilst it is true that these cases are 'public secrets', very few critics take note of the fact that commissions of inquiry were set up to deal with these issues leading to the resignation of some of these officials and even the firing of those found guilty of wrong doing (Financial Gazette, 2007; News Dzezimbabwe, 2012; Anti-corruption Trust of Southern Africa, 2012). Nonetheless, the fact that the majority were not punished for their offences can be used to argue that ZANU PF had started to treat its citizens unequally and to form privileged political elites.

Gardner (2010) points out that the real downturn in the economy started after 2000 and ascribes it to poor economic policies and unreasonable business practice by the government. Auret (2009) suggests three blunders that Mugabe made leading to the downfall of the economy. First

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[9] In the referendum on this constitution, the majority voted against its adoption. Since this was a ZANU PF government-driven constitution, many view its rejection as a defeat of ZANU PF.

is the payment of gratuities to war veterans without cabinet approval.[10] Secondly, was the army's involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo conflict, which was also decided unilaterally.[11] Third was the way Mugabe implemented land redistribution unequally. Raftopoulos (2009) argues that this combination of factors led to economic, social and political crisis in the country, threatening the future of the ruling party, ZANU PF. Although the implications for citizenship and CE may not be clear at this stage, the increased use of executive powers by the president became an important lever through which a directive to introduce CE in tertiary institutions was made, using well-placed officials.[12] In the next section I look at the government's response to these challenges.

1.2.2 Political responses

Whilst it cannot be established with certainty that measures introduced in the socio-economic and political sphere in the late 1990s and early 2000s were a direct reaction to growing public dissatisfaction over a host of socio-economic and political issues, there are many claims in support of this view (Raftopoulos, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Daimon, 2014; Freeman, 2014). To curb the multiple effects of socio-political and economic developments in the country, strategies had to be devised. I focus on four developments that seem to directly or indirectly relate to the context discussed above. These are the introduction of draconian laws such as the Public Order Security Act (POSA)[13], the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Amendment Act (AIPPA),[14] the redefinition of citizenship in an exclusionary manner, the introduction of National Youth Service (NYS),[15] and the revision of the national curriculum.

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[10] War veterans are former combatants of the second chimurenga. In 1997 they pressured the government to pay unbudgeted gratuities for their role in the second chimurenga, resulting in the crash in the value of the Zimbabwean dollar (See Tendi, 2010).

[11] This was a civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which erupted in 1998. Zimbabwe and Namibia intervened militarily, while South Africa preferred diplomacy.

[12] All ministers were ZANU PF senior members, who were often members of the party's highest decision-making bodies and what was decided in the bodies of ZANU PF became government policy (see Raftopoulos and Muzondidya (2013)).

[13] Passed in 2002, this restricted freedom of assembly, freedom to criticise the government and President, and freedom to engage in, advocate or organise acts of, peaceful civil disobedience.

[14] The culture of secrecy prevalent in most democratic systems suggests that access to information is not seen as a right but a privilege that government officials dispense at will. See
http://www.freedominfo.org/2012/08/report-excoriates-zimbabwe-access-environment/

[15] National Youth Service was introduced in July 2001, focused on instilling youth with the following five values: national identity, patriotism, unity and oneness, discipline and self-reliance. Participants spend three months in training camps, after which they are required to complete a one-month service project in their communities. See Ministry of Youth Development: http://www.mydgec.gov.zw/nys.htm.

Considering the growing opposition against the ZANU PF government and the unfavourable results of the referendum in 2000, I concur with Raftopoulos (2009) that what ensued after 2000 was a struggle for survival for the ruling elite. The already growing use of presidential decrees noted by Auret (2009), plus repressive laws such as POSA and AIPPA, undermined the involvement of citizens in decision-making. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) argues that developments in the 1990s 'particularly economic stagnation forced Mugabe to veer off the socialist rhetoric of the 1980s of establishing an egalitarian state', to which the government responded by 'tightening […] the screws of political repression and violence' (p. 241). The democratic space was dwindling and contested. Freeman (2014) views the ZANU PF leaders as promoting abusive, non-liberal forms of politics shutting out basic freedoms of association and expression, of dissent and of the press. The use of violence against any dissenting force became the norm after 2000 with reports of kidnapping and murder (Phimister, 2005). Another law introduced as a survival strategy by the ruling elite was the Citizenship Act, as amended in 2001 and discussed below.

Mlambo (2013) and Daimon (2014) clearly articulate how the ZANU PF government used citizenship laws to exclude perceived opponents (mainly former farm workers displaced by the allocation of land to the black majority) and whites from enjoying citizenship rights when ZANU PF abolished dual citizenship. Although dual citizenship in Zimbabwe had been regarded as a contentious issue even during colonial times when Africans had limited or no citizenship rights, this was magnified after 2000, soon after the government lost its bid to introduce a new constitution. Forbidding dual citizenship would mean dispossessing perceived opposition supporters of Malawian descent, as well as whites, of their right to vote and own property, especially land. Although citizenship controversies are not unique to Zimbabwe, it is the 'strategic' manner in which these have been used to diminish the opposition support base. According to Mlambo (2013), in the process, 'Zimbabweaness' and patriotism was redefined by 'political affiliation and allegiance to a particular standpoint'. Prior to the amendment of the Citizenship Act, citizenship could be attained by birth, descent or registration without reference to one's political inclinations. The current constitution accepted by Zimbabweans in 2013 has once again accepted dual citizenship on the same basis of birth, descent or registration.

The introduction of NYS is yet another way in which the state responded to the socio-economic and political crisis emerging at that time. The NYS was introduced by the then ZANU PF youth minister Border Gezi in 2000. Although the minister pointed out that the course, which was outside the school curriculum, was introduced to create responsible, patriotic and rounded

youths, it was criticised as a mechanism meant to breed youth militias for use by the ruling party.

The tension between the purported and perceived objectives of the NYS can only be understood in terms of the rising polarisation between the state and various civic groups that documented NYS activities. The situation was worsened by the clandestine manner in which the programme was introduced without passing through parliament (Madondo, 2008). Obadare (2010, p. 27) confirms that 'national youth services as government mandated programmes are open to misuse and exploitation by governing bodies'. In addition, the values of patriotism and discipline that the government programme sought to inculcate are contested. However, the accusations levelled against ZANU PF cannot be completely dismissed given the huge number of unemployed youths between 2000 and 2002, which constituted about 65% of the voting population (Madondo, 2008).

The education sector was embroiled in the web of these controversies as a CIET[16] was set up to investigate why the nation, with a pool of educated human capital, was unable to solve problems it encountered. Zimbabwe is currently ranked first in Africa in adult and youth literacy levels, with over 91% literacy (African economist magazine, 2014). It was worrisome to have high levels of corruption, escalating immorality, and an underperforming economy. Above all, the high number of school leavers who could not be absorbed by industry was a potential source of discontent besides the already widespread students' demonstrations (CIET, 1999). This is noted by Stoneman (1988), who at that time observed a mismatch between economic growth and population increase or number of school leavers.[17] The CIET was not the first commission set up to inquire into education after independence. In 1989, William's report had recommended the establishment of more universities and subsequently the establishment of the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) as a measure to absorb more students into tertiary education (Shizha and Kariwo, 2011). CIET (1999) castigated the system of education in Zimbabwe for failing to prepare students for life and for being too academic. It also claimed that the education received failed to inculcate 'national

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[16] The Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (CIET) report via a twelve-member commission selected from various sectors which was appointed by the president and chaired by Dr Cephus T. Nziramasanga, an educationist and researcher based at the University of Zimbabwe.
[17] From 1982 to 1990, GDP growth rates averaged 1.3 per cent. Only 10 000 new jobs a year were created in the first decade of independence, which did not keep pace with either the population increase or with large numbers of school leavers (approximately 100 000 by the mid-1980s). See Stoneman (1988).

values' and the love of nation among graduates. The Commission therefore recommended the alternative pathway system plus CE for all levels of education to restore lost identity. As a result Nyakudya (2007) and Mapetere *et al.* (2012) suggest that NASS was a response to the recommendations of the CIET. Whilst this fits well in the timing of the introduction of NASS in 2002 (just three years after the CIET report was produced), Sigauke (2011) argues that there is no evidence to suggest that the Commission was free from political interference. He effectively argues that members of the Commission were handpicked by the president and given a mandate under oath to investigate education and training. Whilst Sigauke's assertion could be refuted on the grounds that all commissions of inquiry are set up by the president in accordance with his duties as the head of state, the context in which these developments occur creates a level of suspicion that is difficult to ignore. Through this Commission, the ideas of restoring national values, history and heritage, identity and patriotism are articulated. The Commission also suggests advancing Ubuntu as the underlying philosophy. Although there is nothing wrong with these recommendations, the commission did not provide clarity on how the suggested values were to be implemented. Leaving it open-ended, though seemingly an advantage, actually gave an opportunity to the state, which was already in an authoritarian mode, to dictate what suited it best.

The previous sections aimed to set the context in which CE was introduced in TE and the subsequent government response to the context. Although most of the literature used viewed the context as deteriorating into an increasingly undemocratic space, there are others who believed that whatever happened was meant to protect the interests of Zimbabwe as a sovereign state.

1.3 Research problem

Unsurprisingly, the introduction of NASS in the Zimbabwean TE curriculum in 2002 generated controversy around the role of HE in forming citizens, the type of citizens who must be formed, and how this should be achieved. However, the question of the formation of citizens through education, in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, is not new. For example, while the colonial education system for Africans sought to create docile citizens who would provide labour for the country, the white colonialists also endeavoured to create a future educated African elite that would be supportive of colonial social, political and economic projects. In the post-independence era after 1980, education with production was perceived as a break with the past and an effort by the then socialist government to produce citizens with a socialist ideological orientation who would be self-reliant. The introduction of the subject Political Economy was

understood as an effort to create citizens who would be politically engaged. Thus, the introduction of NASS under different conditions twenty years on with its emphasis on creating a Zimbabwean identity, patriotism and inculcating Ubuntu at a time when the country was experiencing social, political and economic problems raises questions about the formation of citizens and debates, which are relevant both in Zimbabwe and internationally. Contestations about the core aim of CE impacts on issues such as the conceptualisation of, and the kind of citizens that could be produced through, HE. This study proposes that if we conceptualise, implement and evaluate CE from a capability perspective, we will have a clearer understanding of the processes and practices that should be put in place to produce critical democratic citizens.

Therefore, the following research questions informed the study's intention to explore the role of NASS in the TE curriculum in securing human capabilities and promoting HD for critical democratic citizenship:

1) How does the NASS curriculum contribute to the development of critical citizenship among future teachers?

2) From the perspective of policy stakeholders in the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education Science and Technology Development and the Department of Teacher Education (University of Zimbabwe), how is citizenship understood? How does NASS promote such citizenship? Are there any obstacles that hinder NASS from advancing a critical citizenship among future teachers?

3) From the perspective of lecturers at two selected teachers' colleges, how is citizenship understood? What form of citizenship is promoted by NASS and how is this achieved? Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing critical citizenship among future teachers?

4) How do selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship? What are their perspectives on and experiences of NASS in the TE curriculum? To what extent does NASS foster their critical citizenship?

5) How is Ubuntu significant in the formation of desired citizens?

6) How can a study of the NASS curriculum contribute to theorizing critical CE in a Zimbabwean context and also more widely?

1.4 Significance of the study

The study builds on and contributes to literature in CE studies in HE, in which key debates broadly focus on the history, development and implementation of CE. It pays particular attention to the conceptualisation of citizenship, the aims, content and models of citizenship education taught and the type of citizen sought, since there is no empirical research on the role of NASS in the promotion of human capabilities and HD. It seeks to connect the NASS curriculum to the HD framework and critically examine whether it enhances human capabilities to expand the democratic space and increase participation in education and society. It considers HE broadly and TE specifically as a major player in shaping individuals and destinies of societies in Africa, and particularly Zimbabwe, through identity formation and the formation of citizens. Hence, the study seeks to influence policy regarding the teaching of NASS at tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe. More broadly, a capability-based HD framework contributes towards a critical analysis and evaluation of the policy processes and practices inspiring HE in Zimbabwe. The HD and capabilities framework can also be more widely applied as a multidimensional framework that considers agency, citizens' capabilities, freedom, and resources among other variables as important in advancing critical citizenship. The focus on identity formation issues is important since this can be used to cultivate 'good' citizenship in any context.

1.5 Methodology

This section briefly highlights how the empirical research was carried out (a detailed account will be given in chapter four). The questions in this research pointed to the necessity of understanding the lived experiences of people in their context, and to understand hidden structures through which different social groups may be oppressed.

Two rural primary school teachers training colleges (described in chapter four) were purposively chosen for this study. The sample consisted of three lecturers from Good Hope Teachers' College and two from Charity Teacher's College (N=5) and twelve students (N=24) from each institution. Four methods were envisaged as necessary in data collection: (1) document analysis, which examined policy documents, syllabi, essays and notes written by students and reports written by assessors at various levels; (2) in-depth, semi-structured interviews involving each of the participants identified among students, lecturers and mid-level policy stakeholders, which sought to generate essential data needed in qualitative research; (3) focus group discussions that allowed participants to critically share experiences and generate

equally important insights needed in qualitative research; and (4) observations that were used to augment the other methods and to understand the contexts and hidden structures, and as a way of triangulating the methods used. The quality of data collected using these methods influenced my understanding of mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students' experiences with regard to NASS and the formation of human capabilities.

1.6 Personal experiences and my positionality

A reflection on my own personal experiences on policy, curriculum, pedagogical processes and practices as well as on the institutional arrangements at the college at which I taught prior to this research, urged me to carry out this academic study. I thus sketch my personal experiences as a NASS lecturer below to situate myself in the study.

My experiences in HE, specifically as a NASS lecturer, started in 2010 when I was completing my research for the Master in Education qualification at the University of Zimbabwe. The study questioned the pedagogical value of museums in the teaching of history at secondary school level. At that stage, I perceived NASS as a history course and the questions from my masters' research were applied to the teaching of NASS at HE level. I thus drew from the notion advanced by Carr (2001) that history is taught in a dry and off-putting manner, with emphasis on note-taking and rote learning rather than critical analysis of issues, to evaluate the reasons behind the teaching of NASS.

The major teaching approach that was used (lecturing) does not promote critical thinking. The students were used to note-taking, and as a result it proved difficult to introduce new methods. In any case, this appeared convenient, as lectures in NASS involved large numbers of students (over 160), with only a one-hour slot per week. Moreover, controversy surrounded the course as it was labelled a Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) propaganda project, seeking to win back the support of the youth who were increasingly disillusioned with the ruling party. Students, especially those in their first residential phase,[18] tended to be reserved when asked to comment on topical issues and the few who dared gave superficial responses, which may be related to the fears caused by stereotypes about the course or lack of critical thinking skills needed at this level. Lecturers from other sections of the programme were afraid to converse freely on critical issues that affect us as a nation. Thus, these problems tended to undermine the role that NASS could play in contributing to the formation of human capabilities necessary for the promotion of democratic values, HD and social justice.

Problem areas derived from these experiences thus include: the belief that NASS is a history course, and a general view by the critics of NASS that, given the timing of the course, its ideas

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[18] The primary education diploma is undertaken over three years, divided into three phases. In the first phase students are exposed to theories in education and other content subjects (including NASS) for two terms at college. In the second phase students will be on teaching practice for five terms, while submitting assignments for the Distance Education component for each course. In the third and final phase, the students will be back at college for two terms, in which they submit their coursework assignments and write their final examinations.

on identity, patriotism, Ubuntu and the way it is taught, it is partisan and seeks to 'brainwash' youths with government propaganda. This, then, became a valid reason why the value of NASS should be interrogated, focusing on how it contributes to HD.

However, it must be underscored that my subjectivity in relation to my home country Zimbabwe and my participation in the operationalisation of the NASS curriculum at one of the colleges participating in the study for three years does not negatively affect the rigour of my findings. The interpretivist approach chosen for the study allows for my own interpretation, but enables me to take note of other people's opinions that are based on their lived experiences that might differ from mine. The names given to colleges and individuals are all pseudonyms as explained in Section 4.8.

1.7 Chapter outlines

This section outlines an overview of the nine chapters making up the thesis. Much of the literature review work is presented in chapter 2, 3 and 4, but is also evident throughout the research. I found this approach useful in establishing a link between literature, the conceptual framework and the empirical chapters as each arose in my analysis and theorisation for purposes of clarity and logical presentation of ideas. Much of the context and analysis of policy processes and practices is presented in chapter five, so as to situate mid-level policy stakeholder perspectives in the right context.

1.7.1 Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter one states the purpose of the study, its background, research problem and summarises the research design and methodology. It also outlines my reflection on personal experiences and positionality as a researcher.

1.7.2 Chapter Two: Literature review

Chapter two reviews literature focusing on conceptual clarification of citizenship and its historical development. It also analyses the nature, scope, models of and approaches to CE in various contexts, structured as international, African and the Zimbabwean context. The chapter also situates citizenship formation in HE and TE. It acknowledges the usefulness of the republican view of citizenship for advancing critical citizenship, but adds the argument introduced in chapter 1 that, to clearly understand citizenship formation in HE, there is the need for a multidimensional approach, which can be provided effectively by the HD and CA. Critical thinking and critical pedagogy are introduced as necessary for advancing critical citizenship as understood in this study. The chapter moves from a broad analysis of the role of HE in

advancing critical citizenship to focus on TE in the Zimbabwean context. It concludes with an overview of debates on citizenship education and the role of HE and TE in forming citizens' capabilities.

1.7.3 Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework – capability approach, human development and Ubuntu

This chapter follows up on the conceptualisation of citizenship and an analysis of models and approaches to CE in the previous chapter, by focusing on the significance of HD and capabilities formation for critical citizenship formation. It considers the capability framework developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum in developing a model of CE curriculum that advances critical democratic citizenship for HD in a context of contested democratic space. The chapter begins by explaining models of education, the philosophy of Ubuntu, the central values of HD and concepts of the CA. The HD values are: empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability; and the concepts relating to capabilities are functioning, capabilities, agency and instrumental freedoms. Although I considered debates about capabilities lists, I chose not to formulate a list but to use Nussbaum's three citizenship capabilities (critical thinking, narrative imagination and the ability to think as a global citizen) as important in evaluating a curriculum's usefulness in forming critical citizens. In the final section of the chapter, I explain how the CA provides a better theoretical basis for the formation of critical citizenship, and how it strengthens Ubuntu, which is already advanced by the NASS curriculum. I then propose a HD and CA framework that integrates the philosophy of Ubuntu as a model for a CE curriculum.

1.7.4 Chapter Four: Methodology – Research design, methods and data analysis

This chapter focuses on the methods of generating data and the processes and procedures used in data analysis. The case study of two teachers' colleges is positioned in an interpretative qualitative research design. The chapter situates the research design in debates on paradigms arguing for an interpretivist paradigm. This is followed by a description of ethical considerations, the study sites, sampling procedures, research participants, the instruments and the methods used. The chapter ends with a narration of how the qualitative data was managed and analysed.

1.7.5 Chapter Five: Mid-level policy stakeholder perspectives on policy and processes in NASS

In all the empirical chapters (five to eight), I draw on participants' voices relevant to the themes under discussion in each chapter. This chapter presents results addressing research question

two, which focuses on contextualising and understanding policy processes and practices in the operationalisation of NASS at Zimbabwean teachers' colleges, and how these processes and practices impact on citizenship and CE. The chapter begins with a critical contextual analysis of the socio-economic and political context in which NASS was introduced. It also outlines the context and political responses in an attempt to deepen an understanding of the contested nature of the course since its inception in the TE curriculum. A critical analysis of the policy stakeholders' perspectives is also undertaken using four HD values (empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability) that inform human capabilities as espoused by Boni and Gasper (2012) and Boni and Arias (2013). Using these values as a measure, I propose that policy processes undertaken in the introduction and operationalisation of NASS do not reflect and uphold democratic principles.

1.7.6 Chapter 6: Lecturer perspectives on NASS

This chapter uses the lecturers' perspectives to address research questions one and three and examines how citizenship is understood, the form of citizenship promoted by NASS, and how this is achieved. The aim is to examine the lecturers' understanding of how the education and training system (and CE in particular) contribute to the development of critical and knowledgeable citizens who can function ethically as part of a democratic society beyond economic gains. The chapter sheds light on the extent to which NASS can be considered a course meant to foster citizens' capabilities. It also traces lecturers' pedagogical experiences as a way of understanding the degree to which teaching and learning practices foster critical citizenship through adherence to HD values. The chapter also draws on three capabilities from Nussbaum's (1997; 2002; 2006) list, focusing on educating critical democratic citizens to think about what it means to educate citizens for HD. The capabilities preferred are: critical thinking, narrative imagination and the ability to think as a world citizen. The chapter argues that despite limited democratic space and little consideration of HD values, lecturers nonetheless use their agency to advance the formation of critical citizenship.

1.7.7 Chapter 7: Student perspectives on NASS

Chapter seven builds on the previous chapter by examining how selected students at the two colleges understand citizenship, perceive and experience the NASS curriculum, and the extent to which NASS fosters their critical citizenship. This is crucial in addressing the overarching aim of the study, which is to explore the role of NASS in the TE curriculum in securing human capabilities and promoting HD for critical democratic citizenship. This addresses research question four: *how do selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship? What are*

their perspectives on and experiences of NASS in the TE curriculum? To what extent does NASS foster their critical citizenship? The chapter also serves to triangulate claims by lecturers (see section 6.3) regarding their pedagogical practices. What emerges from the students' perspectives is that democratic and critical engagement is significant for the formation of democratic citizens who are HD- and justice-oriented. The chapter argues that, besides availability of well-intentioned syllabi in the two teachers' colleges and a rich understanding of citizenship by students at the two colleges, more democratic practices are still needed in order to foster critical citizenship contributing to HD.

1.7.8 Chapter 8: Critical citizenship using the capability approach

In as much as research questions five and six are progressively addressed by chapter four, chapter seven pulls together the arguments raised in all the preceding chapters to focus specifically on these two research questions: *how is Ubuntu significant in the formation of desired citizens? How can a study of the NASS curriculum contribute to theorising critical CE and capabilities formation in a Zimbabwean context and more widely?* The questions help to assess the role that NASS plays in the formation of human capabilities crucial for critical citizenship. To address the questions, I use Sen's instrumental freedoms innovatively to argue and illustrate that in the absence of freedom, it is challenging to teach citizenship for the formation of critical citizens. The chapter reflects on the philosophy of Ubuntu, the HD framework and the CA to demonstrate how a systematic blend of the three frameworks provides some insight on how critical citizenship in the Zimbabwean context may be understood and enhanced. The chapter also applies Sen's five instrumental freedoms to present, analyse and defend a distinctive approach to CE, and proposes citizenship formation that places citizens at the centre of its design in theory and in practice as agents.

1.7.9 Chapter 9: Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter concludes the thesis by linking together the different components of this study: the aim and contribution of the study; the conceptual constructs informing it; and the results of the textual analysis from the literature review and four empirical chapters. It presents a set of conclusions and outlines the limitations and recommendations of the study to CE and the formation of citizens' capabilities.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter began by stating the purpose of the study, which is to explore the role of NASS in the formation of human capabilities for critical citizenship. I argued for both the significance of a HD and capability-based approach in understanding policy and pedagogical processes and practises in advancing critical citizenship. I then outlined what motivated the investigation by providing a background to the introduction of NASS in TE and how the research problem arose from widespread concerns over the aims and objectives of NASS, its content and the type of citizen it seeks to form. This was followed by a presentation of the significance of the research and outline of the methodology used to undertake the study. I also outlined my positionality in this study and how my personal experiences in teaching NASS influenced the focus of the study. Finally, I gave an overview of the nine chapters that make up the thesis.

2.0: CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Having highlighted the research problem and the purpose of the study in chapter one, this chapter critically evaluates international and Zimbabwean literature on the formation of citizenship in HE broadly, and TE in particular. The aim is to establish conceptual or empirical lacunae through a summary, synthesis and analysis of arguments put forward in debates about the conceptualisation of citizenship, models of CE, and types of citizenship advanced, and the role of HE in advancing critical democratic citizenship. An understanding of these issues is important in giving a sense of where different countries, including Zimbabwe, stand in relation to the formation of critical citizenship in HE. This was an ongoing process throughout the study, but it was influenced by a preliminary literature survey undertaken during the proposal writing.

By exploring the complex nature of the issues emerging from studies on citizenship formation through HE, I hope to make contributions by filling in conceptual and empirical lacunae. I continue to develop my argument proposed in chapter one, that a HD and capability-based framework provides a better way of understanding the role played by CE in forming human capabilities. The argument is both methodological and theoretical; that is, looking at the role of NASS in forming critical democratic citizens by only using historiographical lenses will not give us a clear enough understanding of the place of this curriculum innovation in HE in Zimbabwe. Historiography refers either to the study of the history and methodology of history as a discipline, or to a body of historical works on a specialized topic (Carr, 2001, Furay and Salevouris, 2000). Although both conceptions are important for this study, by extension, I will focus on the latter to explore how citizenship and citizenship formation through education has evolved over time. Whilst with the former, historiographical arguments give us some insights from history like identity, conflict and democracy in Zimbabwe, the arguments tend to locate NASS in history studies rather than CE discourses. However, I perceive NASS to be a multi-disciplinary course aiming at creating a Zimbabwean identity, promoting patriotism and fostering Ubuntu. These issues are critical in CE, in which I locate this study, depending on how they are put into practice in the curriculum. This does not negate the criticism raised by historians who decry the manner in which history is taught in teachers' colleges in Zimbabwe (Ranger, 2004; Tendi, 2010).

This review is organised into four broad sections. The first section focuses on the complexities associated with the conceptualisation of citizenship in international literature and the Zimbabwean literature. It highlights a conceptual understanding of citizenship by the republican, the liberal and selected autocratic   views from Asian context. In the conceptualisation of citizenship, the literature tends to focus and differ on four contrasting dimensions, as explained by McCowan (2004, 2006b, 2008, 2012): 'rights/duties; universalities/difference; the local, national and global and criticality/ conformity'. This in turn influences the form of CE that will be adopted to advance a particular type of citizenship. The second section will then discuss the nature and scope of citizenship education. The literature demonstrates the multiplicity and complexity of CE, which is linked to its purposes of state formation, nation-building, identity formation leading to good citizens associated with serving purposes of advancing democratic practices, national integration, social cohesion and reinforcing broad universal values like human rights, tolerance and peaceful coexistence in a global context. The absence of entrenching citizenship education policies and practices in HD terms is also noted. In the third section, I will focus on debates on the goals of HE and citizenship formation, highlighting both narrow goals focusing on the economic value and the expansive goals relating to its civic mission. The focus on the economic value of HE dates back to the 1960s where the human capital approach dominates. It is also noted that contemporary trends that are still influenced by human capital are not favourable for the advancement of the civic mission of HE, both internationally and in Zimbabwe. The fourth section closes the review of the literature by examining TE and how it relates to citizenship formation contributing to HD. Efforts made by international organisations such as UNESCO to streamline TE towards a more civic role and the subsequent implications are noted in the review.

The body of literature referring to citizenship formation through formal education broadly has increased over the years, despite the fact that it focuses on the school curriculum with limited emphasis on HE. Within HE circles; the literature tends to cluster around HE broadly rather than TE specifically. The literature also focuses on Global North contexts and less on the Global South.

2.2 Debates on what constitutes citizenship

I now detail two forms of conceptualising citizenship as suggested in current literature: the republican and liberal view before sketching out some perspectives from the Asian context. I will examine their strengths and limitations in understanding citizenship contributing to HD. In doing this, I am largely influenced by McCowan's (2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2009, 2012) work for its comprehensive conceptual and empirical nature in tracing the role of CE for the formation of critical citizenship. There is limited literature that debates the conceptualisation of citizenship in HD and capability terms: these include Nussbaum (2006); McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, 2013); Boni *et al*. (2010); Walker and Loots (2016). I will start by discussing the concept of citizenship.

2.2.1 What is citizenship?

There is consensus that citizenship and CE are complex and contested (Davies, 2001; Lawson and Scott, 2002; Annette and McLaughlin, 2005; McCowan, 2006b, Veugelers, 2011). However, a critical reading of literature produced two approaches to the conceptualisation of citizenship: citizenship as a legal status of inclusion or exclusion to a nation state, and citizenship 'as an evaluative continuum relating to the quality or effectiveness of citizenship' (McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009, p. 2). Although there are important overlaps between these two conceptions, this distinction was helpful in exploring the broad range of literatures related to citizenship formation and their participation in affairs of state. A major limitation of defining citizenship as a legal status is its tendency to label and segregate non-citizens, as highlighted by McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, p. 2), who note that, 'one either has citizenship of a particular state or one does not'. The tag 'foreigner' is usually assumed by 'non-citizens', leading to 'othering' and various forms of exclusion and marginalisation. In worse cases, the tag 'foreigner' leads to forms of xenophobia, including violence. This is contrary to the advancement of social justice and the desire to advance HD, understood as the expansion of people's opportunities to be and do what they reasonably value (Human Development report (HDR), 1990).

The focus of the legal status on membership to a nation draws us to the tension between the local, national and global. In ancient times, citizenship was narrowed to a way of benefiting those with common identities as defined by geographical boundaries, ethnic grouping or a shared common historical trajectory (White, 2013). According to Green (1990), Miller (2003) and McCowan (2009, 2012) this classical context was generally less complex and problematic, and as a result identity and unity were either naturally unproblematic or the tyrannical nature

of the states at that time permitted ideological or violent suppression to maintain integration and stability. To this effect, traditional CE was designed to develop three attributes, according to McCowan (2012): a national identity as demonstrated by cultural and national values; attributes related to operating as a national citizen, including voting, reading and speaking; and negative feelings toward countries, ideologies, symbols and persons considered contra-national. Thus, citizenship is perceived as passive or formal, involving questions of whether someone has the formal status of a citizen and the rights that go with it. This basic definition is accurate, but does not reveal the complexity of citizenship as the concept has developed in modernised nation-states.

It also emerges from international literature that increases in migration, technological advancement, economic relations and globalisation have changed the nature of states and how its citizens relate to each other (DeJaeghere, 2009; McCowan, 2012). In an effort to reduce disruption of national and cultural identities, the focus on the local context was used to drive nationalist agendas in identity discourses and political activity. Contemporary definitions of citizenship surpass these parochial demarcations, since they have been overtaken by the fast-shifting dimensions of a nation state to a global village. The idea of treating some citizens as 'others', however, persists in various less democratic contexts and societies (Lawson and Scott, 2002; Golmohamad, 2009; Zajda, Daun and Saha, 2009). As will be explained later in this chapter, contemporary CE programmes tend to take a global or cosmopolitan outlook on citizenship that transcends narrow familial, ethnic, national or regional geographical boundaries (Lynch, 1992).

The second type of citizenship is an evaluative form that relates to the quality or effectiveness of citizenship. It also refers to the feeling of belonging, dignity and struggles for human rights. Citizenship in this sense can be exercised locally, nationally and globally. The evaluative form involves an active or a moral sense of citizenship. In this case, there is a tendency to view citizenship as a continuous process of participation and feeling of belonging. Given the diversity of cultural contexts within and between nations, skills in language and intercultural communication, together with understanding of human rights, can facilitate the development of intercultural and democratic citizenship (Kymlica, 2003; Crosbie, 2012), cosmopolitan citizenship (Nussbaum, 1997; 2002; 2006; Osler & Starkey, 2005) and critical multiculturalism (DeJaeghere, 2009; Starkey, 2011). From this complex form of citizenship emerge insights on the rights/duties tension, which I will briefly discuss.

From Marshal (1950), McLaughlin (1992), Held (1999), Osler and Starkey (2005) and McCowan (2009, 2012), it is noted that historically, duties and rights have been used as a mobilising point for citizenship formation, in both citizenship as a status and citizenship in the evaluative sense. The duties and rights are valued and weighed differently in each case. For example, 'good' or 'effective' citizenship may be interpreted differently by the civic republicans' and the liberals', as discussed in the following section. The civic republicans tend to favour citizens enjoying a full set of social, political and civil rights, whilst the liberals view rights as important only to the extent to which citizens are protected from the abuse of the state and their fellow citizens. In addition to enjoying full rights, the civic republic requires full participation by citizens in shaping their experiences in their polity.

From the tensions between rights and duties, the legal and evaluative forms of citizenship overlap and often complement each other. For example a legal citizen needs to have attributes such as tolerance, obedience to the laws of the country or payment of tax to be recognised as a 'good citizen' (McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009). Conversely possessing attributes perceived as valuable for 'good citizenship' without the legal status does not provide a guarantee of legal status, but may be complementary. Citizenship centres on forming identities like 'good' or 'bad' citizen'; 'patriot' or 'sell-out', as well as involving citizens in state functions (whether political, social or economic), determining the direction of political, social and economic events of the state. Lawson and Scott (2002) and McCowan and Unterhalter (2013) emphasise the notion of participation in public life; that is, a citizen is one who both governs and is governed, and has a sense of identity, acceptance of societal values, and rights and responsibilities. On the other hand, Held (1999) views citizenship as engrained in duties and privileges to which citizens of a state are exposed and should be enjoyed in private life. Marshal (1950) identifies rights as apart from privileges and duties, which he classifies into political, social and civil rights. The rights include (but are not limited to) freedom of speech, due process, freedom of association and equality before the law.

From the above, it can be surmised that citizenship means different things to different scholars in different contexts and the definitions have evolved through time to match critical factors within each member state. The level of participation is not the same for all citizens in different contexts, but is determined by the two broad conceptions of citizenship provided by White (2013). These are liberalism on one hand and republicanism on the other (see section 2.3). According to McLaughlin (1992) and Torney-Purta *et al.* (2001), some conceptions of citizenship are 'minimal' or 'maximal' in both rights and duties. Minimalists, for example

libertarians, make few demands on the citizen, but guarantee the right to property whilst maximalists, in socialism, guarantee extensive social rights simultaneously demanding commitment to the common good; that is, working for societal rather than personal ends.

The other source of tension is depicted in the Universalist/difference approach, in which, according to McCowan (2012, pp .9-10), both the liberal and civic republican models 'make similar assumptions about the fundamental sameness (or potential sameness) of citizens'. This approach is criticised for ignoring subtle forms of injustices in the form of discrimination and exclusion through the assumption that citizens are equal and difference should be considered only in the private sphere. HD and CA scholars (McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009, 2013; Walker and Loots, 2016) consider heterogeneity key to a better conceptualisation and understanding of difference in citizenship discourses. McCowan and Unterhalter (2009) thus argue that:

> Homogenising forms of citizenship are dangerous in that they can suppress forms of difference that may be valued by the individuals or groups, but also because they may ignore disparities in people's ability to exercise the formal rights granted to them.

On the same note, political scientists and gender scholars argue against essentialising, homogenizing, marginalising and oppressing minority groups by casting them in a predominantly passive role, and relegating them to subservience (Young, 1990; Fraser, 1995; Unterhalter, 1999). This tension between universalism and difference thus captures another complexity of citizenship.

International literature also dwells on tensions on criticality and conformity, which is the extent to which citizens are encouraged to conform to authority and existing political structures, or to question and challenge them (Galston, 1989; Green, 1990; McLaughlin, 1992; Kymlicka, 1999; Torney-Purta *et al.*, 2001; Johnson and Morris, 2010). On the one hand, it is argued that conformity is necessary to instil allegiance to the state: these may include patriotism, which might be necessary in advancing the interests of the state for the common good; respect for its laws, for the sake of order and security; and support for its institutions and the government of the day, to ensure the effective functioning and stability of the political system. This conformist approach is associated with the nationalist citizenship education approaches discussed above. The assumption is that this form of citizenship education has to deal with natural destructive tendencies of humanity. On the other hand, there is a progressive tradition in liberal democracy emphasising the need for criticality of the state and the political system to ensure the

advancement of the common good, suggesting that democracy needs institutions and practices to flourish. The form of CE envisaged under this system is one that constantly subjects authority to questioning, rather than to galvanize loyalty. Whereas the former is minimalist in its orientation, the latter is maximalist.

While the contestations and complexities outlined above are significant for an understanding of various conceptualisations of citizenship, they are less visible in the Zimbabwean literature. For example, citizenship as a legal status (which is prominent in many debates in Zimbabwean literature) is of importance to this discussion, as it elaborates on state coercion through citizenship status where this was used to punish or reward those perceived as friends or enemies. Whilst this has been discussed in citizenship discourses in other disciplines such as history, this has not been widely interrogated in CE literature. Ranchod (2005) notes that the type of citizenship that exists in Zimbabwe is dictated by the political conditions, which are largely restrictive of democratic practices. She adds that those who are critical of the government are perceived as enemies of the state and are consequently denied rights that are due to citizens in a state where democratic space is open. This has a negative implication in how citizens participate in the social, political and economic activities of the state. The mutual and reciprocal relationship that should be enjoyed is thus erased and replaced by distrust and often manipulation. Discrimination and state manipulation in Zimbabwe has led to the mass exodus of citizens to neighbouring countries, as association with opposition politics often lead to persecution. This attitude is connected with the Citizenship Amendment Act enacted in 2001, making dual citizenship illegal. Most affected were white citizens and their migrant farm workers, mostly from Malawi and Mozambique. This means that citizenship status in Zimbabwe is now dictated by those in power to include those who are loyal to the ruling party of ZANU PF, whilst those perceived to be anti-government are excluded. Despite a new position allowing dual citizenship in the new Zimbabwean constitution accepted by the majority of Zimbabweans in the 2013 referendum, it appears the state is still reluctant to speed up alignment of this position with existing laws. Geshiere and Nyamnjoh (2000, p. 423) see this as an African problem in which 'true national citizenship and nation building has been abandoned, and are now focusing on producing autochthons for their political interests'.

According to Ndakaripa (2013), inclusionary and exclusionary policies are not unique to Zimbabwe, because even in some liberal and neo-liberal democracies this is common. Dorman *et al*. (2007, p. 4) suggest that, '[i]n the context of diminishing resources, defining the boundaries and meaning of citizenship is considered an issue of paramount importance in many

countries.' In most cases, citizens become vulnerable to manipulation in these situations, as those perceived to be loyal to those in power tend to be rewarded, whilst critics are punished by being marginalised. Whilst loyalty to the state under an open democratic state is honourable, it becomes questionable when it is demanded in dubious circumstances. From the above discussion, the connection between citizenship and instrumental freedoms (which I will explore later in the thesis) has not been covered in citizenship formation studies. This is a gap which this study seeks to fill, by exploring the type of CE offered under politically difficult conditions.

2.2.2 Republicanism and Liberalism

In this section, I discuss studies that have looked at two broad forms of relationships between the individual and the state in this section. Regarding its conceptualisation, a civic republican view that relates to a rich, complex yet balanced form of citizenship systematically structured within four tensions (see section 2.2.1). The tensions in question are: rights and duties; universality and difference; the local, national and global; and criticality and conformity. Several scholars have written on these two models of citizenship (McCowan, 2006b; Haynes, 2009; McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009; McCowan, 2012; White, 2013; Lovett, 2014). From their discussions, both republicanism and liberalism are multi-layered because of the sub-categories within each position. However, I focus on mainstream arguments for each model, which I consider useful for this study. The general agreement is that liberalism and republicanism are in contrast with each other but also have similarities. Both focus on the duties and rights of citizens influencing different conceptions of citizenship, 'by the nature and extent of rights and duties, and the relative weight given to each' (McCowan, 2012, p. 53). The liberals view citizenship as dictated by the possession of a set of rights that guarantee citizens' welfare and protection of the individual from the abuses of the state and fellow citizens without advocating much for their public participation in the making of the law (McCowan, 2006b; McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009). This could be problematic in the sense that critical democratic citizens ought to be both legal citizens and active participants if they are going to have the capacity not only to obey, but also to govern. White (2013) criticises liberalism for its definition of society as a market-based association of competitive individuals with a passive-acquisitive form of freedom. Civic republicanism correlates with the formation of critical democratic citizens because of its definition of society as a polity in which citizens have political freedom to *actively* participate in defining their destiny.

McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, p. 4) praise civic republicanism for being citizen-centred:

Instead, they (civic republicans) propose a participatory democracy (in part modelled on ancient Athens), in which citizens have both a right and a duty to be involved in formulating policy, on a much more regular and substantial basis than periodic voting.

With this understanding, CE should seek to form citizens who are not only law-abiding but also critical and active in deciding and shaping the nature of their state. Developed as a contemporary citizenship formation doctrine, civic republicanism is, broadly speaking, more progressive than liberalism, with important distinct features such as political liberty, understood as non-domination or independence from arbitrary power. Non-domination allows citizens to freely and critically undertake civic virtues and to enjoy the rights they have as citizens in the public sphere. White (2013) suggests that citizens should be exposed to the practice of the demands of politics so that they learn the most difficult virtues required from critical democratic citizens.

The republican view, however, lacks a detailed analysis of how structures of power can undermine or inhibit citizens' participation. Its assumption that non-domination or political liberty is a given fails to capture significant necessities that should be cultivated first, in order for citizen graduates to be able to deal with the complexities of public participation. These necessities include empowering citizens through an equitable distribution of power in a manner that is inclusive and sustainable. McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, 2013) also criticise republicanism for failing to cater for individual preferences in terms of how people might value political participation. McCowan and Unterhalter (2009) add that both liberalism and republicanism tend to view citizens as a homogeneous group. There is need to argue for a robust form of citizenship that advances civic virtue and respect for heterogeneity of citizens and their right to choose not to participate in the political affairs of their country, provided the opportunity to exercise this right is guaranteed.

Drawing on the literature above, citizenship cannot be characterised as having a singular meaning. The four tensions discussed in section 2.2.1 demonstrate the contested and complex nature of the aims and forms of citizenship education undertaken over time and space. The debates drawn from both international and Zimbabwean literature cut across traditional and progressive, authoritarian and democratic systems not entirely in a coherent manner. Furthermore, the varied ideological conception and content of a republican and liberal form of citizenship reflect where our own conceptions locate themselves in relation to local, national,

and international sites of power—not geography or nationhood understood in any simple, homogenous sense.

Whilst most of the studies referred to in this section focus on western liberal ideas on citizenship, in their analysis of citizenship education issues within China, Kennedy, Fairbrother and Zhenzhou (2014), argue that there is growing literature on citizenship in China that is mostly not mentioned in the West. The danger associated with this limited focus on western literature is that complex forms of citizenship within both socialist and more authoritarian contexts are missed. For this reason, I briefly discuss citizenship discourses in Taiwan and China, 'one of those countries that have openly resisted the tide of democratisation that swept much of Europe after 1989, and it has maintained a one-party state for over 50 years' (Kennedy, 2004, p1). As pointed out in chapter one on ZANU (PF)'s dominance and control of state machinery, much of the activity of China is dedicated to legitimising the role of the Chinese Communist Party as the defender and protector of its citizens (Fairbrother, 2004). In the same vein, Chun (2005, p 60) stresses the importance of insights drawn from work on the 'political socialization of schoolchildren in Taiwan which emphasized the priority of politicization in the socializing process, with its stress on allegiance and patriotism.' This type of citizenship as is often the case in non-democratic contexts tends to stifle a richer form of citizenship advancing active participation and criticality. Yet as suggested by Kennedy (2004, p 4):

> It is also possible to see spaces in which individuals have created possibilities for alternative thinking, whether it is through innovative pedagogies, student resistance to perceived attempts at indoctrination, or efforts to link national and global citizenship. Thus the picture is neither simple nor unidimensional. It is incomplete—a partial picture that can be further illuminated by listening to some new voices.

In order to get a broad understanding of citizenship and citizenship formation in contexts that are beyond western liberal ideas, this study using a multidimensional theoretical framework focusing on Zimbabwe is thus justified. I now turn to debates on the nature and scope of CE.

2.3 The nature and scope of citizenship education

What constitutes an adequate model of citizenship, an effective approach to CE and the extent to which learners should be prepared for constantly questioning and challenging authority rather than conforming to it are pertinent questions when considering critical citizenship. In its contested nature, CE has been understood and defined in many ways (Heater, 1999; Arcodia,

2000; Sears & Hughes, 2006; McCowan, 2008; Veugelers, 2011). Veugelers (2011) points out that some view CE as a conscious development of desired identities within a particular national context, whilst others consider it to be constitutive of cosmopolitan attributes. Arcodia (2000) and Sears & Hughes (2006) explain that CE is introduced as a response to some perceived social or political problems. These could be immorality, corruption, lack of knowledge about society or loss of citizenship values such as participation in voting and loyalty to the country. Features such as fostering obedience to the law, social cohesion and integration as well as loyalty to country can easily be twisted for non-democratic gains. Heater (1999, p. 225) warns us that 'CE has usually been firmly established in practice when the state sees an advantage to itself in cultivating a knowledgeable citizenry'. For this reason, close scrutiny of CE programmes in any setting is justified on the basis of its vulnerability to abuse for selfish political ends. To understand the nature and scope of CE, I dwell on three important aspects: the purpose of CE, its implementation and its orientation. This follows McCowan's (2008) observation that debates on CE focus on the aims of CE with limited interest in the curriculum and pedagogical processes involved.

2.3.1 Purposes and forms of citizenship education

Historically, the primary purposes and forms of CE have been multiple, including links with state formation, nation-building and building a common identity, which inculcate forms of patriotism and loyalty to the nation (Green 1990). In the recent past, they have assumed more complex roles, broadly dictated by shifts in conceptions of what citizenship is and what it means to be a good citizen (Johnson and Morris, 2010). International organisations have also developed interest in advancing more broad forms of citizenship and values that seek to help humanity interact on a global scale with values like tolerance, human rights and democracy (UNESCO, 2014). Some of the forms of CE are thus named after the purposes for which they were established; for example, education for democracy, human rights education, global citizenship, civic education, life orientation and many more.

Regardless of this complexity the purposes of CE can be considered under two broad but contrasting categories. For example, McCowan (2008) explains that it may be associated with fostering unquestioning loyalty to the state by young people in line with nation-building or for the formation of critical democratic citizens through enriching their understanding of citizens' rights. Sears and Hughes (2006) note that it could empower the learner or indoctrinate through an uncritical acceptance of traditional teachings in spite of evidence to the contrary. It is from these underpinnings that the conformity and criticality dichotomy emerge. In this case the distinction is noted in the operationalisation of a citizenship course, rather than in its content only. More so, Davies (2001) and Arnot (1997) observe that the nature and scope of CE undertaken in a country is dictated by the political context and the ideology of the state. Borrowing from Schugurensky and Myers (2003), I consider transformative CE: that which advances democracy, HD and social justice as progressive; whilst that which seeks to instil unquestioning loyalty as conservative.

Progressive CE is desirable for advancing criticality. Schugurensky and Myers (2003) argue that this sees inherent tension between exploitative ideologies that perpetuate inequalities and exclusion, and democracy that seeks to reduce them. The purpose of progressive CE is in contrast to the conservatives, in that it seeks to 'nurture cosmopolitanism, critical analysis, political engagement and cross cultural respect and understanding' (Schugurensky and Myers, 2003, p. 2). Progressive citizenship is more in line with the republican model of citizenship, since it is concerned with the development of well-informed critical democratic citizens who can actively and effectively participate in civic affairs.

On the other hand, the conservative form of democratic citizenship is known for the traits that on the surface appear well-intended, but on interrogation reproduce the existent socio-economic and political order. Schugurensky and Myers (2003, p. 2) maintain that purposes include 'instilling national loyalty, obedience to authority, voluntary service and the assimilation of immigrants'. Whilst the listed purposes are not inherently problematic, they become a danger to democracy and social justice if they are advanced in a conformist way; that is, when used to foster acceptance of existent social structures and develop unquestioning moral characters in the name of social cohesion, which is in essence indoctrination (Cunningham and Lavalette, 2004; Nussbaum, 2006).

As pointed out in section 2.2.2 a lack of focus on citizenship studies in non-democratic states, comes with the potential problem of missing complexities of forms of citizenship sought in such polities. Kennedy et al (2014,p. i) note that it is erroneous to 'assume that only in democracy should citizens be prepared for their future responsibilities' They add that 'citizenship education in China has undergone a number of transformations as the political system has sought to cope with market reforms, globalization and pressures both externally and within the country for broader political reforms'. Thus, there is potentially pertinent literature on both socialist and more authoritarian Asian states that might be very useful for this discussion. For example, various forms of citizenship education are offered in China to buttress the idea that it is the duty of the state to protect its citizens. These citizenship formation packages include moral education (Li, Zhong, Lin, and Zhang, 2004); intercultural citizenship education (Feng, 2006); global discourse on diversity to explain how Chinese citizenship education influences China's many ethnic minorities (Wan, 2007). What emerges from this literature is that most ideas derived from these citizenship discourses whilst considered as important by academics, often do not play a significant role in either policy or practice. However, in both china mainland and Taiwan, citizenship education is deeply embedded in historical constructions as well as modern ideological purposes. The literature provides an interesting comparison with Western ideas stressing the similarities with Chinese thinking rather than differences. It also provides important insights into pedagogies and classroom strategies used in citizenship education, demonstrating the extent to which issues such as globalisation, patriotism, and other contemporary challenges are being seriously debated as part of the discourse of citizenship education (Shi 2010; Wang and Jiang 2010; Kan 2010; Zhao and Fairbrother, 2010). In China today, as in many other nation-states, the inculcation of patriotism is an essential element in the construction of citizenship. This is effected through

the construction of a 'national' memory in a variety of forms, the most spectacular among which are historical museums (Mitter, 2005).

McCowan's (2008; 2009) work on curricular transposition, (curricular transposition as defined in section 1.1.), provides impetus to the need for a clear understanding of the curriculum and pedagogical processes and practises that ensue in CE curriculum implementation. Through the Brazilian cases, McCowan clearly demonstrates the existence of a disjuncture between official precepts and its practices and he explains that 'it was the latter that were seen to define the values that the school thought were important' (McCowan, 2009, p. 35). This lack of consistency between official and hidden curricula is another complex problem in CE provision, and will be explored through the multidimensional HD and CA framework in this thesis. I therefore find motivation to probe further what form of CE should be adopted, and how it should be operationalised in order to foster socially just citizenship attributes from a more complex perspective. My study complements empirically grounded CE literature focusing on operationalisation as well as curriculum and pedagogical practices and processes.

With this in mind, I turn now to what is already known about curriculum and pedagogical practice and processes in the operationalisation of CE. I look first at why some CE curricula are viewed as educationally problematic and detail pedagogical theories recommended for the formation of critical democratic citizens. From the literature reviewed, I note the limited focus on the need for evaluating pedagogical practice and their educational implications for the formation of critical democratic citizens.

2.3.2 Curriculum and pedagogical practices

This section further demonstrates the contested and complex nature of CE through a focus on curriculum and pedagogical practices. From the international literature reviewed, there are contrasting pathways of operationalising CE, but there seems to be agreement that the future of democracy is closely tied to the education of citizens. This is more explicit in the USA and the UK. Drawing on McCowan (2012), a highly-centralized education system, with a common curriculum for all, exists in the UK. The thrust of the CE programmes can be traced along three strands, blending conservative with more progressive aspects of active engagement: social and moral responsibility; community involvement; and political literacy. Whereas the strands noted above indicate the complexity and multidimensionality of CE, there seems to be limited focus on the role of CE in advancing HD.

In the USA and other countries with a federal system of government and a diversified population, the curriculum is less centralised, granting autonomy to make policy to local school districts. As a result, CE seeks to create a unified state from diverse population groups, as well as foster a culture of participatory democracy at the local level. It is not surprising that Hahn (1999) finds the focus in most schools to be on the Constitution, its amendments and the Bill of Rights, the pledge of allegiance, and national symbols contributing to the development of national identity and patriotism.

Service learning, with volunteering and community involvement is yet another element found in both US and UK schools and universities (Annette 2005). In this historiography, McCowan (2012) identifies several non-state organisations that support citizenship in schools and HE institutions. Through these organisations' activities, citizenship formation becomes more practical and relevant to students' everyday experiences. The organisations' activities cultivate values of social responsibility and volunteering, which are important values for the advancement of active and critical democratic citizens. However, in non-democratic contexts, the organisations may be established to advance government propaganda.

The literature reviewed also focused on pedagogical practices associated with CE focusing on both conformist and progressive practices. Traditional teaching methods in education and CE have been accused of not advancing citizenship dispositions that encourage active or engaged citizenship. These traditional methods include teacher-centred learning and all those methods that do not encourage learners to question authority in the name of maintaining social cohesion as suggested by Galston (1989). Mobilising loyalty to the state is yet another reason that such

a passive and non-critical form of pedagogical practice was or is preferred. For this reason, this type of pedagogy is given names such as minimalist, conformists or sentimental civic education in CE discourses (McCowan, 2006b). This model comes under constant criticism from its opponents for seeking to maintain the status quo, which in most cases is perceived as oppressive.

Curriculum and pedagogical practices and processes of an educational programme that claim to stand up to the duty of preparing critical democratic citizens should be inclined towards criticality. As expected, the buzzword for pedagogical practices in the operationalisation of CE programmes has been 'critical', drawing on both critical pedagogy and critical thinking. The practices assume strengthening democratic values and social justice by developing critical thinking, analytic skills and respect for diversity of opinion (Arthur and Wright, 2001; Olssen, 2004; Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). The practices and processes should enable learners to engage in critical discussions of issues, using evidence, exploring alternatives and developing dispositions and skills that allow them to act on other possibilities.

Hyslop-Margison and Thayer (2009), Johnson and Morris (2010) and McCowan (2012) draw on an analysis of Freire and Crick's work in different ways, to explain that CE should empower young people with capacities to participate in the political and other social processes, which enable them to challenge policies and events that are against democratic values.[19] To achieve this, Olssen (2004) and Westheimer and Kahne (2004) suggest that CE should involve learning about social and moral responsibility, involvement in the community and political literacy. Indeed, critical CE sharpens critical thinking capacities important in the analysis of political, social and other issues if it includes deliberation on issues often regarded as 'sensitive areas'. These 'critical' perspectives on the operationalisation of citizenship seem to converge towards civic republican approaches to citizenship, in that they value universal political participation, as noted by McCowan's (2012) synthesis of Crick and Freire's approach. Drawing on empirical data, McCowan appraises Freire's emphasis on the learning process as 'one of praxis, dialectic of reflection and action', without which critical consciousness or activism is less transformative in the Brazilian context in which his study was located. Of importance are pedagogical practices of 'dialogue and problematization'. These entail a shift from traditional teacher-centred approaches to questioning, deliberative and participatory learning where learners are

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[19] They draw on Freire's work to challenge many of the assumptions surrounding CE in countries like the USA and UK that do not question the impact of structures of power in inhibiting more robust forms of CE pedagogical practices advancing criticality.

fully involved in learning through engagement with problems and contradictions within their reality.

McCowan (2006a, p. 196) observes that 'the difficulty of establishing allegiance and cohesion around abstract principles; the extent to which it is possible for an authority to promote critical scrutiny of itself; and the risks of indoctrination' are three problems associated with the idea of advancing variations of critical thinking and critical pedagogy. He also notes that critical thinking is criticised by the critical pedagogy movement because of its apolitical tendencies, which ignore inhibiting power relations and oppressive institutional and structural arrangements, in and outside the context of the operationalisation of CE. Critical pedagogy is criticised for maintaining obscure notions of 'correct thinking' and 'false consciousness', while simultaneously trying to uphold the autonomy of the learner and the construction of knowledge, as opposed to its transmission; what Freire (1972) calls the 'banking' method. Johnson and Morris (2010) criticise both critical thinking and critical pedagogy models for: the propensity to essentialise and dichotomise a complex range of viewpoints; an overemphasis on the ideal at the expense of a concern for the implemented and also for an analysis deeply rooted in western liberal ideology that neither takes account of, nor recognise the heterogeneous traditions of other cultures. Lastly, critical pedagogy lacks clarity and accessible language in its arguments.

From the above discussion, aims and forms of CE and its scope are contextually derived representing complex approaches ranging from passive to active forms of citizenship. Conformists argue for CE that fosters obedience to the law, economic productivity and self-sufficiency, social cohesion or integration, loyalty to community and country. Progressive forms seek to develop cosmopolitan attitudes that transcend localised loyalties configured within democratic values. The limitation associated with the literature reviewed above is the tendency to misrepresent the complexity and contestations within citizenship by using a binary and reductionist approach in terms of worldview and pedagogy. McCowan (2009) sees the possibility of being actively involved in the political affairs, simultaneously maintaining a national frame of reference through traditional forms of participation such as voting and a restricted citizen identity delivery. In light of this, besides a need to fully understand different categories used by different scholars on citizenship formation in HE, this is also a call for theoretical lenses that can explore complex issues from a multi-dimension perspective.

The question that needs to be asked however is, what type or form of CE is the NASS course in teachers' colleges in Zimbabwe? Does it lead to the formation of citizens who conform and are uncritically loyal to the status quo, or those who question the establishment? To what extent has NASS been operationalised to meet this end? I now turn to exploring debates on CE in the African context.

2.4 Citizenship education in Africa and Zimbabwe

Turning to the specificity of CE in Africa and Zimbabwe, a number of studies focus on a variety of issues such as the perception of students and lecturers (teachers) of CE and the role of CE in HE in the creation of democratic citizens (Mapetere, Chinembiri and Makaye, 2012; Lange, 2009; Waghid, 2009). To understand forms of citizenship education offered in African countries, one has to appreciate the complexity of the development phases that the continent is facing. The phases are unique in that they are multi-dimensional, but above all, politically located. My focus will be on Zimbabwe and South Africa given the limitations of space dictated by the number of words required for this thesis. However, I will briefly highlight the Zambian and Nigerian cases to give a snap shot of how varied forms of citizenship education are operationalised across Africa.

Considering problems of democratisation in Africa, Abdi, Ellis and Shizha (2005) relate these to the need for citizenship education and the role that it can play in inclusive social development in aspiring democracies in the Sub Saharan African context. They argue that citizenship should be central to the formation of viable civil societies that claim a tangible stake in national public spaces. To realize this, they suggest new possibilities of citizenship education for Africa in general, and for democratising Zambia in particular. Although state agencies responsible for education retain some responsibility for nurturing citizenship in Zambia, the task of inculcating a culture of democracy falls mainly on NGOs, mainly religious bodies, labour unions, professional associations, and community groups (Bratton et al., 1999; Morris, 2002). Despite suspicion by the Zambian Government, which lacks tolerance towards student activism, students in colleges and universities attain civic knowledge through their association with civic organizations (Mutz, 2002; Mphaisha, 2000). Through these contacts which are mostly informal, these organizations instill tolerance in students, participatory skills and civic dispositions needed for effective and responsible citizenship in a democracy.

Turning to Nigeria, by considering the historical, cultural and political context of Nigeria, Oluniyi (2011) highlights the evolutionary trends of citizenship education in Nigeria. Initially, Social Studies was used as a curriculum framework, before a new subject, civics, was created in primary and junior secondary schools. Multiple ethnic composition of the new state, resulting from the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates by the British, "necessitated finding a common ground to promote committed citizens, against primordial ethnic cleavages and indigenization" (Oluniyi, 2011, p. 61). It is therefore not surprising that the role of education in fostering national citizenship and consciousness was emphasized. Apart from acknowledging contestations in CE, a number of studies probe why it is and how that has affected its development and implementation in various contexts in South Africa. Yet in the Zimbabwean context, the literature is still limited, particularly so in teachers' colleges. There has not been much focus on the curriculum and pedagogical processes in operationalising CE in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. The focus of this study will add a dimension to existing literature.

2.4.1 Perspectives from South Africa

A synthesis of literature in the South African context indicates clarity and the centrality of public schools in advancing the civic role in its policy (Waghid, 2004; Schoeman, 2006). The focus on schools reflects the limited attention given to CE in HE institutions, despite the fact that the National Plan for Higher Education (2001) emphasises the need for fostering students' capacity to deliberate respectfully with one another in order to become responsible citizens. However citizenship formation is embedded (in courses and programmes in universities, for example), it does not work well in all cases.

Several types of democratic citizens have been suggested in the literature with more values derived from the philosophy of Ubuntu and communitarism, though not without criticism (Makgoba, 1996). Waghid (2004, p. 127) thus argues that 'university teaching ought to be framed within an activist African philosophy of education' as a sure way of making African HE responsive to the needs of Africa. This is understandable given South Africa's apartheid and colonial past, with its tendencies to segregate and treat citizens as different. Costandius and Rosochacki (2012, p. 15) explain that "The South African context presents another urgent call for a focus on CE which relates to its apartheid and colonial past'. While difference is an obvious reality across humanity, it is problematic when it is used to determine rights and obligation of citizens along racial, ethnic or cultural lines in a way that perpetuates social injustice. It is also questionable when it seeks to identify the 'other' as less human. Since education was used to define and maintain a segregated social order, through both its structure and content, it is essential that within the democratic South Africa, educational institutions be redefined 'to serve more emancipatory purposes' (Vale & Jacklin, 2009:21). To this end, CE has been used to address South African social, political and economic challenges, which include race issues and xenophobia.

Waghid (2003) argues for deliberation and respect augmented by compassion if responsible citizenship is to be achieved. His argument is based on the understanding that compassionate citizenship bolsters the ideas of caring and respectful deliberation necessary for responsible citizenship. In advancing plural democracies and cosmopolitanism, Waghid (2007) and Costandius and Rosochaiki (2012) recognise the role of HE institutions in securing democratic values such as tolerance, cultural diversity, democratic participation and social cohesion, which they regard as preconditions for democratic flourishing. In order for these types of citizenship to be realised, it is here argued that critical CE must remain open to the possibility of dissonance and ambiguity when engaging students with difference and diversity. In support of citizenship

ingrained in Ubuntu, Makgoba (1996) maintains that the uniqueness of Ubuntu befits South Africa's unique democracy, which should evolve in a multiracial and multicultural context. In response to this romanticisation of Ubuntu, Enslin and Horsthemke (2004) retort that Ubuntu is neither unique nor comprehensive as suggested; it can be traced back to the classical philosophies of humanism and Enslin and Horsthemke see it as lacking in upholding the values of tolerance and respect for human life, as evidenced by high crime rates, xenophobia, dictatorship and genocide recorded across Africa. This critique weakens the argument for framing CE within Ubuntu discourse. Questioning its moral and ethical value, Metz (2011, p. 532) offers three criticisms of Ubuntu:

> There are three major reasons why ideas associated with Ubuntu are often deemed to be an inappropriate basis for a public morality in today's South Africa. One is that they are too vague; a second is that they fail to acknowledge the value of individual freedom; and a third is that they fit traditional, small-scale culture more than a modern, industrial society.

Like Ubuntu, communitarism is found in the same dilemma for its inclination towards a conception of citizenship, which places more emphasis on the idea that citizens work together in shaping the future of society though it does on the importance of citizens' rights (Waghid, 2004). Although numerous studies (Leibowitz *et al*., 2005; McKinney, 2007; Jansen, 2009; Leibowitz *et al*., 2012) have identified the need to foster citizenship, little analytic attention has been paid to the wider institutional arrangements and the expansion of capabilities as a way of achieving well-being. In addition, few of these studies are empirical studies. In his conceptual study, Mathebula (2009) criticises South African education policies for having a maximalist tone in place, but collectively reflecting minimalist ideals of citizenship and CE.

2.4.2 Zimbabwean perspectives

There is a growing literature on CE in the Zimbabwean context. It is both conceptual and empirically grounded. While some of the literature takes an historical approach, some of it draws from curriculum theory centred on realism and constructionism (Ranger, 2004; Tendi, 2010; Mavhunga *et al.*, 2007; Munikwa and Pedzisai, 2013). Focus has shifted from the aims and content of CE and its justification, to perceptions of students and lecturers towards the course. Scholars also configure their studies in international literature, though surprisingly there has been limited focus on evaluating the form of citizenship taught or the type of citizen sought. Namasasu (2012) has focused on the quality of citizenship taught through social studies

in primary schools, interrogating both the teaching methods and the context of the operationalisation of CE at this level. While he reviewed policy documents, he is silent on policy perspectives beyond school level.

Sigauke (2011a) questions the motives behind the introduction of CE in Zimbabwe. He accepts that CIET recommended the introduction of CE in its report in 1999, but Sigauke (2011b) remains doubtful throughout his paper, arguing that there are possibilities for other ideological motives in the recommendation for CE in the curriculum. He views this 'innovation' as a response to a series of problems the government faced throughout the 1990s. Other studies (Nyakudya, 2007; Mapetere *et al.*, 2012; Magudu, 2012) agree with this contextualisation even though they do not necessarily question the motive of the Commission's recommendations. Sigauke (2011b) analyses the composition of the Commission and how it carried out its mandate and concluded that its recommendations were meant to 'control young people and turn them away from being critical of the existing political status in the country' (p. 84). He cites three reasons for the introduction of CE in Zimbabwe: the correction of the colonial legacy; the need to inculcate Ubuntu; and an attempt to shift the blame of the failures of the government to colonial rule. Sigauke failed to account for the consultation process or the composition of the Commission itself as being an integral process of a democratic undertaking.

While Mavunga *et al.* (2007), Mapetera *et al.* (2012) and Magudu (2012) allude to the history of CE and its implementation in Zimbabwe, they make a cursory mention of government efforts to introduce CE in various programmes such as political economy and education with production. Magudu's focus is not on CE in Zimbabwean HE or teachers' colleges, but primary and secondary schools. Mapetera *et al.* (2012) focused on teachers' colleges, but concentrated on lectures' and students' perceptions, which are not elaborate enough to bring out its history, development and implementation, which I perceive to be critical to the positioning of the course in the TE curriculum, as well as establishing the type of citizens formed in the process. Nyakudya's study (2011) attempts to look at the operationalisation of the course in teachers' colleges, but concentrated more on the pedagogical experiences, which are inherently important but not instrumental for the real controversies in CE, because his interrogation was heavily influenced by the historiographical approach. In the process, he did not even perceive the course as a citizenship course and thus did not apply CE theories and debates in his discourse. Despite the limitations of his approach, Nyakudya's analysis, like that of Ranger (2004, 2005) and Tendi (2010), helps us to understand how 'patriotic history' narratives have

been used by the ruling elites to emphasise and divide the nation, not only into races but also into 'patriots' and 'sell-outs' or 'heroes' and 'traitors' among its African population.

Methodologically, surveys used to collect data are limiting in interrogating the political context of Zimbabwe. Magaisa (2015) affirms that, in the context of fear and suspicion, with limited political freedoms, people's opinions are less reflective of their real and lived experiences. Although he was responding to a survey established by a non-governmental organisation to establish whether Zimbabweans still respect and love their president Robert Mugabe, his criticism is valid and applicable to other surveys seeking political opinions on government's initiatives like CE.

The next question is this: where does HE fit in this matrix? I will now turn to the purposes of HE as a way of inferring into its role in forming critical democratic citizens contributing to HD.

2.5. Goals of higher education and citizenship formation

Although much discussed, there is still an 'empirical void' with regard to studies that explore how citizenship is understood and how graduates' citizenship capabilities are formed through HE (Arthur and Bohlin, 2005; Lister *et al.* 2005; McCowan, 2012). Castells (2001) assigns four major functions to universities: 1) reflect ideological struggles in societies; 2) serve dominant elites; 3) generate knowledge; and 4) train a skilled labour force, but Bok (2006) notes that there is no single purpose for HE and the purposes are also contested. There is, however, consensus that HE functions have been largely determined by human capital as demonstrated by the recent recognition of HE's role as contributing to economic growth. For this reason, it should not be surprising that no mention is made of the civic role of HE in Castell's list. Naidoo (2011) points out that in the 1990s, HE's position of importance for development was elevated as pivotal for development in low-income countries. This marked a policy shift by the World Bank and other international organisations, which for decades argued that, because of low rates of social and economic return investment in HE, funding should be focused on basic and secondary schools. The role and importance of education was understood in economic terms based on prioritizing economic returns from HE. The main argument for the recognition of HE was later focused on its potential to promote faster technological innovations to improve a country's capacity to maximise economic output. For example, Bloem, Hartley and Rovosky (2004, p. 45) argue that 'higher education is both a result and a determinant of income and produces public and private benefits'. The World Bank now acknowledges that developing

countries could reduce their income gap with high income countries by expanding HE. It is also noted that contemporary trends that are still influenced by human capital are not favourable for the advancement of the civic mission of HE. The contemporary patterns in HE as stated by Walker (2006, p. 8) include:

> [T]he drive to demonstrate efficiency gains, value for money and closer links to the world of business; greater public accountability accompanied by regulatory mechanisms for compliance in teaching and research productivity; declining investment of public funds and the pressure to diversify institutional sources of income; competition amongst universities; the dominance of managerial forms of governance and performative cultures and entrepreneurial approaches; employability and labour market responsive vocationalized curricula; and the commodification of knowledge.

Nonetheless, scholars have argued against the human capital standing on the importance of HE, noting that economic growth and development do not mean the same thing and may not add up to well-being. Human capital also fails to explain why people choose to invest in more education (Tight, 1996; Flores-Crespo, 2004).

Against this backdrop there is an alternative discourse that plays a more noticeable role in educating graduates for critical democratic citizenship (Ahier, Beck and Moore, 2003; Bawden, 2008; Taylor 2008; McCowan, 2012). McCowan uses three initiatives for citizenship formation in English universities to interrogate the direct effect they have in forming citizens, focusing on a whole institution approach and service learning. He concludes that although there are challenges in realising citizenship action through CE, universities have the potential to develop graduates with attributes leading to critical reflection and independent thought. In a study on the role of universities for the formation of citizens, including fifteen universities across Europe and fifteen universities and colleges in the USA, HE institutions are acknowledged as significant for developing democratic practices although there are some participants who contest the idea (Plantan, 2002).

Whilst the importance placed on HE as a vehicle through which the formation of citizens is expanding, there has not been an agreement on its aims, the methods and the type of citizens which should be formed (Ahier, Beck and Moore, 2003; Arthur and Bohlin, 2005). Because of the more integrated world, the argument for the formation of a global or cosmopolitan graduate citizen looms large. Whilst the two appear to be serving the same purpose, McCowan (2012)

argues that global citizenship is configured around what he calls 'false universalism' notions of globalisation, whilst a cosmopolitan notion is richer. Literature reviewed testifies that citizenship cannot continue to be defined in a narrow way: local or national. For example Kerr (2003) argues that HE should be concerned with preparing young people for the challenges associated with change in a globalizing world. McCowan (2012) adds that the link of HE with nationhood common in the nineteenth century has been challenged by the processes of globalisation and marketization. To this effect, citizenship formation of a cosmopolitan nature will be favourable. Nussbaum (2006) proposes that critical thinking is crucial for the health of democracy in a context of multiple identities in terms of religion, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, ideology or even political affiliation associated with an integrated world. She explains that the ability to see oneself as a member of a wider community of human beings dedicated to the well-being of others is essential for effective democratic citizenship. This is important given the complex nature of the global polity (Langlois and Soltan, 2009).

However, these studies were in the context of developed nations where most of the countries are economically and politically stable, so the findings may not necessary apply in the less developed worlds, particularly in Zimbabwe. Thus, the contribution of this study in filling this gap is important as it focuses particularly on HE in the African context.

2.5.1 Higher education and the formation of citizens in Africa and Zimbabwe

As highlighted in chapter one and section 2.5, the question of the formation of citizens through education broadly and in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, is not new. However when it comes to HE, this literature has focused on the complications posed by the historical context of Africa making the role of HE complicated as it grapples with colonial legacies which impacted negatively on issues of social justice. Education broadly was used as a tool for oppression in the colonial era in most African states, in the sense that Africans were exposed to an education system that sought to create servants (O'Callaghan and Austin, 1977). Both access and quality, then, were skewed against black Africans in favour of whites. It is for this reason that post-independence Africa sought to correct this colonial imbalance by increasing access to education (including HE) so as to provide human resources to fill gaps left by whites in the process of decolonisation in both the private and public sector (Chung and Ngara,1985; Chivore, 1986; Zvobgo, 1986; Dzvimbo, 1989).

MacGregor (2009) suggests that because international 'best' practice, as defined by the Western world, had contradictory notions of the role of HE, it was difficult for Africa to draw

examples from which to align their own systems. During the 1970s, the idea of 'development universities' emerged, in which governments were urged to configure universities around a development role (Ajayi *et al*., 1996). The idea was difficult to implement on account of numerous development approaches jostling for recognition, with human capital the most popular (MacGregor, 2009), not to mention the World Bank, which discouraged HE development until the 1990s. As explained earlier, this meant that Africa was also found in this trap. For example, in countries like Mozambique and Uganda, development was perceived as closely linked to economic growth (MacGregor, 2009). Several roles of HE were thus identified and these included the traditional development role that viewed HE as a producer of human resources, and the new instrumental role that regarded HE as the producer of skilled professionals such as scientists and engineers (Assie-Lumumba, 2006). In addition, the service enterprise role was mainly envisaged in South Africa, Kenya and Uganda in which the market was seen as driving HE (Lange, 2006 and MacGregor, 2009). This analysis summarises the thrust of HE as largely driven by human capital. Besides the economic drive, issues of quality have also been debated.

The Association of African Universities[20] (AAU) has promoted the establishment of quality assurance systems both at regional and national level and this drive has been facilitated by the realisation that quality education is important for national development. The World Bank now recognises HE as a critical factor in development and thus encourages developing countries to configure their systems around this notion (World Bank, 2000). What is not clear is what type of national development? Human capital theory is still at play here, since the World Bank and other world financiers all operate within the sphere of influence of human capital (Psacharopoulos, 1988; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2002). According to MacGregor (2011) underfunding and the general idea that HE was regarded as a luxury led to the closure of institutions and sections of universities critical to development, although it later changed its stance at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Brock-Utne, 2000).

In the Zimbabwean context, Kariwo (2007, p. 20), considers HE to be significant for the development of 'highly skilled human resources, technology transfer and generation of new

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[20] The Association of African Universities (AAU) was founded in Rabat, Morocco on November 12 1967, following recommendations made at an earlier conference organized by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Antananarivo, Madagascar in September 1962 for the formation of such an apex organization. The Association has provided a platform for research, reflection, consultation, debates, co-operation and collaboration on issues pertaining to higher education (see http://www.aau.org/page/our-history).

knowledge'. At the turn of the twenty-first century there was a paradigm shift, as indicated by the inter-ministerial report of the Ministry Of Education and Culture (MOEC) and the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education Science and Technology Development (MTHESTD),[21] (2004), from increasing access to enhancing the quality of education and training.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, debates have pushed for policy to address more expansive roles e.g. White paper 3 in South Africa (1997); Atkinson (2000), Chombo (2000); Hill (2000), Hapanyengwi and Shizha (2011) Badat, (2011); National Development Plan (2011); Lange (2012). The central message in these debates was the call to move towards a more expansive role of HE to include socio-political issues including the civic mission. Lange (2013) argues that the Paris World HE conference of 1998 agreed that one of the central goals of HE was to prepare students for active citizen participation with a worldwide vision, for endogenous capacity building, and for the consolidation of human rights, sustainable development, democracy and peace in the context of justice. Badat (2011, p. 3) responding to a call by commentators for universities to be more responsive to the needs of the industry, wrote that, 'It is wrong and dangerous to force universities to serve purely utilitarian ends and to seek to reduce them to instruments of the economy, the labour market and skills production alone.' The call is for universities to have a wider role in public life embracing both economic and socio-political attributes. To achieve this, he suggests ''thick'' concepts of development [which] value economic growth but are also concerned with wider economic issues as well as social, cultural and political issues'. The point is that in Africa's focus on the civic role, HE remained marginal. To illustrate this, I draw on literature illustrating the insufficiency of the civic role of South African universities by Badat (2011), though Walker and Loots (2016) commend efforts made so far to embed the civic dimension in university programmes.

Commenting on a racist incident (commonly known as the Reitz incident) at one formerly white university in South Africa, Badat (2011) says universities should ensure that graduates leave university not only with knowledge and professional expertise and skills, but also as enlightened, ethical, critical and compassionate citizens equipped to deal with many challenges, including issues of race, gender, culture and identity that South Africa faces.[22]

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[22] For more reading on the Reitz incident, refer to Walker and Loots (2016) and Badat (2011).

He emphasises that the Reitz incident is a clear demonstration that the central purposes of our universities should include the formation of critical graduate citizens, social cohesion and the promotion of democratic citizenship. In his reflection on how far education broadly (and HE in particular) has achieved the civic role, Badat (2011) notes that citizenship is inadequately developed so as to empower citizen graduates to live in a way that acknowledges and enhances the freedom of others.

From the literature on HE and the formation of citizens in Africa, there seems to be an expansion of the focus of the civic role of HE institutions, which has long been marginalised. Zimbabwean literature also shifted its focus to the civic importance of HE besides economic development, which is perceived to be the key driver in the achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). What can be deduced from this literature is that HE plays an important role in the formation of democratic citizens, but the aims of HE institutions are still steeped in the human capital theory. There is therefore a need to focus on the role of HE in forming citizens with capabilities necessary for the transmission of knowledge and participation in the social, economic and political development of their nations. Since this section concentrated on literature in HE broadly, there is need to review literature on the same notion in the specificity of TE.

2.6 Teacher education and the formation of citizens

The role of education and HE in forming citizens has been debated in various contexts, including TE. In this section I will discuss the role of TE in forming citizens in a context where global trends place it at the centre of citizenship formation (CIET, 1999; Kerr, 2003; Halstead and Pike, 2008). As this study does not relate to a general HE course, a stronger focus on the specific nature of the task of training teachers is necessary, what the general curriculum of the TE is and how NASS fits into it. In addition, it is noted that TE has a particular characteristic in combining the civic development of teachers themselves, with their influence on the civic development of their future pupils, so some discussion of this relationship is useful.

Huddleston (2005, p.54) explains this well when he notes that:

> The teacher must see himself or herself, therefore, as a role model for democratic citizenship, not just a presenter of information or facilitator of discussion. Teachers should model the skills and virtues of democratic citizenship both in their teaching and in their relationships with each other and with their students. This has important implications for the kind of atmosphere or learning environment developed in the

classroom, for the general ethos or culture of the school as whole - and also for the part played by school leadership and management in achieving this.

From the above analysis, the traditional goal of training teachers as just disseminators of knowledge, without focusing on moulding them to be role models for critical democratic citizenship does not serve the expansive role of TE. Such teachers' roles in facilitating a democratic culture extend beyond the classroom context to include the school context. To this end, the form of citizenship education for TE should focus on forming critical democratic citizens rather than subservient ones. Basing on this understanding, it is possible for a TE curriculum to focus on the narrow goals of TE leading to the formation of uncritical teacher citizens, but more so to align the TE curriculum to more expansive roles which seeks to form more complex, active and critical types of educators. For this reason, efforts to train teachers with civic virtues have been made bearing in mind their influence on the pupils they will interact with throughout their teaching career.

The need for TE to be streamlined for CE has been spearheaded by international and national organisations setting the goals for education. UNESCO has undertaken such projects from as early as the 1970s and in Europe several conventions have embraced this notion. For example the Council of Europe in Parliamentary Assembly of 1997, the Summit of Heads of State and Government of Europe of 2005 and the Committee of Ministers to Member states of 2012. Emphasis has been placed on various dimensions, including training teachers for sustainable learning, human rights education, global citizenship and promoting active participation and involvement (UNESCO, 1974, 1995; Bierzea *et al.,* 2004; Huddlestone, 2005). These models emphasise the need to train teachers to make a difference in the world by cultivating a culture of peace, respect for humanity, interacting as social and interconnected human beings and managing the environment in a sustainable way.

TE has been seen as central to the education system of Zimbabwe since the colonial era. Dzvimbo (1989) acknowledges that the colonial system regarded the teacher as an agent of passing its imperial values to the learners and the society without questioning them. Thus, TE was taken as the means through which social cohesion could be achieved. The role of the teacher produced under the system was that of passing on a culture of hegemony in which anything perceived as liberating was never supposed to be taught to the colonised. In this light, the colonial system viewed African people as objects rather than vehicles of development. In

terms of citizenship, blacks were subjects, whilst whites were privileged citizens. It becomes sensible to ask whether there was any break at all with the colonial system of education in general and TE in particular in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

Turning to the post-colonial era in Zimbabwe, the philosophy of scientific socialism was foregrounded. The ideology affirmed that 'it is people, who bring about development, through their initiative, intelligence, skills, determination and hard work; and education is about developing people' (Chung and Ngara, 1985, p. 108). The most interesting thing is that this understanding put people at the centre of education and as such one can propose that its endeavour was predicated on the current version of HD. Even though TE is perceived as autonomous, as each college is allowed to design its own curriculum, overseen by the UZ, which gives associateship status to these colleges, the state ideology and national aspirations continue to be the guiding principles. Kariwo (2007) calls this 'state supervision'. As such, the autonomy so much talked about is experienced in a fixed frame. In any case Zvobgo (1986), Dzvimbo (1989), Sigauke (2011) and Mapetere *et al.* (2012) confirm that there is no education which is apolitical. Thus, the goals of TE should be understood in this light. This means that if national goals in education and HE specifically have little to say about the centrality of HD, there is no way TE can ostensibly stand out as unique.

Nonetheless, TE became one critical area in the struggle to create a new and just society in independent Zimbabwe. TE has been entangled in the curriculum politics that sought to bring about a new order in three ways. Firstly, it was and still is the epicentre of the effort to extend educational provision to the majority of school-aged children in the country (MOEC and MHTESTD, 2004). Secondly, it is regarded as the possible link with rural development. Thirdly, in Dzvimbo's words (1989, p. 18), 'Teacher education in particular and education broadly were perceived as a means of bringing about desired socio-economic changes in Zimbabwe.' What confounds us is the point noted by Dzvimbo (1989, p. 21) that 'reform was not a deliberate and well planned policy by the cabinet because there was no clear cut educational policy at the national level.' In other words there was no overall link between government policy and TE, let alone a declaration of what exactly was influencing education, given the fact that the ideology of scientific socialism, which has been described as rhetoric, was quickly losing weight (Chung and Ngara, 1985).

Whilst the emphasis on the importance of TE in moulding educators for active citizenship is evident in international literature, it appears thin in Zimbabwean literature. As explained in chapter one, the introduction of citizenship education in the Zimbabwean education system came as a recommendation by a Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training, but did not dwell much on the forms of citizenship education to be offered at various levels of the system (CIET, 1999). This study advances another way of studying the place of NASS in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges, which expands a history teaching approach. Furthermore, without completely discarding liberal ideas of citizenship, it foregrounds a republican view of CE, which seeks to form active and critical democratic citizens in student teachers, enhancing also their human capabilities.

2.7 Conclusion

In order to obtain perspective on the research findings as well as theoretical persuasions in the study of citizenship formation in HE, a synthesis of the findings and implications of Zimbabwean research relating to citizenship was provided in this chapter. Five aspects were discussed, namely: (a) a conceptualisation of citizenship by exploring debates through two forms of citizenship, citizenship as a legal status and citizenship as a rich evaluative continuum based on the effectiveness and quality of the exercise of citizenship. The latter was perceived as a richer form of citizenship valuable in conceptualising critical citizenship. I went a step further by situating citizenship in political philosophy debates, where I discussed contrasting views between the liberal view and the civic republican view. The republican view emphasises the need for citizens to actively participate in the affairs of the country, which is an essential element for critical democratic citizenship. (b) The nature and scope of CE motivating a critical form of CE, rather than one which emphasises conformity. This is in harmony with the type of citizenship sought in this study; (c) CE in Africa and Zimbabwe in which the philosophy of Ubuntu is dominant in influencing a desired form of citizenship; (d) goals of HE and citizenship formation with their inclination towards human capital; and (e) TE and citizenship formation and the limited focus placed on it in forming critical citizens.

In the next chapter I discuss the theoretical value of a HD and capability-based framework in analysing, evaluating and theorising critical citizenship in the Zimbabwean context.

3.0: CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CAPABILITY APPROACH HUMAN, DEVELOPMENT AND UBUNTU

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analytic and evaluative foundation for the NASS curriculum using the CA, overarching HD values, and the philosophy of Ubuntu. It fills a theoretical gap related to an economic model of HE explained in chapter two by coherently integrating the three frameworks to understand CE in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges. The chapter argues that the CA allied with HD values offers important insights relevant for the formation of critical democratic citizens, which then contributes to HD in education and society broadly, through four values: empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability. These values explain what democratic CE entails and what it means to be a critical democratic citizen, able to promote HD and social justice in both HE and society. This requires us to take a stand, which many studies are reluctant to do (Ranger, 2004; Mavunga *et al.* 2007; Nyakudya, 2007, 2011; Matereke, 2011; Magudu, 2012; Munikwa and Pedzisai, 2013), and for this reason, I adopt a HD and capability view on the formation of critical democratic citizens as a starting point for the blending of civic virtue and autonomy in both the republican and liberal views of citizenship. Because of the normative nature of the framework proposed, it could be a useful tool for benchmarking key values that should guide both policy and practice in education and society. I also capitalised on the tenets of the African humanist philosophy of Ubuntu, which is central in the NASS syllabi and the core values of the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary education, to relate it to the values of democratic citizenship. The CA interrogates practices and processes and the context in which NASS is operationalised as a way of expanding students' capabilities to achieve well-being.

I aim to use these complementary and reinforcing frameworks to build on and address the limitations of an economic model of HE in the formation of critical citizens. The philosophy of Ubuntu alone, currently used as the central guide in NASS, proves to be insufficient for providing a HD-focused CE curriculum. The reason for focusing on HD and capabilities formation is to situate CE and NASS more precisely within a broader framework that will enhance the formation of critical citizens contributing to HD. Including components such as agency and instrumental freedoms enables CE to be examined in a more robust framework, in a context of constricted democratic space. The emphasis on individual freedom highlights the need to expand citizens' active participation in the development of their country, so that CE

has a crucial role in building student teachers' agency. The chapter thus argues that, instead of discarding NASS as a curriculum that stifles critical thinking, narrative imagination and the ability to think as world citizens because of the complicated context of Zimbabwe, we should consider configuring CE in an agenda that deals with such complexities. The CA integrated with HD is thus proposed as a multidimensional framework that has potential to challenge the current NASS curriculum, at the same time analysing the opportunities student teachers have to do and be what they reasonably value. The conceptual and theoretical shift is enhanced by the acknowledgement of the usefulness of Ubuntu, despite its limitations in challenging powerlessness, exploitation and at times marginalisation of students studying the TE course.

I start with analysing and evaluating Ubuntu philosophy for its usefulness and problems in advancing critical citizenship. I then highlight the potential of the HD approach to counter shortcomings. Lastly, in Figure 1, following Nussbaum (2002, 2006), McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, 2013), Boni *et al.* (2010) and Walker and Loots (2016) in applying the CA to citizenship formation, I present how an integration of Ubuntu, HD and CA provides a model for analysing and evaluating the NASS curriculum's contribution or non-contribution to human capabilities formation. I first draw on Robeyns (2006) to explore three different models for HE to help explain my choice for a CA-based model for advancing critical citizenship.

3.2 Models of Higher Education for citizenship formation

From a philosophical position, Robeyns (2006) discusses three models of education with either instrumental or intrinsic value (both economic and non-economic). The models are the human capital, human rights and the CA. A number of scholars discussed in chapter two affirm that the human capital model continues to dominate Western education, setting the framework of government policies since the early 1960s. The human capital model emphasises the economic value of education in imparting skills and knowledge necessary for a person's income, generating abilities as well as their contribution to economic growth of a nation (Naidoo, 2011; Walker, 2011, 2013). This is problematic, since its focus does not satisfactorily deal with expansive roles of HE in dealing with social and civic issues such as HD, social justice and citizenship formation.

The human rights model offers perspectives that counter the human capital model. For example, it perceives education as a basic human right and therefore does not limit its role to some projected economic value, which means that it advocates for access to education for everyone regardless of the potential returns brought to or by individuals (Robeyns, 2006). The

rights-based arguments extend into debates on whether HE should be treated as a public or private good. Walker (2006) rightly observes that HE is a public good with the potential to enrich both the individual and the society, despite the fact it has been overshadowed by neo-liberal ideas focusing on business models. If HE is considered as a public good as explained above, then it should be treated as a human right instead of an opportunity to advance the self. The human rights model also focuses on students' rights, thereby introducing them to political activism for which they are prepared as active democratic citizens.

However, this model proves to be mere rhetoric that many governments have failed to fulfil, due to either lack of funding, lack of political will, or lack of capacity to deal with other institutional arrangements that may deter some sections of the population from accessing school (Tomasevski, 2003; Unterhalter, 2003). Furthermore, the human rights model is too government-focused because of its legalistic nature (Robeyns, 2003). Therefore, once governments meet the minimum legal requirements, individuals must claim these rights.

On the basis of Robeyns's (2006) arguments for the CA as a broad approach that can be used to assess a number of social arrangements, policy designs and practices, this model may be useful for the advancement of democratic citizenship. Its focus on wellbeing of individuals and constituent groups in the society make it relevant for evaluative purposes in both HE and the context necessary for the formation of critical democratic citizens in both developing and developed settings. It advocates the expansion of capabilities in order to enhance flourishing. Due to the complexities associated with citizenship, a conceptual argument is presented for the capabilities approach as a particularly productive theoretical approach in the context of citizenship education and the formation of human capabilities for promoting HD and social justice. This argument is advanced through a specific consideration of lecturers' and students' agency and the interaction of this agency with institutional and national contexts. Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2003) acknowledge that access to HE is an important capability, with both intrinsic and instrumental value. Walker (2012) argues that a CA model is superior for embracing not only the importance of economic factors in the quest for HD but also social transformation, which expands human flourishing. What is worrying is that most models of education in many countries are still inclined towards human capital.

Despite criticism of human capital, Walker (2012) explains that it does not necessarily mean that HE's economic instrumental value should not be acknowledged; what is problematic is its place in the realm of HD. Once its economic role is regarded as an end in itself, then its social

transformative role will be backgrounded. Fogues (2012) ascertains that we need to challenge an instrumental view of education to create awareness of the intrinsic and positional values of education that enhance learners' agency. In addition, Kosko (2012, p. 145) stresses that 'education is one of the surest ways for individuals to expand their capability set and can even be inherently valuable.' The capability set assumed as advancing the role of education and HE is critical in the preparation of citizens for action in the public space and for enhancing political participation (Ahier, Beck, and Moore, 2003; Nussbaum, 2011). As acknowledged by McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, p. 8), HE 'is a key component of establishing a threshold level of political functioning and opening up wider political, economic, social and cultural aspirations.' Therefore, HE cannot remain the preserve of the elite nor can it be left to the whims of the market. Instead, it should become one agency among others charged with increasing the opportunities and freedoms of individuals to achieve what they value to do and to be. On this note, I turn to addressing these questions: what are the perceived roles of HE? To what extent would the CA model serve these roles?

There is still limited literature approaching CE from a HD and capability lens (Nussbaum, 2006; McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009, 2013; Boni *et al*., 2010; Walker and Loots, 2016). Applying the CA specifically to CE, Nussbaum's 2006 paper draws on the ideas of Rabindranath Tagore to propose a three-part model useful for the development of young people's capabilities through education. She focuses on three capabilities: critical thinking, world citizenship, and imaginative understanding. Boni *et al.* (2010) analyse two different initiatives developed at the Universidad Politécnica de Valencia (UPV) in Spain that have contributed to the creation and expansion of cosmopolitan capabilities amongst the student community. The first is a formal space in which, since 1997, a cosmopolitan citizenship curriculum has been implemented. The second experience refers to an informal space called Mueve created by UPV students. From the findings of the study, the group Mueve appears as a space with potential for transforming cosmopolitan citizenship ideas acquired from the formal citizenship curriculum into reality. Participants acquired new abilities related to organization and relationship skills such as group work, problem-solving and structuring ideas.

Walker and Loots (2016) consider citizenship formation at universities, using an example of a student leadership project at the University of the Free State, a formerly White South African university. The paper proposes a multi-dimensional conceptualisation of social citizenship, as described by T.H. Marshall, enriched by the CA. They add specific citizenship dimensions of deliberation, acknowledgment of heterogeneity, and agency goals and activities as fundamental

elements of being able to be and to do as citizens. Walker and Loots (2016) thus conclude that the programme supports the importance of universities as spaces for the formation of individual citizenship capabilities and functionings and democratic citizenship values. According to Walker and Loots (2016, p. 65), this is made possible through pragmatic pedagogy with four features:

> (1) using the unfamiliar (being abroad) to make the familiar (South Africa) very strange, (2) building confidence and awareness to act for change, (3) public discussion across differences to build shared values; understanding and valuing people different from oneself and, (4) concern to make a difference in some way operationalised in practical action.

Whilst the insights provided by the above studies are important in strengthening an argument for a multidimensional approach to deal with the complexities of citizenship formation in HE, I propose a combination of three frameworks as suggested in chapter one: Ubuntu, HD and CA, for practical reasons relating to the specificity of the historical, political, social and economic context of Zimbabwe.

3.3 The philosophy of Ubuntu

Ubuntu is valued not only in the NASS curriculum and the Ministry of Higher Education in Zimbabwe, but also across Africa. Exploiting the widespread value placed on it, I use this philosophy as leverage in claiming capabilities necessary for the formation of critical democratic citizens. Ubuntu, not widely used as an application to the advancement of the formation of critical democratic citizens, is not just an idea, but a way of life of African origin (Broodryk, 2002; Swanson, 2007; Venter, 2004; Waghid, 2004). It embodies the world view of Africanness, making it essential in discussing issues to do with the formation of democratic citizens in an African context. However, this worldview has both strengths and weaknesses when used to advance democratic citizenship.

The word 'Ubuntu' originates from Bantu dialects of Africa and is a traditional African philosophy that offers an understanding of humanity in relation to the world (Broodryk, 2002). Broodryk argues that Ubuntu can be used to make claims for the formation of critical democratic citizens. For example, 'Ubuntu philosophy displays tolerance, awareness of what is just and unjust, what is humane and inhumane; an awareness of the distinction between kindness and cruelty, between harmony and disharmony' (Broodryk, 2002, p. 47). This testifies that Africans are not alien to the notion of citizenship and social justice. It underscores the

significance of consensus and the well-being of the community rather than the individual, unlike Western liberal notions of citizenship. In the process, Ubuntu promotes the common good of society through deliberations that seek consensus based on common understanding. Whilst on the surface the claims made by Ubuntu appear to be universal values, it emphasises 'the concrete manifestation of the interconnectedness of human beings' (Venter, 2004, p. 156), which makes what Swanson (2007, p. 55) calls a 'fundamental contribution to indigenous 'ways of knowing and being''. The philosophy therefore separates an African worldview from other worldviews as suggested by Makgoba (1996, p. 23), focusing on the uniqueness of Ubuntu:

> [Ubuntu] emphasizes respect for the non-material order that exists in us and among us; it fosters [people's] respect for [themselves], for others, and for the environment; it has spirituality; it has remained non-racial; it accommodates other cultures and it is the invisible force uniting Africans worldwide.

In the South African literature, Ubuntu has been widely debated, though with little focus on its value in the formation of democratic citizens. Debates mainly centre on its role in national development, integration and transformation in a post-apartheid era. Letseka (2012, p. 44) defends Ubuntu on the basis of its spirit, which emphasises 'group solidarity, compassion, respect and human dignity'. This group solidarity is not to be confused with categorising the community into 'us and them', but based on the notion that can be summed up as 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am' (Tirivangana, 2013). The connectedness of humanity alluded to offers an opportunity to advance critical thinking, global citizenship and narrative imagination.

Chivaura (2006, p. 232) advances the notion of development from the African worldview by making the claim that Ubuntu 'tempers HD and transforms human behaviour from mere instinctual action into conscious spiritual action imbued with the values of moral and ethical action.' This understanding demands a closer look at how development is defined through Ubuntu values. Chivaura (2006, p. 233) explains that 'development in the African world view is a creative process; its purpose is to uplift the human community and enrich the cosmos.' Far from the influence of human capital and profit-making motives, development in the African worldview seems to resonate with the notion of development according to the HD values discussed in section 3.4. It seeks to advance the common good by configuring all activities around human beings and what they commonly value. In addition, development in Ubuntu is

measured in both material and spiritual terms; where material is defined as economic and spiritual as values binding people together (Chivaura, 2006). In other words measuring development in economic terms only is not sufficient. This argument augments the notion that the well-being of humanity is synonymous with development in Ubuntu terms. Thus, in advancing Ubuntu as an important philosophy in the formation of critical democratic citizens through NASS in TE, I propose a HD and capability framework supplementing a human capital orientation, which is unsustainable for a curriculum that seeks to advance the well-being of humanity. As it is, Ubuntu, like human rights discourses, needs to be supported by human capabilities in a context where there is limited democratic space. Since the thesis focuses on HD, I suggest that CE be framed within HD language first so as to capture imperative HD values in policy developments and the operationalisation of NASS.

3.4 Human development

Democracy, social justice and the CA all have a common focus in HD. I advance HD as defined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1990, p. 1):

> [human development is] about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests. People are the real wealth of nations. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value. The emphasis is on cultivating an environment or a context in which human beings realise their maximum possibilities and also realise useful or beneficial, and inventive lives in alignment with their valued necessities and well beings.

This definition of HD marks a shift from the commonly-held view that there was a close link between a country's economic growth and expansion of individual choices of human beings (UNDP, 1990). However this does not mean that economic considerations should be neglected (Walker, 2012). Rather, the point as argued by Sen (1999) is that a country's GDP does not tell us how the wealth so gained is distributed across the population, nor does it give insights into the quality of growth achieved. This notion of HD recognises human beings as the real wealth of the universe. Therefore, HD should not be measured by how much material gain is achieved in the process of human activity, but rather by how much value has been added to improving human potentials, choices or freedoms to be or to do what they perceive as valuable. This is important because it contrasts the previously dominant view where economic gains were placed at the centre of measuring development. Democratic practices should also be promoted as they

form an integral part of the notion of 'development of the people for the people' so that people are agents in development and development choices.

Thus, understanding HD in the above terms is at the centre of this study. Drawing on the interconnected HD values (empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability), curriculum innovations at HE level should endeavour to put people at the centre: not only viewed as skilled human resources, but as the wealth of the nation, and as individuals of moral worth, and not the means of development (including educational development). Alkire (2010) and Ibrahim (2014) explain that empowerment as envisaged in HD entails ensuring that people are able to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Whilst participation gives space to individuals and groups to be actively and meaningfully involved in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policy and curriculum as well as pedagogical processes and practices, the participation of citizens including youth/students ensures that decisions made and opportunities created do not jeopardise the choices and opportunities of future generations. Equity, on the other hand, guarantees equality, fairness and social justice, so that whatever processes and practices are undertaken uphold these guarantees across different dimensions, such as gender, age and political affiliation. Sen (1999) argues that HD is concerned with the basic development idea of advancing the richness of human life rather than the economy in which human beings live, which is only part of it. This resonates with ul Haq's notion: 'The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time' (UNDP, 1990, p. 10). Since people also value achievements that may be unattainable or not necessarily measurable in income or growth figures, such as greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, and a sense of participation in community activities, the objective of development in ul Haq's words 'is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives' (UNDP, 1990, p. 1). This vision of enlarging people's choice and freedoms to pursue what they value to be or to do is in line with the four HD values mentioned above and therefore in line with advancing social justice.

The emphasis on choices and empowerment, which Ubuntu seems not to emphasise, offers a better perspective for the formation of critical democratic citizens. Closely connected to the process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices in order to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes, is participation. Participation, defined as a process through which all members of a community or organization are involved, and have influence on decisions related to development activities that will affect them, is

feasible where citizens are empowered. Discussing values transmitted by schools, Vaughan and Walker (2012, p. 504) argues that the CA can curb problems associated with,

> [The] formation of learner identities in the face of histories and dominant education norms and values and learning practices permeated by power, history, language and contradiction.

They propose engagement with critical pedagogy, which acknowledges the potentially oppressive as well as transformative nature of education to address the inequalities of power within education and in the wider society. In other words, it is not enough to have representation that is voiceless or powerless. In addition, to decide by consensus where there is inequitable distribution of power among citizens concerned is a subtle way of perpetuating injustice. In this case, the HD values under discussion add value to the philosophy of Ubuntu by emphasising empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability. Equity extends the view of interconnectedness of humanity advanced by Ubuntu, although Ubuntu does not articulate how or on what terms humanity should be connected. In this case equity enables the accommodation of marginalised and oppressed minority groups within society. In addition, equity is a sure way of managing society in a sustainable way. The ability or capacity of something to be maintained or to sustain itself is based on the level of participation, empowerment and distribution of power and resources. A framework that is silent on these values does not give enough space for the formation of critical democratic citizens.

Critical citizenship foregrounds critical thinking, innovation and productive intellectualism, not measured in what Nussbaum (2006) terms 'profit making motivations'. Rather, by emphasising the centrality of human beings as the real wealth, it arouses a consciousness that recognises that, before we are anything, we are human beings. This becomes the cornerstone of consciousness in HD terms and any consciousness that ignores the centrality of humanity, not only defeats the course of HD, but is also self-defeating. Furthermore, it should be noted that economic growth will not necessarily lead to people's well-being. HDR (1990) provides evidence that there are countries with strong economies that still have many people without the basic capabilities needed to live a healthy life as prescribed by the HD framework. Walker's argument (2010, p. 221) to this effect needs to be emphasised:

> If human capital and economic growth have failed to provide both for economic and human security, then serious questions ought now to be raised about the appropriateness and sustainability of this as a continuing HE policy direction; we need rather to

rebalance HE goals in the direction of a more expansive public good, and the formation of graduates as rich human beings.

Drawing on this argument, the role of HE should be re-imagined as not only limited to economic terms or employability, but to expand and secure the well-being of individuals through the formation of critical democratic citizens. While economic structures are important as an aspect of plural well-being, they should not be advanced at the expense of the socio-political role of development as a participatory and dynamic process. This is grounded on the basis of a symbiotic relationship that exists between the economic, social and political factors driving the broader society.

Turning to its limitations, the HD framework fails to adequately capture institutional and structural arrangements that are essential for the realisation of the four values explained above. For example, whilst advocating for citizens to participate in activities affecting them in their state, it offers limited discussion of how to deal with structures of power which may inhibit participation. Yet, the HD values' effectiveness in fostering critical citizenship is dependent on the existence of a reciprocal relationship between democratic politics and democratic education. Walker (2010, p. 221) argues that 'higher education is located within society and social change; changes in higher education might influence society as much as society in turn shapes higher education.' So we need a democratic system of education to further democratic citizenship, in as much as we need democratic citizenship to further democratic education. Although this assumption is an ideal (because it is hard if not impossible to come up with a purely democratic society in which social justice is exercised), it is necessary as a standard towards which we may work. Although the CA is directly linked to the HD framework, in that it provides a conceptual foundation on which HD is defined, the CA focuses on expanding people's freedoms, choices and opportunities to do and to be what they value. It seeks to explain how this is important to people's well-being and how this can be achieved (Robeyns, 2003; Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Fukuda-Parr & Kumar, 2003).

In this thesis, drawing from Walker's (2010, p. 221) argument that 'social and economic structures constrain what is possible and what is regarded as legitimate', I advance the CA, which I discuss in detail in section 3.5, in critically analysing possible constraints in not only economic and social arrangements, but also political, in the formation of democratic citizens through NASS in teachers' colleges. This analysis is imperative because I seek to incorporate a civic republican idea of citizenship (discussed in chapter two), calling for the active

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participation of every citizen on the basis of equality and freedom. In this case democratic practices, such as deliberation with its emphasis on the ideals of inclusion, political equality and reasonableness, are important. This resonates with Young's (1990, p. 39) assertion that 'justice should not be limited to distributive but extended to institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation'. Therefore, in order to strengthen a civic republican conception of citizenship, I propose to closely analyse institutional conditions that may hinder or enable full capacities of individuals or groups in the process of participation even in well intended democracies. For this, I turn to the CA.

3.5 The capability approach

The need for a theory that makes up for the limitations of the HD framework, as well as Ubuntu, motivates this section. The CA offers an alternative theoretical lens, providing 'a general normative framework for the assessment of HD but can be applied more generally to other areas of social policy, such as education' (Unterhalter, Vaughan and Walker, 2007). The CA is preferred for being a flexible framework rather than a precise theory (Sen, 1992; Robeyns, 2005). It is useful in advancing a NASS curriculum that contributes to the formation of critical democratic citizens, giving emphasis to deliberation, heterogeneity, criticality and cosmopolitan citizenship rather than the traditional emphasis on the nation state (McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009). McCowan and Unterhalter (2013), in a chapter on education, citizenship and deliberative democracy, discuss participation in CE from the perspective of the CA. They acknowledge the importance of contrasting concerns that converge around human rights values affecting effective participation in decision-making and through the marginalisation of minority groups. The chapter thus proposes the need to revive democratic practices through the processes of deliberation.

This section explores core concepts of the CA, concentrating on how they relate to the formation of critical democratic education. I further propose that the CA through its major concepts such as capabilities, functionings, agency, conversion factors and instrumental freedoms provides a clearer alternative for both theory and practice of CE, leading to the formation of critical citizens. Whilst the CA does not explain the causes of educational policy inadequacies, it provides a tool with which to conceptualise and evaluate them (Unterhalter, Vaughan and Walker, 2007). In addition I agree with Walker's (2010, p. 10) argument that 'if we make capabilities and functionings central to curriculum we shift the axis of analysis to

establishing and evaluating the political, social, economic and education conditions that enable individuals to be able to take informed decisions based on what they have reason to value.'

3.5.1 Capabilities

Considering that the central idea of the CA is that social, economic and political arrangements should aim to expand people's freedom to be or to do what they rationally value, its emphasis on advancing freedom and choices is of significance in the curriculum that seeks the formation of a particular type of citizens – critical and democratic. Democracy is about freedom and choices, but these have to be based on weighed reasons. Capabilities are 'the alternative combination of functionings that are feasible for [a person] to achieve well-being; they are 'the substantive freedom' a person has 'to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value' (Sen, 1999, p. 87). Instead of aiming to equalise resources, equality should be aimed at increasing freedoms and opportunities of individuals to pursue and to live the lives they value.

The CA provides a broader platform for thinking about social justice and HE that involves expanding people's capabilities. Resonating with the theory of justice and the politics of difference (Young, 1990); I advance the CA as a tool to investigate how the social, economic and political context sets the conditions for individual freedoms in the operationalisation of NASS in the TE curriculum. Unterhalter, Vaughan and Walker, (2007) argue that "[in] the case of education, we need to aim at equalising people's capabilities both in and through education. In this way, the CA provides a framework which is sensitive to diverse social settings and groups". From this analysis, the importance of freedom and choice is important in the process of the formation of the critical dimension in citizens. Closely linked to capabilities are functionings which I interrogate next.

3.5.2 Functionings

Sen (1999, p. 75), defines functionings as 'the various things a person may value doing or being. While a capability is a potential functioning a functioning is what one actually manages to achieve or do – and the list of functionings is endless'. Walker (2006, p. 128) explains that:

> It is the practical realization of one's chosen way of life. It might include quite basic functionings such as being well-nourished, having shelter and access to clean water and being physically safe, or more complex functionings like being well educated, having paid professional work, being respected, taking part in discussions with your peers, being scientifically literate, and so on.

From these examples, the realisation of functionings is preceded by the availability of real opportunities (not just a formal opportunity) and the freedom to choose to convert the opportunity into reality. According to Nussbaum (2000) and Sen (1999), capabilities are thus closely related to functionings in that capabilities refer to opportunity freedoms an individual has to enjoy the functionings necessary for their well-being. In democratic citizenship, it can be inferred that real opportunities to take part in deliberation are necessary for citizens to participate in the affairs of their polity. For this reason, all forms of oppression (for example violence, exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, and cultural imperialism as espoused by the politics of difference) should be eliminated (Young, 1990). The form of education advanced as guaranteeing this is derived from a HD framework. At the same time, the model of education which fits this is the CA model, not the human capital model.

Sen (1992) argues that functionings give us information about the things a person does, while capabilities give us information about the things a person is substantively free to do (choose). Drawing on this analysis, HE should be interested not only in whether a student has the potential and freedom to be critical about their environment (social, political and economic), but also in how critical the student actually is. Sen (1993, p. 37) extends the argument by stressing that 'the functionings make up a person's being: what we do is what we are, so that the evaluation of a person's well-being has to take the form of an assessment of these constituent elements'. Hence, whilst HE policies and college syllabi may reflect genuine capabilities (potential freedoms and opportunities) for the formation of critical democratic citizens, it is the achieved functionings that must be the standard of measure of a successful realisation of a critical democratic citizen. Sen (1993) further explains that quality of life depends on the 'functionings' that are feasible to achieve in the contexts within which we are

located. In this regard, drawing from Nixon (2011, p. 70), 'higher education not only contributes greatly to our achieved 'functionings', but also provides an institutional space to exercise our freedom – capability to choose between alternative combinations of 'functionings''. The functionings achieved through HE are of importance, even though they are dependent on the functions achieved at other levels.

Considering issues of social justice in HE and focusing on access or widening participation, Wilson-Strydom (2014, p. 151) argues that, 'Within the capabilities approach, functionings are akin to outcomes and refer to the achievement of being and doing what one has reason to value.' Thus, when considering citizenship formation, we cannot just ask whether different students have achieved the same outcome (for example, of critical thinking), but rather, whether students have had the same opportunities to achieve that outcome. The connection between capabilities and functionings is unquestionable, but also depends on other factors such as agency and conversion factors. Conversion factors, as explained by Sen (1999) include all social, political and economic arrangements contributing to the realisation of functionings. Functionings to achieve certain beings and doings are therefore influenced by three types of conversion factors. Firstly, personal characteristics, for example, physical condition, gender, reading skills. If someone has difficulty in reading and writing (illiteracy), the idea of freedom to choose a leader as an equal citizen is not applicable within the context of a secret ballot. Such a person will need to be assisted to vote, even though the assistance rendered itself is a conversion factor enhancing the exercise of the right to vote. Secondly, social characteristics (e.g. public policies, social norms and practises) such as obedience and respect for elders may be used to suppress dissenting voices of youths or to suppress women in a patriarchy. Finally, environmental characteristics, for example, climate, infrastructure, institutions, public goods may enhance or restrict to realise certain functionings (Robeyns, 2003). Therefore the concept of conversion factors is important in highlighting the need to know more about the persons and the circumstances in which the formation of democratic citizens is sought. Sen (1999), Robeyns (2003) and Walker and Unterhalter 2007) note that conversion factors provide a conceptual device in the CA for explaining the relationship between structure and agency, which I explain next in line with its potential significance in understanding the formation of critical democratic citizens.

3.5.3 Agency

Agency is given limited consideration in citizenship formation studies considered in chapter two, whose focus is on the social structures, institutions and contexts, and this makes the CA

and the way it places emphasis on agency and the interaction of citizens and social contexts important for this study. I draw on the arguments raised by Bonvin and Thelen (2003), Nixon (2011), Nussbaum (2000) and Sen (1999) to explain the concept of agency. Borrowing from Sen (1999) and McCowan and Unterhalter (2009), agency is a crucial attribute of citizenship capabilities contributing towards human freedom and obligations for action to change the world; that is, of HE and society broadly. This involves reflecting on, shaping, and choosing goals valuable for each person. For this reason, Nussbaum (2000) argues that citizens must be left to determine what they make of the capabilities that are granted them. At the same time, what individuals make of their capabilities will depend on a number of conversion factors as explained above. Walker (2006, p. 36) explains that 'crucially, functionings depend on individual circumstances, the relations a person has with others, and social conditions and contexts within which potential options (freedom) can be achieved.' From Sen (1999) and Bonvin and Thelen (2003), individual agency is influenced by social and economic arrangements, political and civil rights. These will either promote or deter our agency (Sen, 1999, pp. xi–xii):

> There is a deep complementarity between individual agency and social arrangements. It is important to give simultaneous recognition to the centrality of individual freedom (individual agency) and to the force of social influences (social agency) on the extent and reach of individual freedom.

Applied to CE, the potential of individual students to be critical may be upset or promoted by the context in which they operate, but also by individual agency; that is, the choice to take action to achieve what is valued despite the constrains. The CA is strong on this point for viewing citizens as heterogeneous; for example, their ability to deliberate depends on individual abilities for communication, building an argument or matching complex and conflicting proposals as well as reflexivity (McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009; McCowan and Unterhalter 2013). Agency is central, when considered with notions of opportunity and choice. In CE, it is important to analyse the interplay between the agency of individual lecturers and students, as well as social arrangements or institutional arrangements of possibilities enhancing or inhibiting opportunities for critical citizenship. Methodologically, according to Wilson-Strydom (2012, p. 121), 'the capabilities approach provides a means for researching the processes underlying both different and similar outcomes (functionings).'

3.5.4 Which capabilities?

While Sen does not employ a specific list of capabilities, Nussbaum proposes a threshold in ten central capabilities to provide a basis of what is a dignified life (Nussbaum, 2011; 2000). Nussbaum advocated a list of central capabilities, which she gives as a threshold for countries to configure in their constitutions. The debate about whether a list should be used or not is inconclusive; I borrow three of Nussbaum's capabilities for democratic citizenship to demonstrate the role of HE in securing capabilities, especially using the idea of the formation of critical democratic citizens. These capabilities are critical thinking, ability to think as a global citizen and narrative imagination. Critical thinking according to Nussbaum (2002, 2006) refers to the ability to criticise oneself and traditionally held truths, accepting only those that survive reason's demand for consistency and justification of logic. For CE to foster this capacity requires reasoning logically and bringing evidence to test for consistency of reasoning, correctness of facts and accuracy of judgments. The ability to think as a global citizen involves seeing oneself as a human being connected to others by an ethic of recognition and compassion, rather than simply as citizens of some locality. In order to cultivate this capability, CE ought to recognise and accommodate differences that make understanding difficult between groups and nations; and the common human needs and interests crucial for cooperation among them. CE should ensure learning is about nations other than one's own, and about the different groups that are part of one's own nation. Nussbaum (2002, 2006) understands narrative imagination as the ability to empathise; that is, to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of another. This includes being able to understand realities, aspirations and emotions of others.

These connecting and reinforcing capabilities are chosen on the basis of their direct relevance to the formation of critical democratic citizens. For this reason, Nussbaum (2006) calls them capabilities for critical democratic citizenship. Nussbaum (2006, p. 386) emphasises the significance of public education in the cultivation of democracy, noting that 'nothing could be more crucial to democracy than the education of its citizens.' Even though this argument was made in a context outside HE, it finds application in HE; more so when we consider her whole argument on the significance of three capabilities:

> the freedom of the child's mind to engage critically with tradition; the freedom to imagine citizenship in both national and world terms, and to negotiate multiple

allegiances with knowledge and confidence; and the freedom to reach out in the imagination, allowing another person's experience into oneself (p. 392).

Commenting on the effects of citizenship formation, Geboers, Geijsei, Admiraal and Dam (2013, p. 160) concur that 'the main focus of CE is found to be enhancement of engagement with democratic society and active participation in that society.' I find the application of Nussbaum's three capabilities and the subsequent arguments fitting the role of CE as espoused by Geboers *et al*. (2013).

If these capabilities are to be anticipated in the student teachers through NASS then the operationalisation of NASS should be based on the model of criticality (as explained in chapter two), rather than conformity. It should be free from indoctrination or any tendency to cultivate docile patriotism. To be critical means to question and to make informed judgments, as explained earlier. Critical thinking is of importance in public deliberations, which are an essential process in decision-making in a democratic society. At policy level, the aim of HE and TE should not only be focused on meeting the demands of human resources but also critical and ethical citizens. At operationalisation level, it should be the focus of NASS not only to limit the perspective of the identities formed to a Zimbabwean context but to a global perspective, more so in a world where migration has become prevalent.

Nussbaum's explanation also fits the philosophy of Ubuntu, which emphasises the connectedness of humanity, which means securing the capability will be crucial to the spirit of HD, which also focuses on empowering communities. The three capabilities are linked – the achievement of one is connected to another. For example it calls for critical thinking to be able to see oneself as not simply citizens of some local region. Narrative imagination also entails critically thinking how it might be to be in the shoes of another living in a different place. These are important in democratic processes and public reasoning, as I discuss next.

3.5.5 Public reasoning

Public reasoning is a concept that comes up in the arguments raised by Sen (2005) against the idea of generating a list of capabilities. For the same reason Nussbaum (2011, p. 1080) explains that her approach 'deliberately specifies the items on the list in a somewhat abstract and general way. This is so precisely to accommodate the specifying and deliberating by citizens.' Crocker (2008, p. 204) adds that 'if the list is determined prior to public deliberation and dogmatically shuts off debate', it would not be a meaningful list. He further argues that the issue between Nussbaum and Sen is not about the list, but rather the manner in which the list was generated.

Drawing from these arguments, the CA holds public deliberations to be an important aspect when making decisions that affect people. In other words, there is a close link between deliberations and people's capabilities. In addition, the emphasis on decisions focusing on the common good in the philosophy of Ubuntu makes public deliberations an important functioning that must be secured through the formation of critical citizens. Unlike in Ubuntu, the CA recognises the collective aspect in citizenship and the role of deliberation in addressing it in a way that does not subordinate the individual or overlook difference. It is appropriate to see democracy as 'more than majoritarian rule and the organisational or institutional processes of ballots, but instead involving on-going participation in decision-making and the exercise of public reason' (Sen, 2009, p. 324). In this vein, public deliberations are critical not only in social justice but also for the formation of critical democratic citizens. They are also useful for active participation of citizens and key to evaluating how NASS is operationalised when focusing on the formation of critical democratic citizens. It is important to investigate and deal with the barriers to democratic participation, noting that democratic participation is dependent upon the citizens' ability to enter into public deliberations and action.

From a social justice perspective, Fraser and Honneth (2003) and Fraser (2009) explain how power can be affirmative or transformative, where the transformative form will be more useful for the advancement of critical citizens contributing to a more just society. Transformative power challenges the hierarchies of power that inhibit effective participation of citizens in policy practices and processes. On the other hand, the affirmative form tends to perpetuate the status quo through its tendency to recognise marginalised stakeholders, but without opening up space for their participation as equals. She thus presents an argument for a multidimensional approach called parity of participation, which is applicable to CE (Fraser, 1996; 1997; 2009). Parity of participation requires social arrangements that permit all citizens to participate as peers in social life by dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some citizens from contributing on a par with others, as full partners in social life (Fraser, 2009). While Fraser focuses on social arrangements, Sen's five instrumental freedoms are useful in explaining and dealing with power differentials in participation in five spheres that Ubuntu and the HD frameworks fail to consider.

3.5.6 Sen's five instrumental freedoms

Sen (1999) convincingly argues for upholding democratic processes and political freedoms even in situations of economic adversities. To achieve this, HE must address both the vocational and civic dimension, rather than focusing on meeting demands of industry as is usually the case in developing nations (as explained in chapter two). Sen uses instrumental freedoms as a way of explaining how institutional arrangements can be managed in order to cultivate critical citizenship contributing towards HD. The instrumental freedoms are: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security.

By political freedoms, Sen (1999) means the ability of citizens to choose political leaders and make political decisions shaping their lives. Economic facilities refer to opportunities to access and utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production or exchange. Social opportunities are the social arrangements made available by society to improve the well-being of its citizens. These include arrangements made for education, healthcare and so on. Transparency guarantees emphasise the need for openness to enhance the freedom to deal with one another. These guarantees help deal with various forms of corruption (for example, financial irresponsibility and underhand dealings). Protective security refers to social security measures safeguarding citizens from suffering because of poverty; measures may include unemployment benefits and statutory income supplements, famine relief or emergency public employment to generate income for the destitute. The instrumental freedoms are important to better illuminate the context in which the NASS curriculum is operationalised. Sen (1999) proposes that instrumental freedoms are important in expanding substantive freedoms without which development would be stalled. In the same way, lack of instrumental freedoms in a CE context may weaken the potential of a citizenship curriculum to form human capabilities. A summary of the Instrumental freedoms drawn up by Sen (1999, pp. 38-40) is provided below.

Table.1. Definitions of Sen's Instrumental freedoms

Political freedoms	Broadly conceived (including what are called civil rights), refer to the opportunities that people have to determine who should govern and on what principles, and also include the possibility to scrutinize and criticize authorities, to have freedom of political expression and an uncensored press, to enjoy the freedom to choose between different political parties, and so on. They include the political entitlements associated with democracies in the broadest sense (encompassing opportunities of political dialogue, dissent and critique as well as voting rights and the participatory selection of legislators and executives).
Economic facilities	Refer to the opportunities that individuals respectively enjoy to utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, or production, or exchange. The economic entitlements that a person has will depend on the resources owned or available for use as well as on conditions of exchange, such as relative prices and the working of the markets. Insofar as the process of economic development increases the income and wealth of a country, they are reflected in corresponding enhancement of economic entitlements of the population. It should be obvious that in the relation between national income and wealth, on the one hand, and the economic entitlements of individuals (or families), on the other, distributional considerations are important, in addition to aggregative ones. How the additional incomes generated are distributed will clearly make a difference.
Social opportunities	Refer to the arrangements that society makes for education, health care and so on, which influence the individual´s substantive freedom to live better. These facilities are important not only for the conduct of private lives (such as living a healthy life and avoiding preventable morbidity and premature mortality), but also for more effective participation in economic and political activities. For example, illiteracy can be a major barrier to participation in economic activities that require production according to specification or demand strict quality control (as globalized trade increasingly does). Similarly, political participation may be hindered by the inability to read newspapers or to communicate in writing with others involved in political activities.
Transparency guarantees	Deal with the need for openness that people can expect: the freedom to deal with one another under guarantees of disclosure and lucidity. When that trust is seriously violated, the lives of many people -both direct parties and third parties- may be adversely affected by the lack of openness [...] These guarantees have a clear instrumental role in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility and underhand dealings.
Protective security	Is needed to provide a social safety net for preventing the affected population from being reduced to abject misery, and in some cases even starvation and death. The domain of protective security includes fixed institutional arrangements such as unemployment benefits and statutory income supplements to the indigent as well as ad hoc arrangements such as famine relief or emergency public employment to generate income for destitute.

Adapted from Sen (1999, pp. 38-40)

Lack of instrumental freedoms, as in politics of difference, promotes injustice in two ways: '[of] disabling constrains, oppression and domination' (Young, 1990, p. 39). Oppression may not necessarily be experienced by all in homogeneous ways or to the same degree, but all suffer some form of 'inhibition to their ability to develop and exercise their capacities and express their thoughts, needs and feelings' (Young, 1990, p. 40). Thus, one's capacity to deliberate

may suffer from more than one form of oppression at the same time; for example one can be both exploited and powerless so as to be unable to participate in a deliberation. These forms of oppression and injustice play a part in inhibiting the formation of democratic citizens in NASS in more than one way. In cases where 'othering' is prevalent due to categories of heroes and traitors mentioned in chapter one by Tendi (2010), both marginalisation and violence are at play, in the sense that the category of 'traitor' is negative and segregatory. At the same time, those holding different views from 'heroes' will be left out of deliberations, denied access to economic facilities and important information or prevented from benefiting through social opportunities. 'Othering' is also a challenge in cases where citizenship status (legal) is guaranteed on the basis of political affiliation (Ranchod, 2005). Young (2000, p. 11) thus concludes that 'many criticise existing democracies for being dominated by groups or elites that have unequal influence over decisions, while others are excluded or marginalised from any significant influence over the policy-making process or its outcomes.' I propose that the capability framework is an ideal perspective that must be integrated in practice with knowledge of the subtle ways in which deliberation may be inhibited through any of the many faces of oppression in society.

We can thus charge education broadly, and CE in particular, with the task of securing opportunities for the oppressed through a truly critical and democratic curriculum. This should be a curriculum that is conscious of the potential dangers to which democratic education is exposed when instrumental freedoms are not emphasised in policy processes and pedagogical arrangements. I discuss how Sen's instrumental freedoms may be applied in a CE curriculum.

3.5.7 Applying Sen's instrumental freedoms to citizenship education

Drawing on the theoretical underpinnings of Sen's five instrumental freedoms, political participation, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security become important beginning points for the formulation of interventions that can enhance capabilities for critical citizenship. To achieve this requires an in-depth empirical analysis that takes account of individual differences and how these play out in the context of particular institutional arrangements. A CA-informed model of citizenship formation would require HE institutions to consider policies and practices that recognise the complexity of citizenship and citizenship formation and to invest in interventions that seek to overcome forms of 'unfreedoms' identified as inhibiting capabilities formation. For example, applying Sen's instrumental freedoms to the formation of critical citizenship would require a commitment to removing unfreedoms at both policy and institutional levels. When applied in the context of TE, attention is drawn to the importance of understanding students' and lecturers' everyday lives and experiences, and particularly the political, social, economic and environmental conditions that enhance or inhibit their wellbeing and performance. A CA to citizenship formation can thus foreground restricted democratic space and the complex nature of HE opportunities that work against the development of critical democratic citizens. The potential of this approach to uncover masked injustices was demonstrated above with the example of how various conversion factors may work against students' agency.

While policy and practice that seeks to provide a CE curriculum for students is plausible, it is not sufficient if the educational experience of students does not enable them to practice citizenship values in line with upholding democratic practices. For example, students should be given the political freedom to participate in deciding to lead or not, and to choose who should lead in students' representative council regardless of their background. Economic facilities in a CE context should be underpinned by economic freedom for both students and lecturers. This could be by providing reasonable loan facilities for students to fund their own education, since economic entitlement depends on the resources owned or available for use and on conditions of exchange, such as relative prices and the working of the markets. This facility will make students less vulnerable to manipulation because of lack of economic entitlements. At the same time, the arrangements that society makes for education are important in fostering not only access to education (which is presumed to contribute to the national GDP), but also to the development of citizenship attributes such as critical thinking. This could be addressed at policy level by an explicit broadening of HE goals to include the civic mission. Under

transparency guarantees, especially in post-conflict contexts where fear and suspicion are usually experienced, the need for openness and dialogue, the freedom to deal with one another under guarantees of disclosure and lucidity can enrich CE. Given the diversity of students and their ability to pay for their HE, there is a need to provide a social safety-net for preventing the affected population from being reduced to abject misery. This could be in the form of social security grants enabling students from disadvantaged backgrounds to attend college. Below is a diagrammatic representation of the proposed evaluative model.

Figure: 1. Conceptual framework

THEORIES / FRAMEWORKS   H E POLICY AND PRACTICE   OUT PUTS

| Capability Approach |
| Human Development |
| Ubuntu |

Core

Principles/ideals of

Student education

Critical

Democratic
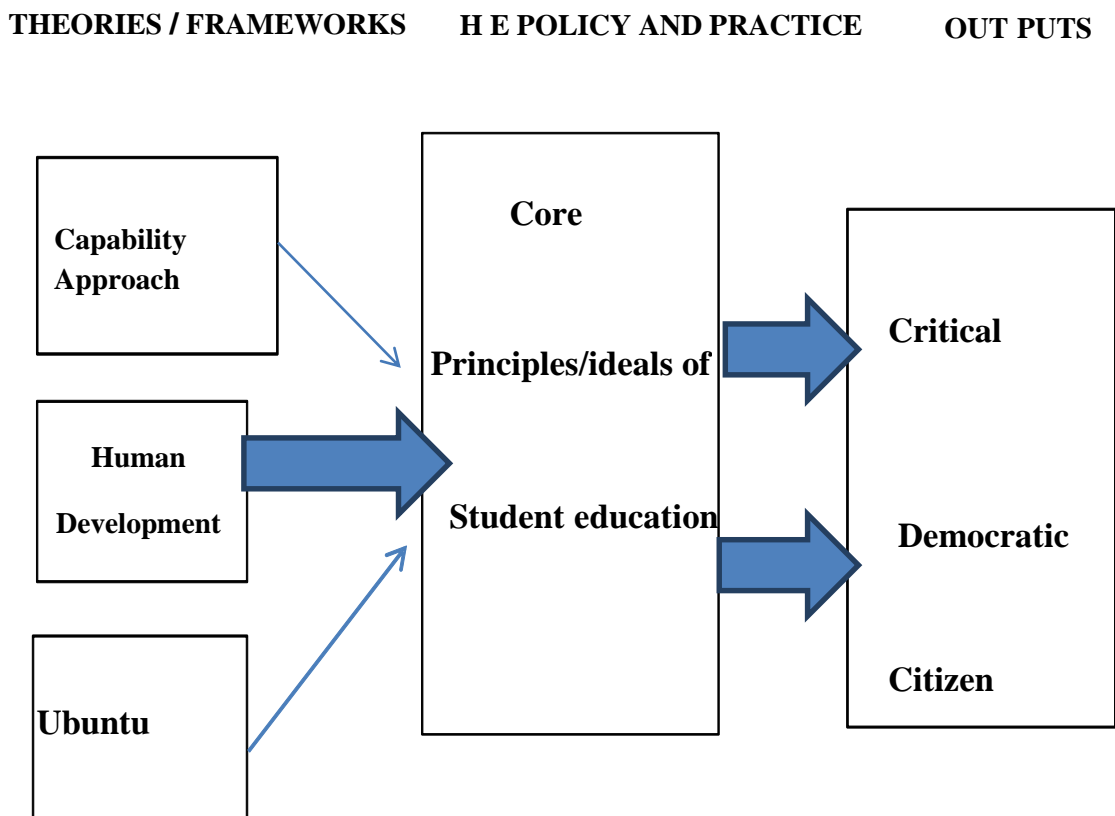
Citizen

In view of the discussion above, I propose a more appealing framework that blends the CA, HD values and the existing philosophy of Ubuntu framing the NASS curriculum, Ubuntu values which do not contradict critical citizenship formation, such as deliberation, compassion and the notion of the interconnectedness of humanity. I use the four values (empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability) to warrant a curriculum framed within the HD framework. This guarantees that processes that ensue in deliberations facilitate effective and meaningful participation of citizens by ensuring an equal distribution of resources and power

through an equitable representation of citizens in decision-making processes. A representative deliberation would also ensure decisions that meet and create needs and opportunities for future generations. The CA reinforces this framing by proposing processes that focus on cultivating freedoms and opportunities for citizens to do and be what they value. The model is multidimensional, taking a holistic approach to analysing and evaluating the context, policy practices and policies as well as the curriculum and pedagogical arrangements that prevail in the NASS curriculum. A focus on the three democratic citizens' capabilities proposed by Nussbaum keeps the analysis and evaluation more focused on the formation of capabilities essential for critical democratic citizenship. The aim is to enhance criticality and a richer form of citizenship that focuses on the connectedness of humanity whilst respecting their differences and the potential they have to convert opportunities into functionings.

3.6 Conclusion

It emerged in this chapter that critical citizenship within a civic republican notion of political liberty, understood as non-domination or independence from arbitrary power, can best be analysed and evaluated from a capability perspective. In the Zimbabwean context the exclusive use of Ubuntu as a grounding to achieve critical democratic citizenship formation proved ineffective because of the context and approach used to operationalise CE. Nonetheless, the philosophy offers a noticeable understanding through which African values can be used to claim human capabilities. The HD framework stands up as a standard towards which we could work; its four values help to understand HD as people-driven instead of economy-driven. The understanding shapes how well-being or good life might be measured (where human beings are the wealth of the nation), not through the gross domestic product as suggested by human capital. Whilst a HD framework with its four values provides a firm foundation for the involvement of citizens in a truly democratic way, its limited emphasis on power differentials in participation and contextual factors as a possible barrier to critical citizenship makes it partial in contributing towards critical citizenship. Despite its limits on identifying causes of lack of opportunities for citizens to participate effectively in the affairs of their polity, CA's emphasis on freedoms and the expansion of opportunities under which citizens do and become what they value offers a better lens for analysing and evaluating the extent to which NASS contributes to the formation of human capabilities. The shortfalls of Ubuntu and a partial HD framework are then precluded by the CA which gives impetus to the important role of NASS in the formation of democratic citizens. However, this does not imply that the CA on its own is enough to advance critical citizenship in the Zimbabwean context. In chapter four, I present the

methodology used to carry out the study. I discuss the research design, research methods and processes undertaken to collect data and argue how this is carried forward using a capability lens.

4.0: CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY – RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODS AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Without losing a firm theoretical base influenced by HD and social justice, this chapter outlines the rationale and decisions I took regarding the design, data collection, organisation, analysis and empirically answering the research questions. The process and procedures were iterative, complex and ever-changing throughout the study. Above all, policy practice and processes as well as curriculum and pedagogical experiences of both lecturers and students are compounded by the restrictive democratic space they operate under, as noted earlier. Despite the contested democratic space and my positionality as both a lecturer in NASS and a researcher, my analysis of data was guided by both the particularity of the moment and a genuine commitment to advancing the formation of critical citizens contributing to HD and upholding social justice.

At each level of this empirical research: the planning, collection of data *in situ* and its analysis, philosophical, historical and educational approaches complemented each other by providing: a clear conceptual understanding of issues; the spirit of questioning; and consciousness of the context in which the formation of critical democratic citizens takes place. For this reason, the study is qualitative and interpretive in nature. The aim is to generate an in-depth understating of practice and processes in the operationalisation of NASS in two case studies. In my literature review (see chapter two), it emerged that other methodologies (such as survey methods) do not do justice to understanding the role of NASS in forming citizenship capabilities. While surveys are effective in providing statistical relations between selected variables, they are less effective where an in-depth understanding of perceptions of and attitudes towards a phenomenon are required. Thus I have chosen a case study, which is more context-specific to understand a phenomenon in its specific situation.

Given the complexities of the contestations on citizenship and citizenship formation in HE as highlighted in chapter two, I argued for a CA-based framework of citizenship formation as a matter of social justice in chapter three. The research design aimed to operationalise this framework in an empirical project. I begin with a discussion of why a qualitative research design was suitable for both unpacking citizenship complexities and how it is consistent with the capabilities-based understanding of citizenship and CE proposed in chapter three. I will also explain how and why the study sites and research participants were chosen. While the limitations of my study are discussed in section 9.6, I will touch on some of them in this chapter.

The research instruments and data collection methods used in this study are also discussed. The interview process is explored in more detail, together with ethical considerations. Finally, an explanation of how data was analysed is provided. Below, I consider briefly debates on paradigms before turning to the central tenets of both qualitative and quantitative research methods as a starting point for motivating a qualitative research methodology for my study.

4.2 Debates on Paradigms

While acknowledging that researchers tend to work within recognizable paradigms, my study is cautious about accepting the idea that these paradigms can be easily categorized into 'types' that are fixed or to impose any type on a particular research design (Shacklock and Thorp, 2005). As a result I argue that there are a variety of often complementary and contesting understandings of the nature of knowledge and truth (epistemology), values (axiology) and being (ontology), which determine the methodology, providing the overarching structure within which appropriate theoretical frameworks and research methods are selected as the first step in research design. In the process, I explain that the nature of the research, the research questions and the background of the researcher influence the paradigm that will drive the research.

Thomas Kuhn (1970) proposed the term paradigm, which was adopted and defined by research scholars as different ways of seeing the world. Foucault (1972, p. 131) calls it 'a 'regime of truth' or set of values and beliefs expressed in a discourse that maps out what can – and cannot– be said.' Mertens (2008, p. 73) explains that a paradigm can be defined as 'a conceptual model of a person's world view, complete with the assumptions that are associated with it.' Drawing on these definitions, paradigms can be characterised through their ontology (what is reality?), epistemology (how do we know something?) and methodology (how should we go about finding out?). These characteristics create a holistic view of how we view knowledge, how we see ourselves in relation to this knowledge and the methodological strategies we use to discover it. Paradigms become the foundation from which researchers look at particular things in particular ways and offer appropriate philosophical and theoretical justification for this way of seeing, observing, and interpreting. Given that there is no consensus on what constitutes both social reality and knowledge, there is a need to briefly explore common debates in social science research on these aspects. I interrogate two paradigms common in these debates and proceed to make a choice influenced by the nature of my study, my background and the research questions. A justification of my choice motivates a brief discussion of major approaches in the field of research.

Disciplines/fields tend to be governed by particular paradigms, such as:

- Positivism (e.g. experimental testing);
- Post-positivism (i.e. a view that we need context and that context-free experimental design is insufficient);
- Critical theory (e.g. ideas in relation to an ideology/knowledge are not value-free and bias should be articulated); and
- Constructivism (i.e. each individual constructs his/her own reality so there are multiple interpretations).

The main contestation is between positivism and interpretivism. In broad terms, interpretivism emerged in opposition to positivism. Positivism stresses understanding reality (truth) as objective and scientific, adding that it could be established with certainty. Interpretivism, on the other hand, argues that value-free, objective research is not possible: that realities are multiple and constructed by researchers who draw on their values and beliefs throughout the research process. This means is that reality is different for each of us and even the words we use carry different meanings in each case. For this reason, interpretivists believe that the truth is within individuals in their everyday or natural settings, but with possibilities of common or shared knowledge. Consequently, the paradigm is also called the naturalistic paradigm because of the emphasis on understanding lived realities in a natural setting. I now turn to major differences in the tenets of the positivist and interpretivist paradigms, from which I draw a rationale for my preferred inclination.

Nyagah (1995, p. 114) affirms the notion that 'social scientists are not at all in agreement as to what constitutes reality, nor is there consensus on how best this social reality can be studied leading to the formulation of two opposing paradigms in research.' Thus, it is necessary to discuss their fundamental tenets and further indicate why one is preferred over the other. Lincoln and Guba, in Borg and Gall (1989, pp. 383-384) have identified five salient areas related to research in which naturalistic (interpretivist) and positivistic models differ. These are: the nature of reality; the researcher-subject relationship; the possibility of generalisation; the possibility of causal linkages; and the role of inquiry. Therefore, my preference for a qualitative research design is influenced by the exploratory nature of my study. I am also motivated by the interpretivist paradigm, which argues that reality and truth are subjective and can only be understood in their natural settings.

For the positivists, Borg and Gall (1989, p. 383) point out that 'there are human characteristics and processes that constitute a form of reality in that they occur under a wide variety of

conditions and thus can be generalised.' It is this belief that reinforces the idea that reality exists independent of human beings so that a wide variety of conditions or variables can be studied separately. On the contrary, Bassey (1990, p. 41) argues that interpretivists, believe that 'the social world is created by the interactions of individuals.' This supports the view that there is no fixed, immutable truth in social science. Henceforth, whereas positivists seek to carry out studies in which they try to control variables, Borg and Gall (1989) insist that there is always the chance of errors. Interpretivists are concerned with life as it is lived, things as they happen, and situations as they are constituted in the day to day, moment to moment course of events. In other words there is a need to study a phenomenon in its context from the point of view of those who experience it. This is what my study seeks to do in the exploration of the role of NASS in the TE curriculum in advancing human capabilities and HD for critical democratic citizenship.

The two paradigms also vary in their view of the relationship of the researcher to the research subject. According to Borg and Gall (1989, p. 384), with the positivistic paradigm 'the researcher can function independently of the subject to a major degree although some interaction is probably inevitable'. On the other hand, Borg and Gall explain that interpretivists believe that 'the researcher and the research subject interact to influence one another and are inseparably interconnected' (p. 385). These different views emanate from the idea that positivism views the truth from the etic perspective, whereas interpretivism views it from the emic perspective. In Bogdan and Biklen's (2007) view, interpretivism is empowering and exploratory, whereas positivism is deductive and confirmatory. Bassey (1990, p. 43) adds that 'the purpose of the study is to uncover the "social facts" which make up our world'. Positivists affirm their belief that the approach of the natural sciences could be applied to the social world. On the contrary, Bassey (19990, p. 45) says that in interpretivism, 'the researcher seeks to understand and to portray the participant's perceptions and understanding of the participant's situation or event'. Therefore, the participant plays a significant role in interpreting outcomes. Since the aim of this study is to explore the role of NASS in the TE curriculum in securing human capabilities and promoting HD for critical democratic citizenship, this can be better done by seeking social and individual truth from lived experiences of various participants from TE institutions in their natural settings. I therefore choose to use the interpretivist paradigm, for reasons explained in section 4.4.

4.3 Qualitative methods

Interpretivism and positivism influence qualitative research and quantitative research methods respectively. As a result, the two methods differ in a number of ways – the focus of research, role of the researcher and techniques used by researcher (Thomas, 2009). For example quantitative researchers concentrate on description and explanation of reality by a detached, external observer in the context of a clear distinction between reason and feeling. Mapetere *et al.* (2012) and Munikwa and Pedzisai (2013) used these methods, in addition to qualitative methods, in exploring perceptions and attitudes of students, lecturers and teachers on NASS. In my case I have chosen qualitative methods only, focusing on understanding and interpreting reality. I intended to experience what I was studying by allowing feeling and reason to govern actions. My research is qualitative, since the phenomenon under study is not straight forwardly perceivable because it is constructed by various perspectives and opinions in multiple ways. It is not simply 'out there': it is different for each participant, although there might be some convergences. Acknowledging difference is compatible with the notion of heterogeneity advanced by the CA. Statistics may show trends, but they do not explain why lecturers and students in a college perceive NASS as important or unimportant in the process of forming critical democratic citizens. Statistics do not yield detailed accounts of why lecturers and students view things the way they do. In this way, the meaning derived from quantitative data will remain different. Explaining the limited nature of quantitative methods, Bassey (1990, p. 44) says, 'statistics of truancy, absence or examination success may show interesting trends but, it is the stories behind them that explain these trends'. On the other hand, qualitative research, which entails deep engagement, provided an ample opportunity to establish how and why lecturers and students at teachers' colleges perceive NASS as playing (or not playing) a significant role in fostering critical democratic citizens.

Thus, qualitative research is more suited to capturing reasons, attitudes and the context of participants. The study aims to examine the processes through which student teachers, lecturers and mid-level policy stakeholders make their educational choices and negotiate different socio-economic and political institutional structures in the processes of operationalising the NASS curriculum. There is limited literature on perspectives of students', lectures' and policy stakeholders' experiences in the teaching and learning of citizenship education in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges. Berg (2001) argues that qualitative research methods are appropriate and effective when little or nothing is known about a phenomenon, as they do not require a

predictive statement, but seek answers to open questions. As such, a qualitative research design was suitable in this study.

Qualitative studies have been criticised (mostly by quantitative scholars) for being 'unscientific'. However, Berg (2001) argues that this criticism assumes certainty and loses sight of the probability factor inherent in quantitative studies. He further notes that one need not dismiss the qualitative research design just because some studies applied it inadequately. In other words, he emphasises that the value of a research design lies in it being carried out in a rigorous manner. Thus, besides highlighting qualitative research as a design employed, I will also discuss how standards of a good research design were met in section 4.9.2. Although qualitative methods can examine social processes at work in particular contexts in considerable depth, the collection and analysis of this material can be time-consuming (Bryman, 2008). Nonetheless, this research design was important in my study because:

- I prolonged my engagement with participants more than is possible with a survey;
- I had the opportunity to probe beyond the initial responses and questions from the interview schedule; and
- I had the opportunity to observe and interpret non-verbal communication (body language and facial expressions).

As a result, the following research questions were posed, which seek to capture and interpret lived experiences of mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students, the context and citizenship dimensions advanced in the operationalisation of NASS:

1) How does the NASS curriculum contribute to the development of critical citizenship among future teachers?

2) From the perspective of policy stakeholders in the ministry of higher and tertiary education and the department of teacher education (UZ), how is citizenship understood? How does NASS promote such citizenship? Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing a critical citizenship among future teachers?

3) From the perspective of lecturers at two selected teachers' colleges, how is citizenship understood? What form of citizenship is promoted by NASS and how is this achieved? Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing critical citizenship among future teachers?

4) How do selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship? What are their perspectives on and experiences of NASS in the teacher education curriculum? To what extent does NASS foster their critical citizenship?

5) How is Ubuntu significant in the formation of desired citizens?

6) How can a study of the NASS curriculum contribute to theorizing critical CE and capabilities formation in a Zimbabwean context and also more widely?

To fully attend to these questions, a case study in two teachers' colleges was thus beneficial. First I discuss my experiences during the pilot study and how this informed the research design and processes.

4.4 The Pilot study
From reviewing literature and reflecting on key issues emerging, I designed interview schedules configured around the conceptualisation of citizenship, CE and critical thinking. I also considered perspectives of students, lecturers and policy stakeholders on the operationalisation of NASS. Before collecting data from the chosen sites, I undertook a pilot study in one of the study sites, CTC, with a group of ten students and one lecturer. The study proved to be fruitful, as important insights into the degree to which the instruments designed for data collection were appropriate were realised. Furthermore, the pilot study suggested themes that later emerged from the study, recruitment rate and retention rate.

The interviews varied in length depending on each person's willingness to share his or her experiences. On average the interviews lasted one hour. A possible explanation for this is people's varied traits e.g. whether one is an introvert or an extrovert. As explained by Dey (1993), the pilot study proved to be an experimental and exploratory investigation. It can also be called a feasibility study, since it guided the planning and implementation of the main study. Although there is no single approach to the whole exercise, the process demanded discipline, creativity and a systematic approach (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The qualitative data I worked with varied. It included notes from my log or diary, notes from observations, transcripts from the focus group discussion and semi structured in-depth interviews with ten students and one lecturer, plus summary notes from the document analysis. The table below presents the initial set of questions designed from the original five research questions.

Table 2: Interview questions based on conceptualisation of citizenship
Interview guide for students

Introducing self, purpose of interview, addressing ethical issues and establishing rapport

Name of institution:

Full Name of participant:…………………………………………………………

Area of origin…………………………………………

Highest Qualification:

Position at college (if any):

Main Subject:

Research Questions	Interviewer questions	Follow up questions	The issue
How do selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship	1) Briefly explain what you understand by the term citizenship?	Probing will be determined by the responses given	Type of citizenship
	2) In your own opinion what constitutes a) good citizen b) bad citizen?	Explain why say so?	Capabilities e.g. critical thinking, creative imagination, Ubuntu, democratic values
	3) Do you think it is important to have citizenship education taught in teachers' colleges?	Why or why not?	Capabilities- critical thinking
What are their perspectives on and experiences of NASS in the teacher education curriculum?	1) Would you consider NASS as a good course for citizenship education?	Why do you say so?	Capabilities e.g. critical thinking, thinking as a global citizen, creative imagination, Ubuntu, human development principles
	2) In your opinion, what type of citizen does NASS seek to form?	Why do you say so?	Capabilities- critical thinking
	3) Do you think the learning of NASS has been useful in shaping you as a good citizen?	In what way has it been or not useful?	Capabilities- critical thinking
	4) Drawing on your teaching practice experience, how useful was NASS to you?	How did it influence your conduct or practice through out the teaching practice period?	Capabilities e.g. creative imagination, critical thinking, democratic values

	5) Explain to me how you would make use of your experiences form NASS in the community you are going to work.		Capabilities e.g. creative imagination
	6) What things would you want to see improved in the teaching and learning of NASS?		Capabilities e.g. creative imagination
To what extent does NASS foster critical citizenship?	1) how does the learning of NASS promote critical thinking		
	2) Would you consider a person who is critical of government policies a good citizen?		
	3) tell me about the challenges which you faced in the process of studying NASS at: a) personal level b)college level c) national; level	How did you, the college or the government try to address these challenges?	Capabilities approach- conversion factors, agency.
	In your own opinion, how 'national and strategic' is NASS?		Democratic values
	Do you have any other suggestion, comment or question in line with this study?		

Whilst I had full access to official documents at the college, which I analysed and was able to copy, the type of data generated was useful only as corroborative data. I also observed one lecture, but the data was not as rich as I expected because the lecture was the last one for the group, so it was meant more to conclude the course rather than to discuss its content. Observations could be more relevant if they had been carried out in a more natural environment (i.e. a normal lesson). It could be even more meaningful where there was more time to establish rapport with participants in more open contexts.

A focus group discussion was useful for allowing the participants to agree or disagree with each other (Miles and Huberman, 1994). It provided insights into how a group thinks about an issue, the range of opinion and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variation that exists in a

particular community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices. However, in this study, the focus group discussion of twelve students proved difficult in terms of participants disagreeing with each other about the range of opinion and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variation that exists in their experiences and practices in the teaching and learning of NASS. Their ideas and experiences seemed to be consistently in harmony with each other. This made me suspicious of the usefulness of the method and the trustworthiness of the participants' contributions (or maybe the effectiveness of questioning techniques I used). There is nothing wrong with the participants agreeing in some aspects of their experiences, given that they had one lecturer and one module as long-distance learning material. Apart from that, they had access to only one state-owned newspaper in their library. I was, however, sceptical about the level of agreement, especially for participants who claim to be critical thinkers. Examples of responses that seemed to support each other include such remarks like, '*I would agree with*', '*in support of that*', '*I concur with*' etc. Surprisingly, there were no remarks related to differing opinions or understanding. Therefore, I suggested that focus group discussion was not effective in this pilot study. I decided to modify the size of the groups and the questioning techniques used for focus group discussions in the main study. I then reduced the number of participants in each focus group discussion to six.

From the in-depth interviews of ten students and one lecturer drawn from the pilot study, I noted that although participants agreed in some of their experiences, there were also notable differences in their levels of analysis and understanding of various issues. For example, their conceptualisation of citizenship and the usefulness of NASS as a course for the formation of critical citizenship varied. Because the interviews were semi-structured, they also created an opportunity to pursue different issues from different perspectives. It also provided some useful insights in issues that I initially regarded as unimportant. For example, I interviewed three participants without their age, since I had taken that element to be unimportant when I drafted the interview guide. However, when the fourth participant responded to the questions below, I was convinced that age is also important in understanding how a respondent interprets his or her experiences or to triangulate some claims.

Interviewer: Do you hold any post of responsibility at the college?
Chipangano: I don't have any outstanding responsibility, but I am just the oldest in the intake.
Interviewer: How old are you?
Chipangano: I am 55 years old.

When I later asked him about challenges in the learning of NASS the issue of age came up again as given below.

Chipangano: There is something I discovered: that there are some who have the idea that all people who are over 45 years are partisan because they think they are [clinging] somehow to the past history because they know the past history, which means my age made my colleagues to label me a supporter of the ruling party.

Apart from the issue of age, I also noted with interest that responses to the question on critical thinking were somehow parroted from their understanding of critical analysis in the context of assignment writing. As much as I found some of the assertions meaningful, I was not fully convinced that applying this type of understanding to citizenship education issues will do justice to our understanding of critical thinking in real life situations. The following responses were captured from the focus group discussion:

Interviewer: From your own view, how does the learning of NASS promote critical thinking?
Tuesday: Indeed it promotes critical thinking. Considering contemporary issues, NASS does not restrict anyone from participating in anything. Taking into consideration the issue of politics, NASS does not restrict anyone from participating but it needs someone who is critical. For example Sonny has just told us about participating in national events like independence celebrations and voting.
Interviewer: Abigail, do you think NASS teaches [students] to think critically?
Abigail: Yes it does, but I can't give a reason; I just think so.

A close look at the response given by Abigail reveals that her response is motivated by the fact that she knows that it is required that one should be thinking critically in NASS, but does not know what constitutes critical thinking. To screen genuine critical thinking that applies in real-life situations of critical democratic citizens from superficial responses required a well-thought-out approach. With this in mind, I decided to add a script from Nussbaum (Appendix 9) on critical thinking, which respondents would read and then respond to a set of questions related to critical thinking.

My attention was also drawn to the concept of Ubuntu. From my interviews in the pilot study, the significance of Ubuntu as a core value in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges emerged. At this point I decided to add a research question on Ubuntu: *How is Ubuntu significant in the formation of desired citizens?* It appeared that the way Ubuntu is understood by both students

and lecturers is somehow shallow. This observation does not mean that there is no Ubuntu language among the participants, but my worry is the depth of the language and the understanding of the concept. An example is given in the interview extract below where Melody was responding to the question on the characteristics of a good citizen:

Interviewer: Ubuntu. What do you mean by having Ubuntu?

Melody: To behave as a human and not as an animal.

Interviewer: Can you explain what you mean by that?

Melody: Ubuntu helps people to co-survive because if one person is not behaving in a human manner, or you behave like an animal, at the end of the day you will end up not having people around. And those who move from one country to the other leaving their country with no skilled personnel show that they don't have Ubuntu because they lack patriotism, they don't show that they love their country.

The same seems to be true of the notion of a critical democratic citizen. Democratic language is also evident throughout the interviews, but initially there was no direct question on critical democratic citizens on the interview schedule. When I decided to add it, only one out of four participants said something coherent in her response. Initially, this student affirmed that NASS seeks to form critical democratic citizens, but later changed her mind when I asked her to give evidence to support her claim. Below is an extract from the interview on this notion:

Interviewer: In your opinion, does NASS seek to advance democratic citizenship?

Lisa: I think so, because it seeks to advance democratic students.

Interviewer: How does NASS achieve this?

Lisa: By just educating them on issues of democracy.

Interviewer: How is it done, the process of advancing democratic students?

Lisa: I think that can be done by giving the student the chance to give [their views]; not to deprive them of the right to say out their views or what they think

Interviewer: Do you think this is done in NASS?

Lisa: It is not being done because I can see most of the pupils think NASS is a subject which has to do with politics, so they are afraid most of the times to be free to speak out.

Other elements I had included on the schedule which proved irrelevant for the study include: the area of origin of the participant and the subject of specialisation. In the next section I now discuss the sites chosen for the study.

Important insights into the degree to which the instruments used for data collection were appropriate for eliciting responses addressing research questions of the main study were established. Furthermore, the recruitment rate and the retention rate in the research were quite encouraging. Above all through the pilot study, access to the field as well as access to important documents for review was granted without difficulty. I also established through the pilot study that working with students whilst they will be in their first term of the second residential phase would be more appropriate. This is the term when students will be less busy as compared to their last term when they will be preparing for their summative examinations. A few questions were adjusted to capture appropriate responses in some questions.

4.5 Selection of colleges

For strategic and practical reasons, I chose to undertake a case study in order to fit my objectives of seeking an in-depth understanding of the experiences of participants in the operationalisation of NASS. This is despite the criticisms levelled against case studies in terms of lack of generalisability. As suggested by Gall, Gall and Borg (2003, p. 436):

> A case study is done to shed more light on a phenomenon, which is the processes, events, persons or things of interest to the researcher e.g. of phenomenon are programs, curricular, roles and events. Once the phenomenon of interests is clarified, the researcher can select a case for intensive study.

Using my previous links within TE where I worked before undertaking my studies, two colleges, (one of which is my former station where I taught before undertaking my studies), were purposively chosen for this study. Both are primary school teachers' training institutions in a rural setting. I chose primary school teacher training colleges for my familiarity with the type of programmes offered and the rural environments they operate in. This was also more convenient for getting access to these colleges. One of the institutions is a government institution and the other a church-run college. Targeting a government and church-run institution provided an opportunity to widen my understanding of experiences in both contexts, besides in-depth insights gained in each case. This was done to reflect differences or similarities in institutional culture between the two types of colleges, but not as a comparative study. Initially I chose two rural primary school colleges and one urban secondary school training college. A secondary school training college was later dropped to pursue my plan of obtaining in-depth understanding, rather than widening coverage by including many colleges. However, this does not necessarily imply that the NASS curriculum in primary school training colleges is different from that offered in secondary school training colleges. This is because this

curriculum is meant to develop desired citizenship values among the student teachers themselves rather than to prepare them for its teaching in schools. CTC and GTC were selected as the study sites based on this criterion. Both colleges have a relatively long history of teacher training. Good Hope Teachers' college (GTC) was established in the 1960s, whilst Charity Teachers' College (CTC) is a post-independence government initiative. According to Bryman (2008), this type of purposive sampling is called multi-stage cluster sampling, since it involves clustering primary sampling units (e.g. both have a relative long history of teacher training); then groupings/categories (e.g. by responsible authority); then within those categories (e.g. type of diploma awarded by the college, primary) as different clusters. This is necessary because teachers' colleges in Zimbabwe design their own curricula, which are then approved by the University of Zimbabwe based on a scheme of associateship[23]. By this I mean each college is semi-autonomous as it determines its own curriculum, but UZ acts as a quality controller, which approves programmes offered at each college and thus certifies the graduates. Therefore, there is a need to study more than one college, not necessarily for comparative reasons as already stated, but to allow for a broad understanding involving a range of different actors. Given that the responsible authorities running the colleges are different (government and church) and the provinces in which they are located are also different does not make the study a comparative one, but rather highlights the fact that they are different. The cases also provide distinctive characteristics that illuminate different aspects in research questions. Their varying approaches are highlighted only for the purposes of addressing research questions. The fact that the colleges are located in two different provinces of Zimbabwe does not significantly affect the composition of the participants in terms of their ethnicity, as the colleges recruit their students and employ lecturers from across the country. The provinces in Zimbabwe tend to be determined along ethnic boundaries; for example, Manicaland is largely populated by the people of Manyika, whilst Matabeleland is mostly populated by the Ndebele people. The findings from the cases cannot be a basis of generalisations usually associated with large-scale inductive studies despite the fact that there are other ways in which knowledge could be transferable (see section 4.9.2). Yin (1994) emphasises the significance of studying a phenomenon in its natural setting. This entails a context-based generalisation enabling an in-depth understanding of particular cases, rather than making claims about the general population

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[23] The scheme of associateship is a collective responsibility involving the University of Zimbabwe, MHTES&TD, MOESC and the various primary and secondary teachers' colleges. The relationship rests on the principle of collective responsibility and dialogical management and consultation. The University of Zimbabwe ensures quality, examines students and awards diplomas to successful candidates.

of Zimbabwean teachers' colleges from which the cases are taken. As will emerge in chapters six, seven and eight, the two colleges do not necessarily provide distinct political and pedagogical dispositions.

4.5.1. Charity teachers' college

The MHTESTD, within its mandate to provide human resources under the Manpower (Sic) and Development Act of 1996 part (II), established this teachers' college in 2005 at the site of a former mine, situated 120 km north-east of Harare in Mashonaland Central province. The owners of the former mine decided to donate the whole property to the government of Zimbabwe for use by the MHTESTD. The mine authorities renovated student accommodation whilst non-governmental organizations (NGO) refurbished the lecture rooms and administration block. The MHTESTD through Public Construction rehabilitated the former beer hall into a modern moderately-furnished kitchen and dining hall.

The college offers a diploma in education general. The course is designed for post O-level students pursuing a three-year pre-service course for the Diploma in Education (Primary) certified by the University of Zimbabwe with specialisation in General Course. The course produces teachers who can work with children from grade 1 up to grade 7.

The college is driven by the motto:

> *Perseverance and Commitment leads to Excellence,* under the vision: *to be a progressive, proactive, efficient, effective, versatile, vibrant and respectable teacher education and manpower development comprehensive institution.*

The college's current guiding mission is:

> *To produce efficient, effective and exemplary teachers for primary schools in Zimbabwe by means of face-to-face lectures, assignments, distance education, research and counselling services within the stipulated time and available resources. This is to be achieved through appropriate teacher-education technologies.*

Presently, the college is committed to inculcate the values of:

> *Patriotism, creativity, integrity, entrepreneurship, professionalism, Ubuntu and industriousness.*

The table below presents statistics relating to students' enrolment details:

Table 3 Charity Teachers College students' enrolment details as of October 2015

Intake[24]	Male	Female	Total
10	65	71	136
11	52	98	150
12	197	279	476
Grand total	314	448	762

Source: CTC Administration section

The number of students at CTC is steadily increasing. The relatively low number of students can be explained by the fact that the college is still offering one area of specialisation for the diploma in education. The number of lecturers is currently 39, 27 are male and 12 female.

4.5.2 Good Hope Teachers' College

GTC is a Christian institution in Masvingo province, 330km from Harare. The institution started offering a Teacher Education programme in 1963. The Mission station where the College exists was established in 1951. In January 1982, GTC became an associate college of the University Of Zimbabwe.

Besides the Diploma in Education General, GTC offers Diploma in education - Early Child Development, a course designed for post O-level students pursuing a three-year pre-service with specialisation in Early Childhood Development. The course produces teachers *cum* care givers; that is, teachers who can work with children from birth up to eight years of age.

GTC's vision is:

> *To be the best producers of quality Early Childhood Development and General Course Teachers through best practices in the provision, utilisation and management of human and material resources.*

It is driven by a mission statement:

> *GTC produces a competent, committed, patriotic and professional teacher through skills knowledge and services revealing the life of Christ.*

Its core values are:

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[24] Intake refers to the code name given to each group of students recruited for the diploma programme in each college.

> *Patriotism, creativity, integrity, entrepreneurship, professionalism, industriousness, Ubuntu and Christianity.*

Its motto is: *Ars, Scientia et Ministerium,*

This is roughly translated as Art, Science and Ministry.

Below I present students' enrolment details at GTC

Table 4 Good Hope Teachers College students' enrolment details as of October 2015

Intake	Diploma type	Male	Female	Total
10	ECD	09	127	136
11	ECD	12	284	296
12	ECD	31	258	289
15	GEN	72	172	244
16	GEN	120	254	374
17	GEN	158	246	404
Grand Total		402	1341	1743

Source: GTC Administration section

Since there are two separate areas of specialisation, there are two groups of students majoring in different course components but doing the same citizenship education course, NASS. There are 58 lecturers at GTC, 31 female and 27 male.

The selection of two colleges instead of three suggested during the initial stages of the study proved to be advantageous for providing more time at each site. I spent four weeks in each college, interacting in various spaces within the colleges (for example, in tea rooms, offices, library and the hostels where I stayed during the first week of my data collection in both colleges). This was necessary to establish rapport with the participants in a context where there is limited democratic space and the atmosphere is punctuated with fear and suspicion. It is because of this rapport that I was accepted by the participants (both lecturers and students): most of them were eager to participate in the study. Meanwhile, I will look at the process through which I sampled participants.

4.6 The sample: selection methods and access

My study aimed to focus on three categories of interviewees: mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students. This proved necessary for enriching the meaning of the case study

through a multidimensional approach to the case. This multidimensional approach synchronised with the CA foregrounded in the study and is useful for acknowledging complexities in educational practice. These three groups are important in getting insights on the operationalisation of NASS. My theoretical framework, which emphasises the need to recognise heterogeneity, means that my sample was to ensure inclusion of diverse voices at different levels of curriculum design and implementation.

The sample size was derived through purposive sampling as well as snowballing. In this case participants were selected because they suited the purposes of the study (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003): three lecturers (n=6) and twelve students (n=24) from each institution, plus two stakeholders (one from head office of the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education and another from the Department of TE-UZ (n=2). The aim was to engage lecturers and stakeholders who have been involved in the implementation of NASS for a relatively long time in order to target information-rich sites or sources (Shacklok and Thorp, 2005). As rightly suggested by Nyagah (1995), purposive sampling requires the researcher's judgement and knowledge of the population and the issues involved. By purposively selecting diverse participants, the sample uncovered the full array of 'multiple realities' relevant to an inquiry. To this end it was useful to also involve at least two officials at policy and implementation level so as to get data from that level. The sample size for the policy stakeholders (n=2) and the lecturers (n=3) was decided by the prevailing circumstances in each institution. For example, the two mid-level policy stakeholders are involved in the business of the board of studies, which is 'responsible for approving courses of study and syllabuses, diplomas and conduct of examiners for certificates and other programmes' (University of Zimbabwe, 2012). The number of lecturers teaching NASS is limited in each college and all lecturers teaching the course participated in the study. All lecturers and mid-level policy stakeholders were male, since they were the ones occupying the targeted positions.

For the students, the sample size is based on the potential of the sample to achieve theoretical saturation. Simply put, in choosing participants through purposive sampling, I decided what needed to be known and set out to find participants who could (and were willing to) provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience (Bernard, 2002; Lewis and Sheppard, 2006). This could also be called expert sampling since I depended on individuals with particular expertise to advance my research interests and potentially open new doors (Palys, 2008). For students, I recruited final year students since they would have studied NASS for a longer period of time as compared to other groups. All the courses are taught throughout the three years as

explained in chapter one (see also appendix 8). At CTC where there is only one category of Diploma in Education programme offered, student participants' differ in their chosen subject major, in case they wanted to upgrade their qualification to a Bachelor's degree. The minimum entry qualification for both categories is five ordinary level passes including English Language and Maths. Because of the minimum entry qualification, categories of Diploma in Education General or ECD did not matter much. In any case, the two groups are bunched together in NASS lectures provided they are at the same stage in completing their diploma qualification (details of the NASS syllabus will be discussed in section 6.3.1). I maintained gender balance even though the findings did not exhibit any gender influence.

Below, I present tables with the participants' information. All the names of the participants are pseudonyms as per their request.

Table 5 Mid level Policy Stake holders

Name	Age	Qualification	Teaching Experience	Teacher Education	Experience as NASS stakeholder	Years in current Post
Simboti	Above 60	Masters	About 40 years	10	11	5
Madamombe	50	Masters	14 years	2	10	10

Good Hope Teachers College (GTC)

Table 6 Good Hope Teachers' College Student participants

Name	Sex	Age	Highest Academic Qualification	Position at college
Chirongoma	M	25	A[25] level	Member of Debate society
Prince	M	37	A level	SRC – P resident
Cecilia	F	24	A level	Debate society -chairperson
Rose	F	25	A level	SRC – Food
Tonde	F	25	A level	Volleyball club Captain
Nikita	M	20	O[26] level	Debate society Secretary
Guveya	M	18	O level	None
Rera	F	24	O level	Debate society member
Mudenda	M	31	O level	Hostel representative
Thelma	F	23	O level	Debate society member
Nyama	M	24	A level	Hostel representative
Maria	F	25	O Level	None

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[25] The General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (A level) is a school leaving qualification offered by the Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (ZIMSEC) to students completing secondary or pre-university education.

[26] The General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (O level) is a qualification offered by ZIMSEC which provides learners with excellent preparation for Advanced as well as other progression routes.

Good Hope teachers college (GTC)

Table 7 Good Hope Teachers' College Lecturer participants

Name	Age	Highest Academic Qualification	General teaching Experience	Experience in TE	Experience in NASS	Post
Mutambanengwe	48	Honours-Shona-History	24	7	5	Dean of Students
Zembe	45	Masters (pending)	21	9	8	Head of Subject
Taguta	40	BA	14	1	I	Lecturer

Chariot Teachers College (CTC)

Table 8 Charity Teachers' College Student participants

Name	Sex	Age	Highest qualification	Position at college
Mandlovu	F	45	O Level	None
Muchetura	F	26	O Level	Debate society Vice President
Sinampande	M	33	O Level	Subject Representative
Sunlight	M	33	O Level	Debate Society (Former President)
Thesbe	F	25	A Level Dip in Insurance	Debate Society – President
Takunda	F	25	Diploma in Journalism	Debate Society
Lydia	F	23	A level	Treasure –Scripture union
Malianga	M	39	O level	None
Machaya	M	41	O level	Treasurer SRC
Tabeth	F	23	A Level	Debate Society – Secretary
Twoboy	M	41	0 level	none
Terence	M	27	A level	Subject representative

Charity Teachers' college (CTC)

Table 9 Charity Teachers' College Lecturer Participants

Name	Age	Highest Qualification	General teaching experience	Experience in TE	Experience in NASS	Position (s)
Albert	38	Masters	20	9	9	Acting VP
Mandizha	53	Masters	20	4	4	Head of subject

4.7 Research instruments and methods

The instrument and method of data collection chosen were in alignment with the type of data I intended to generate, the aim of the study, the theoretical framework suggested, the research questions and the research design. Nyagah (1995, p. 172) says, 'research instruments are also referred to as tools for collecting data.' In this study, the researcher is the focal person since most activities are centred on me in this role. These include designing questions for open-ended interviews; carrying out the interviews; recording or collecting data; analysing and interpreting the data; and writing the report. Thus, Miles and Huberman (1994) contend that the researcher is the key instrument. However, in the process, the researcher is aided by a number of methods which include observation, focus group discussions, in-depth semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The three groups of participants (mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students) were also considered in deciding the data-collection methods. My initial decision on methods and tools was piloted for relevance and suitability in a two-week study in one of the teachers' colleges. These multiple methods demonstrate the multidimensionality of the study in methodological terms. This is useful for triangulating the data generated and enabling a broad understanding of multiple realities in the operationalisation of NASS. In the following four sub-sections, I examine and motivate these data collecting methods in detail.

4.7.1 Observations

Observation is a period of intensive social interaction between the researcher and the participants, in the latter's environment (Nyagah, 1995; Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003; Yin, 2003). By making a field visit to the site of study, an opportunity for direct observation was created in which all relevant points of interest were captured as observation notes. According to Gold (1958), observations take four forms which I shall briefly highlighted here.

Complete observation, where one maintains some distance and does not interact with the participants, her role is concealed; complete participation, where one interacts within the social situation, but again her role is concealed; observer as participant, where one undertakes irregular observation alongside interviewing, but her role is known. In participant as observer, one undertakes prolonged observation and is involved in all the central activities of the organization where her role is known as researcher is known.

For my study, I chose to be an observer as participant, undertaking irregular observations alongside interviewing the same participants I observed. While observation went on in the day-to-day context of the two colleges, there were formal classroom observations undertaken. I observed all four NASS lessons undertaken in each college during my four-week stay in each case. A carefully designed observation form was utilised to capture a variety of key issues, including teaching methods and the level of interaction in the classroom (see appendix 4). I was introduced to both the students and lecturers at two levels: firstly by the principal in each college during assembly time and secondly in the first lecture I observed in each institution. Therefore my role as researcher was well-known to the participants. In observations, some relevant behaviours or environmental conditions within the selected colleges will be better understood. In this case I undertook class observations to appreciate pedagogical practices in the teaching and learning of NASS in the two colleges chosen. Through observations I also captured the whole social setting in which lecturers and students functioned, by recording the context in which they work. Although there are reservations on the degree to which observations yield quality data, given the fact that the behaviour of the observed may change at the presence of the observer, 'through observation it is possible to ascertain whether what people say they do and what they do in reality tally' (Mulhall, 2003, p. 308). Therefore, observational evidence was useful in providing additional data. My observations were semi-structured, which was useful to identify relevant themes important for the study. The limitation of the observation was that it appears some lessons were prepared to suit my presence, as will

emerge in chapter six. I also chose in-depth semi-structured interviews for my data collection, which I now explain.

4.7.2 In-depth semi-structured interviews

Following my research design, I chose semi-structured in-depth interviews from several different types of interviews that can be used as data collection tools in qualitative research. However, drawing from several scholars (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006; Paulos, 1998; Thomas, 2009; Guion, Diehl and McDonald, 2011) three main categories of interview were carefully considered. These were, firstly, structured interviews, which often just require 'yes' or 'no' answers (or questions which require a set answer). Secondly, I considered unstructured interviews, in which the person who is being interviewed can dictate the content and progress of the interview (the interviewer may just introduce the topic/theme, and then allow the interviewee to talk about the things within that topic/theme that he or she is interested in, and that he or she feels are pertinent to their own lives at that time. However, DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) argue that no interview can truly be considered unstructured, but it is the degree of the structures that varies with some assuming more defined structures than others. The third category is the semi-structured interview, which is also an in-depth interview (often called a 'conversation with a purpose') (Thomas, 2009). They plough a path between the two other types of interview mentioned. With a semi-structured interview, the interviewer and interviewee are partners, despite the fact that the interviewer asked the questions (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006).

In order to ensure this 'equal partnership', I approached the study as a student rather than a lecturer and I was introduced to participants as such. This was empowering to the participants as they were free to open up and share their experiences: both their hopes and fears. I as the interviewer knew the areas I wanted to cover, but simultaneously allowed the interviewee to take different paths and explore thoughts and feelings. Whenever necessary, I brought the interviewee back to the subject under discussion by means of prompt questions, before allowing the interviewee to explore that particular aspect of the research problem. It was a dialogue, as Paulos puts it (1998). It was also important to maintain a balance between flexibility and control. As suggested by Guion, Diehl and McDonald (2011), my semi-structured interviews involved many open-ended questions, although they also contained closed questions (i.e. requiring yes/no answers). In addition, there were probes and prompts to tease out from the interviewee various strands of their narrative to complete the story.

For a qualitative case study that seeks to draw experiences from participants' perspectives in their own settings, in-depth semi-structured interviews seem appropriate for this purpose. DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006, p. 315) argue that 'The individual in-depth interview allows the interviewer to delve deeply into social and personal matters'. This is particularly useful where sensitive studies such as exploring the role of NASS in advancing critical citizenship (in constricted democratic space) are carried out and individual experiences of a phenomenon are required. Interviews use the participants' own words, views, experiences, feelings, and thoughts. In-depth interviews were considered as it is possible to use probes during an interview in order to explore any issues that might be raised by the interviewee. In addition, in-depth interviews reveal issues previously thought unimportant, or not even considered, by the researcher (for example, fear and suspicion among participants). I arranged that the interviews take place at a place and time convenient for both participant and researcher, ensuring that the interviews were recorded digitally at the same time as writing commentary notes in my notebook. Prolonged engagement with participants in each teachers' college and the explanation given on the purpose of the voice recorder before using it helped to dispel fear and suspicion about the recordings.

Whilst there are many significant reasons to use in-depth semi structured interviews in this study, it should be noted that this method has its own problems, which include: it can be time-consuming, particularly in terms of the interview itself, transcription and analysis. From my pilot study experience, it emerged that the quality of the data obtained from an interview is very much dependent upon the skill of the researcher and the openness of the participants to reveal themselves (often emotionally). Sometimes, the participants felt under pressure to say what they thought I wanted to hear. However the advantages realised continue to be important for the study. The other method chosen for the study is focus group discussion.

4.7.3 Focus group discussions (FGD)

Remenyi (2011) defines a FGD as a small-group discussion guided by a trained leader. It is used to learn more about opinions on a designated topic, and then to guide future action. Morgan (1988) perceives it as a carefully-planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment. From the above definitions, holding a FGD is a good way to learn about people's interests, perspectives, opinions and knowledge about different topics. However, it was not always easy to ensure the non-threatening environment and (at times) to get the group to work together. I made an informed decision to settle for six participants per group after it emerged from my pilot study that twelve participants was too many and made it difficult to manage the discussion, especially to ensure that each participant had an equal opportunity to say something. The strength of FGD relies on allowing the participants to agree or disagree with each other so that it provides an insight into how a group thinks about an issue, the range of opinion and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variation that exists in a particular community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices. This is also in line with the encouraging participation and public deliberation, as espoused by the HD framework and the CA. Whilst Barbour (2007) argues that there is little common agreement regarding the proper use of FGD in academic research, the data collection method was useful in generating depth data. Because the group should be composed of relatively homogeneous participants (Bryman, 2008), my choice of using this method among students in each college is therefore quite relevant. I now turn to document analysis as a method of collecting data in my study.

4.7.4 Document analysis

As suggested by Bowen (2009), I undertook a systematic process of reviewing or evaluating relevant NASS documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet-transmitted) material from the participating institutions. The documents illuminated more insights on the operationalisation of NASS and its role in securing human capabilities and HD. These include policy circulars, end-of-term or -year reports by internal examiners or heads of subjects, external assessors' reports and student profiles. I found fewer documents to analyse than I expected from all the institutions, especially those relating to the introduction of NASS in teachers' colleges. The websites of the two colleges were not functional, and there is limited information on the websites of the head office of the MHTESTD and the UZ. Neuman (2006) argues that documents provide detailed, accurate and often unbiased data useful for qualitative research. Thus, documents could have helped uncover the official position and meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem (Merriam,

1988). Bowen (2009) explains that document analysis is useful when it is used with other qualitative research methods as a way of triangulating data sources. Although the limited nature of the documents averted the challenge of sifting through voluminous documents, my research questions worked as a guide for the framework of identifying relevant written material for my study. The unavailability of sufficient documentary evidence within the system, suggests the *ad hoc* nature of the implementation of the NASS curriculum.

In sum, documents, though limited in number, provided background and context, additional questions to be asked, supplementary data, a means of tracking change and development, and verification of findings from other data sources. Moreover, documents were the most effective means of gathering data when events could no longer be observed or when informants had forgotten details. Yin (1994) advances the notion that documents have their own limitations, such as provision of insufficient detail, low irretrievability and biased selectivity. However on the whole, document analysis can play a pivotal role in triangulating other sources rather than as a stand-alone source. This explains why I have drawn from a variety of data sources, discussed in this section and summarised in the table below.

Table 10 Summary of data sources

Source	Head Office	UZ-DTE	GTC	CTC	Totals
Documents	Policy Documents	Policy circulars DTE Handbook Chief Examiner's Reports	College Policy, Syllabus Students Profiles	College Policy, Syllabus Students Profiles	
*Students' interviews	Nil	Nil	12-2X6	12-2X6	24
Lecturers' interviews	Nil	Nil	3	3	6
Mid-level Policy Stakeholder	1	1	Nil	Nil	2
FGD for students	Nil	Nil	12 (2X6)	12 (2X6)	24

 *Students included both male and female

4.8 Ethical considerations and access

Questions about ethical limits to the application of social scientific knowledge have been widely debated. It is therefore necessary to briefly discuss key issues in ethical considerations in this study. The main issues that arose in ethical issues include voluntary participation, informed concern, confidentiality, anonymity and risk factors. Somekh *et al.* (2005) emphasise that this will protect participants from harm and empower them. I ensured that all procedures were followed in the process of negotiating access to the filed.

Three months prior to my pilot study, an introductory letter in addition to a detailed information sheet and application to access selected colleges were availed to the authorities at head office of the MHTESTD (see Appendices 1, 2 and 3). Authority was granted within two months of application. In both the pilot study (section 4.3) and the data collection phase, a consent form (Appendix 3) was signed by all volunteer participants in the study: both institutions and individuals. Since there were no minors involved, no guardian was requested to sign the form on their behalf. Whilst it was necessary to guarantee confidentiality in the consent form, it was stated clearly that anonymity was not guaranteed as there are possibilities (though not highly likely) of inferring into which colleges were involved in the study and who the participants were at each site. I used pseudonyms on the request of the participants as a way of maintaining anonymity for both the institutions involved and the individual participants. This guarantee ensured that the participants felt able to open up to give their experiences of their teaching and learning of NASS and how their experiences contribute to the formation of critical democratic citizens. Since qualitative design identifies with an open and transparent way of collecting data, it would have been contrary to the spirit of both qualitative research and the CA to collect the data covertly. Below I present a detailed narrative of my experiences in the process of data collection.

4.9 Data analysis

As will be explained in section 4.9.2, findings from qualitative research are the product of a rigorous and iterative process. The process is premised on the principle of ensuring that the findings are trustworthy. As there is no one way of achieving this, I critically followed Maxwell's (2005) advice, centred on reflecting on goals, research questions, theoretical framework, methods and validity. Although Maxwell presents this in a linear and clear step-by-step process, in practice this involved going forth and back with a careful review of literature on research methods and constant consultation with my supervisor. In the next section, I examine how rigour enhanced the trustworthiness of my findings.

4.9.1 Analysis and interpretation of Data

I used a thematic analysis approach, which is a method of identifying, organising, analysing and reporting patterns/themes within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The process is both inductive and deductive, since some of the codes were predetermined by the theoretical framework, research questions and interview questions.

In as much as the process of data analysis and interpretation involved distinct processes, transcription, organisation, coding, analysis and interpretation, the process was not linear or systematic, but complex, iterative and reflexive. For example, the interpretation and analysis was started during interviews as suggestions of themes and possible codes started to emerge. During the transcription of data, engagement with the data also provided a sense of the key issues emerging. This enabled reflexive action during and after the interviews. In the same way, during document review and evaluation or during observations, there were a number of concrete themes and subthemes that started to emerge. However, the notes written during the early stages of the data generation process were then used to draw up a data analysis and interpretation plan.

The codes were influenced by several sources, such as research questions, interview questions, literature review, theoretical framework, personal experiences and the data itself. The data-sets include interviews of three categories (students, lecturers and policy stakeholders), two focus group discussions with students in each teachers' college and notes from observations and document analysis. The second data-set was from a critical analysis of documentary evidence and the last one included all data from field observations.

Soon after transcribing and cleaning the data from interviews and FGDs (a process through which transcripts are edited for grammatical constructions and filling in gaps wherever

possible), I manually coded six transcripts so as to determine the codes and emerging themes. I then uploaded all transcripts onto NVivo software to organise and manage the data easily. The software enables easy organisation and management of the data, rather than data analysis or interpretation.

The interview data was divided into three sets prescribed by categories of interviewees (mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students). For practical reasons, I maintained the data sets according to the participating colleges. The data analysis was approached from three levels: policy processes and practices, curriculum and pedagogical practices and institutional arrangements. I aimed to address the research questions already stated by focusing on how participants conceptualised citizenship and how they understood the type of citizen NASS seeks to form and the values upheld in the process.

The aim was to provide a detailed and nuanced account of themes within the data and a rich description of the data. The latter lacks some complexity, though it provides an overview of the structure. The codes, which were initially eleven, were grouped to avoid unnecessary overlaps so that they could be easily managed. Some of the codes initially used were:

- Conception of citizenship
- Perspectives and experiences of NASS
- Dimensions of citizenship
- Values in NASS
- Curriculum and pedagogical experiences
- Instrumental Freedoms
- Democratic values
- Ubuntu values
- Human development values
- Fear and suspicion
- Citizens' capabilities

I ended up with seven themes, which I then used as codes for analysing the data. However, the overlaps are unavoidable as one statement could be reflected in more than one theme and code. Below is a table summarising the codes and the type of data under the specific code.

Table 11 Themes and corresponding data

Code	Data on the code
Conception of citizenship	Participants' definition and understanding of citizenship
Perspectives and experiences of NASS	Indications of various perspectives (e.g. it's a history course, it's partisan) and reasons given to support such a perceived perspective using their experiences
Citizenship dimensions advanced	Critical thinking, deliberation and active participation or submissive citizens etc.
Values advanced through NASS	Other values like human development, democratic or Ubuntu values (e.g. religious liberties, inclusiveness, compassion, empowerment etc.)
Curriculum and pedagogical experiences	Any experience alluding to pedagogical practices e.g. teaching methods used, text books used, assignments given and how they are assessed etc.
Instrumental Freedoms	Political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security
Institutional Culture	Institutional values, hierarchies of power etc.

Based on the capability-based HD and Ubuntu framework in chapter three, the themes projected above were used to analyse, evaluate and theorise the formation of critical citizenship contributing to HD through a NASS curriculum. The evaluative and analytic application of this framework and the theorisation of the data obtained through document analysis, interviews, FGDs and observations are among the key contributions of my research to citizenship formation in HE. I now briefly discuss how I maintained quality of the findings to enhance trustworthiness.

4.9.2 Rigour

The quality of the findings of a research study (its rigour) is usually dependent on reliability and validity. Fraenkel and Wallen (2003, p. 461) define these concepts as 'The appropriateness, meaningfulness and usefulness of the inferences researchers make based on the data they collect while reliability refers to the consistency of these inferences over time'. However, claiming reliability in qualitative research may be problematic since the studies are time-, place- and case-specific (Bogdan and Biklen, 2007). In this qualitative research, I, as the researcher, am the instrument of data collection and analysis. This increases the element of subjectivity, and hence the possibility of unreliability. The argument is based on the premise that the researcher is bound to impose meaning on findings. However, the argument loses its force when one considers that one does not lose a reflective mind just because of being an instrument and researcher at the same time.

Another weakness presumably associated with this study hinges on the possibility of generalisation. Bogdan and Biklen (2007, p. 44) note that 'When researchers use the term generalisability, they usually are referring to whether the findings of a study hold up beyond the specific research subjects and the setting involved'. However, I do not consider generalisability in the conventional way. I am more interested in deriving universal statements of general social processes than statements of commonality between similar settings, such as classrooms. This is more in line with a thrust towards transferability: the extent to which findings in this study are applicable to other situations. This position is defensible, in Borg and Gall's words (1989, p. 386):

> The ultimate goal of research is to develop a body of knowledge in the form of generalisations that hold at least to some degree over time and in contexts similar to those in which the generalisations were developed.

This is in harmony with the aim of a qualitative case study. The aim of inquiry is to develop a body of knowledge that is unique to the case being studied and that can be used to develop working hypotheses about the case.

To a qualitative researcher, the exploration of the participants' world through prolonged engagement leads to a richer understanding of the phenomenon not held before, whereas the positivists believe that they have knowledge *a priori*, which they seek to confirm or disprove. Thus, the two paradigms also differ in the way they perceive the possibility of causal links. Borg and Gall (1989, p. 384) suggest that a positivistic model believes that 'given sufficient

research with valid measures, every action or effect can be explained by a cause or combination of causes that precede the effect in time'. On the other hand, drawing on the phenomenologists' thinking, I maintain that all elements in the situation are in a state of mutual simultaneous interaction, so it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects. Henceforth, a holistic inquiry carried out in a natural setting on the role of NASS in forming human capabilities generates a more reliable understanding of their social reality.

In this case, there is no pretence that this research is value -ree. It is (Borg and Gall, 1989, p. 384):

> Value bound because inquiries are inevitably influenced by the values of the researcher, the choice of theory, the methodology employed, and the values inherent in the context of inquiry.

This obviously is against positivism, which maintains a 'rigid dichotomy of fact and value, of description and prescription' as Bennaars put it (1995, p. 106). However, to detach the researcher from the participants is to distort social reality, as there is a need to clearly understand all factors, including values, bearing on the participant. The researcher must be immersed in his or her setting. In CE, the qualitative perspective that influences this research endeavours to produce data that is contextual, descriptive, in-depth data that is rich in detail. The study is concerned with discovering the inner meaning of social actions, rather than just their outward form.

In the study, reliability and validity are enhanced through a number of processes identified by Chisaka (2007) as including prolonged engagement, member-checking, thick description of data and triangulation. I engaged with participants for a relatively long period of time of up to a maximum of three months (four weeks in each setting). Establishing rapport with participants proved to be important in obtaining data that is not easily accessible in a context of fear and suspicion. This also enabled me to make observations and glean detailed data that is reasonably reliable and valid. I constantly checked with the participants to verify or validate analysis and interpretations made. This process is known as member-checking (Chisaka, 2007). Analysis is preceded by detailed background information of the context in which participants operate. Apart from these, I also use triangulation through the use of multiple methods in data collection. Chikombah *et al*. (as cited by Chisaka, 2007, p. 41) suggest that 'this increases reliability of overall findings'.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a theoretical and practical outline of the study's methodology and strategies employed to explore the role of NASS in the formation of critical democratic citizens. A justification of situating the study within an interpretivist research paradigm was presented and an explanation as to why a qualitative case study was adopted. As discussed throughout the chapter, a case study within an interpretivist paradigm is useful for generating a rich understanding of mid-level policy stakeholders', lecturers' and students' lived experiences in the operationalisation of NASS. I discussed processes and procedures undertaken in choosing research methods, sampling techniques and my approach to data organisation, analysis and interpretation. Other related issues I have made explicit are the motivations for the selection of study sites and participants. The aim was to demonstrate that the methodology is consistent with the suggested theoretical framework in undertaking a multidimensional analysis and evaluation of policy processes and practices, curricula and pedagogical practices as well as institutional arrangements in the formation of critical democratic citizens.

Although concerns have already been raised regarding the operationalisation of the CA in chapter three and the generalisability of the findings of the study (in this chapter), I have highlighted how the theoretical framework and the methodology could empower participants by foregrounding their voices and experiences in understanding critical citizenship as experienced in the NASS curriculum. In the following three empirical chapters, through an analysis, evaluation and theorisation of the data, I show how the methodology as discussed in this chapter connects with the theoretical framework developed in chapter three to bring out complex contestations and the richness of individual and collective perspectives without losing an understanding of their context.

CHAPTER 5: MID-LEVEL STAKEHOLDER PERSPECTIVES ON POLICY AND PROCESSES IN NASS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines policy and processes on the introduction and operationalisation of NASS in teachers' colleges in Zimbabwe from mid-level policy stakeholder perspectives. I divide the chapter into five sections, starting with a snapshot of the socio-economic and political context in which NASS was introduced so as to set the stage and provide a contextual understanding of why and how NASS was introduced. The second section explores positive and negative political responses to this context, as a way of further expanding an understanding of the contested nature of the course since its inception in the TE curriculum. Section 5.3 presents an analysis of policy stakeholders' perspectives. The specific dimensions of the perspectives used in my analysis of the policy stakeholders' perspectives are influenced by and help to address one of the research questions: *From the perspective of policy stakeholders in the MHTESTD and the DTE at the UZ how is citizenship understood? How does NASS promote such citizenship? Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing a critical citizenship among future teachers?*

Using four HD principles espoused by Boni and Gasper (2012) and Boni and Arias (2013) as my lens in section 5.4, I analyse policy processes in Zimbabwean HE and how they were used to operationalise NASS. The four principles are: empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability. Using these, I propose that the policy processes undertaken in the introduction and operationalisation of NASS do not reflect and uphold democratic principles that can be seen as contributing towards HD and social justice. On this understanding, the mid-level stakeholders' understanding of citizenship is minimalist, in that it seeks to form citizens who conform to authority rather than those who criticise tradition, as will be demonstrated in sections 5.4 and 5.5. They criticize the attitudes of college principals, lecturers and students. The final section encompasses a summary of key issues raised in the chapter.

In the next section I thus draw on the voices of key policy stakeholder informants to seek a deeper understanding of how they perceive the context and policy practices on the introduction of CE in TE.

5.2 Perspectives of mid-level policy stakeholders on the context of the introduction of NASS

In this section my aim is to present the views of mid-level policy stakeholders regarding their perceptions of the context in which NASS was introduced and how they experienced the introduction of NASS to Zimbabwean teachers' colleges. I draw upon in-depth semi-structured interview data from two mid-level policy stakeholder informants so as to capture an insider view as far as possible, setting aside the challenge that policy stakeholders might not deviate from official policy. Simboti was purposively chosen by virtue of his post, whilst Madamombe was chosen through snowballing. Simboti was at the time in the head office of the MHTESTD under which teachers colleges are administered. Madamombe is from the UZ, which currently grants associateship status to all teachers' colleges scattered throughout the country. Both were interviewed in May 2013 after getting approval from the MHTESTD. The interviews lasted around an hour each. Their experiences are interpreted from the perspective of policy practices and processes. While Simboti is stationed in Harare, he constantly visits and holds meetings with college principals for various purposes, including quality control. Madamombe is a lecturer in one of the departments at UZ, but is engaged in several academic duties related to TE, including external examination and academic writing in the DTE. They have been anonymised in line with ethical considerations.

The section begins with an analysis of the context of the introduction of NASS as presented by the two stakeholder participants. Unfortunately, the few policy documents, which are referred to as the bedrock of HE policy in Zimbabwe by the two policy stakeholders, do not provide anything useful for our understanding of the introduction of NASS in HE or its operationalisation. This confirms Dzvimbo's (1989) assertion that Zimbabwean education system lacks a clear policy direction. According to Kariwo (2007), the Manpower Planning and Development Act as amended in 1994 spells out the mandate of the relevant ministry, mainly focusing on administrative procedures and guidelines in running institutions. The National Council of Higher Education Act 1990, which was replaced by the Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education (ZIMCHE) Act No 1 of 2006, put in place a council for maintaining appropriate standards in the processes of teaching and learning, examinations and academic qualifications in institutions of higher learning. The Development of Education National Report (2004) jointly presented by the MOEC and MHTESTD at the 47th session of the international conference on education in Switzerland is the only document by the Ministry that explains why NASS was introduced.

The curriculum at HE in the past did not include any general studies that covered aspects such as national economic and social development, which are important for the integration of graduates in society. The Ministry introduced the program of NASS to cover this gap and provide an all-round education to young people in tertiary institutions. The program is meant to foster a desire to participate in national development and equip students with the relevant survival skills. The aim is to instil and cultivate in young people an appreciation of the county's national heritage and natural resources and how these can be harnessed to achieve 'sustainable development', which means (from the document) students had to be self-reliant and enterprising. An appreciation of the local culture and its full diversity is also an integral component of the program and this is aimed at promoting understanding and social cohesion (MOEC and MHTESTD, 2004, p. 11). From the Ministry's perspective at this conference, the idea of introducing this course was to advance education for sustainable development, but neither Simboti nor Madamombe refer to this report or its claim. The University of Zimbabwe (2003) in the DTE handbook, which first introduces NASS to teachers' colleges' curriculum, does not give much information except to emphasise that the course is compulsory and that students must pass it to graduate (University of Zimbabwe, 2003).

The two informants give varied views about the context in which NASS was introduced. Whilst Simboti tries to avoid questions about the context, Madamombe is more open and gives a detailed analysis of what constituted the socio-economic and political environment at that time, which I explain later in the chapter. Although Simboti was not explicit on why he was not comfortable with discussing the context, some of his responses provide some hints: *"These political arguments do not get us anywhere and this is exactly what made people to resist this course from the beginning".* From his statement it is clear that he regards the context as a political issue and that during the initial stages of its introduction, the course was resisted by those who thought the course was political. However, he does not deny or accept the allegations that the course was introduced for political expedience specifically to buttress waning support for ZANU PF:

> *So whether the government was beleaguered or not, the idea of coming up with a person who is broad-minded to believe that they need to be contributing to employment creation is very noble, I think it resonates quite well with what I said, that whether the reasons for coming up with the course were politically motivated or not, the important thing is the quality of the product that we are producing.*

Simboti refuses to equate its introduction to any reason advanced by the critics of NASS. He thus alludes to a well-intentioned curriculum:

> *During that time, I think around 2003 to 2004, we felt something was lacking in our curriculum when we compared it to curricula in other countries. We found out that it was very important that people know more about their country than other countries, since it appeared we were not doing that exactly. So it was thought that we needed something like citizenship education and citizenship issues, so that students learn about themselves before they learn of other things.*

However, he admits that the context influences the policy processes and operationalisation of curriculum innovation:

> *How these things [policy processes] work depend on a number of things, including how the economy is performing, the social and the political situation. We have a lot of polarisation to the extent that we cannot claim that the people who are teaching NASS are perfect people.*

Simboti does not mention any relationship between the introduction of NASS and the CIET, which, if it was important, as a mid-level policy stakeholder, he would have known. Apart from that, he does not cite any policy document communicating details of the government's decision to introduce NASS. This, as suggested by Sigauke (2011), could mean the decision to introduce NASS was influenced by political motives not necessarily related to policy.

I now turn to Madamombe's thicker and more critical responses:

> *There are two different issues that are emerging here: what was intended by those who pushed for it and what then obtained on the ground. I am saying those who came up with the programme are coming from a position where they are saying there are so many forces that are against 'us' but 'us' not being the nation of Zimbabwe, but 'us' referring to a political party. There was need to help inculcate within graduates from learning institutions a certain kind of thinking. What I commend them for doing is that when we crafted the syllabus for NASS in the teachers' colleges, we were not influenced by our political orientations. Perhaps that justifies the kind of question that you are pursuing, that is this perceived or real. We crafted a programme that we felt would serve national interests irrespective of the intentions of the person who had said 'can you craft something like this?' Because we were primarily crafting something that*

would be under the supervision of DTE at the University of Zimbabwe and they would not have allowed a partisan sort of syllabus. We were not even asked about our party affiliations: it was purely about the discipline of historical discourses. So I am saying we then came up within our own estimation that would serve broader interests, rather than narrowly-focused partisan positions.

The way Madamombe separates issues into various dimensions helps us understand different possibilities motivating the introduction of NASS. At one level are the intended outcomes for the state, which are represented by the mid-level policy stakeholder participants, and at implementation level we get insights on what obtained in practice from the lecturer participants and the student participants. However, the intended goals and what then obtained could be different. A number of factors could lead to these variations. In the process, Madamombe gives us a richer view of the context and the nature of the thrust of the course. These nuances help us understand why Simboti, a senior official at head office, has been hesitant to discuss the context. He had to be interpreted as being politically 'correct'. Madamombe further suggests that the DTE is free from manipulation by political influences. This claim cannot be ascertained in this study, however.

Madamombe provides more insights in the following statements, with more emphasis on the fact that our understanding of the context should not overshadow the necessity of the course:

But then there are other angles that we can look at it from, where you ask yourself, at what stage was NASS introduced? This is when the ruling party is beleaguered, when it starts to face real stiff competition, 'opposition', if you want. Then you link this up with other developments where the Border Gezi programmes, National Youth Service is introduced. It is like NASS is derived from National Youth Service programme. That's the political side of it. So this is why it kind of faced stiff resistance: it was perceived as a tool for indoctrination because of the nature of the politics of the day. So it's the timing of the introduction; I am not saying it was wrong, but it kind of gave NASS a bumpy start. But I would like to look at it from a positive side and say there was a genuine need for such a discipline irrespective of when it was introduced. The question [is], 'is it appropriate?' Because we can have a huge debate on why was it introduced when it was introduced, just like the land question. Why did it happen when it happened? But at the end of the day the critical question is, 'is it necessary?'

Directly linked to the introduction of NASS was growing opposition and also the introduction of NYS, which Madamombe claims generated suspicion of NASS. He does not end there, adding that the context was so poisoned that the teaching of the course was somehow dictated by the politics of the day. To him the timing is quite influential, through either giving impetus to the innovation or destabilising it. Nonetheless, Simboti and Madamombe agree on the significance of the new course, despite its timing or context. The context in which NASS was introduced does not provide a secure grounding for the formation of critical citizenship. Madamombe illustrates how fear infected the context in which, for example, History was taught at various levels of education.[27]

> *Yes, a lot of fear is experienced. We have a lot of empirical evidence of teachers of history in particular who have been abused, mainly in the rural areas for instance, and they will shy away from looking at these issues critically. The history syllabus extends to the present and the majority of the teachers are teaching it up to 1980 because of fear of tackling the post-independence era, because they realised that it's not all rosy that they will be teaching. There [are] a lot of negatives, a lot of 'warts' that they have to point out and they will not resonate well with certain sections of our society. Even where people have not been approached and told 'don't teach this', there is self-censorship. That self-censorship is not mere cowardice, which cannot be understood. It is understood there has been a lot of violence against these people. People have lost limbs and lives because of this, that's my own opinion.*

On the other hand, Simboti claims not be aware of the existence of fear: "*fear of what? There is no need to fear, there is no need to be afraid of anything*". Perhaps his ignorance is explained by his lack of exposure to teaching in contemporary settings, since he was last in class more than ten years ago, or to maintain political 'correctness'. What is surprising is not how the two participants differ on the issue of fear, but how they both claim that NASS seeks to form critical citizens. If Madamombe was genuinely concerned about the advancement of critical

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[27] NASS has a component of History which has been named Patriotic History by scholars like Ranger (2004, p. 215): ''Patriotic history' is intended to proclaim the continuity of the Zimbabwean revolutionary tradition. It is an attempt to reach out to 'youth' over the heads of their parents and teachers, all of whom are said to have forgotten or betrayed revolutionary values. It repudiates academic historiography with its attempts to complicate and question. At the same time, it confronts Western 'bogus universalism' which it depicts as a denial of the concrete history of global oppression'.

citizenship, he would realise how difficult it is to teach criticality in the context of fear, just as he noted in the teaching of History.

This section presented evidence on stakeholder participants' perspectives on the interpretation of the relationship between the context in Zimbabwe and the introduction of NASS. While Simboti chose not to say much about how the context influenced the introduction of this curriculum innovation, Madamombe sees the political side of the introduction of NASS as a response to growing opposition. To him, it was the desire for political survival by the ruling elites that influenced this innovation. He sees the fear of the government's brutality extended to the citizens through various coping strategies in education and society, including self-censorship. As a senior official in the MHTESTD, Simboti seeks to maintain the official position and focuses on implementing what is handed down to him by government without question. This might explain why the two tend to differ in some dimensions regarding the teaching of NASS in contemporary settings. In the next section, using four HD values I evaluate policy processes regarding the introduction of NASS.

5.3 Evaluation of policy processes and practices

Evidence presented so far relates to the context in which NASS was introduced. I now turn to evidence of perceptions directly linked to policy processes. By policy processes I mean the manner in which NASS was introduced in teachers' colleges. What is striking in the evidence is the absence of any policy documents to back up claims by the respondents. There was a passing reference to CIET by Simboti, but not as a forerunner of the introduction of CE or NASS in particular. What Simboti first acknowledges is that the strategy used to introduce this curriculum innovation was a top-down approach: "*Well, it looks like we used the top-down approach: it did not come from the bottom. It's [the] government which saw it fit to have it introduced*". When asked why that approach in particular and not another, more open and people-centred approach, was adopted, he said "*we are mainly people who follow policy: if government says 'this must be done', that is what we do*". Considering that there is a blurred distinction between party and government as explained earlier in the chapter, it is possible that party ideologies filtered into the NASS curriculum, as claimed by some of the lecturers in chapter six. From his statement that they do what government tells them, it can be assumed that this is what Simboti considers to be good citizenship: following instructions without question. This form of subservience is what McLaughlin (1992) calls a 'minimalist' conception of citizenship involving unreflective socialization into the political and social status quo. The approach does not provide participants with transformative power: that is, the ability to

challenge the hierarchies of power that inhibit effective participation of citizens in policy practices and processes (Fraser, 2009).

Simboti is suggesting that, at their level, there is no room for questioning instructions. This is also instructive of the *modus operandi* of the policy processes. In his words, without any questioning, the instruction went down the chain of command: "*So the strategy which we used was that we told DTE that this course is compulsory and every student has to pass NASS in order to graduate*". More precisely, "*it was take it or leave. Its either you agree with what we want to do or you are out. We did not have any disagreement per se perhaps we would say people did not understand it at first*".

Simboti cites a few cases where officials met in regional workshops to claim that other stakeholders were involved: "*it's not something that had been done or is done singlehandedly*". This does not mean that there was open deliberation about the innovation being implemented. For example, Simboti tells us that:

> *First we had workshops in Nyanga, then the other one in Gweru, another one in Kadoma and then another in Masvingo where we invited all Principals, and Lecturers in that course to an extent that I think that assisted in informing various stakeholders that the course was there to stay. I no longer have access to some of the papers which were presented at this workshop, but if you ask around you can get some of the papers which were presented at this workshop.*

Whilst workshops can be participatory and a more open and a democratic way of introducing a curriculum innovation, they could be a subtle method of coercion, in which participants are informed of what has to be done without inviting any criticism. From Simboti's response, the purpose of the workshop "*was to inform stakeholders that the course was there to stay*". Those outside the system may wrongly believe that the innovation was discussed and well received. The fact that the same people who would have attended the workshops on the teaching of NASS resisted government directives to teach NASS is an indicator that there was no meaningful deliberation undertaken in the workshops. Thus, Simboti (surprisingly honestly) tells us the magnitude of the resistance which was experienced:

> *Of course even in teachers' colleges there was some resistance when we started, very stiff resistance. It was quite difficult: we introduced a course which even lecturers themselves were not comfortable with, and even the college administrators were not*

very comfortable with it. At first it was not given much time and importance on the college timetables. We had instances where, for example, the Department of Teacher Education at the University of Zimbabwe through its external examination system realised that, yes, NASS was on the college timetable, but there was no evidence of work to show that they did something in NASS.

Besides highlighting the level of resistance, this response also tells us how college administrators and lecturers exercised their agency in negotiating space. The manner in which this resistance was dealt with also tells a story: "*There were some problems; we even punished some of the Principals for that*" (Simboti). Administrators' decision to deploy lecturers perceived as 'problem lecturers' to teach NASS also indicates that the course was not well received and may not have been taken seriously.[28] Instituting punitive measures indicates that, for the authorities, coercion worked better in place of deliberation. This reinforces the point that the preference is for citizens who are compliant, rather than those who challenge authority. "*At that time, every lecturer who was perceived as a problem lecturer was deployed in NASS by the Principal, and what do you expect from such [a] type of a lecturer?*" (Simboti)

This was a punitive measure that helped to reinforce negative attitudes towards NASS. However, at college level, Madamombe, who had been a college lecturer, offers an optimistic image.

I will speak from when I joined the process in 2003. I was called for an interview at the teachers' college where I worked and I had no idea whatsoever what I was going to be asked about. The panel of interviewees was under the chair of History and Developmental Studies department's head. In other words this was something that was put under the discourses of History.

This recruitment process suggests that recruitment of lectures to teach NASS was done in a professional manner. He adds that:

My party affiliation was never asked [about], but we discussed things academically. After I was recruited the same year, we were tasked to come up with our first syllabus so it was internally driven, although our head would liaise with heads from the parent ministry, from which directives were coming to come up with this kind of syllabus. So

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[28] These are lecturers with disciplinary problems, usually referred to as acts of misconduct by administrators.

each college had to come up with its own syllabus, but representatives met to exchange ideas. The people who constituted the panel which crafted this were from various backgrounds. Remember I told you I was never asked about my political affiliation and we did not necessarily belong to [the] same ideological backgrounds.

A semblance of autonomy for the colleges is presented here. However, there is doubt that the colleges were completely independent in their operations, given that there was continual consultation with the heads from MHTESD, who would give directives. That alone was meant to ensure compliance with certain standards, predetermined by the parent Ministry.

5.4 A human development interpretation

Given this evidence, I now turn to an analysis of the perspectives of the two stakeholders on the socio-economic and political context of the introduction of NASS, responses by the government to this context, and the manner in which the innovation was introduced. My analysis is underpinned by four HD principles in line with the aim of the study, to explore the role of NASS in the TE curriculum in fostering human capabilities and promoting HD for critical democratic citizenship. The HD principles are: empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability. In chapter 3 I appraised the CA framed within HD values as important in making this evaluation. Therefore, analysing policy practices and the context in which NASS was introduced is in harmony with fulfilling this overarching aim.

Drawing on HD values, I suggest that the values are a potential vehicle for a genuine devolution of power and decision-making in policy processes that strengthens claims to a people-focused citizenship curriculum. McCowan and Unterhalter (2009) remind us that education is not only charged with values, but also promotes these same values. One of the values advanced is empowerment. Considering the top-down approach used by the MHTESD as reported by Simboti, the introduction of NASS in teachers' colleges did not meet this basic value. It is not surprising that under such circumstances the course experienced resistance (Simboti). Thus the power to decide or shape this innovation remained concentrated in the hands of those who were at the helm of power. While Simboti claims that there were a number of workshops held with principals of the teachers' colleges, there is doubt as to whether these were participatory. Simboti acknowledges that these were meant to instruct the principals to make sure that NASS was taught in colleges rather than "sharing in specifying priorities". Yet UNDP (1993) underscore the intrinsic value of participation by both individuals and groups as a way of

widening access to decision and power. Participation by citizens in their society has intrinsic value since it buttresses democracy.

Limited participation in the policy processes and practice in this regard directly affects equity which is interconnected to the distribution of citizens' basic capabilities; that is, freedoms, choices and opportunities to decide on the type of citizenship course to be undertaken. Whilst Madamombe acknowledges that there was a degree of autonomy at college level in the way the actual NASS syllabi was generated, there were also restrictions. For example, in the process of drafting the syllabi at college level, he affirms that there was a link person (head of subject) who moved between college and the authorities at head office to consult (a summary of the current version of the NASS syllabus used at CTC is provided in section 6.3.1). I argue here that power was not evenly distributed to fully account for the principle of equity in the HD framework. In a subtle way, authorities remained in control of both the policy processes and the content of the course. This is not surprising as Simboti has already hinted that "*it was take it or leave. It's either you agree with what we want to do or you are out*". These words strongly depict an inequitable distribution of power. Where equity is envisaged, we would expect collaboration, not merely consultations, where subordinates would be involved, rather than simply respond to instructions. In this case, the hierarchy of power makes subordinates recipients of instructions and not active agents in designing policy. This is the missing link in the policy processes on the introduction of NASS. This brings us to the last strand of values for our consideration: sustainability of the capabilities and valued functionings.

According to UNDP (1994, p. 18), sustainable HD 'means that we have a moral obligation to do at least as well for our successor generations as our predecessor did for us'. The 1996 HDR explains this phenomenon as 'meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs' (p. 56). From these definitions, policy processes and practice that meet sustainability should not be geared towards establishing a 'transitory state of affairs', but should aim to 'sustain positive outcomes over time' at individual, group or national level (Alkire, 2010, p. 19). Because of the urge to maintain power and influence, this does not come naturally in the policy processes; there must be a deliberate effort to remove barriers that sustain oppressive policy practices and structural injustices. Alkire argues that 'decision makers need to know not only who is deprived but also who is chronically deprived' and to what extent. She adds that policy processes and practice must include 'support for local initiatives that mitigate vulnerability, expand capabilities and sustain these expansions' (p. 19). To achieve this, the interconnectedness of the four HD values

should be recognised and exercised. Without citizens' empowerment, there is no active participation and the equitable distribution of power will be diminished and ultimately the legacy that is left will derail continual growth that can be referred to as sustainable.

In the context of the limited democratic space in which NASS was introduced in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges, (see chapter one), it can be argued and concluded that policy processes and practices for the introduction and operationalisation of NASS defeat the advancement of HD values. The following factors are notably constraining to this cause: the context of fear; the use of a top-down approach with its dictatorial tendencies; lack of empowering programmes such as orientation and in-service training for the college lecturers and principals who were to operationalise the course; limited deliberative space in 'consultative' workshops; and punitive measures for dissenting voices. Punishment is hardly a good start to make lecturers teach NASS. In this regard, because of an unreflective socialisation of lecturers and college principals by authorities in the MHTESTD into the status quo, policy processes and practice in the NASS curriculum uses a minimalist approach to CE.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented voices of two mid-level policy stakeholder informants to get their perspectives on the context at the introduction of NASS. I have used four HD values to analyse evidence from two mid-level policy stakeholders from MHTESD and the UZ. The perspectives of the two mid-level policy stakeholders are mainly guided by the need to be politically correct, as demonstrated by Simboti's responses. As already explained, Simboti's responses are influenced by his ties with the authorities, since he is stationed at head office of the MHTESTD. Madamombe's responses, though cautious, depict a level of criticality that could be useful in advancing critical citizenship. Although the perspectives of the two informants differ in detail and interpretation, my interpretation of their perspectives provide evidence that seem to suggest that policy processes and practices on the introduction of NASS did not meet the four HD values. There is limited evidence of a serious attempt to empower stakeholders in the process of generating NASS syllabi; the participation of the stakeholders was, at best, passive: they were recipients of instructions that they were compelled to follow without question. Lack of effective involvement of college stakeholders also meant that there was no equitable distribution of power among stakeholders in decision-making and operationalisation of the innovation. As a result, it is not surprising that the NASS initiative experienced a rough start and continues to be viewed negatively by some lecturers and student informants in the two cases under study. A top-down approach is not the best strategy for advancing policy processes

and practice that pursue a curriculum model that seeks to secure human capabilities and promote HD for critical democratic citizenship.

I therefore conclude that the perspective of policy stakeholders in MHTESTD and DTE at the UZ understand citizenship and citizenship formation from a minimalist or conformist perspective and, from evidence drawn from their voices and practices, NASS promotes the formation of submissive and uncritical citizenship. Given the context in which NASS is operationalised, apart from other factors such as fear and suspicion, policy processes and practises contribute to inhibiting the formation of critical democratic citizens. In the next chapter, I focus on lecturers' perspectives on their understanding of citizenship, the form of citizenship promoted by NASS and how this is achieved. I further explore obstacles to NASS advancing critical citizenship among future teachers.

CHAPTER 6: LECTURER PERSPECTIVES ON NASS

6.1 Introduction

To present a fuller picture of the introduction and operationalisation of NASS, this chapter now draws on lecturers' perspectives, to examine how citizenship is understood, the form of citizenship promoted by NASS and how this is achieved. It further explores obstacles to NASS advancing critical citizenship among future teachers (some of which have been explained already in chapter 5). For example, restricted democratic political space, little participation by lecturers in policy processes as well as compulsion used by authorities in operationalising NASS; NASS was never optional. What emerges from the lecturers' voices nonetheless is that they experience moments of critical citizenship where they critically engage with students, even though this is not fully fostering human capabilities. Their experiences and perspectives on NASS are not significantly different, but their professional experience and positions held at the institution have some influence on their views on NASS and its operationalisation. Thus, it is not surprising that in a number of instances there are both common and contradictory views.

I organise my analysis and interpretation of their perspectives under four interconnected themes. Firstly, lecturers' perspectives on NASS, which sheds light on the degree to which NASS is regarded as a genuine CE course meant to foster citizens capabilities and how effective it is in this. The second theme traces the lecturers' curriculum and pedagogical experiences as a way of exploring the degree to which teaching and learning practices foster critical citizenship through adherence to HD principles. Under the third theme, citizenship values are explained in three subthemes: democracy, HD and Ubuntu. These are essential in determining what values are foregrounded in NASS. The fourth theme explores how lecturers understand and conceptualise citizenship, which is important for the understanding of the type of citizen sought, as well as citizenship dimensions they endeavour to cultivate among student teachers. The overall aim is to examine lecturers' understanding of how the education and training system (and CE in particular) contribute to developing critical and knowledgeable citizens, who can function ethically as part of a democratic society. This is an expansion of the government's focus, which narrowly focuses on prescriptive social cohesion. Whilst social cohesion is important for peaceful coexistence in a country or nation, for democratic citizenship focused on fostering human capabilities, a critical understanding of society is also required to contribute fully to political, social and cultural life. In order to make my evaluation, I draw on HD values and three capabilities from Nussbaum (1997; 2002; 2006) focusing on educating

critical democratic citizens with choices, freedom and opportunities to pursue what they value to be or to do (Sen, 1999). The capabilities selected are: critical thinking, narrative imagination and the ability to think as a world citizen. The chapter concludes by highlighting key issues emerging through the discussion and how they relate to my research questions.

6.2 Lecturers' Perspectives on NASS

From lecturers' responses, their perspectives on NASS can be understood along two key dimensions. The first is the introduction of NASS, which relates to how lecturing staff were recruited, as well as the context of its introduction (partly covered in sections 5.2 and 5.3 from the policy stakeholder perspective). The second dimension relates to the challenges and prospects of NASS.

6.2.1 Processes for the introduction of NASS

Under this sub-theme, three findings emerged: the recruitment of lecturers taking part in the teaching of NASS was procedural and professionally done; the limited level of participation by lecturers in the initial stages of the introduction of NASS (the process became more inclusive over the years); and the agency exercised by the lectures within this contested space. The assumption is that if they were professionals, properly recruited to teach NASS, then their understanding of citizenship issues is likely to be richer and they are more likely to be acquainted with what it takes to teach critical citizenship. Tables 5 and 7 in chapter four provide details of lecturers' qualifications and experience.

Cognisant of his position in NASS, Albert, a former head of subject and now Acting Vice Principal at CTC, concurs with one policy informant in chapter five (Madamombe), that the lecturers who were to teach the course were recruited on a professional basis:

> *But the truth is professionals were recruited when NASS was introduced in teacher education [and their] political affiliation was not even known. So you had to have a degree to teach NASS and you had to be an experienced trained teacher, not somebody who is just coming from the university.*

The recruitment procedure provides a hopeful situation, even though Mutambanengwe (an experienced lecturer from a different college (GTC)) suspected that some lecturers who openly supported ZANU PF were recruited because of this. Mutambanengwe's suspicion hinges on the context in which the course was introduced:

I would also want to think that when this course was introduced, people who were involved in the formulation of the syllabus were people who were known to be strong supporters of ZANU PF, so that alone can speak volumes and volumes about the course, for instance at this institution.

Perhaps the complicated political context in which the course was introduced had some influence in shaping perceptions about NASS by various stakeholders. Taguta reasons that NASS is confused with the NYS:

NASS and National Youth Service were introduced almost at the same time, where National Youth Service was partisan, the selection of the candidates was partisan, and the National Youth Service graduates were used as a campaigning tool by ZANU PF.[29] It's very unfortunate that a good course was introduced maybe at [the] wrong time. ... It was introduced at a time when ZANU PF was losing power and its links to National Youth Service were well known. In addition NASS was imposed on tertiary institutions: it was not decided by a parliamentary charter or an act of parliament; it was not an initiative of the Department of Teacher Education at the University of Zimbabwe.

Although there is evidence from the literature (Ranger, 2004; Nyakudya, 2011; Matereke, 2011; Magudu, 2012), and other participants that NASS was introduced in a contested context, as suggested by Taguta and Mutambanengwe above, it does not appear that there is evidence to support the view that those involved in the generation of the syllabus were *"known supporters of ZANU PF"*. However, this labelling appears to have been widespread, as Albert was labelled as a ZANU PF supporter at his college when he was trying to engage lecturing staff in the process of designing their NASS syllabus. Taguta alludes to the idea that from the beginning not everything was done in a transparent way.

The lectures' level of participation in the processes of the introduction of NASS is yet another issue. For example, of the five lecturers interviewed in the two colleges, only Albert participated in the early stages. He attended one workshop in in Mashonaland West province, Kadoma district at a local hotel, 150 km from Harare. Three other workshops were held in other parts of the country, in Masvingo, Harare and Nyanga, as explained by the policy stakeholders. The three places are in provinces outside Albert's college's own province. Harare (the capital city) is the closest: about 120 km from the college. Despite the top-down approach

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[29] By partisan, Taguta means it was biased in favour of one political party i.e. ZANU PF, the ruling party in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980.

used by the Ministry, testified to by the lecturers themselves and policy stakeholders in the previous chapter, lecturers valued the workshops. Albert says:

> *I was lucky [that] I participated in the exercise of its formulation at national level at [the] Kadoma Ranch Hotel. When it was introduced at college level I had just been recruited in[to] the system of teacher education where I was going to teach NASS. Now, the onus was then on me to draft the syllabus, so I just sat down with pen and paper and started writing down some aspects I thought would be important to include in the syllabus.*

From Albert's experiences at his college, he was the only person involved in drafting their NASS syllabus. This confirms that there was no significant stakeholder involvement in the introduction of NASS, even at college level. The lack of stakeholder involvement speaks negatively to the idea of using democratic ways to introduce and implement national programmes. Lack of deliberation, which is crucial in HD and for fostering citizens' capabilities, might compromise the type of citizenship and CE sought.

Although the emphasis on the involvement of lecturers may be questioned on the basis of Simboti's assertion in chapter five that the process was top-down, the possibility of lecturers using their agency to contribute meaningfully in these workshops and the subsequent drafting of syllabi in their colleges cannot be completely discounted. Within this limited space, it is argued, lecturers made use of opportunities available to exercise agency. Nyakudya (2011) acknowledges that although the top-down approach was used by the government, lecturers acted in what they perceived to be the best interest of the nation in drafting the first position paper. This assumption is prevalent in evidence from lecturers, even as they reviewed the syllabus in their respective colleges.

Zembe, like Mandizha, provides a hearsay assessment of lecturers' participation and involvement in the initial workshops but also the importance of syllabus review:

> *The syllabus is reviewed every three years with the University of Zimbabwe also giving input, like any other curriculum component in teacher education. So to me, various opinions are sought in this syllabus: it's not an imposed thing.*

However, the lecturers do not dig deep beyond the fact that some representatives attended the workshops to discuss the introduction of NASS: they are fully convinced that there was stakeholder involvement in the processes. The power hierarchies and dynamics at play are also

not discussed; despite Fraser's (1996, 2009) position discussed in chapters three and five, power can be solid and impermeable and have the potential to deny other people's voices and their participation. The limited awareness of how power works may be a result of institutional culture in the two colleges, emphasising respect for elders (senior authorities) derived from the philosophy of Ubuntu or self-censorship in order to be politically 'correct', as was the case with mid-level policy stakeholders in chapter five. This culture makes citizenship education in TE inclined towards a minimalist approach to citizenship formation. However, Zembe seem to be aware of the need to involve other stakeholders in curriculum design as he seems to dislike imposing programmes.

In the light of constrained involvement highlighted above, lecturers understanding of the rationale of NASS is varied, which is an indication that there is lack of an institutionalised understanding of the role of NASS. At one level, all the lecturers perceive the reasons for teaching NASS positively. They are positive in the sense that the reasons given help to cultivate critical citizenship. On another level some of the lecturers are sceptical about the motive for the introduction of NASS and provide other possibilities not necessarily in line with forming active or critical citizens. Positive reasons include: imparting historical knowledge and the formation of patriotic, responsible and accountable citizens. Albert, Zembe and Mandizha give positive reasons that support the teaching of NASS. Mandizha says, *"The need to study NASS has more to do with our history"*. However, Mandizha does not interrogate the type of history taught, which could be aligned with advancing the ruling elites' agenda as hinted at by Ranger (2004; 2005) as patriotic history. Zembe adds:

> *For me NASS is a very critical course, which seeks to form patriotic citizens of Zimbabwe who are quite responsible, who are accountable and will contribute meaningfully to [the] socio-political and economic development of the nation. I reason above the level that takes NASS as partisan: its above that level, it's national according to my own understanding, it tackles national issues.*

The scepticism of other lecturers is based on the context and the timing of the introduction of NASS. Taguta and Mutambanengwe contest this rationale for NASS as they question the legitimacy of the policy and process involved. The rationale appears official because of its resemblance to positions stated in the colleges' syllabi, MHTESTD's report (2004) and the CIET (1999). For Taguta, although the course "*has to do with producing patriotic students,*

imparting life skills, producing enterprising citizens and safeguarding the national heritage", there is risk of remaining parochial even when tackling national issues. He explains that:

> *They then introduced NASS. Though an important course component, their idea was to make people refocus on values esteemed by the rulers. However, it will be good that we teach NASS and not partisan politics, because certainly issues can be national but remain biased in favour of the ruling party.*

Taguta's views on the reasons for the introduction of NASS make more sense, in that he does not ignore the intrinsic value of NASS, but in doing so is cognisant of the political context of its introduction. This scepticism is necessary in a democracy for the advancement of critical citizenship (Almond & Verba, 1963; Mishler & Rose, 1997). Those taking a more sympathetic position have positions of power within their colleges, especially in their section where NASS is taught, whilst those who are more critical have a lower status. It appears clear that the 'foot soldiers' are stretching beyond the official position, whilst the other lecturers are trying to maintain the status quo within the hierarchy of power in NASS. The differences in these perceptions can also be explained in terms of individual choices and preferences by the lecturers, which can in turn be understood in terms of agency. Where agency is limited, responses tend to be homogeneous and shaped by institutional culture. Drawing on Crocker and Robeyns (2010), lecturers' perspectives suggest some agency in how they understand the rationale of NASS by not sticking to the official position. It appears, by so doing, that the lecturers will be working towards their own valued goals to be and to teach critical citizenship whenever there is an opportunity. Drawing on Fraser (2009) discussed in chapter three, it can be surmised that one group that presents the official understanding of the role of NASS is affirmative and the other one, which is critical of power hierarchies, is transformative. This is evidence that lecturers hold contradictory views about authority.

The association of NASS with the context in which it was introduced as elaborated above by Taguta could be the main reason why some scholars tend to perceive it negatively (Ranger, 2004; Tendi, 2010; Matereke, 2012). The possibility of an ideological stance in the introduction of CE and other curriculum packages by the ruling party, as claimed by Sigauke (2011b), cannot be completely dismissed. For example, Albert notes two issues that may suggest the government introduced CE as a reaction to student activism, for fear of what he

calls a Suharto style of regime change.[30] Secondly, he notes that intelligence officers were used to monitor students' activities in universities:

> *But their [students'] strike had spread throughout the country. They thought they would remove Mugabe from power, just like Suharto had been deposed from power. There was need to deal with the intellectuals because the winds of change were dictating that students were going to be used in deposing Mugabe. And sources privy to the intelligence were also saying something along those lines, so what was needed was to nip the problem in the bud and the only way was now to introduce citizenship education.*

How CE was going to be used to 'nip' the problem of students' activism in the bud can be better understood in the curriculum arrangements and pedagogical practices which were used in the two teachers colleges, discussed later in this chapter. It is nonetheless surprising that despite Albert's claims of the government's intention to repress students' activism through CE, some lecturers deny that government intentions in introducing CE were not motivated by a genuine desire to create critical citizens but to 'whip citizens into line', to borrow Matereke's (2012, pp. 84) words.

Considering the context in which NASS was introduced, and the limited participation by lecturers in the introduction of the course, Sigauke (2011a) seems correct in claiming that there are possibilities of a political agenda. From this understanding, NASS may be equated to the NYS programme, even though their approach is different. For example, the NYS programme is clearly based on ZANU PF ideology, whilst in NASS in teachers' colleges, the ideology may be veiled within the 'national and strategic' framework. The NYS programme depicts a visible, clear dimension of power, whilst NASS is hidden and invisible: coercive rather than persuasive. This means, despite valuable reasons for the introduction of NASS highlighted by some of the lecturers, possibilities of a political agenda cannot be completely dismissed. However, looking at the type of lecturers recruited for the teaching of NASS and the divergent responses given, I also consider lecturers to be exercising agency within their everyday practice to form patriotic

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[30] Suharto was an army officer and political leader who was president of Indonesia 1967-1998. His three decades of uninterrupted rule gave Indonesia much-needed political stability and sustained economic growth, but his authoritarian regime finally fell victim to an economic downturn and its own internal corruption. Anti-government demonstrations turned into rioting in Jakarta and other cities in May 1998, and Suharto, having lost the support of the military, was forced to resign the presidency on May 21. See Encyclopaedia Britannica, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/572060/Suharto Accessed 20/06/ 2014

teachers who may contribute to HD. I now turn to the challenges and prospects in the operationalisation of NASS.

6.2.2 Challenges and prospects of NASS

In the previous section I discussed the introduction of NASS as projected in the lecturers' voices, and found evidence of some agency and critique, albeit uneven. Challenges faced by lecturers worsened the already bad context by further dampening chances of teaching a richer form of CE. Challenges highlighted by lecturers include: myths and stereotypes about NASS; lack of resources; and the need to model the course away from a partisan mode of operation to a more people- or development-driven model. A model that recognises and seeks to empower all citizens, including those who are powerless or marginalised based on their ethnicity, gender, political affiliation or religion, is thus required.

Regarding myths and stereotypes about the course, Albert believes that "*since its inception, NASS has been facing challenges because it has been perceived as a partisan course, yet it is supposed to be a patriotic course*". By this Albert means that NASS seeks to advance national values, aspirations and programmes, rather than a single party's agenda. Mandizha affirms that he faced challenges when he joined TE: *"when I started teaching of course there was this fear that in this subject you were expected to be teaching in a manner perceived as sympathetic to those in power"*. Mutambanengwe explains that negative perceptions are aligned to the context in which it was introduced: "*People from outside the course might see it differently, possibly because the time the subject area was introduced gives people ill-feelings or different thoughts about the purpose of the subjects*".

Given Mandizha's initial expectations above ("*teaching in a manner perceived as sympathetic to those in power*"), claims and accusations, about partisan teaching are based on their lived experiences. This can also impact negatively on the operationalisation of the course. Also, there is no initial induction exercise for those joining the department and none of the lecturers have suggested one. Despite these challenges, Albert and Mandizha seem to agree that NASS is still relevant, which is people- or development-centred and has a bright future. Mandizha stresses that:

> *Even if we are going to have a different political party coming into power I will bet even my last dollar that the party would still need the services of NASS, because it is not about party politics as far as I see it. It's about developing individuals who know what they are doing and can make informed decisions.*

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There are two obvious possibilities to explain the contradictory nature of Mandizha's perception of NASS. He could have genuinely realised that NASS was not about partisan teaching; or maybe he has mastered the art of hiding what goes on in the operationalisation of NASS and is now careful of what he says, and to whom. Taguta sees the need for a paradigm shift in the content and its inclination:

> *We should have a refocus of NASS: it should not be the history of Zimbabwe dwelling on the liberation struggle dominated by ZANU PF. No: we must ensure that it is national history, and not partisan. If it is to become purely citizenship education, we should even teach about participating in democratic elections. It should respond more to civic issues.*

In the above statement Taguta shows that as it is, NASS is a form of patriotic history, which is a narrow form of narrative that seeks to propel the dominance of those in power.

On another note, Mutambanengwe and Taguta perceived lack of teaching and learning resources as a challenge in operationalising NASS. Mutambanengwe saw this as impacting negatively on the quality of work submitted: "*When giving assignments you find the standard of work being produced reflects that shortcoming*". Taguta identifies the same problem, but suggests that lecturers themselves are to blame for the lack of reading materials: "*We need sources, and as a lecturer it's not good enough to just say 'we need sources', because I also need to contribute to that through writing modules and other publishable material*".

Mandizha adds that resource-based challenges adversely affect the quality of teaching:

> *Challenges in teaching NASS convincingly or effectively include the issue of limited resources. We don't have publications [or] books specifically written for NASS. I haven't seen a single textbook which is a NASS textbook. Mostly we rely on history books, magazines and newspapers for the information. We feel that we could go a long way if we had a computer for the section.*

From the above responses, in the absence of resources (especially textbooks), each lecturer teaches what he or she thinks is required by the authorities. The size of the classes has been highlighted as well, this time as a challenge when organising out-of-school visits for the NASS course: "*When we want to organise educational trips, our numbers are too big to allow trips going far away from the college. The capacity of the college may not allow such [a trip] to*

happen” (Mutambanengwe, GTC). Since this also has to do with curriculum and pedagogical arrangements, this issue will be explored in detail in section 6.3.

Whilst at GTC, Taguta and Mutambanengwe seem to have mixed feelings about NASS challenges and prospects. Zembe, like his counterpart at CTC Mandizha, is more defensive of the status quo:

> *Our syllabus has a number of components and one component is purely civic education; some topics are purely historical; and some are contemporary issues and international relations. So as we are chasing global trends, the syllabi seem to be expanding each day and our students' attitudes are increasingly becoming positive.*

Although there are elements of truth in Zembe's assertion, echoed in survey studies on the perception of students and lectures on NASS (Mapetere *et al*., 2012; Munikwa and Pedzisai, 2013) discussed in chapter two, there is also a deliberate will to portray the course as progressive and transformative. In addition, there is evidence from their syllabi, coursework and past examination question papers of more focus on the national context, rather than an expansive global perspective (document analysis notes), yet internationally the focus is now on global citizenship (Nussbaum, 2002; Figel, 2005; UNESCO, 2014). For example the following questions were noted in the assignment questions for past cohort at GTC.

> *To what extent has media influenced public opinion in Zimbabwe?*
>
> *Discuss the view that the next election will decide Zimbabwe's destiny once and for all.*
>
> *Examine the gender policy in Zimbabwe and how it affects development in rural areas.*
>
> *To what extent does the study of National and Strategic Studies help in the promotion of African identity?*

The contradictions among and within individual lecturers indicate the varying degrees of understanding and interpretation of different experiences. I take these contradictions as normal and glimpses of a richer understanding of forms of citizenship, which keep emerging and fading.

Albert, Mandizha and Zembe pursue a sympathetic view in their NASS perspectives, whilst Taguta and Mutambanengwe present a more critical view. No specific explanation can be provided for these differences. But these lecturers (Albert, Mandizha and Zembe) share one

common feature: they occupy positions of authority in the college structures, particularly in their NASS section. It is possible that they see themselves as part of the NASS project, hence their defensiveness.

6.3 Lecturers' curriculum and pedagogical experiences in NASS

Turning now to curriculum and pedagogies, curriculum is viewed as the summation of all intended and unintended teaching and learning experiences in a learning context (Kelly, 2004). Using this conceptualisation of the curriculum in this section, I present lecturers' perspectives on their curriculum and pedagogical experiences, organised in three sub-themes. The first is a component of the curriculum, the NASS syllabus, focusing on how the syllabus was generated and/or reviewed; components of the syllabus and its implementation. The second sub-theme explores pedagogical experiences, i.e. the instructional experiences which include teaching methods used in NASS lessons. The last sub-theme centres on assessment practices. Hidden elements of the curriculum processes include power dynamics, which are of interest to the study and are discussed as they emerge in both colleges through the lecturers' responses.

6.3.1 The NASS Syllabus

Under this theme, I discuss the content of the NASS syllabus, stakeholders' input in the syllabus design, review processes and lack of involvement and under-representation of ethnic minority groups, such as the Tonga, the Nambyans and the Kalanga, as well as attitudes of academics towards NASS.

Although there are claims that each college generated its own syllabus with the introduction of the course, there is no evidence of major differences in the course content and approach of the two colleges. This may be because all the colleges exchange notes through external examinations, in which some of the lecturers are involved at sister colleges, but also the fact that UZ provides the structure which colleges must adhere to in designing their syllabuses. Below I present an analysis of the syllabi used in the two colleges.

In both cases the UZ is acknowledged as the diploma-awarding institution and the NASS syllabus is categorised under Professional Studies as stipulated in the DTE Handbook for quality assurance (UZ, 2012, p. 18). The structure of the syllabus and the weighting of the components of the syllabus are prescribed by UZ. The current syllabus at CTC draws on the DTE handbook, which requires a component of coursework and an examination weighted at 30% and 70% respectively. Surprisingly, at GTC (see section 6.3.3), only coursework is used for assessment. In both colleges, the syllabi stipulate in their preamble that:

This course is offered to all student teachers on the three-year pre-service Diploma in Education Programme. This is a 2.5.2 Programme designed for post "O" Level students. It is structured as follows; 2 terms first residential, 5 terms teaching practice and 2 terms final residential phases. The focus and emphasis of this syllabus is the production of a patriotic, creative, professional, effective, resourceful and humane teacher.

Aims and objectives for the NASS syllabus in each college are the same. The content is divided into three sections: section A covers Zimbabwe colonial history affecting national development; section B covers post-colonial developments in Zimbabwe; and section C covers socio-economic issues post-independence, environmental issues and resource utilisation for sustainable development. There is also a distance education component focusing on regional and international relations. Under the distance education component, students will submit one written assignment. Modules and handouts with relevant information are given to students to assist them in assignment writing.

Albert provides details on how the course was to be operationalised and the content that dominated the syllabus that he personally proposed at their college.

> *So when each college was to craft its own syllabus, each individual college had its own views or its own conceptualisation of what was to be taught, especially when you look at the component which is given eminence, which is Zimbabwean history.*

Mutambanengwe puts more emphasis on imparting knowledge for application, though the type of knowledge that he gives as an example of knowledge that would help students make choices is perhaps questionable:

> *We give students information that they use to make their own choices. At all cost[s] we try to have topics which have something to do with national issues; let's talk of national symbols, where we would want our students to be teachers who are very conversant with our national symbols and national heritage. They will be very informed about themes on the issues of strategic importance.*

Mutambanengwe's emphasis on 'choice' is interesting, because citizenship is about making good choices. The questions here that may be of interest to this study include: what type of choices? Are there real opportunities to make such choices? To what extent do citizens have the freedom to do so? Mutambanengwe adds that:

We are also equipping them with survival skills through business projects and we also go an extra mile to sensitise them to the dangers of the deadly disease that is prevalent now i.e. HIV/AIDS. That will arm them and help them to make informed decisions, especially when getting marriages or when they face challenges in the family.

The above skills are also good survival skills, which advance freedom from poverty and hunger: powerful factors which can upset citizens' wellbeing. For example, business projects enhance their economic freedoms, whilst provision of knowledge about life-threatening diseases a way of guaranteeing the citizens what can be called social security. However, citizens need more than this to consider themselves armed with survival skills. They need life skills that empower them to decide collectively or as individuals regarding their valued doings and beings. These are necessary skills for negotiating one's democratic space in the real world. They are often confronted by situations that require critical thinking, thinking as a world or global citizen, and the capability for narrative imagination (Nussbaum, 1997; 2002; 2006). These skills are not emphasised by any of the lecturers. Where critical thinking was mentioned, it was as an afterthought. Drawing from this analysis, the form of citizenship that NASS advances is lacking in empowering students for active participation in political life, though it does equip them for survival in the economic and social realm. This will be clearly demonstrated in perspectives on pedagogical experiences in sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3.

As mentioned above, syllabus generation and review is left to individual colleges, but should be done at specified intervals under the overall supervision of the DTE at the UZ. To this effect, Albert says: "*new issues emerging in each college differ from college to college*" as they review their syllabi. However, he complains that:

Some ended up falling for the whims of political expedience. They wanted to please politicians when they were crafting their syllabus, not knowing that academic issues should be distanced from political issues, but rather they should focus on societal issues.

He adds that, "*What is actually being taught if you look at the history component is not Zimbabwean history* per se *but is partisan history*". Given the autonomy granted to these colleges to come up with their own syllabi, one would have expected the lecturers to fully utilise the opportunity to advance citizenship values that can be described as advancing HD, if they are indeed persuaded of its significance. What ensues is rather a path that is conformist, seeking more to accommodate the politics of the day and less to advance democratic citizenship

values as put by Albert above. This connects with Taguta's claim in the previous section that national issues were being articulated in a partisan manner. This self-censorship could be what Madamombe called a survival tactic in the previous chapter, a strategy adopted by lecturers to operationalise a controversial course within a contested democratic space.

On how he generated or reviewed the syllabus at his own college, Albert says:

> *Up until 2010, I did it single-handed, and the people perceived me as an outcast. It was mainly because of my age. I was just a young boy in the midst of old people: the majority of them were in the[ir] sixties, but I was just about half their age, between 29 and 32.*[31]

Close to ten years after its introduction at this college, Mandizha has a different experience:

> *When you review the syllabus, it's not only the NASS lecturer's duty. As we teach, we try to get feedback from fellow lecturers from other areas. By so doing, we interact more often, so if there is anything they think should be improved, they tell us.*

The level of disinterest of colleagues perceived by Albert contradicts the more positive attitude and inclusivity reflected by Mandizha. This could be an indicator of changing attitudes towards the course by lecturers, as claimed by Mapetere *et al.* (2012) and Munikwa and Pedzisai (2013). In contradiction, Mutambanengwe says:

> *The only stakeholders invited are those with a flair in history and the lecturer in charge. Normally after our draft is complete, it is taken through the academic board; it is through these two stages where maybe we are interrogated about the topics which are included and their weaknesses and their importance to the course.*

Although this process can still be improved, there seem to be positive developments in the level of participation by other lecturers at institutional level during the review of the syllabus. The fact that the syllabus also passes through an academic board means that there is an opportunity to critically look at the syllabus before it is passed on for authorisation by DTE.

Drawing on his vast experience in NASS and external examination, Albert elaborated on the content of the syllabus:

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[31] This perception is culturally based, in the Zimbabwean context young people working with more experienced staff are usually looked down upon and at times denigrated as not knowledgeable.

Zimbabwean history, which used to be dominating, now has 20%. The other 80% is shared by legal and parliamentary issues, which has 10%, and contemporary issues are now dominating and that is an indicator of the change in the content. We also have the topic on entrepreneurship in teacher education, which has been blended in[to] the NASS course.

He adds that:

Instead of just focusing on Zimbabwean history, more emphasis is now being given to international relations, because these are clearly spelt-out in the new constitution. So it is about empowering the Zimbabwean citizens with the knowledge of the constitution.

At GTC Zembe gives us a breakdown of the syllabus components at their college: "*Our syllabus has a number of components and one component is purely civic education. Some topics are purely historical and some are contemporary issues and international relations.*" "Empowering" is yet another value-laden notion, which is used by the lecturers loosely and many times fail to live up to the attributes of empowering understood as giving voice to students by systematically including them in decision-making roles within the college system (Jagersma & Parsons, 2011).

From the analysed syllabi documents and the lecturers' responses, the suggested content and objectives of the course in both colleges are the same, and all the components are important in advancing the formation of critical democratic citizens who are ready to actively participate in the development of their country. However, this does not mean that these programs run smoothly or in a coherent manner. For example, Taguta complains that, "*The course is not inclusive because our hands are bound, because we have to follow the stipulated syllabus; we cannot change the subject to become some kind of civic education overnight*". At both colleges lecturers admitted that the history component mainly concentrates on dominant ethnic groups (the Shona and the Ndebele) and political parties (ZANU PF and MDC). A close look at the above response, however, indicates limited freedoms to act and decide on what to include in the syllabi, a fact that some of the lecturers have been denying. Zembe and Taguta acknowledge the marginalisation of minority groups in the course content, but of interest is Taguta's comment:

In history, minority ethnic groups are overshadowed by dominant groups. That is very normal, but we are not saying it's good: it's actually important that we look at these

minority groups and their history. That will be food for thought for those who are teaching NASS [and] those that are responsible for reviewing the syllabus. It's important that we look at those groups, their interest[s] as well as their history and their culture.

What is worrying in these responses are two issues. First, the attitude of Taguta, who sees the marginalisation of other ethnic groups as 'normal' practice' in a programme that is regarded as both national and strategic (contrasted with Zembe, who acknowledged that minority groups face numerous challenges in terms of recognition and representation at national level). If Taguta's attitude is cultivated in the teaching of NASS, then the course advances the interests of dominant groups, which is contra to HD values of inclusivity. What is important is that the lecturers make an effort to move away from a narrow, historicised, partisan NASS syllabus at every opportunity. From the evidence, the NASS curriculum's greatest strength is its interdisciplinary character, which allows for an exploration of a variety of aspects important for the development of a critical and creative mind.

6.3.2 Teaching methods

To clearly appreciate the lecturers' perspectives on their own teaching of NASS, I discuss the place of critical thinking in the teaching methods used by the lecturers. I also focus on the potential of NASS content and pedagogical arrangements to foster Nussbaum's three critical democratic citizenship capabilities. I first asked about their understanding of the place of critical thinking in the teaching and learning of NASS after they had read a short extract by Nussbaum (See Appendix 9) presented below:

> ***What ought to be done?***
>
> *What should a pluralistic democracy be trying to achieve through Education? Three capacities, all must be developed if a democracy is to have citizens who can function well in a pluralistic society that is part of an independent world. ... First is the capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions, for living what, following Socrates, we may call "the examined life." This means a life that accepts no belief as authoritative simply because it has been handed down by tradition or become familiar through habit, a life that questions all beliefs, statements, and arguments and accepts only those that survive reason's demands for consistency and for justification. Training this capacity requires developing the capacity to reason logically, to test what one reads or says for consistency of reasoning, correctness of fact, and accuracy of judgement. Testing of this sort frequently produces challenges to tradition, as Socrates knew well when he defended himself against the charge of "corrupting the young." But he defended his activity on the grounds that a polity needs citizens who can think for themselves rather than simply deferring to authority, who can reason together about their choices rather than just trading claims and counter claims….*
>
> *Critical thinking is particularly crucial in a society that needs to come to grips with the presence of people who differ by ethnicity, caste, and religion…. When politicians bring simplistic propaganda their way, as politicians in every country have a way of doing, young people will have a hope of preserving independence only if they know how to think critically about what they hear, testing its logic and its concepts and imagining alternatives to it. Such learning also teaches a new attitude to people with whom one disagrees.*

Questions

Questions were in line with the interview guide, but were supposed to capture three elements*:*

- The students' understanding of the script;

- The students' or lecturers' views on this conceptualisation of critical thinking; and

- Whether there is any difference between Nussbaum's conceptualisation of critical thinking and that which is experienced in NASS.

All the lecturers appreciate the importance of critical thinking in Nussbaum's sense. They castigated others for not engaging students to the levels they would describe as advancing critical thinking. There are contradictions among and within individual lecturers on how they view critical thinking and how it is cultivated in NASS. At one level, they say critical thinking is advanced through various pedagogical and curriculum arrangements focusing on NASS; yet they have reservations on whether there is room to advance critical thinking in their contexts (see section 6.3.1). Albert acknowledges various teaching methods useful in NASS for critical thinking:

> *There are so many methods, one can use lecture method[s], field trips etc. but above all one should engage the students in projects – that's what I have been encouraging colleagues [to do] wherever I go for external assessment.*

Albert does not only recommend these methods, but also claims to use them in his lessons:

> *Normally I engage the students in discussions I also give students tasks that force them to research and give feedback. For example, I ask them to [do] research on contemporary issues, on national heroes and what they have contributed: do they really deserve to be national heroes, or they are heroes of a political party? Because there is a difference between a national hero and a hero of a political party.*

Although there is an element of *force* in the way he uses his methods, he says that *"The crux of the matter is that students should be able to distinguish right from wrong".* He criticises the way in which this course has been taught by others, though it is not clear whether he means others from the same institution or elsewhere:

> *But with the way now these things were implemented it became problematic, with some lecturers bringing party material for teaching. What is actually being taught, if you*

look at the history component, is not Zimbabwean history per se *but [it] is partisan history.*

Albert explicitly spells out in whose favour this partisan history tends: "*of course those who are fickle-minded, because they will be doing it for political expedience, this was being ZANUnised.*"[32] What motivates these lecturers to bring political party material to class, as claimed by Albert, is not clear, but this certainly impacts negatively on the intended learning outcomes of the course.

At GTC, Mutambanengwe disapproves of the teaching approach used by one of his colleagues, who has since left the college:

> *His approach was vindictive, if I can say [that]. For example, for him there was nothing good which can be derived from the white regime: everything was bad. But objectively we cannot go that far, and really say all that was done [by white colonisers] disadvantage[d] black Africans or Zimbabweans. There are areas which we would also identify, better things which were done; we can't blankly condemn the entire system which did good to promote the wellbeing of the Africans.*

From the above, it could be surmised that lecturers' experiences are not always similar. It appears that they experience moments of critical citizenship in which they critically engage with issues; in other moments they appear uncritical, and biased towards the ruling party. Despite these limitations, all five lecturers made claims about a deliberate effort to engage students critically. Taguta says:

> *To make sure we engage them [students], we give them searching questions. We may give them group discussions where they discuss a topic, or an assignment that requires a critique. Sometimes we have seminars with people from outside, where these people give lectures.*

In his 'moments of critical citizenship', Taguta is conscious of the dangers of using external people and testifies that at times some of them just propagate ZANU PF propaganda:

> *The other time, resource persons came from a Non-Governmental Organisation ZIDERA [this is a pseudonym] and they were talking about sanctions. It started off well as a discussion; then eventually the resource person became a ZANU PF propagandist*

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[32] "ZANUnised" here refers to teaching in a way that sought to please ZANU PF politicians.

and our students were quick to identify that and as we discussed that they said "no, no, let's look at issues in a critical way".

The lecturers' teaching methods vary depending on context. Zembe argues that:

It's not a give-and-take situation when I teach NASS; most of my lectures are interactive. We adopt these strategies and sometimes I use debates. So in the teaching of NASS through debates and discussions I promote critical thinking because I would hear how students really think and how they view these national issues.

He explains how he applies one of the teaching methods: "*I simply divide the students in two groups in which I give them a motion which they will research on, and in the next lecture we have time for students to engage each other*".

The problem with the above arrangement is that the debates are usually too theoretical. For example, from the beginning, the positions taken by the debaters are not necessarily based on their own convictions. Mutambanengwe also adds that, "*normally, for the purpose of time it's a lecture method, but at times we offer some group work where they work collaboratively*". I observed these arrangements in one of the lectures. The students were given questions they attempted to answer as groups or individuals: some of the questions demanded a response inclined in one direction. For example, the question, *"Discuss the disadvantages of globalisation"* does not allow students to debate whether globalisation is beneficial or not. In addition, my visit to this lesson was known to the lecturer beforehand, so the methods that were used in that particular lecture could have been altered to suit the occasion.

Another teaching method which lecturers in both colleges praised was field trips to historical sites, such as the Great Zimbabwe, because it provides an opportunity for students to learn through doing and seeing. However, it should be observed that field visits do not necessarily guarantee meaningful learning. For example, the education officer or tour guide at the educational site may be advancing the interests of those who employ them rather than educating students for critical citizenship. Educating for critical citizenship calls for a conscious and deliberate will to do so by meticulously preparing lessons for that mode of teaching. Without the right attitude, it is doubtful that those in charge of tour sites will be able to deliver lectures that will lead to the formation of active and critical democratic citizens.

In the NASS lectures there is also a tendency to teach for examinations, which may not be a good starting point for critical thinking or collaborative learning. The fact that examinations

determine the fate of students (particularly in NASS where the students have to pass in order to graduate) is a clear indicator of unequal distribution of power in NASS lectures.

6.3.3 Assessment in NASS Curriculum

Focusing on assessment policies and practices is crucial because every curriculum package has general and specific objectives and outcomes, which usually act as a guide in assessing students' success in their learning experiences and hence the effectiveness of the learning process. It is an integral part of the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment cycle, which involves collecting evidence about student learning, interpreting information and making judgements about students' performance with a view to providing feedback to students, teachers, schools, parents, other stakeholders and the education system itself (Lindholm, 2009). I discuss assessment policies in each college, types of assessment questions used in the NASS curriculum and how these impact on teaching NASS for criticality.

Assessment policies and practices at the two colleges are different and lecturers from both colleges argue that they are cognisant of the need to evaluate critical thinking when they undertake assessment. Most of the lecturers understand critical thinking as the ability of students to reason above what is given in textbooks, which means students should be able to explore new ways of understanding (for example) historical events. As explained earlier, at CTC assessment is based on coursework, which includes what they call a distance education assignment (because it is submitted while students are undertaking their Teaching Practice) plus a summative examination. At GTC assessment is based on coursework only.

Mandizha agrees with Albert on what their questions demand and how they evaluate the responses. Albert says:

> *Whenever you are coming up with a marking guide at tertiary level, there are no hard and fast rules of saying this is a right answer or a wrong answer, but that you have persuasively argued your case. As long as the pros and cons are given and there is a judgement at the end, then that individual is a passing candidate. ...we are not there to make students wear blinkers: we want students who see things right, left, centre, backwards and forward. That is somebody who does what we call CBA – Cost Benefit Analysis before doing anything.*

He summarised the intention of the assessment in the following statement: "*We test for critical thinking. Are you analysing issues? How deep[ly] are you looking at issues? We are not for rote learning:; we are after critical thinkers*".

That critical thinking is valued by the lecturers of NASS at this college cannot be contested: what I question is whether this is actually undertaken in and outside the lecture room. At GTC, Zembe provides a brief description of their assessment policy and practices:

> *It was a give-and-take situation that NASS is just examinable by coursework only and I have been arguing this in the academic board: that as long as NASS is not examinable, students will continue to take it lightly and the poor performance on record may take [a] long [time] to correct. And the type of assessment that we give is much compromised, because these are assignments which are written out of class. The type of testing we would appreciate should be focused on both mastery of content and critical thinking in which we administer the test. I think that is when we can say with certainty 'this is the performance of our students'.*

Despite Zembe's misgivings regarding their assessment policy and processes, Mutambanengwe commends the assessment policy for promoting critical thinking:

> *We have a component that allow[s] or give[s] room to critical thinking in our assessment. We made a shift from multiple choice questions to essay writing as our way of assessment. If you look at the question papers I gave you, we usually ask high order question like 'To what extent can Lobengula be blamed for the colonisation of Zimbabwe?'*

While the lecturers conceptualise assessment practice as contributing to critical thinking, I would differ at the practical level: especially at CTC, they ask questions that solicit one sided answers, for example: '*Discuss the benefits of the land reform programme to the citizens of Zimbabwe*'. These types of questions force students to agree that the land reform programme was beneficial, instead of leaving it open-ended. Focusing on what indicators they look at when carrying out assessment on critical thinking, Zembe says: "*The language and the expressions used by the candidate will demonstrate the quality of his/her response*". This raises a number of concerns relating to the subjectivity inherent in essay-type questions, and the subjective nature of language and expression as a measure of critical thinking. For example, how will language and expressions used by candidate be used to determine various levels of critical

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thinking? There is also a possibility of parroting responses using certain terms without necessarily comprehending the issues at stake. In any case, critical thinking itself is difficult to define as a concept, and hard to achieve as a practice.

Assessment is not independent from teaching. The power in the teaching and learning experiences emerges in the assessment processes, especially where the same lecturers teach the course, set and mark both the coursework and the final examinations. Shivley (2008) argues that power can project itself in the form of incentives when an alternative is made so unattractive that only one reasonable option remains. In this case, when a student understands the lecturers' inclinations and line of argument in particular topics, it is reasonable for the student to argue her lecturers' perspective, rather than risk failing the course by making alternative arguments.

6.4 Citizenship values emerging

I now focus on lecturers' understanding of citizenship values and the citizenship dimensions that they claim to be advancing. Although most of the values are not clearly stated, the lectures are conscious of the fact that there are certain values that should be inculcated by the NASS curriculum. Firstly, the close relationship between policy formulation and implementation (which this chapter focuses on) should be understood and the threads that weaves them together are values, which unavoidably also influence an individual's capability set (Vaughan and Walker, 2012). Secondly, HD values, which I used as a basis of my evaluation of policy processes and practices in chapter 5, are closely connected to the CA, as demonstrated by Boni and Arias (2013). For example, because of individual differences highlighted by capability approach, people need an equitable distribution of opportunities apart from resources (and power) in order for the opportunities they have to be transformed into doings and beings, such as being educated, critical thinking, a creative imagination or the ability to think as world citizens. There was reference to understanding national values, moral values, democratic values, Ubuntu values and elements of HD values throughout the interviews. Albert expounds:

> *I said NASS is guided and informed by the African humanist philosophy of Ubuntu. A true reflection of the Zimbabwean society, one who knows the aspirations the interests of the country, one who knows the true values of the country*.

Mandizha adds that, "*As teachers, they will go out and teach pupils the same values they would have been taught*". The emphasis on Ubuntu values is not just noted in Albert's statement: it is explicitly stated by the two lecturers at various instances. Albert reiterates that: "*I think why*

we ended up falling on Ubuntu was mainly because of vandalism that was rampant throughout the country or the Zimbabwean society." He adds: "*but the major issue was on moral decadence, the unhu, Ubuntu was now missing.*" The lecturers' sentiments about the value of Ubuntu as a basis for inculcating moral behaviour and advancing important democratic values like tolerance and compassion is backed by Waghid (2014) who argues that Ubuntu is good not only as a philosophy to live by, but also as an educational philosophy that can advance a democratic type of education.

More interestingly is how the two lecturers try to disentangle individual and community relations. Mandizha explains that:

> *The individual does not operate in a vacuum. As much as you want to practise your patriotism, as much as you should be enterprising, you should always remember that individuals with their own agenda live within the realm of the bigger society. Yes, you should love your country, and you should love yourself, but you should remember that we share the same country with other people who have also needs that they should enjoy, they also need to live a happy life as much as you would also want to.*

The two lecturers at CTC uphold the importance of advancing the common good as well as individual rights (in practice, the focus on rights appears to be limited). Albert relates that:

> *If you look at the philosophy behind the introduction of NASS, [it] is the African philosophy of Ubuntu where oneness is looked at and the individual being part of the whole. We also look at rights, individual liberties and privileges which an individual is supposed to enjoy. These become our focal point on which the lecturers should focus on as they deliver their lectures.*

Mandizha adds that, "*you should not infringe on other people's rights: you have to respect them and also know that they also have their own expectations. So it's not just being patriotic for the sake of being patriotic*".

It is interesting that the two also look at the significance of individual rights within the context of advancing the common good. What is worrisome is that the connectedness of individuals to the society is narrowed down to the country, rather than the whole world. This could be used as 'a vehicle for the suppression of minority ethnic, cultural, ideological or religious groups, the stifling of independent critical thought and the promotion of imperialism, xenophobia and parochialism' (McCowan, 2008, p. 19).

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Ubuntu values are emphasised at GTC, but they seem conservative in approach. Mutambanengwe says:

> *We teach values and not as a concept like what they do [sic.] in philosophy, but these things support each other. As we teach students to be endowed with the values of Africanness, we will be teaching them about the concept of Ubuntu because they will become aware of what it means to be an African.*

In the process of teaching Ubuntu values, Taguta ascertains that there is no danger of overshadowing personal liberties through such elements as respect: "*No, Ubuntu is not used as a way of advancing respect or as a way of avoiding dissent. There are [other] ways and channels through which dissent or criticism can be communicated*".

To him, respect is a way of life, even in other non-African contexts, in African philosophy; he sees it as a "*two-way process, where the elders respect the young ones as much as the young also respect elders*". Whilst this acknowledgement is a glimmer of hope for the advancement of a more inclusive and less coercive course, there is a tendency to take Ubuntu as a tried and tested philosophy that needs no further scrutiny. However, Taguta (unlike other lecturers) is also careful not to romanticise Ubuntu, acknowledging that *"education is a springboard where those who are in power get their ideas to the people, and certainly there is no way that the dominant political party would accept other voices, although this should not be the case"*.

Taguta's continual mention of the possibility of those in power pushing their own agenda is commendable for keeping the discussion alive to power dynamics and how they can influence the level of critical thinking in NASS, as well as the values it seeks to advance. Besides this common value of Ubuntu, the lecturers stress other values. While Mandizha focuses more on what I may call democratic values of public deliberation and inclusivity, Albert dwells on what I call HD value of inclusivity, but is also linked to empowerment because of his emphasis on decreasing what he calls 'dependence syndrome'. I will first provide Mandizha's words:

> *Including others is the best practice and should be our way to go. We invite others to share with us their experiences. For example, last week we invited people from the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises who came to discuss with us government policy along these lines [regarding] entrepreneurship, and opportunities available.*

Inclusivity in Mandizha's case includes students and even outsiders: *"These are people from outside and I think they contribute significantly to our framing of the syllabus and its implementation."*

Even though he views the involvement of students as imperative, the degree of involvement of students is limited. This can be taken to be affirmative rather than transformative, in the sense that he does not seek to destabilise categorisations of students and lecturers, though he does appear to be valuing their contribution. He says:

> *By just asking them during lectures to make contributions if they are comfortable with whatever we will be teaching, even the way we teach by way of giving them some evaluation forms they evaluate the whole program. By so doing they will contribute to the evaluation and review process.*

However, his claims are not backed up by empirical evidence. There were no copies of evaluation forms to show how they respond to students' evaluations, as claimed.

Turning to Albert's focus on empowerment, he says: *"when we look at NASS, what it is supposed to do is to empower the individual so that the individual can be an informed citizen"*. To him the whole idea is to do away with the dependence syndrome. However, the degree to which power is given to the students to negotiate their democratic space, both within their institutions and the communities in which they will work is relative, despite claims by Albert that there is total empowerment:

> *This is what we call total empowerment, 100 percent empowerment where we are changing from being a dependent to an independent individual, one who can utilise the resources which are at our own disposal.*

In the lecturers' voices there is lack of respect for individuals' choices regarding students' political concerns, which brings into question the idea of critical thinking and empowerment previously claimed by the participants. Albert acknowledges that:

> *So basically when students started saying these things [such as 'Mugabe must go'] and at the same time ZCTU was also claiming that they were going to form a political party,*

there was need to deal with the intellectuals because the winds of change were dictating that students were going to be used in deposing President Mugabe.[33]

The way he castigates a former MDC member of parliament who decided to leave his seat to settle in the United Kingdom is also revealing.[34] He says, "*I remember then there was this youngest MP [named] Tafadzwa Musekiwa who had to forego a seat in parliament for the option of going to scrub the backs of old people in the old people's homes in UK.*" In the above statement, Albert does not see beyond the obvious, where one tries to understand and accept that what people value is different. He has no kind words for those who chose to go outside the country. He calls them, "*tools of the whites. They are white men's spokesperson in black skin, instead of being the voices of the voiceless*". From these statements, it is clear that Albert does not recognise the freedom of people to choose what they have reason to value to be or do. He also fails to realise the alternatives available for Musekiwa that may have led him to this choice.

Despite the fact that public deliberations are at the heart of deliberative democracy, which encourages citizens' participation in decision-making, Mandizha doubts the effectiveness of deliberations in advancing the common good:

> *It is a brilliant idea which is worth trying, but my worry is that such debates may never be conclusive: they can just go on endlessly because of the polarised situation we have. Others will come with preconceived ideas because they will be thinking that because this course was introduced when party A was in power then the course is meant to entrench the dominance of that particular party.*

According to Mutambanengwe in initial deliberations on what to include in the NASS syllabus at their college, "*varied opinions came from different individuals within the course area but this was dominated by the person who attended the introductory workshop at national level*". This means the democratic processes undertaken were not flawless.

Although it is not typical in curriculum practice to involve students, the non-inclusion of students in the meetings that review the college syllabus weakens the value of inclusivity. "*For now we don't include students; it's the lecturers only. It's a total top-down approach*". However, this does not mean that the lecturers do not recognise the need to include students in

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[33] ZCTU is Zimbabwe's largest workers union (Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions_.
[34] MDC is an opposition party formed in 1999, backed by students' unions, the biggest workers' union in Zimbabwe and civic society.

these meetings; Mutambanengwe says: "*Yes I think the client is an adult whom I think should also make an input here and there; the voice can also help us to shape the product which is user-friendly*". Gunckel & Moore (2005) and Jagersma & Parsons (2011) praise the inclusion of students in curriculum review as essential in increasing the students' sense of ownership and reflective practice. In addition, focusing on curriculum and pedagogies, the CA raises concerns with 'voices of those who have to struggle to be heard and included' (Vaughan & Walker, 2012, p. 499). I take this to mean curriculum arrangements and pedagogy ought to be in tune with the values that promote participation as part of citizenship.

Some institutional arrangements at GTC depict exclusionary tendencies subtly embedded within the college structures, through propagation of what they call its 'religious ethos', since the institution is run under the auspices of a religious organisation. From my field observations at GTC, this was evident. When I was at the reception waiting to see the principal of the college, a prospective student's application for admission was turned down on the basis that he did not have a testimonial letter from his church leader. This is despite the young man's plea that he did not belong to a religious group with a pastor.[35] I was also fortunate to have lunch with those who later participated in the selection process of the students, and asked them how they do their selection, given the huge number of applicants who qualify for teacher training. One response was:

> *It's involving but straightforward. The applications are categorised into three groups: those who belong to our denomination are given first preference, and those from other denominations are given second preference, whilst those who don't belong to any denominations are not considered at all.*

Surprisingly, NASS lecturers unquestioningly accept these arrangements. Zembe says:

> *At any church-run institution that is normal to see the top administration being members of that particular church, because they need people who know and understand their ethos. So the same applies with the Student Representative Council. They want*

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[35] African traditional religion is not organised in the same way as conventional Christian organisations with proper structures and in some cases offices where administrative tasks are carried out. People are just assembled as and when it is necessary, usually when there is a societal problem interpreted as requiring some spiritual intervention. They do not own buildings or even any defined structures to administer their activities.

people who do not struggle to understand the system and those are people who are already members of the church.

Although important values such as deliberation, tolerance, respect and inclusivity are acknowledged by the lecturers in the study, the lack of sensitivity to key issues enshrined in the national constitution which the NASS lecturers purport to teach is worrying. While lecturers at CTC do not talk of issues that concern religious liberties, students' religious liberties are also infringed, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter. I commend the course for focusing on the idea of advancing the common good of Ubuntu, although the idea of the common good itself may be used to propel the interests of those at the centre of power. For example, the course itself named National and Strategic Studies is reported to be advancing the interests of dominant ethnic and political groups in the Zimbabwean context.

Whilst Ubuntu advances the values of respect and tolerance as explained by Albert and Taguta, the fact that religious affiliation at GTC is often used as a qualification or disqualification for entrance into teacher training or as an access to power is regrettable. Those who do not belong to the religious denomination running the institution are marginalised and pressured to adopt the religious ethos of the denomination to enable them to participate in leadership roles. In addition, the ability of lecturers for creative imagination (that is, 'to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from [them], to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, their emotions and their desires' (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 299)) is also questionable. For example, lecturers see it as normal when students' religious liberties and the minority group's history are marginalised in the NASS curriculum. Apart from this, there is no evidence of the lecturers' will to stand against authority in the face of social injustices subtly embedded in the institutional arrangements of the institutions they work in. This is not consistent with what Nussbaum (2002, p. 290), following Socrates, called 'an examined life', which means 'the capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions'. The lecturers at GTC openly admit that the system they work in uses a top-down approach and they are ready to extend it to their students without question.

6.5 Types of citizenship which NASS seeks to form

From the responses of five lecturers in the two participating colleges, a number of citizenship dimensions have been highlighted, giving hints of the forms of citizenship that NASS seeks to advance. This can be through the presence or absence of emphasis on certain values. What I present first is their general understanding of the concept of citizenship, and then move on to various forms of citizenship that NASS seeks to form. Lecturers' conceptualisation of citizenship points to the forms of citizens NASS seeks to develop, as explained below.

6.5.1 Lecturers' understanding of citizenship

The general understanding of the notion of citizenship among lecturers in this study can be considered as thin (Badat, 2011).[36] This understanding centres mostly on the formal and legal dimensions of citizenship, with little reference to political, economic and social rights. For the formation of active and critical citizens, an expansive notion that regards citizenship as critical is required. On his understanding of the term citizenship, Albert draws on the legal status, rights and obligation dimensions of citizenship:

> *Citizenship is the belonging of one to a nation, but it can be a [sense of being a] member of a community: you are still a citizen. In short, we talk of this from the legal position where one will be granted a legal status according to the stipulations of the constitution. This status then grants the citizens certain rights and obligations. Some of the rights include the right to vote.*

Unlike Albert who draws on the legal status, rights and obligations derived from the constitution, Mandizha limits himself to the obligations involved in citizenship:

> *I think citizenship refers to a person's capability to have patriotism, to being proud of his nation, to observe the rules and the laws of that nation and even to sacrifice his life in times of national disasters, giving assistance even in times of war to fight for his nation.*

In addition to this understanding, the two lecturers offer their understanding of what constitutes good citizenship. Albert explains that:

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[36] Thin notions of citizenship reduce citizenship to the formal, legal and primarily political dimensions versus those that also encompass wider economic and social dimensions, which we can call a thick notion of citizenship. See Badat (2011).

A good citizen should comply with the policies, rules or laws of the nation. He or she contributes positively towards the development of his country. A good citizen should be patriotic and should be endowed with all the values of Ubuntu. His desire is to see the nation moving forward. He is a moral being, which means he shuns immorality in its various forms. He pays his tax to the government every time.

The emphasis on compliance by Albert makes the course less valuable for criticality, even though he backs this up by referring to the high levels of corruption and immorality (values that are significant for criticality) as a sign of a lack of Ubuntu in post-colonial Zimbabwe:

We have faced so many scandals dating back to the 1980s: the Willowgate scandal and just recently we had the Salarygate [scandal]; and when we look at all that, we see the moral decadence in those who are supposed to be the custodians of the morals.

Mandizha adds three more aspects that can be used to support conformity in the context of limited democratic space:

NASS forms someone who respects those who hold the powers: that is, the rulers of that country; someone who is able to decide the future of his country without outside interference; someone who can vote for [the leaders of] that nation without being influenced by outsiders.

Respect for authority, and the ability to decide the future of the country and to vote without outside interference are all essential elements, but can be used negatively to stifle citizens from reflexive, dialogical and dialectical ways of thinking. These forms of thinking involve a continuous process of knowledge-seeking through multiple perspectives. From the students' voices in chapter 7, opposition politics is presented as advancing the neo-colonial project and all opposition members are labelled sell-outs.

As at CTC, lecturers at GTC emphasise the legal status as the foundation of their understanding of citizenship. Nonetheless, they also point to a symbiotic relationship between the state and its citizens, where, "*a citizen has certain rights he may demand from the state, but at the same time there are obligations he has to the state, like payment of tax, or upholding the agreed laws of the country*" (Taguta, CTC).

The conceptualisation of citizenship by all the lecturers is largely useful, but it is too narrow, and based on the national context, despite the inclusion of topics on international relations to

the syllabus (see section 3.1). From this angle, it is doubtful whether the ability of students to 'see themselves as not simply citizens of some local region or group' but 'as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern' is achievable (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 389). The citizen attributes highlighted by participants are many (patriotic, responsible, tolerant, respectful, loyal, critical) but the underlying trait is being compliant. Whilst loyalty to one's nation is desirable, there is a danger that citizens may be taught to be subservient and uncritical, either in the name of loyalty or patriotism. The type of citizen advanced in this study is an active or engaged citizen, 'one who offer[s] their leaders neither blind trust nor cynical distrust but rather displays a healthy scepticism' (Mattes and Shenga, 2013, p. 160). Achieving this involves civic engagement around claims of inclusiveness and representation. For example, lecturers or students should question discourses, institutional or curriculum and pedagogical practices that perpetuate domination of powerless or marginalised groups. An understanding of citizenship that ignores civic engagement, inclusivity and meaningful representation lacks a grounded view of individual differences as advanced by the CA (McCowan and Unterhalter, 2009). As such the conceptualisation will be less empowering, in that it views citizens as equal on the basis of their legal status with equal claims of rights.

6.5.2 Forms of citizens that NASS seek to form

Several types of citizens have been proposed as those that NASS seeks to form. The most frequently recurring ones are: responsible, accountable, patriotic and enterprising citizens.

> *I think NASS seeks to produce citizens who are responsible and who are accountable. We encourage them to voluntarily set standards of cleanliness in the hostels and the dining halls. Let me take you off the campus situation, where people should show responsibility. Many times you see when you are travelling in the road, we see people leaving stones on the road:, that should be a concern of someone who is responsible [and therefore] has a feeling of what could happen to the motorist who might be coming. He has to remove the stone or obstacle that might be found on the road that could cause danger.* (Mutambanengwe)

On what they mean by patriotism, Taguta explains that, *"By patriotism we are looking at people who are ready to [make a] sacrifice for the nation, to work for the country, either for the government or any other department for the development of the country"*. According to Zembe, *"When we look at patriotism, we will be looking at how the student citizen is aware of national values, national aspirations and our national history etc."*

It is true that patriotism calls for making sacrifices, especially for the benefit of others, and the urge to sacrifice is informed by how well citizens understand and appreciate national aspirations and values embedded in national history. However, there is a danger that a narrow form of patriotism that advances values of the powerful and dominant may be pursued, as explained in chapter two. At CTC, the two lecturers also try to explain the type of citizens that NASS seeks to form, emphasising both a patriotic citizen and one who is endowed with Ubuntu, who is self-reliant and responsible. Mandizha says:

> *I think the aim is to develop teachers who [are] not only patriotic, but also we develop entrepreneurial skills in these students so that they become self-reliant. We believe that in being self-reliant they will also be responsible citizens.*

Whereas there is no clarity on what a patriotic citizen means in Albert's response, we can infer through the other dimensions added throughout the interview. Albert says this citizen should be, "*one who is able to make independent decision[s]; one who can determine what is wrong or what is right; one who can make that distinction*".

The form of patriotism understood here needs to be closely analysed, especially in light of Nussbaum's (1994; 2001; 2011) assertion that patriotism can be used to advance democratic values or for selfish and repressive purposes. Every country needs patriotic citizens, but following Nussbaum (*ibid.*), CE should arguably seek to form patriots with powers of reasoning, criticality, imagination and reflection to form judgements about activities and lives that are worthwhile (Vaughan & Walker, 2012, p. 496). The context in which this is operationalised should guarantee the provision of what Sen calls instrumental freedoms to citizens in order for them to exercise their full agency. Although this has not been the case in the two teachers' colleges, from the lecturers' perspective, some exercise of agency is demonstrated as lecturers in both colleges have aspirations to teach for critical citizenship despite the restricted democratic space.

6.6 Conclusion

From this chapter, it clear that there is a lack of a coordinated or institutionalised understanding for the introduction and operationalisation of NASS in the two colleges. Although there is growing participation of lecturers in designing and reviewing NASS syllabi, the level of participation should be transformative, rather than making citizens passive recipients of instructions from above, as noted in chapter five. The top-down approach used in policy processes and practices is the same approach used at college level, as evidenced by the lack of participation by various stakeholders in the generation or review of the syllabus. Although the lecturers agree in many instances, they place emphasis on different aspects when it comes to their understanding of citizenship and the type of citizen NASS seeks to form. The values related to such identities differ to some degree, but all the lecturers acknowledged the significance of education in advancing values of society, which may not necessarily represent the majority of the people. Although the lecturers predict a hopeful future for the course, they also highlight challenges that may interfere with the quality of citizens formed in the process. Restricted democratic space often nurtures a lack of will to challenge the system in each college, in both the content and institutional arrangements that marginalise minority groups. This leaves room for doubt as to whether the lecturers are in practice advancing Nussbaum's three capabilities, essential for the formation of critical democratic citizens. Nonetheless, in their moments of aspirational critical citizenship, within the contexts of the above challenges, the lecturers take some risks and teach students the ability to think critically, to have a narrative imagination, and the capacity to think as a world citizen albeit limited by actual conditions. In the next chapter, I explore students' perspectives on NASS and how it forms critical democratic citizens.

CHAPTER 7: STUDENT PERSPECTIVES ON NASS

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I pointed out that lecturers' understanding of citizenship is limited to legal status, instead of a richer form of citizenship that can be understood as advancing HD. It also emerged that the form of citizenship promoted by NASS courses is based on national policy to form patriotic and responsible citizens, with little emphasis on engaged, active and critical democratic citizens. However, despite obstacles in teaching students for critical citizenship (for example, restricted democratic space, limited involvement of lecturers in the initial stages of the introduction of NASS, and lack of resources to teach NASS effectively), lecturers exercised some agency to advance critical citizenship and graduate citizens' capabilities such as critical thinking. Their support for Ubuntu somewhat enlarged their view of citizenship in practice.

In this chapter, I examine how selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship, their perspectives on, and experiences of, NASS in the TE curriculum, and the extent to which NASS fosters their critical citizenship. This is crucial in addressing the overarching aim of the study; that is, to explore the role of NASS in the TE curriculum in securing human capabilities and promoting HD. This will address research question four: *How do selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship? What are their perspectives on and experiences of NASS in the teacher education curriculum? To what extent does NASS foster their critical citizenship?* The chapter also serves to triangulate claims by lecturers regarding their pedagogical practices in section 6.3.

I focus on four connected themes in three sections illuminating students' voices on the teaching and learning of NASS. The first section presents students' perspectives on citizenship and CE as a foundation to dig deeper into their conceptualisation and understanding of citizenship, and the significance of CE for the formation of critical citizens. Through the students' voices, I explore their understanding of what constitutes a 'good' or 'bad' citizen. The terms emerged from literature reviewed in chapter two, in which I established that the terms could be used to categorise citizens through labels like 'patriots' and 'sell-outs'. The second section sheds light on the students' understanding of NASS as a course for citizenship formation and the type of citizens it seeks to form. I explore students' pedagogical experiences in the two colleges to establish if the manner in which CE is taught contributes to or impedes the formation of critical citizens. The third section focuses on citizenship values emerging from the students voices.

Despite the fact that the students are taught by the same lecturers in their respective colleges, their perspectives are not necessarily the same. There are contestations in terms of their understanding of citizenship, the value and quality of citizenship taught through NASS, the type of citizen that NASS seeks to form, and the degree to which NASS is 'national' and 'strategic', as suggested by its name.

7.2 Perspectives on citizenship and citizenship education

7.2.1 Students' perspectives on Citizenship

From the data in this study, it emerges that student perspectives on citizenship are not uniform, as some concentrate on the legal status, while others focus on the evaluative form relating to the quality or effectiveness of citizenship, which McCowan & Unterhalter (2009) refer to as the republican view. Citizenship as a legal status involves recognition of one's legal status as a member of a polity. Although important in claiming other citizenship rights, legal status is the elementary understanding of citizenship, which in this study is subscribed to by seven of the 24 students. It is recognisable in legal documents, as explained by Muchetura (CTC):

> *Citizenship is whereby an individual belongs to a particular nation by having documents that state that you are a citizen of that particular nation and you follow the norms and values of that nation.*

The limitation of this understanding is that it assumes that it is enough for one's citizenship to be confirmed through legal documents such as a national identity card and birth certificate. This seems to be an uncritical understanding of citizenship, because it does not take note of the complex forms that need more than legal documents, such as high levels of commitment to one's country and active participation in its everyday activities. Apart from the legal status, ten students in various ways believed that citizenship is about what one is able contribute to the development of his or her nation. However, the students do not apply their definition to the global dimension. Their conceptualisation of citizenship suits an evaluative continuum as envisioned by McCowan and Unterhalter (2009). It is a rich form of citizenship in which citizens are actively involved in the decision-making processes on issues that affect them, instead of just following traditionally established norms and values of society as depicted in Muchetura's response above. In HD and capability terms, it is a form of citizenship in which all citizens reasonably choose to participate in developing their nation in an empowering context of inclusivity, equity and sustainability. Malianga seems to have this in mind when he took citizenship to be "*how one upholds his or her responsibilities to serve an area or*

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community in which he or she lives". Both the legal and evaluative forms of citizenship are significant for a richer understanding of what may be described as HD- or capability-based citizenship. Whilst the evaluative form of citizenship is ideal, citizens need legal status in order to claim other citizenship rights. Seven students subscribed to the understanding that both legal and evaluative forms of citizenship are crucial for a richer form of citizenship in which citizens enjoy the freedom to choose from an array of opportunities to participate in national developmental projects. Sinampande (CTC) thus says:

> *Citizenship is experienced when one resides in a country of birth and being a national of that country. The person must have a birth certificate and national identity card of that country. Some may even come from other countries and apply for citizenship here. A citizen has rights as well; for example, he is allowed to stand for election into any office as long as he meets the requirements.*

Sinampande's conceptualisation seems to extend beyond the Zimbabwean government's conceptualisation of citizenship described in chapter five. From 2000-2008 the Zimbabwean government emphasised citizenship as a legal status and also politicised it by excluding former migrant workers, mostly of Malawian and Mozambican origin, and white commercial farmers, from exercising citizenship rights like voting and access to land (Daimon, 2014). These people were largely considered to be supporters of the new opposition party MDC, which had successfully campaigned in unison with civic society for a 'NO' vote to the 1999 draft constitution.[37] According to students' data in this study, citizenship is more than a legal status: it includes, but is not limited to, one's rights and obligations in a certain country. What one does as a member of a certain polity also counts towards effective citizenship being recognised. However, the students seem to ignore more complex issues such as the heterogeneity of citizens and other conversion factors, which may limit the citizens' agency in converting available opportunities and realisable beings and doings.

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[37] Although this constitution was rejected in the referendum that followed its draft, in 2013 a new constitution with more citizen rights such as freedom of expression and a variety of liberal clauses (including a cap on the terms of office of the President) was accepted after a referendum. However, there has been limited progress in aligning existing laws with the new clauses in the constitution.

7.2.2 Students perspectives on being a 'good' citizen

In this subsection, I present students' normative understanding of what constitutes a 'good' citizen. Students' conceptualisation of citizenship seems to influence their understanding of a good citizen or good citizenship. Their understanding varies from focus on issues of morality to understandings of a good citizen including attributes that can be regarded as advancing HD. In other words, the understanding stretches from subservient citizens to one that is proactive and has a critical voice in exercising citizenship rights.

Sunlight, Muchetura and Mandlovu agree with Machaya's suggestion of compliance:

> *A good citizen should comply with the policies, rules or laws of the nation, because without compliance people will not agree and there won't be any progress within the Nation, because people will always be arguing, so you should comply.*

This type of good citizen is in danger of being docile and non-critical of what goes on in the country in the name of avoiding disagreements that curtail progress. The good citizen will only serve to uphold the interest of those in power, although this may be said to be for the good of the nation. For example, Malianga emphasises that:

> *Good citizenship is when one abides by the laws of the society or one's country. There is also [a] need to respect those in authority, for the prosperity of the nation is centred upon solidarity and peace.*

In as much as a country needs law-abiding citizens, this should not be at a cost of freedom of expression. That is, citizens should not be afraid to question traditions or moving the agenda for change in the name of respecting those in authority. In addition solidarity should not be taken to mean uniformity or used to suppress dissenting voices, as this will stifle both public deliberations and critical thinking, which are crucial elements in promoting citizens' agency.

By contrast Terence and Takunda foreground the importance of knowledgeable citizens who are actively involved in the affairs of their country:

> *A good citizen is an individual who is abreast with current knowledge and is able to adapt to certain changes that are good for the society. He has some form of constructive ideas and does not discard any projects or an idea brought up by the society but rather improves these ideas. He is one of the key players in the development process as well and he endeavours to be part of the policy-making process.*

Adapting, in the above context, has been understood in the positive sense, rather than as referring to acquiescence associated with adaptation, based on the idea of 'moving with the crowd'. The fact that the citizen is expected to be a "*key player*" in both policy-making processes and developmental programmes is a positive attribute that should be emphasised. The idea of participating is one of the HD values regarded as important for people-centred projects (Boni & Arias, 2012). In addition, participation makes better citizens (Mansbridge, 1995). Prince unequivocally values CE to enable effective citizens' participation: "*Yes citizens need to be informed in order for them to make meaningful contributions in their society and to understand what constitutes citizenship*".

What follows is another HD aspect (sustainability), which is also vital in the HD agenda. Unless good citizenship is understood in sustainable terms, its benefits will be limited to present demands, neglecting future generations. In that regard, Thesbe recognises a strong relationship between patriotism, good citizenship and sustainable development:

> *If you are proud of your nation, then you can work towards the development of your nation. You also ensure that ideologies and values of the nation are passed on to the next generation, because if I die, Zimbabwe should live on. If the president dies, the nation should continue to live. So a good citizen should ensure that there is continuity of citizenship responsibility and duties as well, as imparting roles to the next generation.*

This connection, although difficult to undertake at a practical level in constrained democratic contexts, helps to dispel narrow forms of patriotism and citizenship, which tend to limit capabilities. Even the national values or ideologies that are passed on are open-ended, rather than limited to the past or current struggles. Such values are a product of selfless consultations among various sections of the society including youth, and should be passed on through democratic pedagogies that strengthen the formation of human capabilities.

From the above, what constitutes 'good' citizenship or a 'good' citizen is contested and can be misrepresented to mean uncritical or subservient. At best, a republican view of good citizenship envisaged as active in the public sphere, responsible and committed to the wellbeing of the wider society structured in the network of civic, social and political rights and entitlements has been alluded to (Westheimer and Kahne, 2004; McCowan & Unterhalter, 2009; White, 2013). The implications of the various understandings of good citizenship by students shed light on the citizenship attributes they idealise, but not necessarily the type of citizens that NASS seeks

to form. This will be discussed in section 7.3.2; meanwhile, I discuss what students perceive as the attributes of a 'bad' citizen.

7.2.3 Students perspectives' on a bad citizen

I used the term 'bad' citizen or citizenship for this subtheme to capture how the participants differentiated good citizens from bad ones, so as to establish the depth of their understanding of citizenship. Broadly, views on what constitutes a bad citizen coalesced around the opposite of what the participants had described as a good citizen. Two participants did not agree with the term 'bad citizen' and preferred to call them "*deviants*" or "*social misfits*"; another one referred to bad citizens as "*sell-outs*". Lydia, one of the students who did not agree with my usage of the term 'bad citizen', says' *"We don't really say a 'bad' citizen, but [that] that person has deviant behaviour or something like that"*. Although the term 'bad' citizen may be interpreted in a way that encourages othering, I used it to separate an ideal citizenship from its antithesis, so as to identify which citizenship values students uphold and which they abhor. Machaya gives such an example: "*People are taken to be social misfits because of certain unacceptable behaviour"*.

While these students disagree with the term 'bad citizen', terms they prefer to use such as *deviant* and *social misfit* have also negative implications. Both terms suggests that good citizens should always fit into the society. In this regard, it is not surprising that some of the students, in negotiating their space in complex situations, concurred with the idea that one has to fit into different contexts by discarding their own values. Mudenda says:

> As a Zimbabwean you should fit in the society, whether you are in Bulawayo[38] or Chipinge.[39] This means to say when you are in Harare, you study their environment, their norms and values and fit in their context, so should you when you are in Chipinge.

On the same point, Nyama says:

> I think there is an old saying, which says 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do'. So as a citizen you have to fit in any given society; that is, we have to do the acceptable and do away with the unacceptable norms and values in that society, so that you will not be a social outcast.

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[38] Bulawayo is the second-largest city in Zimbabwe, which is now a province in Matabeleland.
[39] Chipinge is a rural settlement in Manicaland province, in the eastern part of Zimbabwe.

Although the idea of '*fitting'* may mean many things, in this study students focused on making important decisions in difficult circumstances of restricted democratic space, as explained in chapter 5. Even in their teaching practice, a number of students saw the notion of '*fitting'* into their new context as a strength. Malianga says:

> *As a student of NASS with the right attitude and proper morals learnt from college through NASS, I was able to survive in Chiweshe for about one-and-[a]-half years.[40] As an outsider, I was in a position to understand their cultural beliefs, their political affiliation and at the same time fitting into that particular society. I was operating as a teacher.*

Drawing on Nussbaum's (2006) notion of critical thinking, the students are less critical as they prefer adhering to tradition so as to 'fit into' the society and avoid the labels *'deviant'* and *'social misfit'*. On the other hand, some students such as Rera think they should not adjust to suit the situation: "*I think [that] as a citizen I will not adapt, but accept and tolerate other people's culture whilst maintaining my own in that new setting I will be in.*" Rera's view shows dynamism associated with the diversity of cultures in a Zimbabwean context; however, this could be problematic in contexts where there are restricted freedoms of expression and association.

Some students identified several attributes associated with the term 'bad citizen'. For example, most students seem to agree with the following elements that Malianga articulates:

> *If one is not patriotic, we can equate it to a bad citizen. If you cannot contribute to the development of the nation; if you cannot participate or have nothing to do with your country; if you don't observe the rule of law, talk of justice and all those things, you are a bad citizen.*

Added to the list by other participants were the following:

- *One who is corrupt;*
- *Those who are irresponsible;*
- *Those who do not care for others other than themselves;*
- *One who tarnishes the image of the country through negative publicity or even through behaviour which compromises the values of the nation ;*

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[40] Chiweshe is a rural area in Mashonaland Central province.

- *A bad citizen is destructive. For example, property destruction is a case where we find that people can go to the extent of stealing power cables; and*
- *A sell-out*

This understanding seems to concur with a form of citizenship recommended by the CIET's 1999 report, which stresses seeking to form patriotic citizens who contribute to national development. In view of the various conceptualisations of citizenship above, CE can be useful in further interrogating various notions of citizenship and how they can be useful in forming citizens' capabilities. However, for this to be realised, democratic practices should be used in curriculum and pedagogical practices and processes.

7.2.4 Students perspectives on citizenship education

I now present findings on students' views on the importance of CE. I discuss more broadly how student participants thought about the importance of CE and specifically what they think about NASS as a course for CE for teachers in section 7.3. The majority of the students in this study understand CE as good for any nation. By 'good', they imply useful for the formation of citizens attributes perceived as good citizenship. Nonetheless, there are also fears that CE can be used to advance undemocratic ambitions. For example, it may be used to propel a political agenda, rather than to educate citizens for critical citizenship.

Against the backdrop of accusations levelled against the type of education advanced by the Zimbabwean education and training system in chapter two (Chung & Ngara, 1985; CIET, 1999), one which seem to be centred on producing 'skilled human resources' with little emphasis on citizenship attributes, the need to produce graduates capable of making informed decisions and with an understanding of a richer form of citizenship seems crucial for national development. Yet having citizenship in the curriculum and forming such citizens are two different things. Machaya claims that it is a good course to debunk colonial mentalities:

> *I think it is good because, under colonial rule, Africans were not taken as important citizens. People did not enjoy their citizens' rights and after independence many still do not understand their rights and obligations as citizens.*

Four students had an understanding of both the potentials and dangers of CE to either form critical or subservient and docile citizens. Thesbe gives us a distinct understanding of both the dangers and potentials of CE in advancing development for the nation:

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Citizenship education is needed from one side because it helps us to understand what is expected of us as individual citizens in a country. It helps us to understand how we can contribute towards the development of our country. On the other hand, it also depends on the depth to which it is taught. If it is misinterpreted, it may work towards narrow political agendas, but if it is understood properly, for example as a weapon to dispel misconceptions which were taught about Africans, that they are uncivilised, it becomes useful.

From the evidence provided above, CE is important in so far as it advances, and is politically attuned to, democratic practices. The focus should be on how it is taught, besides what is enshrined in official documents, to avoid legitimising the interests of the powerful in society.

Students' various understandings of both a good and bad citizen noted earlier (sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3) point to the importance of teaching CE that enhances the capacities of graduates to actively participate in national development programmes. This involves provision of knowledge that fosters the formation of citizens' capabilities, such as critical thinking. Most students agreed that CE is an important course in education in general. They provide varied reasons for its justification, but the majority suggest it has an instrumental value, a means of preparing citizen graduates to become responsible and active citizens.

7.3 Perspectives on NASS as citizenship education

Students' perspectives on NASS shed light on the importance placed on NASS as a CE course by the students. This is essential in underscoring their perceptions of the forms of citizens NASS seek to form. I further discuss their perceived challenges to the operationalisation of NASS. The last theme focuses on the pedagogical arrangements in NASS as perceived by the students themselves.

7.3.1 General perspectives

Most students think it is important and strategic to teach CE in TE because of the crucial role played by teachers in shaping citizens for a sustainable future, as well as their contribution towards HD. CE was commended for its role in buttressing critical thinking and its pedagogical value in the curriculum they will teach after graduating. HD language is noticeable among students, as opposed to policy stakeholders or lecturers (see chapters five and six respectively). However, this does not necessarily mean that all student participants perceived NASS positively.

Some student respondents such as Rose, Muchetura, Tabeth and Takunda see the value of CE stretching beyond the current context. Takunda says:

> *Definitely! We have to learn it. The teachers are the people who deal with little children and the children are the future. It is our responsibility as teachers to mould these children. If we do not have adequate knowledge of citizenship, that would then mean we are producing a future generation that would be arrogant, it would not be concerned with the matters of this country or even those of the world.*

Takunda adds two dimensions that are important for citizenship formation: citizenship for a sustainable future, and world citizenship, rather than being limited to the nation. I shall discuss the world citizenship dimension further in subsection 7.3.2. This dimension is perceived as a critical way to conceptualise the role of education in enhancing capabilities by Nussbaum (1997; 2006). Citizenship formation for a sustainable future, which I will call sustainable CE, can be achieved through students' participation in active citizenship as part of their learning process. The importance of teachers as bearers of citizenship values should be recognised by expanding their capabilities to do and to be what they value as part of the polity. The question is, to what extent can these citizen teachers use their acquired knowledge or citizenship values to advance a rich form of citizenship considered as active, critical and contributing to HD, particularly where democratic values are not upheld in the wider context?

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Concerning the usefulness of NASS as CE, most students are positive, but the reasons are still grounded in the national (rather than global) context. While most students seem to regard it as a strength, the national context is narrow. Machaya, Mandlovu and Lydia feel NASS cannot be compared to other disciplines because of its focus on the nation, Machaya thus says:

> *NASS is very national if l may say, in the sense that it brings national consciousness, national love, and cooperation of people in the nation, working for the nation, developing the nation and protection of the nation.*

It may be true that the nation can be used to mobilise citizens for social cohesion, patriotism and even advancing development, but its potential to oppress minorities and stifle dissenting voices should not be underestimated. Even when Tabeth suggests that the course is strategic because it develops critical thinking skills, this should not be taken for granted. Fostering citizenship values like patriotism and contributing to development are important for enhancing citizenship participation in the affairs of their country, but on a practical level these do not necessarily work out the way they are perceived, as explained by Cecilia, drawing on her teaching practice experience:

> *I was working in a community which believed that teachers were supposed to do things their [community] way. I would just listen to what they demanded, despite realising that some of the things will be contrary to my own likes. NASS taught me about my rights, but I would also use the same knowledge to decide to keep quiet. If they asked me to attend a political rally, even if it was not for my political party, I would just do it for that time, but I would go back to my party ideologies afterwards.*

This experience sheds more light on how complex it may be to understand the degree to which NASS fosters capability choices in a contested democratic space. However, it also demonstrates that students exercised agency by making decisions within the context of their communities during their teaching practice. Thus, in as much as the NASS course taught them crucial values essential for participating as full citizens, their contexts determined how they would act.

One of the important elements made reference to is the pedagogical value of NASS, drawn by some of the students from their teaching practice experiences. Sinampande says:

> *When I was on Teaching Practice, I used to teach social studies using my NASS knowledge because there are topics in social studies which are covered in NASS. For*

example, in the topic 'Living Together', the idea of patriotism and self-consciousness comes in. In fact, I do not see any difference between NASS and social studies.

This is not surprising, given that CE is being taught in some primary school grades in Zimbabwe through Social Studies and these students are training to become teachers at this level (Namasasu, 2012). Nonetheless, the contribution of NASS to the school curriculum is questionable if it is just a mere transmission of citizenship ideas without a critical reflection on what it means to be a citizen of any society. If the thrust is on fitting into a society in which learners are encouraged to conform to authority and existing institutional political structures, then CE will be dehumanising (Freire, 1972).

The evidence below affirms that students acknowledge the limitations of NASS. Thesbe considers NASS as having its own problems as well as value:

It cannot be a perfect course, but it is good in that it teaches about nationalism, pride of our country, entrepreneurship, it addresses gender issues and also keeps us abreast with current government policies; like right now, we have the recently introduced ZIMASSET.[41]

Maria, however, registers her scepticism based on the manner in which NASS is taught*:*

NASS can be detrimental because it is more like drilling people on how to react to certain situations, in the sense that I'm being spoon-fed by these ideologies that a good citizen has to be patriotic even if something is wrong.

Even though all education is conceived as political, this view resonates with the assessment that citizenship education that does not encourage people to be critical is fundamentally political propaganda (Matereke, 2012).

One of the aspects raised regarding the importance of NASS is its potential to advance entrepreneurial skills: this was raised by several respondents, who called it a 'survival kit'. However, not all respondents support this view. For example, Thelma, Rera and Mudenda are not optimistic about the impact of entrepreneurship. Mudenda captures some of the reasons:

Entrepreneurship is the lifeblood of corruption in Zimbabwe. Look at this situation here: we are more than 140 students in our intake only and each one of us wants to get

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[41] The acronym stands for Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation, an economic policy meant to resuscitate Zimbabwe's socio-economic system.

into business. Because of limited opportunities, there will be competition, which will force some to bribe their way in order to get good business opportunities. So, whilst it may be good at one hand, it has also negative effects.

Whilst entrepreneurship can prepare citizens for the right mind-set to secure economic freedom, one of the instrumental freedoms advanced by Sen (1999), it may be problematic to do so in a context where economic opportunities are not open. It will be difficult to sustain such entrepreneurial projects, given the general economic decline noted in chapter five.

The students say NASS is both national and strategic even though some view it as being strategic to some sections of the society rather than for everyone. Generally, NASS was considered a good course for CE in teachers' colleges. Some of the reasons advanced include its epistemological value in providing knowledge about the country's history, its significance in debunking colonial citizenship discourses that undermined Africans in general, and its significance for preparing graduates for full participation in the development of their country. Of much value to this study are voices that point out that the course appears genuine and well-intended on the surface, but the manner in which it is operationalised is questionable. This brings us to analysis of the type of citizens NASS seeks to form.

7.3.2 Forms of citizens which NASS seeks to form

Having drawn on students overall perspectives on whether CE should be taught to teachers and the role of NASS in TE, I now present their views on the type of citizens NASS seeks to form. From the literature reviewed in chapter two, the type of citizen sought is determined by the conceptualisation of citizenship, the aim of CE and even how descriptions such as 'good' or 'bad' citizen are understood. For example, among other forms, student participants in this study (unlike lecturers), provide an impression that NASS seek to form a richer type of citizen, understood as critical, democratic, social justice- and HD-oriented.

Malianga seemed to be positive about the form of citizen NASS seeks to form:

> *NASS seeks to mould responsible citizens, citizens who can sustain themselves: wholesome individuals, who not only have academic credentials or the required skills for a particular job, but also proper attitudes and good morals required for the greater benefit of the whole society. Citizens who are critical, because a society, to function, needs citizens who are analytical and critical; people who do not abide by directives for the sake of obedience, but make decisions that are reasoned out logically.*

What is striking from this response is the comprehensive nature of the forms of citizens that are sought by NASS. Interestingly he also alluded to one of Nussbaum's capabilities, which has been less discussed in this study, either by policy stakeholders or the lecturers: *the ability to feel for others in the nation*. Although no direct reference has been made to its importance, this capability occupies a central place in a citizenship course guided by Ubuntu. Ubuntu emphasises the interconnectedness of humanity, as expressed in the saying "I am because we are", which means my humanity exists because of others (Veugelers, 2011). While "others" has been commonly interpreted as referring to people of the same polity, it could be extended to all humanity. Very few participants, however (including Takunda in section 7.3.1) referred to this. Lydia's voice, which represents the majority of the students' voice on this aspect, explains why her understanding does not extend to the global context:

> *That global thing now, I don't know. Maybe I am not educated enough to see the effectiveness of the plans. It's because we are now adapting to the culture of those up there, those superpowers. Because globalisation is the idea of those superior [countries], the superpowers [controlling other nations] so that they can rule everyone, that's what I think they want us all to be under their arms, because now if the whole world changes into a global village, think of our culture, which means everything will be buried.*

These fears are genuine and the reasoning is that power over both individuals and states is often neglected in explaining the possibilities of forming preferred identities. All features highlighted are clearly crucial for the development of the nation in sustainability terms despite the focus on the nation and students' scepticism about thinking globally. From the evidence emerging from the study, these are forms of citizenship that some of the students think should be formed by NASS, rather than what is transpiring. For example, Mandlovu and many others are negative about the type of citizen NASS seeks to form:

> *I think it seeks to form people who always agree with what will be taught, because if you seem to disagree they will accuse you of being an opposer every time. So they seek to form people who don't disagree with them.*

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Mandlovu, unlike her colleagues, alludes to the possibility of NASS seeking to form subservient citizens. Such a possibility should not be dismissed, given the approach used by lecturers in operationalising the NASS course.[42] Chirongoma offers a stronger criticism:

> *If we are going to have our children to grow up with that same school of thought of what is defined as citizenship education in NASS, then we are doomed. We know that we are being taught that to be patriotic is to belong to the government of the day or to belong to the ruling party, in actual fact to ZANU PF. And if you belong to MDC, you are labelled a sell-out, yet a member of the opposition can be as patriotic as a member of the ruling party or a member of the ruling party can be unpatriotic as well.*

What Chirongoma is suggesting is a need for NASS to recognise and accommodate political differences as a way of cultivating democratic values: as he says, a member of the opposition can be as patriotic as a member of the ruling party. What this further suggests is that the teaching of NASS does not always run smoothly, as shown in the previous chapter where some lecturers were accused of bringing party material into NASS lectures.

I provide another example demonstrating how students make decision on what to do or say as they interact. It appears that what determines action is an evaluation of one's context, after which 'appropriate' action will be taken. According to Mudenda:

> *In every situation you meet, you need to clear your name for any possible accusations because at the end of the day you will not be a victim. So it becomes a survival tactic. You will know that the witnesses who will be there will go and tell others that I did a good thing.*

The need to 'clear one's name' in order to avoid victimisation points to a context that stifles critical thinking. To 'clear one's name' is understood as making sure one is always politically correct. In such a context, in as much as the type of citizen envisaged by the lecturers or the course will be noble on paper, the context, which in capability terms is a conversion factor, may inhibit agency to convert the capability of critical thinking into a functioning (*actual* critical thinking). The fear of victimisation and negative labels appear genuine, considering Machaya's (the only participant to use the term 'sell-out' to describe fellow citizens) perception of the type of citizen NASS seek to form:

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[42] In chapter 6, Albert admitted that he uses compulsion to ensure what he calls critical thinking.

NASS looks for citizens who stand in the face of hardships. When I say 'who stand in the face of hardships', I mean people who can face any situation rather than run away from their own country because there is trouble, or hunger, because their money has been devalued or inflation has affected the country. In a way, we can say those who run away are sell-outs, and those who remain are the people who have got that collective consciousness. They stand for what is there.

Labelling others 'sell-outs' is what Ranger (2004) and Tendi (2010) criticise as a major weakness in patriotic history historiography, as explained in chapter two. The form of citizen it seeks undermines what Nussbaum (2006) and Geboers *et al.* (2013) call the genuine spirit of democratic citizenship with its underlying values of critical thinking and narrative imagination. This form of citizenship is counter to development because it enjoins us to collective blindness to oppression and injustices in society.

Contrasting types of citizens and citizenship have been depicted as formed through NASS. Students note that citizens can be subservient, compliant and docile whilst simultaneously contributing meaningfully to the development of the country. A possible explanation is the constricted democratic space, which does not allow participants to democratically deliberate in ways that foster critical citizenship.

7.3.3 Challenges and suggestions

What emerges from this subsection is that most of what the students perceive as challenges are seemingly a direct result of lack of meaningful engagement between college authorities, lecturers and students. This may lead to mistrust and lack of a coherent institutional understanding of what NASS seeks to achieve, as pointed out above. The challenges related by students mainly derive from their lived experiences in the learning of NASS. Students also identify areas where the colleges are doing their best to make the learning of NASS for critical citizenship achievable. Even though the colleges are run by two different responsible authorities, their challenges are similar.

The first challenge, assignment writing, affected a number of students. It appears the challenge faced by the students in this endeavour is connected to lack of dissemination of information about the course demands and approaches to assignments. According to Lydia:

NASS was a big challenge to me, because when I came here [for] my first assignment I got a very low mark. I did a rewrite and it was the same. I didn't have any History

background. So it was really tough for me. You would also hear people saying "if you fail NASS and pass Professional Studies and all other subjects, you are not given your diploma". I had [to do] a rewrite of a rewrite.

The pressure on the students is worsened by the fact that they rely on hearsay as to what the course expectations are, instead of getting it from the lecturers who teach the course. This was confirmed in the previous chapter by Albert, who argued that it was not necessary to teach or discuss the rationale or goals of NASS. Yet his own student, Sinampande, complains that, "*When NASS was introduced to us, we were confused about what we were about to learn. It was after getting into its details that we started realising that it is more than History studies*". These challenges are indicators that, from the beginning, lecturers did not create a platform for open discussion and transparency so as to enable critical conversation in NASS lectures. This comes against a backdrop of lack of an institutionalised understanding of the role of NASS, discussed under the notion of constricted democratic space in chapter 6.

The most common challenge, which almost every participant (including lecturers) referred to, is that of *resources*. Lydia says:

> *We do not have enough books [for NASS] at the library. Our library has limited resources; even the computer laboratory has few computers and we are not given enough time to search for whatever we want to research.*

Resources for the teaching and learning of NASS are crucial conversion factors, which may positively or negatively influence how effective NASS is in forming critical citizens. Combined with lack of induction discussed above, the students' worries are understandable. For students operating in a rural setting, Muchetura's emphasis on a limited number of computers available at the college for research purposes cannot be underrated:

> *The number of computers in relation to the number of people using [them] does not tally, given the fact that the students need to research on a daily [basis] to know what is happening out there, to read news on what is happening in our country. I think these are some of the things that beset us at college level.*

Their circumstances are different from those in urban areas, in that those in urban settings may have access to private facilities. Yet, the fact that the course must be passed in order for students to graduate is a compelling reason to ensure adequate resources. Cecilia also complains of lack of access to a variety of newspapers to read about current affairs:

The other challenge is that we do not have access to a variety of newspapers and other forms of media. At times we develop negative attitudes towards some programs because we will be thinking that they will be ZANU PF projects, because usually we only have access to government-controlled newspapers.

The college's unwritten policy that confines itself to the procurement of government controlled papers such as *The Herald, The Sunday Mail,* and *The Patriot* (a ZANU PF-controlled paper) seems to point to the bias indicated by students in section 7.3.4. This shapes the attitude of students towards even well-intended programs. However, Thesbe compliments the college for meeting what she calls 'basics', given the location of their college:

I have compliments for the college, because despite our location and severe shortage of resources, the college makes an effort to provide the basics, which makes it possible for the course to be understood. There is a steady supply of newspapers at the library if you do not get a chance to use the lab for reading newspapers.

The challenges above call for some serious efforts to resource the NASS section instead of being satisfied with the 'basics' as explained by Thesbe. In any case, newspapers are not representative of diverse voices, as described by Cecilia above.

To address these challenges, a number of suggestions were put forward, including procuring more teaching and learning resources and ensuring that CE is effectively taught at lower levels of the schooling system. In addition, Lydia thinks *attitudes of people* should change:

I think NASS is over-emphasised; as a result people end up taking it for granted. They will simply do it to pass. So our attitude as individuals has to change and [we should] take NASS seriously. We still have that mentality of saying 'they want us to do NASS because they want to protect their interests'.

Students' attitudes are important in enhancing effective teaching and learning of any course, and all the more so with NASS, which is still viewed negatively by both lecturers and students. Whilst Lydia does not suggest how to change people's attitudes, *involvement of more stakeholders through workshops,* as suggested by Terrence, can be helpful:

There should also be some workshops or refresher course where we have presenters from outside our borders to share their knowledge and experiences with us .For example, we have the issue of ZIMASSET. We need people who are fully equipped with

the knowledge about ZIMASSET to come and teach us and present it to us, rather than merely reading about it from the state-controlled papers.

Several challenges seem to affect the teaching and learning of NASS: shortage of teaching and learning resources, lack of variety of reading material and limited access to the internet are dominant. In addition, assignment writing and lack of proper channels of information dissemination have been identified as other challenges.

7.3.4 Perspectives on the pedagogical arrangements in NASS

Having presented the various students' perspectives on NASS, the forms of citizens it seeks to form, challenges, and what they think should be done to improve the learning of this course, I now turn to their perspectives on the curriculum and pedagogical arrangements in place to inculcate the values leading to the formation of citizens. The operationalisation of NASS seeks to develop critical citizenship through a variety of teaching arrangements and assessment practise. However, this does not run smoothly as there are obstacles that curb the effective realisation of this endeavour. The first subsection focuses on whether Nussbaum's three capabilities (critical thinking, narrative imagination and thinking as a global citizen) are fostered. The second discusses teaching arrangements in NASS lessons and their contribution towards the formation of desired forms of citizenship. The third subsection concentrates on the student views of the assessment practices in NASS and how it helps or hinders the formation of critical democratic citizens.

7.3.4.1 Nussbaum's three capabilities for democratic citizenship

Of the three capabilities for democratic citizenship drawn from Nussbaum (1997; 2006) only critical thinking seemed to emerge strongly as important for NASS, although in the section on values some students referred to the importance of thinking as a global citizen as well. Limited evidence has been linked to narrative imagination despite its close association with both critical thinking and thinking as a global citizen. There was no consensus on whether critical thinking is advanced through NASS. Most students initially viewed NASS as advancing critical thinking, but later changed their minds; while others consistently think it has some limitations and is inclined towards propagating a certain political party ideology.

One of the steps I took to understand students' perspectives on critical thinking was to establish what students meant by 'critical thinking'. Although their definitions are many, Guveya's stood out as more comprehensive than the rest:

It means not thinking in a narrow way. You allow the mind to consider various options and evaluate which one makes more sense to you. So NASS equips teachers of different backgrounds with the ability to consider various options and allows them to choose which direction to take. It also teaches divergent thinking when it teaches students to consider what the future will be like, and when it teaches us history it's not telling us where to go, but to let us consider where we are coming from and therefore rethinking of where we want to go as a nation.

Although critical thinking is contested and multifaceted, this definition captures some of the complexities of critical thinking as advanced by Nussbaum (1997; 2002; 2006). However, this does not mean that critical thinking means the same thing to different people. For example, responding to Nussbaum's definition of critical thinking from an extract I gave them (see Appendix 9), students admitted that what they considered to be critical thinking in NASS was in actual fact narrow compared to Nussbaum's definition. The following quotes provide different views of whether there is critical thinking in NASS: Terrence confidently says that, "*NASS teaches us to be critical thinkers to such a level that we can even challenge such things that are regarded traditionally as authoritative*". Sunlight notes that:

The processes involve a lot of thinking and debates because it's not always clear and straightforward when you try to establish causes and effects. It is critical because it is not merely outlining events, but seeking an understanding of why they happened the way they did, or why they did not happen in certain ways.

For Nyama:

NASS promotes critical thinking, which we can call divergent thinking, especially when we look at some topics we covered, like human rights. That makes people open-minded. They become critical of issues of governance, which makes the people see where they will be abused and see how they will raise their voices to be heard.

The three quotes above not only illustrate claims by students of their ability to do critical thinking and what critical thinking can do for them and their nation, but also provide some insights on how varied their understanding of critical thinking is. Despite the different perspectives used by the students, they seem to agree that critical thinking is the ability to see things differently.

Another critical issue emerging from the students' voices is whether critical thinking is in actual fact being generated by NASS. Evidence seems to suggest that course subjects other than NASS play an important role in facilitating critical thinking. Thelma argues that:

> *If the issue of critical thinking is found in NASS, it is indirect because when we are taught about the history of our country I concur with Rera that we are only taught about the negative things done by Europeans. Nothing is said about education, health, Christianity and we are still practising those things. But when we are taught about them we are told they were bad and that they were meant to facilitate oppression. We are not even told that some of these whites actually fought fearlessly for our emancipation. Another example is the current situation where we say ZANU PF is for Zimbabweans and MDC is for Europeans. So if you vote for MDC you will be voting for sanctions and the Europeans will come back and rule us and we will continue to suffer.*

From the above evidence, rather than advancing critical thinking, NASS seems to be advancing a narrow way of interpreting both historical events and current affairs. The narrow interpretation of historical events thus fails to expand the capability set for a notion of tolerance and human rights. Yet, the students are able to identify this weakness. On the other hand, Nikita demonstrates an uncritical tendency in his response to what constitutes a patriot:

> *I strongly believe that patriotism in the context of Zimbabwe comes where the ideologies of the ruling party [ZANU PF] are explored and brought to the people as a way of advancing national development. For example, they speak of indigenisation which is a way of empowering the people of Zimbabwe: black, white, coloured, Indian and any other as long as you are indigenous. We see that they do have people at heart, and anything that is against this is a threat to our national sovereignty. So if they are for the people and you are against them, it means that the idea of being patriotic is non-existent in you.*

Contrary to the above view which accepts political rhetoric uncritically, Sinampande and Mandlovu perceive the course content and aim positively, but have reservations on its inclinations and focus.

> *It is not bad, but the problem is that people will be blinkered because what is taught will be biased towards one political party, which is the ruling party. I cannot remember any lesson in which we were taught this type of critical thinking or democracy. We*

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mainly focus on the history of Zimbabwe. Even though we are taught about the constitution and our rights, I do not think I have reached the stage of using this knowledge as [a] defence against any form of authority or abuse.

It is not surprising, then, that when I introduced Nussbaum's understanding of critical thinking, the majority of the students (including Tabeth and Thesbe) withdrew their initial claims on critical thinking in NASS. Their initial understanding of critical thinking was dictated by what and how they were being taught (for example, their views on political issues). In this regard, Nussbaum's idea of critical thinking was new to some of the students and was in conflict with the idea of fitting into society, as explained earlier.

The claim by students that aims and content of the course are significant is not only evident in the syllabi, but also confirms Nyakudya's (2007; 2011) assertions on the significance of the aims, objectives and content of NASS. The findings are also consistent with McCowan & Unterhalter's (2009) argument that disparities between the curriculum goals and actual practices could be problematic where citizenship formation is sought. What can be concluded here is that students, like lecturers, value critical thinking; however, there is no consistency in the manner in which citizenship is taught. As a result, there are moments of both critical engagement and non-critical teaching. The mixed feelings on the contribution of NASS to critical thinking require a fair assessment of the actual teaching arrangements in NASS lectures, as perceived by the students.

7.3.4.2 Pedagogical arrangements

Evidence presented in this sub-section confirms that lecturers involved in the teaching of NASS use a number of teaching methods, but these do not always advance the formation of critical citizenship. These include class discussions, debates and the use of resource persons in mass lectures.[43] However, it does not necessarily follow that all the students are happy with the methods and the manner in which this course is taught.

I first present positive perspectives on the teaching methods used. Commenting on the value of class discussions, Lydia explains that:

> *Through discussions with our lecturers and our peers in NASS lectures, we are able to stand [up] for our rights, like what I am saying now about the cultural dances.[44] I refused to participate in the dances for religious reasons, though I am still being threatened with expulsion from the course.*

Lydia's comment is evidence that some of the discussions undertaken in NASS lectures include issues relating to their real-life experiences. However, the use of threats by other lecturers, even if they are from other departments, to compel students to participate in activities that violate their religious liberties enshrined in the national constitution, is an indicator of institutional structures that are coercive. On the other hand, Sunlight claims that through discussions on historical events in NASS, he became aware of many interpretations that can be drawn from historical events:

> *When we discussed the occupation of Matabeleland, some scholars were saying the Ndebeles were attacked because they were hostile to the Shonas and that is what I knew from my high school history; but I later learnt that it was because Cecil Rhodes and his company had failed to get gold in Mashonaland, but then thought they would find it in Matabeleland. The arguments were many, which proved that the attack was never meant to protect the Shonas, but to protect the white man's interests. There was the*

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[43] The lectures at Charity Teachers' College are conducted per intake and an average intake has 140 students. At Good Hope Teachers' College, two intakes were combined because they only differ in the type of diploma qualification they are enrolled in and start at the same time. One specialises in Early Childhood Education whilst the other is on the General programme. The NASS course is the same and they write the same exam paper.

[44] These traditional dances were part of a practical course component required in the music class. The dances involve wearing traditional dance regalia. She object to both the traditional clothing and the content of the dance itself,

issue of cattle and also the continual disturbances of their projects. That is when I started realising that historical events can be interpreted in many ways.

From Sunlight's experience, it emerges that some lessons and discussions allow for the exploration of multidimensional perspectives in historical events. Muchetura and Terrence place debate at the centre of their learning:

We also engage in debates, which will help us, enlighten and equip us with survival skills, which we then implement in our lives if need be. The debate on the importance of NASS in the tertiary education or teachers' colleges was a very interesting motion. It made me aware of the things I didn't know.

Twoboy, however, questions the level of participation by students in debates. He says:

NASS lecturers belong to certain clubs within the college, like the Debate Society; so that means students in the debate club will benefit more. In NASS lectures they get more information as compared to the rest. They participate more because they are the ones who are chosen for any presentation. Like what happened today: there was a debate about globalisation, and the first preference to participate was given to those who belong to the college debate society.

Twoboy's focus on the type of interaction that goes on in the lecture room exposes a negative arrangement that may derail the advancement of students' capabilities. Active participation, inclusivity and equitable distribution of opportunities of power to speak out are crucial values for the advancement of critical citizenship, but are unevenly distributed, according to him.

Focusing on the context and manner of teaching by lecturers, Mandlovu states that:

NASS should be taught in an atmosphere where people will not think that this course subject is political. I don't know how, but whenever a lecturer stands up to teach NASS, students should not be able to see that this lecturer supports this party. I do not know the way they should be expressing themselves, but lecturers should be neutral in their teaching.

In as much as neutrality is an impossibility in education according to Freire (1972), for a lecturer who seeks to foster critical thinking in a context of limited democratic space, it is beneficial for lecturers to fight their biases, so as to allow students to explore more ways of

looking at their worldview. Tabeth sees this course as political because of the manner in which it is taught by both lecturers and resource persons:

> *I think all the lecturers who I have met at this college have got a political flair in the way they deliver their lecturers. For example, if we tackle a question about the Shona Ndebele relations, the subject tends to talk as if the Shona people are always good and the Ndebele were cruel up to when the unity accord was signed in 1987, because of the need to maintain unity in the country. They do not talk about things which happened in the past, like Gukurahundi.[45] We should learn about these things, but this one is only one-sided. As citizens, we are required to have knowledge of these events and by knowing that these things are wrong, the future leaders who are groomed by this course should know what they should not repeat which was done in the past.*

The above example shows how open dialogue can be thwarted, even in a context where the lecturers think discussions and debates allowed open discussion. As a result, lack of open dialogue in NASS lectures may lead to stereotyping of the course and the lecturers by students, which in turn, may limit engagement between lecturers and students. Even when outside resource persons are used, there are no guarantees of critical engagement in their presentations. Some students, including Sinampande's observation on their experiences with some resource persons, corroborate Taguta's (a lecturer) claims of ineffective teaching by resource persons in the previous chapter:

> *The day before yesterday we had a mass lecture with those people from a certain non-governmental organisation.[46] They were talking about the national economy, how it is and how the country is rich in minerals. They were saying Zimbabwe is number one in mineral deposits at [a] global level. That subject, if taught that way, is biased and it confirms the idea that it was introduced by ZANU PF to serve their interests and sometimes I can support that because they only spoke well of ZANU PF and also Mugabe. But I think this is propaganda because they looked at things from one side. They never talked about the bad side of the party and even the negative side of the*

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[45] Gukurahundi was a military campaign undertaken by the ZANU PF government 1984-1987 against perceived dissidents from PF ZAPU, predominantly from Matabeleland and parts of the Midlands province where the second-largest ethnic group (the Ndebele) come from. 'Gukurahundi' means 'early rains', which wash away the chaff before spring rains. More than 20 000 people were killed during this campaign, mostly civilians. See Auret (2010).

[46] This NGO is alleged to have links with the Central intelligence Organisation.

government. They talked at length about the negatives of the MDC and never did they mention one good thing about it. So I think it was one-sided.

Sinampande is not against the use of resource persons, but rather how they teach or deliver their lectures. In a context where newspapers at the college are pro-government, lectures are also biased in favour of the ruling party and resource persons invited by either the lecturers or college authorities further paint a positive image of the ruling party and government. The students' fears that the course is designed to propagate a political agenda are understandable.

Rera's assertion that debates are not undertaken in NASS lectures is in contrast with the claims of the lecturers at the college and my personal experience in one of the lectures in which debate was used. There is just one way to explain this, which is what Cecilia provides evidence for: "*I was surprised today to hear our lecturer saying "today we want to debate as a way of learning". We have never done that before in a NASS lecture".*

The debate in this lesson, which I observed, could have been intended to paint a picture that students are critically engaged in NASS lectures for an observer. The fact that there was no lesson plan to provide evidence that the lesson was adequately planned makes it difficult to verify the genuineness of the method used in this lesson.[47]

From the above evidence, the conclusion by Nyakudya (2011) that lecturers in NASS engage students critically because they use a variety of interactive teaching methods cannot be sustained. Whilst on the whole most students support the teaching methods used in NASS, they castigate some forms of injustices, subtly embedded within the operationalisation of NASS. These include favouritism and forms of bias against those opposing the status quo depicted by the students. Under the next subtheme, I explore perspectives on the type of assignments given to students and how they are assessed.

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[47] In the school system in Zimbabwe, every lesson must be adequately planned and there should be evidence of planning in form of documentation; in teachers' colleges, this is not mandatory.

7.3.4.3 Assignments and assessment practices

Experiences of students in assignment writing sheds more light on their views of critical thinking and the type of citizen NASS seek to form. The evidence suggests that the form of teaching, which is largely uncritical according to the students' voices, is in line with the type of assignments given and the assessment that follows. However, the student reports differ: some claiming that through assignment writing they practiced critical thinking; others suggest that to pass, one has to support the government side. Muchetura says:

> *At first we would write essays biased towards the question so that you won't go astray. But at the end of the day we were told that you should balance your arguments, you should analyse, and look at both sides of the story and then pass your judgement. That is when we realised that it [passing] has nothing to do with their status or anything.*

It appears that there was a steady progression from one-sided answers to more critical and balanced responses by students. In her account, Tabeth presents coping strategies devised by students in order to pass. However a response that could be awarded a distinction was supposed to be well-argued and balanced.

> *Even when we write assignments, we write the good side mostly. To a greater extent I passed those assignments, but later on, I discovered that putting your own view will make you excel. But students have a misconception, or maybe it is the way we are taught the course. If you check the comments of those who would have excelled, you see comments like 'balanced essay' or 'balanced argument', but the way it is taught will not be balanced at all.*

What appears to be the underlying cause of the uncritical responses is poor or non-orientation of the students as to what the syllabus of NASS demands and how the students are supposed to respond to assignment questions. Through trial and error, some students like Tabeth discover what makes a response excellent. However, others are not keen to explore and experiment with their ways of responding to questions. Tonde's case provides some insights:

> *I am careful with my words. For example, when we are given an assignment, especially on issues to do with government policy like the land reform programme, I will write more on the supporting side, giving more advantages than disadvantages. Otherwise if the disadvantages surpass the advantages, I will be regarded as a person who is not patriotic. But I think I must be free to say something without fear or bias.*

It appears as if their understanding of patriotism or the emphasis put on it also contributes to the quality of the responses they give. Chirongoma's response below show the strategic use of agency to 'work the system', in the sense that his preference is made consciously as a result of deprivation of what he has reason to value to do or to be; that is, critical thinking:

> *I have to be frank with you: as a student, I have to be careful with how I answer questions. You would know that if I go to that angle to that extent I will not acquire marks, so at the end of the day you find out that you are here to attain your Diploma, and I would try as much as possible to do everything that would make me achieve my major goal of being here, instead of being critical.*

The evidence above indicates that students had carefully studied their lecturers and noted how they formulate their arguments. They preferred 'playing it safe', a strategic choice because they have the internal capability, but not the external capability, due to the limited democratic space. However, when interacting with certain individuals, lecturers would encourage critical thinking. The relationship between teaching practices and how students will decide to respond to assignment questions is well researched; in this case, assessment sharpens learning. Thus, Price *et al*. (2011) suggest that inappropriate teaching practices may negatively affect well-thought-out assessment practices; teaching practices may also negatively affect well-intended course outcomes.

Nonetheless, drawing on the above student perspectives, based on their experiences and their application of NASS in everyday learning and during their teaching practice, most students agree that the course is valuable in a number of ways. The underlying official reasons for teaching NASS are in line with those outlined by scholars advancing capabilities-based CE (Nussbaum, 2006; McCowan & Unterhalter, 2009; Walker & Loots, 2016; Waghid, 2014) and international organisations advancing democratic citizenship and global citizenship (e.g. UNESCO and the Council of Europe). The reasons include (but are not limited to) advancing social cohesion, development, historical knowledge and critical thinking. From the voices of the participants, the form of citizens sought by NASS also vary: from exemplary, responsible, patriotic, active and critical citizens. Although there are challenges to the operationalisation of NASS, students believe the formation of critical citizens may be enhanced by widening stakeholder involvement and improving the manner in which NASS is taught, which they largely regarded as biased and uncritical of the ruling party. On the whole, more democratic engagement with students is needed to further cultivate critical thinking, thinking as a world

citizen, and a strong sense of narrative imagination. In the next section I discuss citizenship values emerging from the operationalisation of NASS in the two teachers' colleges.

7.4 Citizenship values

I now explore students' views on citizens' values emerging in the operationalisation of NASS. The values emerging are explicit or implied, such as democratic, HD and Ubuntu values. These values provide a sense of the type of citizens which NASS actually forms, even though that may not be what was intended. The degree to which values are stated by students suggests that students understand citizenship values as essential for the advancement of a type of citizenship that is critical, democratic, humane and advancing HD. Although some of the values interrelate and overlap, I have deliberately categorised them into the aforementioned subtopics. For example, whilst I may discuss tolerance as a democratic value, it is true that the same idea can be found in Ubuntu. Thus, the context in which the value was stated determines where it will be discussed.

From the outset, there is an awareness of the broader role of education in advancing certain values. Takunda states that, "*Learning causes change in behaviour, and if people cannot change their behaviour according to their societal norms, values and traits, then they are not doing justice to the society*". According to Zvobgo (1986), Mavhunga *et al.* (2012) and Vaughan and Walker (2012), education is value-laden, and as a result the question of what value a curriculum seeks to advance is pertinent for an educational programme that seeks to foreground citizenship values. In this regard, the focus is on the extent to which values advanced in NASS encourage citizen graduate teachers to conform to authority and existing institutional and political structures, or challenge and reform them. Drawing on Freire (1972), citizenship education cannot be neutral: it will always have political implications. However, if it is to advance critical citizenship contributing towards HD, then democratic, HD (and in this study's case, Ubuntu) values should be evident in how the course is operationalised.

7.4.1 Democratic Values

By virtue of the ties that bind democracy, HD and social justice, I will first present democratic values that emerged from the students' perspectives. These include tolerance, respect, public deliberation and equality before the law. As noted in chapters one and chapter five, Zimbabwe is a country of rich cultural, religious and political diversity, and this is also the case in the two colleges. In such a context, if democracy is to be cultivated, tolerance should be a crucial value to be advanced. Malianga states this well when he says:

> *Since Zimbabwe has people from diverse cultures and religious groups, there is [a] need to understand and tolerate each other on views of culture and religion; by so doing that creates a harmonious way of living.*

These values are important for NASS if it is genuinely about promoting social cohesion as stated in the MHTESTD (2004). However, a closer analysis of Muchetura's views, which are supported by Lydia, reflects that the type of tolerance advanced in this context is selective, in the sense that the students think there are some elements that should not be tolerated:

> *We have to be tolerant so that we co-exist with people of different races and different ethnic groups. For example in Zimbabwe we have two major groups, the Shona and the Ndebele. Without tolerance there will be civil wars. In NASS we are told to treat each other as brothers and sisters. We tolerate people who have their belief[s], but when their beliefs are against our culture (for example in Africa this issue of homosexuality is not African; it came from out of Africa), that becomes intolerable.*

This is in tandem with the constitution of Zimbabwe, which regards homosexuality as criminal. This was one of the contentious issues in the constitution-making process as the ruling ZANU PF party accused the opposition of trying to smuggle a clause protecting homosexuality into the constitution. For Muchetura (student), homosexuals are *"psychopaths who were ill-socialised in their upbringing, [and] as a result need resocialisation"*. This understanding works against the capability of narrative imagination, which encourages imagining how it may feel to be like someone who is different from you.

Closely related to tolerance, Sinampande advances the democratic value of respect:

> *When respect is taught in NASS it is a two-way process where the young are expected to give respect to the elders, while the elders are also expected to give respect to their young ones. That's why we have a metaphor: "Gudo guru peta muswe kuti vaduku*

vakutye" in our Shona language, loosely translated [as] "Humility in leadership breeds respect".

This relationship of mutual respect with authorities is desirable and was mentioned by one of the lecturers (Taguta) in the previous chapter commenting on Ubuntu values. It helps cultivate democratic processes based on mutual trust and understanding. From this angle the fears expressed by scholars such as Sigauke (2011a) and Takupiwa *et al.* (2011) are dispelled. Usually, however, authorities demand respect and compliance without reciprocating, as suggested by Sinampande. In chapter 5, Simboti relates how principals from teachers' colleges were punished for not fully complying with the implementation of NASS. Machaya says, "*in our disagreement we must do so in a way that respects the common good that keeps us in the same boat that we don't break the shell [or] the Nation*". This suggests that respect helps citizens to negotiate their space in public deliberations for meaningful engagement. Machaya also explains the complex process of balancing respect for authority with criticism:

> *If the nation is to grow then we need people who think beyond the obvious. Authority should be respected of course, but it also needs criticism in order for it to think well and come up with policies which contribute to human development. We have to agree in some issues and disagree in others, but at the end of the day we should discuss and try to find our common ground.*

Mandlovu also applauds public deliberation as essential to development:

> *There should be room for discussion, unlike when everything is imposed on you. Discussions usually contribute to meaningful development because people will be sharing ideas on how to solve their common problems.*

The above assertion validates the claim by Sen (1999), McCowan & Unterhalter (2009) and Boni & Arias (2013) that public deliberation is an essential skill in critical democratic citizenship, which pedagogy can help to shape. Closely associated with both respect and tolerance is equal treatment of individuals before the law. Nikita suggests that, "*If we are democratic in our country, then no special people should be protected by certain laws*". This requires transforming societal and institutional arrangements to enable individuals or groups of people to have the same opportunity and power to engage as equals.

It emerged in this section that democratic values and practices are essential for the propagation of a type of citizen understood as contributing towards HD, tolerance, respect, public

deliberations and equality before the law: all help individuals to claim their space as citizens in their varied contexts.

7.4.2 Human Development values

In this subsection I present HD values derived from the students' responses. Four values emerged: empowerment, participation, sustainability and inclusivity. Whilst the first three are perceived positively by students, they question lack of inclusivity in the way NASS is operationalised in their colleges.

The idea of empowerment has been looked at from three different angles, all of which are crucial for the realisation of critical citizenship. These are the human rights perspective, which is also an important ingredient for HD; the development perspective; and empowerment derived from Nussbaum's capability of critical thinking. In the appraisal of NASS, Machaya says, *"NASS empowered me with the knowledge about my rights. So NASS allows me to speak against something I may be thinking [of] as not fair"*.

Malianga believes he has been empowered in order to be of greater benefit to his community:

> *I think NASS has empowered me with these ideas such as gender equality and the importance of education in development and I think if developmental ideas are advocated by a person who belongs to the community, it will make more sense than when someone [from outside] tries to spread those ideas.*

Tabeth, commenting on the value of NASS in engaging students critically, explains that:

> *At times tradition may limit us from other functions economically, socially or politically. So through critical thinking [through NASS], young people are empowered to defend themselves and to protect their interests as well as to give their own opinions.*

The three forms of empowerment above help us understand and deal with various types of power embedded in the hierarchies of the society or institutional arrangements. They inform how different dimensions of power interact to shape the problem and perhaps the possibility of citizen participation and action. For this reason, Fraser (2009), as explained in chapter three, suggests dismantling institutionalised obstacles that inhibit citizens from contributing on a par with others (Fraser, 2009).

Participation is one of the values emphasised by the students, an indicator that they value it in the process of achieving effective citizenship. Thus, Prince says:

Participation is key to good citizenship, because when someone cannot participate in [the] activities of his or her country, it means their citizenship is compromised, in the sense that if you are not a citizen of Zimbabwe you cannot vote, which further means you cannot participate in political activities. You can also not own some of those economic and social rights, like mining rights, which are owned by full citizens.

From his response, the understanding of citizenship participation is not limited to voting, but also to claiming other social and economic rights due to a citizen. Takunda traces a linear relationship between knowledge acquisition, participation and sustainability:

What enhances one's participation is adequate knowledge passed onto citizens in the society. They also have to both cherish and question things that are around them. Once people take things for granted, institutions tend to fall apart, instead of taking in new ideas and being innovative to make sure there is growth and sustainability in that particular organisation or society.

In this regard, knowledge enhances participation, which means knowledge on its own is not power, as is commonly believed, but *potential* power. It becomes power when it is used to take action through participation in various activities advancing well-being. According to Takunda this leads to the generation of novel ideas that will help to keep the society growing sustainably, in line with what Gutmann (1987) calls a democratic education in which knowledge is supposed to be expansive rather repetitive. Thus knowledge leads to other ways of looking at life and ways to approach it through consultation and citizens' effective participation in decision-making. In the same way, the formation of critical democratic citizens lies in the distribution of power in making decisions about educational policies and how they are operationalised.

Inclusivity is another value students discussed. They complain about limited inclusivity in how NASS is operationalised. There is lack of inclusivity in terms of the content of the syllabi, and in terms of the discourse in some topics and how these are presented to them. Rose, supported by Tonde and Cecilia, says:

I do not think it [NASS] is national because it only focuses on the dominant ethnic groups and political parties of Zimbabwe, but other groups like the Tongas and the Nambyans are not talked about. I don't know even if they exist in their history books or

whether they are recognised as Zimbabweans. Maybe the nation is made up of Shonas and Ndebeles only.

I consider this level of understanding to be beyond an uncritical way of looking at course content and how it is packaged. It is an important starting point in becoming aware of the potential that citizens have to transform limiting situations that surround them. Thus, Prince's response to Nikita's assertion that *history is dominated by the majority and powerful groups* is well-timed:

I say no to dominance. My own opinion is that NASS should be more national; the contribution of opposition and other minority groups is also important. We need to appreciate the contribution of the opposition parties, minority ethnic groups including whites and other races participating in the political processes of the country. That way the course becomes more inclusive and hence more national.

Claims above confirm assertions from those who look at the teaching of NASS from the historical approach (Ranger, 2004; Tendi, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2010) that the type of history taught is patriotic history (a form of history which is less critical of those in power and marginalises other less influential historical narratives).

7.4.3 Ubuntu Values

One of the categories of values which emerged in the earlier chapters is Ubuntu. Though not explicitly noted by the students themselves, Ubuntu values are relevant to the advancement of democratic citizenship if viewed in a critical manner. In this study most participants take the philosophy of Ubuntu for granted, even though it is perceived to be at the centre of the teaching of NASS. As a result, not much was said about the values Ubuntu advances. Some of the values advanced are respect, care, tolerance, community solidarity. The majority of students affirm what Malianga asserts:

Through Ubuntu, one is able to interact with the majority of people within a community and in that way you are able to learn quite a lot of things. Although some think that it can be used to make sure people are obedient to authority, I do not see anything wrong with that because that obedience is not something that is forced upon the people, but it is earned, just like respect, and it is for the benefit of the whole community rather than individuals: it is for the common good.

Malianga's assertion is based on the assumption that all citizens, including those in authority, are selfless and will always seek to advance the common good. This assumption will not work well where power dynamics are skewed in favour of dominant political or ethnic groups. In any case, minding your own business, can be interpreted as keeping quiet and not questioning retrogressive developments in the polity. Takunda affirms that:

> *NASS will tell you many things but will let you see that we are all human beings as Zimbabweans and that enables affection towards other citizens; that is a strong element of Ubuntu.*

Takunda is one of the few participants to acknowledge *affection towards others* as central to Ubuntu. This element could be used in a manner that develops what Nussbaum (2002) calls narrative imagination, where citizens through empathy learn to feel or think what it would be like to be in someone else's shoes. Whilst the student perspectives provide a rough understanding of Ubuntu, it is surprising that a sizeable number of students like Sunlight claim to have little or no knowledge of Ubuntu from NASS. He says, "*I don't know anything about it. It's not derived from NASS; it's from the other curriculum areas, like sociology or philosophy, that's where I learnt it from*". This is despite the fact that a chapter is dedicated to Ubuntu in their NASS handbook, their guide during their teaching practice.

There is evidence to support the view that students reasonably value democratic, HD and Ubuntu values. However, this does not mean that they understand these values as being effectively mobilised in NASS to foster citizenship capabilities, as well as their agency freedom to pursue what they have reason to value. While the students did not give specific values as highlighted in the categories, they are conscious that the curriculum is value-laden.

7.5 Conclusion

The chapter argued that in order for NASS to expand citizen graduates' capabilities and their agency to actively participate in national development, democratic educational practices should be increased in the pedagogical and institutional arrangements of both colleges. There is agreement on the value of CE broadly and in TE in particular among student participants. Against this backdrop, students' understanding of citizenship is rich in that it includes both the legal and an evaluative continuum related to the effectiveness and quality of citizenship enjoyed, which is essential to claiming citizenship capabilities critical for HD. Students were able to identify a range of citizenship attributes that may be associated with critical citizenship based on an evaluative continuum understood as advancing HD. These include critical thinking, active participation in the affairs of the country (including but are not limited to voting and holding political office), accommodating others and compassion to fellow citizens. The major weakness in these perspectives is that they were understood and framed only within the national context. This is despite the presence of topics on regional, international affairs and globalisation in the colleges' NASS syllabuses. These topics provide an opportunity for students to view citizenship from a broader perspective.

The citizenship values that emerged include democratic, HD and Ubuntu values essential for the understanding of critical citizenship in a Zimbabwean context. Nevertheless, the Ubuntu values alluded to are too thin to be useful in securing human capabilities. Despite understanding the importance of CE and the positive citizenship dimensions perceived in terms of advancing critical citizenship, its operationalisation and the type of citizen sought by the course are contested (e.g. there is limited respect for religious diversity and intolerance of homosexuality). Furthermore, regardless of the 'good' aims and content of NASS, students criticise the bias towards the ruling party in how the course is taught. The students also exposed inconsistencies in pedagogical practices, which on the surface appear to be inclusive and advancing critical thinking; when considered more deeply, they incline towards one political ideology. This is the major hindrance to the operationalisation of NASS for securing human capabilities and promoting HD in the TE curriculum from the student perspective.

In the next chapter, I focus on instrumental freedoms and how they relate to the formation of critical democratic citizenship. As advanced by Sen (1999), freedom is the bedrock of HD, and thus the chapter notes that only free citizens can effectively participate for a common purpose to a common end, preferring the interests of mankind to their own narrow interests.

CHAPTER 8: THEORISING CRITICAL CITIZENSHIP USING THE CAPABILTY APPROACH

8.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses research question five and six: *How is Ubuntu significant in the formation of desired citizens? How can a study of the NASS curriculum contribute to theorising critical CE and capabilities formation in a Zimbabwean context and more widely?* These questions help to assess the role that NASS plays in the formation of human capabilities crucial for critical citizenship and thus the chapter seeks to deepen our understanding of the improvement of practice, the advancement of thinking about the formation of critical democratic citizens, and a proposal for the problem associated with the question of which framework works better for analysing, evaluating and theorising CE. To address the questions, I use Sen's instrumental freedoms to illustrate that in the absence of these freedoms, it is challenging to teach citizenship for the formation of critical citizens. I begin by reflecting on the philosophy of Ubuntu, the HD framework and the CA to demonstrate how a systematic blend of the three can provide insights into how critical citizenship in the Zimbabwean context may be understood and enhanced. The blend is recommended on the basis of the limitations of Ubuntu, which is currently used as the framework for CE in Zimbabwe. I apply Sen's five instrumental freedoms to present, analyse and defend a HD approach to CE. Instrumental freedoms have been used in my evaluative analysis, for assessing the conditions under which citizenship capabilities are formed, and how the removal of various forms of freedom constraints may be an effective way of advancing critical democratic citizenship.

8.2 Reflections

Having established the limitations of approaches used to explore complexities surrounding the conceptualisation of CE and how citizenship formation should be undertaken in HE in chapter two, I proposed the application of the CA to advance critical democratic citizenship framed within HD, and with underlying Ubuntu values in chapter three. This blend and the form of citizenship seeks to enable a coherent understanding and theorisation of CE in the Zimbabwean context and more widely, and to the formation of citizens' capabilities rather than localised forms of compliant citizenship.

Philosophically, Ubuntu offers a rich understanding of what it means to be human, but in practice, it remains a rhetoric that can be used to stifle critical thinking and criticism of authority. In my reflections, I consider it incomplete for advancing a more critical form of citizenship. Ubuntu stresses the interconnectedness of human beings in their living together, and values such as compassion, decisions by consensus, and advancing the common good. An analysis of participants' voices and policy documents depicts a rather romanticised role of Ubuntu in citizenship formation in the Zimbabwean context. There is evidence that at a conceptual level, the philosophy of Ubuntu is well recognised in the teaching of NASS by mid-level policy stakeholders and lecturers, although students did not see it that way. However, the application of these values is not embedded in a vision of expanding capabilities crucial for critical citizenship. For example, there is more focus on the need for students to fit into society, which may be a way of fostering alignment with the discourses of dominant groups, rather than to contribute to continual development through critical reflection. The form of fitting in was exemplified in Nyama's words in chapter seven.

This perception works against an understanding of critical citizenship, but also a richer notion of Ubuntu as elaborated in CIET (1999). These 'encompass the right to be heard, to participate in governance, to have guarantee of fair treatment and protection' (CIET, 1999, p. 349). In line with a thin understanding of Ubuntu, Albert (lecturer) emphasised obeying the law. Such compliance suggests a passive reception and passing on of policies, rules and laws of the nation, usually regarded as infallible. The interconnectedness of humanity depicted is also based on localised (rather than global) notions of citizenship. Even the compassion often referred to by student participants is limited to those who share the same values as them, instead of genuinely trying to imagine what it might be like to be a different person in a different context. To this end NASS in practice fails to portray what Waghid (2014) envisages for education broadly, namely its pedagogical role in the cultivation of Ubuntu, leading to the advancement of critical

thinking and social justice. To recapture the richness of the philosophy of Ubuntu, which advances criticality and a richer meaning of the connectedness of humanity, I propose reconfiguring the NASS curriculum within HD, expanding capabilities and adding instrumental freedoms.

Reflecting on chapters five, six and seven, assessing the extent to which policy processes and practices advance HD in the operationalisation of NASS suggests that Ubuntu on its own will not suffice. The four HD values adopted for this study (that is, empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability) were found to be overlooked by mid-level policy stakeholders and lecturers. Surprisingly, students seemed to be conscious of the significance of these values. Evidence provided in the last three chapters shows that in policy processes and practice much needs to be done to ensure that the NASS curriculum is operationalised in a way that enhances the integration of these four values. As presented in chapter five, a top-down approach has been used to operationalise the curriculum in teachers' colleges, limiting space for engagement with all stakeholders and non-tolerance of dissenting voices. Lecturers acknowledged the prevalence of the top-down approach, particularly non-involvement of students in decision-making processes, even though they acknowledged the significance of wider consultation. Thus, students' participation and empowerment is less evident due to limited space in the HE system broadly, but also in the two institutions of interest. This explains why students recommend the adoption of participatory approaches.

It is in the light of the need for a more people-centred approach for critical citizenship formation that a HD paradigm is recommended. It seeks effective participation of empowered citizens in making sustainable decisions for CE programmes in teachers' colleges. This involves an equitable and secure distribution of both power and opportunities among all citizens across the globe, rather than limiting it to one local geographical location.

While some Ubuntu values can be linked to both HD and the CA, the values' narrow focus as explained above indicates that the philosophy was not adopted to advance critical citizenship; neither was it framed in HD terms. The inherent value and potential of Ubuntu in expanding people's achievable opportunities, and enlarging individual's freedom to do and to be is acknowledged. The functionings that can be enhanced include the ability to communicate, to know, to participate in the life of the community and to interact with other people based on mutual respect. However, Ubuntu assumes that humans work rationally, perfectly and efficiently, ignoring power dynamics that may impede a smooth flow of deliberations and

interactions in the society. This ignores the complexity of human behaviour and relations. The CA, by contrast, views human beings in a broad and complex way, acknowledging the instrumental and intrinsic value of CE in promoting certain societal or democratic values, but also the direct relevance that it can have in terms of fostering individual agency, freedom and critical citizenship. I thus focus on three concepts: capabilities, agency and instrumental freedoms, as explained in chapter three. Moving from the general to the specific, I discuss how an application of the CA focusing on Sen's instrumental freedoms adds another dimension to a better understanding of CE, contributing to the formation of critical citizenship in various contexts where there is restricted democratic space.

What is common and emphasised (yet not fully pursued) in conceptions of a capability-driven citizenship and citizenship formation is the role of the enabling conditions for the formation of citizenship capabilities (McCowan & Unterhalter, 2009, 2013; Boni *et al.*, 2010; Walker and Loots, 2016). Drawing from McCowan & Unterhalter (2009, p. 8), I propose that 'full citizenship can be determined by assessing the degree of freedom that citizens have to determine the nature of society they live in'. In simpler terms, one does not necessarily enjoy full citizenship through critical thinking in a context of 'unfreedoms'. Sen (1999) argues that in order for substantive freedoms to be realised, there should be instrumental freedoms in place, which he locates in five categories (as presented in Table 1, chapter three).

Although the importance of a freedom context is alluded to by those who have used the CA to conceptualise citizenship (McCowan & Unterhalter, 2009; Walker & Loots, 2016), there has not been an in-depth application of Sen's instrumental freedoms to emphasise their contribution to the enhancement or inhibition of the formation of citizens' capabilities. Crosbie (2012) argues for instrumental freedoms as a foundation or bedrock for the enhancement of individual capabilities. She argues that a lack of freedom in any one of the instrumental freedoms negatively impacts one's capability set or functionings. Flores-Crespo (2001) uses instrumental freedoms to provide a broader understanding of the relationship between HE and development, using a case study of the Technological University of Tula in Mexico. The study focused on two instrumental freedoms (economic facilities and social opportunities), despite acknowledging the complementary nature of the five instrumental freedoms. Nonetheless, the emphasis on removing 'unfreedoms' in order to enlarge human capabilities offers a good starting point for its application to the formation of critical citizenship. The interconnectedness and complementary nature of these freedoms should be emphasised and sought when their application is made, for the simple reason that to separate them will not provide a better

understanding of their usefulness and effectiveness. Sen (1999) argues that no category should be given preference over another. Although this task is not easy given the complex nature of the freedoms, and given that Sen was applying these instrumental freedoms from a purely socio-economic perspective rather than from an educational standpoint, making an effort to do so will, I think, be worthwhile. The interconnectedness of these freedoms for citizenship are very clear, where political freedoms can be affected by unfreedoms in the economic sphere, or by social opportunities beyond issues of literacy, since my setting is beyond basic education. I now apply instrumental freedoms to the broader context of Zimbabwe and explain how this may help us think about a CA-framed CE programme. In the process, it is acknowledged that humans do not always work rationally, perfectly and efficiently. In addition, power dynamics that may impede a smooth flow of deliberations and interactions in the society are acknowledged as important factors, capable of limiting citizens' opportunities to achieve what they value. This approach notes the complexity of human behaviour and relations.

8.3 Instrumental freedoms in the Zimbabwean context

Focusing on how the concept of instrumental freedoms may apply to the broader Zimbabwean context sheds light on how this may also apply in HE institutions. Firstly, the five instrumental freedoms are the basic building blocks for a democratic arrangement enabling citizens to participate in the affairs of their polity as equals. In this regard, the complexity and totality of the ideas of ever-expanding freedom derived from foregrounding instrumental freedoms merits our special attention. Secondly, the five types of freedom define comprehensive, universal, moral and ethical principles as the relevant goals of any citizenship formation initiative. These are the instruments that citizens need to enable them to overcome constraints to their freedom to reasonably choose what they value to be or to do as members of a polity. Obstructions to freedom can be clearly identified and expanded through the five components or instruments that influence the potential of citizens. The constraints to ever-expanding freedoms could exist in economic, social or political realms of society. Drawing on the definition of the various forms of instrumental freedoms given in chapter three, the following can be identified as examples of unfreedoms: poverty, poor sanitation, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, social deprivation, poor public facilities, intolerance, ethnocentricity, repressive state apparatus, lack of education, lack of security and corruption. They should all be regarded as equally relevant. In efforts to remove un-freedoms, vital roles are played by markets, market-related organisations, government, local authorities, political parties, civic institutions,

educational facilities, media, opportunities for free speech and public debate, social norms and values regarding gender, and the treatment of the environment (Sen, 1999).

A snapshot of the context of Zimbabwe is necessary to make a precise statement on how instrumental freedoms help to assess the operationalisation of NASS and how it may look when instrumental freedoms are foregrounded. From chapters one, five, six and seven, the following issues were identified.

From an economic facilities perspective, Zimbabwe is experiencing economic hardships resulting from a combination of factors, including poor government policy, several years of poor harvests, and international pressure to adopt neo-liberal economic policies such as ESAP. The hardships are characterised by high levels of unemployment, with more than 80 percent of the country's population unemployed. This economic situation presents challenges to the citizens of Zimbabwe, as their freedom to choose may be limited by lack of economic freedoms.

When political freedoms and transparency guarantees are considered, I draw on the post-independence era where a practice of divide and rule was employed, as explained in chapter five. This is manifested in the infamous Gukurahundi ethnic massacre of the 1980s, which targeted Matabeleland and Midlands provinces. On account of this development, the country is still divided along ethnic lines, limiting citizens' ability to contribute meaningfully to the country's development. The integrity of state structures has been compromised through a systematic restriction of political freedoms, corruption, selective application of the law, state-sanctioned violence and recognition of national heroes. ZANU PF has been accused by opposition parties of acting in bad faith in national programmes, such as the land reform programme where the government has allegedly used the programme to reward its members.

In respect of social opportunities and protective securities, service delivery has deteriorated in many social services sectors, including health and education. Save for private hospitals and schools, whose prices are out of reach of the majority of the citizens, by 2008 the government had been overwhelmed by the demands of the sectors. The demand for allegiance to the party-state resulted in schemes to breed patriotic citizenry drilled in political ideologies in the name of NYS programme and the deployment of 'patriotic history' in schools and colleges.

As a result of this complex background and enduring injustices, citizenship has only a formal significance for the majority of Zimbabweans. While the ruling elites monopolise opportunities

and power, most citizens are excluded from the nation's wealth and political processes, through a number of laws introduced to limit freedoms that citizens have to choose, associate and express themselves. Some such laws are POSA and AIPPA. These shortcomings stifle the realisation of critical democratic citizenship and bequeath a CE that breeds citizen graduates who are not only ill-prepared to deal with pluralism and diversity within the confines of their nation state, but who are also too parochial to confront and negotiate their space in multi-layered political communities, cultures and identities that characterise an increasingly cosmopolitan world. In these circumstances, there is a big role for CE to defend democracy, equality and dignity for all citizens. As already explained, all five instrumental freedoms are interconnected and equally important. In such a case, success is measured by the degree to which obstructions are removed and each has to be tackled in the process of citizenship formation. In other words, critical citizenship formation will inevitably get distorted if only one or two of these instrumental freedoms are given priority by using the argument that some of the freedoms can come later. In evaluating the degree of freedom available to the individuals in a society or community, citizen's rights and opportunities are perceived through the perspective of the five instrumental freedoms. In a sense, the five freedoms are the principle means of accessing the rights and opportunities that help individuals expand their freedoms and capabilities. The freedoms provide a multi-dimensional strategy necessary to safeguard access to political freedoms, economic facilities and social opportunities, and to expect transparency guarantees and protective security.

The complex Zimbabwean problems can be meaningfully addressed by, among other measures, taking CE seriously and making schools and institutions of higher learning sites for democratic engagement, by operationalising it in the spirit of advancing true freedom, viewed through Sen's five instrumental freedoms. In order for this to be realised, the forms of unfreedoms currently besetting the country and institutions of HE highlighted above should be dealt with. To achieve this, CE should be conceived as an instrument of democracy and HE institutions as sites for nurturing the participation of a critical citizenry and agents for greater accountability. Using instrumental freedoms as the basis for designing and evaluating CE programmes has the potential to deal with the treachery such as urged by the elites in deploying patriotic narratives.

Turning to the specificity of HE, in Table 12 below I use insights from my data to extrapolate examples from the context of TE to illustrate how instrumental freedoms may apply.

Table 12 Applying Sen's Instrumental freedoms in teacher education

Political freedoms	Opportunities for students to determine who should represent them and on what principles; the possibility to scrutinize and criticize authorities; freedom of political expression; political entitlements associated with democracy in the broadest sense (i.e. opportunities of political dialogue, dissent and critique; voting rights; the participatory selection of representatives in the students' council).
Economic facilities	Opportunities for lecturers and students for employment or other economic resources. Where employment opportunities are limited, there is limited freedom to critique authorities in the fear of losing one's job for those employed, and fear to miss employment opportunities for the aspiring teachers.
Social opportunities	The arrangements that authorities make for education, which influence the individual´s substantive freedom to interact with others. These facilities are important not only for the conduct of private lives (enjoying religious liberty, protection against sexual harassment or gender discrimination etc.), but also for more effective participation in economic and political activities.
Transparency guarantees	Openness among students and staff; freedom to deal with one another under guarantees of disclosure and rationality; transparency in processes of assessment by knowing the criteria or basis of judgment. The recruitment criteria of students should be known and based on principles of fairness and justice. Pedagogical practices should be based on inclusivity and openness to accommodate different student attributes. Selection of content, textbooks and other reading materials should be done in a true spirit of inclusivity. These guarantees have a clear instrumental role in preventing corruption and underhand dealings.
Protective security	Basic funding for anyone studying teacher education. This prevents disadvantaged individuals from being reduced into destitution through lack of funding.

Drawing on an earlier table (Table 1) in chapter three, which looks at Sen's definitions of the five types of freedoms, I have made an extrapolation of examples from TE in the above table. I now closely look at my data for evidence of presence or absence of some of these freedoms in the lives of students and lecturers, but also to underline that these reinforce each other. They are also multidimensional, which means it is impossible to have political freedoms without protective securities.

Table 13 Sen's Instrumental freedoms and illustrative NASS data

Political freedoms	Prince: *Even on our side as students we try by all means to support the ideologies of those who are in power so that way we are not able to think critically.*
Economic facilities	Albert: *I had a colleague who was victimised because he had discussed issues of that nature at a political forum, and as we are talking now he is jobless.*
	Mutambanengwe: *From my own observation, those teachers who were trained before the introduction of this course are even more responsible than today's teachers, because now the focus is on earning a living mostly... The teaching ministry is the only employing ministry at the moment in Zimbabwe.*
Social opportunities	Muchetura: *if there is something you need to say, you must be sure that it will not make authorities decide that you are going to remain behind and you will finish your course in more years than you had planned.*
Transparency guarantees	Guveya: *The third factor is corruption, which inhibits people to think critically because certain patterns of thinking or speech make you to be strategically positioned.*
	Sinampande: *We will be having a lot of good points to share, but it's difficult when you do not know who you are dealing with. So we may not necessarily be free to contribute, given the fact that we think this course was introduced by ZANU PF so as to advance its own interests.*
Protective security	Cecilia: *Let there be a government policy that explicitly allows people to freely speak out their views without fear of victimisation. But as we see it the protection is not there. I think the government should guarantee this; if you are beaten you may never get that protection.*
	Muchetura: *Instead of threatening students that you will remain behind while others graduate, there is need for the lecturers to protect students because they are the ones who are putting forward the idea that students should let their voice to be heard.*

As can be seen in Table 13, the operationalisation of NASS faces challenges from unfreedoms across Sen's five categories. This further complicates the already complex and contested nature of CE, hence the need to seek a capability-enabling environment. In the next section I consider this further.

8.4. A capability-enabling environment

Firstly, critical citizenship such as HD depends upon 'the creation of a stable cycle of a capability enabling environment' (Magsino, 2010, p. 3), which enables citizens to exercise agency that positively impacts on the formation of citizenship attributes; in turn, this can contribute to the advancement of HD. This environment can then be enriched by removing unfreedoms that may deter the formation of the relevant capabilities. Secondly, on the basis of the relationship that exists between freedom and critical citizenship formation, the basic question of whether CE is contributing to the expansion of individual freedoms is essential. Instrumental freedoms may be taken as a better basis for evaluating the level of critical citizenship in any CE curriculum than aims, objectives or content would be in isolation. Thirdly, we consider agency, which, according to Crosbie (2012), cannot be perceived in isolation from social, political and economic factors. On this note, critical citizenship may be accomplished through individual agency, within an enabling environment provided by a harmonious blend of the five instrumental freedoms. Fourthly and finally, instrumental freedoms are grounded in different kinds of rights, opportunities and entitlements, empirically linked with one another such that forms of freedom of different types may connect with one another (Flores-Crespo, 2002; Magsino, 2010). This links well with the interconnectedness of Ubuntu values, HD, and the capabilities selected for this study. For example, consensus should be a result of effective participation, through public deliberations in which citizens are empowered with the necessary deliberative skills, such as critical thinking, in a context where there is an equitable and secure distribution of power among the participants. This is reinforced by McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, p. 5):

> The ability of citizens to engage in deliberation depends partly on the non-discriminatory nature of the spaces made available, but also on their own capacities for communication, construction of argument, harmonising of conflicting proposals and ability to revise their conceptions.

Thus, a CE curriculum or its evaluation based on historical content, civic issues or some single element without being cognisant of other conversion factors is limiting. Sen's instrumental

freedoms may be useful in unravelling such complex and complementary factors. The other usefulness of the instrumental freedoms is associated with evaluating curriculum and pedagogical arrangements, which, according to Unterhalter (2009, p. 6):

> It is not a matter of simply counting up hours of time spent on a course task or levels of teacher qualifications or test scores. It entails the assessment of the social arrangements that allow each and every child and adult real opportunities to develop in and through education to realise valued objectives.

Although only social arrangements are mentioned in the above argument, political and economic arrangements are also important. Drawing on empirical evidence, in this section, I show how Sen's instrumental freedoms interlink, complement and reinforce each other relating to the formation of critical citizens. Political freedoms for example, relate to freedom of political expression associated with democracies in the broadest sense, encompassing opportunities for political dialogue and dissent in the NASS curriculum. As shown in the table above, Prince has a lack of political freedom because of fear. The situation is worse for the students at CTC when representatives they choose act as informers for the college authorities. Twoboy (student) thus complains:

> *We have the S.R.C, but I don't think they are effective. Sometimes people give their problems to the S.R.C, but then you find some lecturers telling you that you shouldn't say a lot of things when you are in those discussions because your name has been mentioned in the meetings. So if you become vocal, you will be actually sacrificing yourself.*

This means that this suppression of students' voices turns the students into conformists, who remain docile even in situations in which they are supposed to make complaints. This unfreedom may affect all stakeholders. In chapter five, Simboti hinted that college Principals and 'problem lecturers' were punished for resisting the introduction of NASS.

For economic facilities, in this context fear of losing one's job, can be interpreted as the opportunities that individuals enjoy to utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production, or exchange. Lack of employment opportunities outside teaching becomes a source of unfreedom for students. While in both instances fear is used to describe the experience of unfreedom, what induces this fear in this case is limited economic

opportunities. For Albert (lecturer), the need to secure his job contributes to disengagement in public fora as well as in controversial issues. Malianga (student) says:

I think it is because people want to pass their course and go to get employment. So if there is something sensitive that you need to say you fear risking remaining behind and you have to finish your course in more years. Therefore, there is no need to say such things: you just need to do your core business and go.

In the context of limited employment opportunities, such as in Zimbabwe, it is not surprising that students and lecturers alike are more worried about their future wellbeing than they are about the limited space to exercise their rights as citizens. Similarly, in the absence of transparency guarantees, suspicion and mistrust clouds the context, such that students and lecturers tend to do what will be beneficial to them as individuals rather than contributing towards the common good. Prince explains where the culture of fear arises from:

In the past decade we had skirmishes from the major political parties in Zimbabwe. We experienced some violent elections in which a lot of people were killed and injured in the process; some were kidnapped and even disappeared for ever. Against such a background, there is a strong sense of mistrust and suspicion with everyone you meet.

What this means is that the broader political context dictates the atmosphere in the teaching of NASS. This could be why there is no openness, even in the pedagogical arrangements of the teaching of NASS. Maria (student) recommends that:

The teaching of the course itself should be more transparent. The aims and objectives of the course must be made clear right at the beginning of the course. We should understand whether it is truly citizenship education, whether it really helps us to be patriotic, or something else.

Closely associated with this are protective securities whose domain includes fixed institutional arrangements, such as what Cecilia (student) referred to as "*government and college policy that explicitly allow people to freely speak out their views without fear of victimisation*". Thesbe (student) also sees protective securities as necessary in NASS lectures:

There is also [a] need for lecturers in NASS to protect students who come [to class] with their ideas; some of the ideas actually seem to be deviant to the college that you

associate with. Instead of threatening them with failure, there is [a] need for the lecturers and authorities to protect students.

From the above, there seems to be a contrast in what the lecturers say and what they practice. In such a context, it is understandable when there is limited agency to teach or learn for critical citizenship, as illustrated in Chapter Six. However, this does not mean that the situation is completely hopeless, as participants (see chapter six and seven) admitted that there are times and situations where critical citizenship is sought. According to Sunlight (student), NASS is an opportunity for a better career in politics:

I think NASS has motivated me to want to go a step further with [my] education so that I will be a better citizen and I hope to use my education to pursue a political career. From what I learnt in NASS I think I'm not doing enough for my nation. I have to do more for my nation. I think if I pursue education a bit further, I will be better equipped for a political career if an opportunity arises.

Sunlight's positive position is overshadowed by the many voices that still regard the context of the teaching of NASS as overwhelmed by various forms of unfreedoms.

The values explained throughout this chapter may be systematically blended to inform HE policy on citizenship formation, and given space in the operationalisation of the NASS curriculum in order to advance citizenship capabilities informing the formation of critical democratic citizens. The suggested framework below (Figure 2) takes into account factors that inhibit the formation of critical citizenship and undermine the agency of students to be critical democratic citizens. At the centre of this framework is the importance of both the institution and the education system in evaluating the process, rather than just the outcome. The contribution this framework brings is that it situates and emphasises the process of forming citizenship capabilities, agency, and the role of unfreedoms, rather than just the outcomes. Additionally, the framework uses a multi-dimensional approach, drawing from multiple and complex values framed within the CA, HD and Ubuntu values (foregrounding instrumental freedoms) to better understand the role of a NASS curriculum in the formation of human capabilities relevant for critical citizenship.

Figure 2. Instrumental freedoms and citizenship formation in National and Strategic Studies
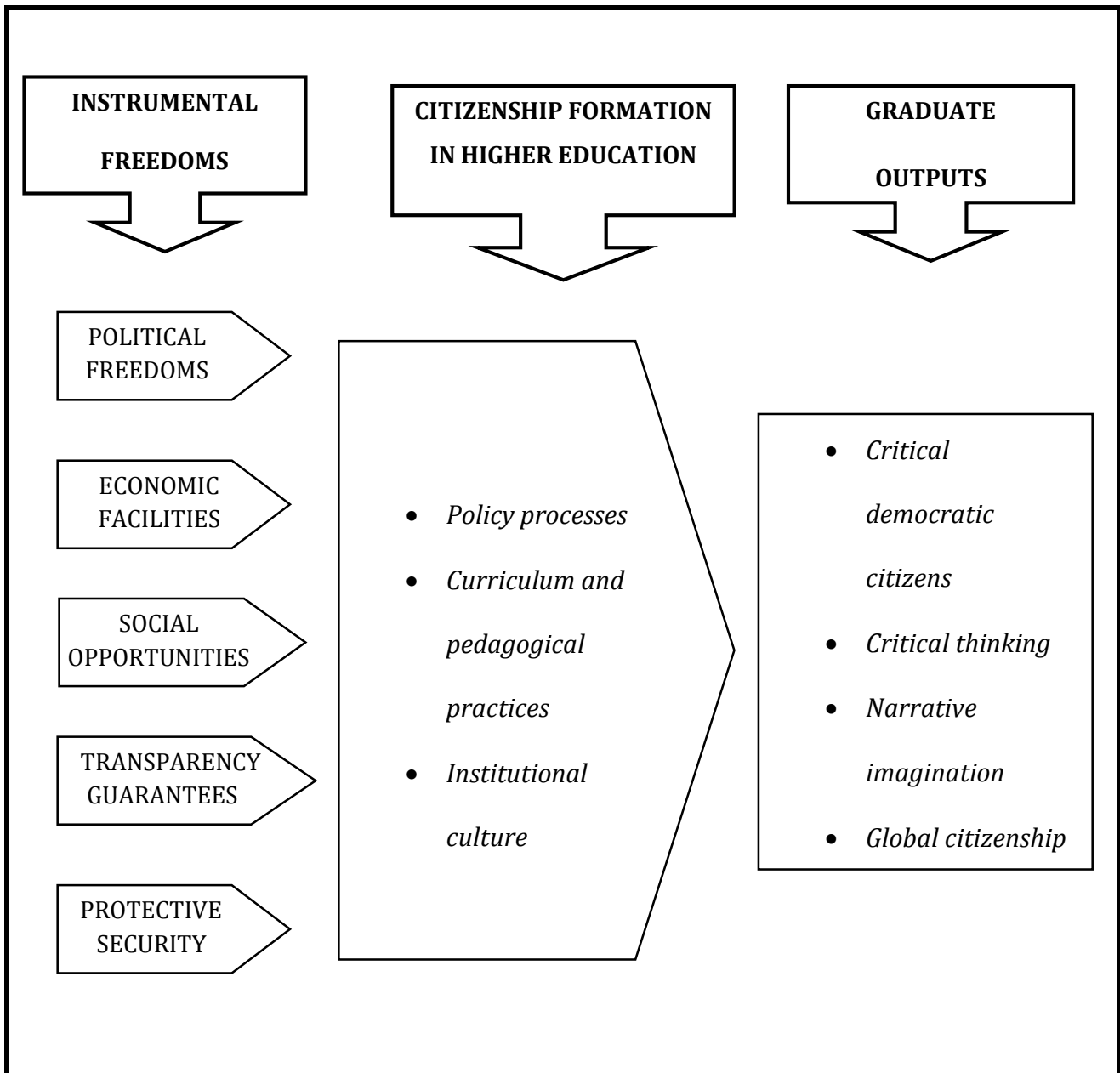
This figure shows five distinct but complementary types of freedoms and their potential significance for the formation of critical democratic citizens in HE. Focusing on policy processes, curriculum and pedagogical practices and the institutional culture in which the CE programmes are operationalised broadens our understanding of the type of citizen formed and the capabilities that should be formed and fostered.

8.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to expose some of the weaknesses in current arguments underpinning the formation of critical democratic citizens. By placing instrumental freedoms at the centre of the analysis, I proposed a framework grounded on advancing citizens' capabilities, their agency and freedoms to effectively participate in the processes that shape what determines what they value to do and to be as citizens of a polity. By so doing, a study of the NASS curriculum contributes to theorising critical CE and capabilities formation in a Zimbabwean context and more widely. The framework proposes reconsidering CE policies and purposes from a perspective configured in the HD paradigm. The aim is to expand stakeholders' capacity to become active agents in carrying out meaningful and life-changing citizenship duties. It envisages a transformative CE curriculum that seeks to equitably empower and transform citizens into effective participants by cultivating their own agency freedom in a participatory process. Although Ubuntu offers some philosophical attributes that appear useful for democratic citizenship, I find it inadequate in advancing the critical element required for democratic citizenship. Drawing on a framework founded on HD, Ubuntu values and capability pillars, I suggest that CE needs a people-centred approach, which is not only limited to the national context but also global. It will be important to revise not only the NASS curriculum to be more focused on a wider global perspective, but to simultaneously increas stakeholder engagement in the process, so as to nurture a dynamic and transformative agency. Currently, NASS focuses on forming patriotic citizens imbued with Ubuntu values, narrowly interpreted as useful for reclaiming a true Zimbabwean identity. This course would benefit immensely from a framework that supports agency and a multifaceted HD-oriented values system. The focus should be pragmatic, but at the same time ambitious in its endeavour to remove unfreedoms embedded in policy processes, institutional arrangements and curriculum and pedagogical undertakings. The students (who evidently have been projected as the future of the country) should be positioned not as mere recipients, but rather as light-bearers who participate in the wider spheres of the society, where their roles as teachers require them to be active and critical, rather than passive.

The next and final chapter provides conclusions and recommendations by linking together the different components of this study.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter, I link together the different components of this study: namely, the aims and contributions of the study; the conceptual constructs informing it; and the results of the textual analysis from the literature review, the four empirical chapters, and how the research questions were answered. I then present a set of recommendations to various policy stakeholders, lecturers, and students for the improvement of CE and the formation of citizens' capabilities in Zimbabwe and more widely.

9.2 Aims and Contributions of the study

As explained in chapter one, this study aimed to gain deeper insights into the contribution of NASS, a variant of CE taught in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges, to the formation of citizen capabilities. Six research questions were developed to this end. Question one focused on the contribution of the NASS curriculum to the development of critical citizenship. Questions two, three, and four addressed three areas through an analysis of mid-level policy stakeholders', lecturers' and students' perspectives respectively: how citizenship is understood, how it is promoted and identifying obstacles and prospects of advancing critical citizenship among future teachers. Question five focused on the significance of Ubuntu in the formation of critical democratic citizens. The last question sought the contribution of the study of the NASS curriculum to theorising critical CE and capabilities formation in a Zimbabwean context and more widely. For practical and strategic reasons, I focused on Nussbaum's three citizenship capabilities as valuable for the formation of critical democratic citizens who can contribute towards HD. The study was motivated by my personal experiences as a lecturer in one of the teachers' colleges. In addition, contestations involving the aims, content and the type of citizen sought became a focal point for the study. To analytically evaluate the context, policy practices and processes and institutional arrangements in which CE is taught in the two Zimbabwean teachers' colleges, four HD values, Ubuntu values and Sen's five instrumental freedoms from the CA were integrated. Foregrounding the capability approach, a systematic blend of Ubuntu, HD and the CA was adopted to theorise critical CE and capabilities formation.

The study makes three contributions to an understanding of critical citizenship formation through education. Firstly, it advances a normative framework for the evaluation and analysis of policy processes, curriculum and pedagogical practices as well as institutional arrangements. Unlike most of the literature focusing on NASS (see chapter two: Ranger, 2004; Nyakudya, 2007, 2011; Tendi, 2010; Mapetere *et al.,* 2012) the proposed framework does not limit itself

to the aims and content of the NASS curriculum, but also evaluates policy and pedagogical practice and processes in the operationalisation of this curriculum. The study also explored the interface between freedom, choices, opportunities and agency of citizen graduates in actively participating in processes of designing a curriculum and the values intended to shape their citizenship beings and doings. The citizens' beings and doings focused on were: critical thinking, narrative imagination and the ability to think as a world citizen as proposed by Nussbaum. In the process, the framework unravels the complex nature of CE and the power dynamics subtly embedded in its processes and practises, which are not easily depicted by descriptive surveys or by focusing on an analysis limited to aims and content of the NASS curriculum. The NASS curriculum has never been researched in this way and studies of CE in HE are still few in number in Southern Africa and beyond.

Secondly, it provides a theoretical understanding of critical citizenship and citizenship formation that can be understood as advancing HD in the Zimbabwean context and more widely. Although there is a growing literature in theorising critical citizenship formation, not many have applied the CA in empirical studies. In view of the literature reviewed, which indicated a gap in the application of the CA to empirical studies on citizenship formation, the study is original in integrating a HD framework, Ubuntu and the CA.

Thirdly, it offers an analytical tool for understanding citizenship formation in highly-contested democratic spaces. Indeed, the context is politically closed, whereas most studies on theorisations of CE assume that a democratic polity is already in place. In that regard it provides a complex framework necessary for an analysis and understanding of citizenship formation *in situ*.

9.3 Conceptual constructs informing the study

Three major constructs provided new insights: critical democratic citizenship, CE, and citizens' capabilities. My understanding was influenced by interconnected values ingrained in principles of democracy, HD and social justice drawn from literature reviewed throughout the study. The use of the CA grounded in the views of both Sen and Nussbaum further enriched my understanding of the connection between how I conceptualised these three constructs , the lenses I used to analyse and evaluate policy and pedagogical practice in NASS, and my understanding of the type of citizen sought and formed through the NASS curriculum.

9.3.1 Critical democratic citizenship

The literature review chapter revealed that there are complex contestations about the conceptualisation and possible ways of categorising citizenship. Regarding its conceptualisation, a civic republican view, which relates to a complex yet balanced form of citizenship, systematically structured within four tensions explained by McCowan (2008) in his thesis on CE in Brazil, was adopted. The tensions in question are: rights and duties; universality and difference; the local, national and global; and criticality and conformity. The civic republican view was preferred, with participatory democracy as the main citizenship dimension. I understood this type of citizenship as critical democratic citizenship following McCowan's (2009) analysis of republican views with participation as an intrinsic good and instrumentally necessary for maintaining democratic institutions. Thus framing citizenship as critical, participatory and democratic offered a richer form of citizenship for advancing HD.

9.3.2 Citizenship education

The connection between education and citizenship cannot be underestimated and the type of citizenship envisioned has a direct relationship with how citizens are formed pedagogically. For the formation of critical citizenship, education should not be used as a vehicle to transmit 'a single 'correct' ideology' (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 392); rather it should cultivate the capacity for effective democratic citizenship and the development of an empowered, responsible and broadly patriotic citizen. The realisation of this goal does not depend solely on the aims or content of the citizenship curriculum, but on the democratic practices and processes which ensue in its operationalisation, and the values fostered. This is contrary to a curriculum on citizenship framed in narrow national or regional terms with little or no real freedom to participate in decision-making or critically to challenge tradition and institutional arrangements that perpetuate forms of injustices.

9.3.3 Citizenship capabilities

Nussbaum's (2006) three-part model for the development of citizens' capabilities through education, focusing on critical thinking, world citizenship and imaginative understanding, was useful for analysis and evaluation of the operationalisation of NASS in the two Zimbabwean teachers' colleges. The focus on these capabilities in the four empirical chapters (five, six, seven and eight) expanded an understanding of the close linkage between CE and critical thinking about one's social, economic and political environment. Furthermore, the capabilities subsume the idea of freedom in various ways. For example, in order for citizens to deliberate and participate effectively in the affairs of the nation, forms of unfreedoms should be removed, such as lack of freedom of expression, association with opposition politics or lack of religious liberty. In the context of fear or suspicion, notions like patriotism and national identity should be based on reasoned choice, rather than coercive means. On the same note, an expansive understanding of Ubuntu entails 'the freedom to reach out in the imagination, allowing another person's experience into oneself' (Nussbaum. 2006, p. 392).

I adopted Sen's (1999) arguments on the significance of substantive freedom, instrumental freedoms and agency to evaluate and argue for a freedom-friendly context as a basis for educating students for critical citizenship. I recognised that although agency is better cultivated in some contexts, it is possible through individual agency to work towards moments of critical citizenship even in restricted democratic space.

9.4 Findings

The findings in this study depict a complex relationship between the conceptualisation of critical citizenship, its operationalisation and the context in which it is operationalised. Thus, diverse voices of mid-level policy stakeholders, lecturers and students confirmed the multi-dimensional framework adopted in analysing and evaluating the context and complex processes embedded in the operationalisation of the NASS curriculum. The quality of CE implemented through a NASS curriculum in the two colleges was evidently lacking in critical citizenship and the formation of citizenship capabilities. This is despite the significance of the syllabus aims and the objectives and content of NASS for the formation of critical citizenship as discussed in the analysis of participants' voices in three empirical chapters (chapters five, six and seven). Its operationalisation is limited in: 1) the conceptualisation of citizenship consistent with a civic republican view with participatory democracy as the main citizenship dimension; 2) policy practices and processes, which are not in harmony with advancing HD values; 3) curriculum and pedagogical practices that are not well resourced to achieve transformative

learning; and 4) the social, political, economic and historical context in which the operationalisation of the NASS curriculum is undertaken both at macro and micro level is not supportive of the formation of critical citizenship. Complexities associated with this low quality of citizenship in the NASS curriculum are articulated below.

9.4.1 Policy processes and practice

In chapter five, there is evidence of the existence of useful values, skills and attitudes for the formation of critical democratic citizenship and citizenship capabilities (MHTESTD, 2004; CIET, 1999; the University of Zimbabwe, 2012) and in two teachers' colleges NASS syllabi. However, the context of the operationalisation of the NASS curriculum is thin. From the perspective of the two mid-level policy participants in this study, it was clear that policy and practises in a contested democratic space do not uphold HD values for the formation of citizenship capabilities. The top-down approach used by the MHTESTD and college authorities as well as the lecturers in the two teachers' colleges are less empowering, non-participatory, and lack equitable distribution of power and voice. The workshops referred to by mid-level policy stakeholders and lecturers were evidently used as a platform to disseminate the authorities' vision, rather than as a forum for a transformative curriculum. It was not surprising that the proposed NASS curriculum was resisted by some students and in some instances by college principals and lecturers. The punitive measures taken against resisting principals and lecturers by the Ministry do not sit well with critical democratic values or a transformative approach. In addition the resistance by principals and lecturers demonstrate discontinuities between aims, objectives and content of the NASS curriculum on the one hand and its operationalisation on the other. State-regulated compulsion is not useful for the promotion of critical citizenship and capabilities such as critical thinking, narrative imagination and global citizenship.

9.4.2 Lecturers' and students' agency in curriculum and pedagogical practices

In chapters six and seven, lack of conceptual clarity, coherence and consistency at institutional level among lecturers and students in the two selected colleges illustrated a lack of deliberative opportunities in which to agree on how to negotiate citizenship discourses. However, it was evident that both thin and thick notions of citizenship and CE are understood by the lecturers and students. I understood this to be an indicator of the complex nature of the context in which the lecturers and students operate. Nonetheless, moments of critical citizenship were experienced by individual lecturers and students, which they used to navigate their various experiences in the operationalisation of NASS. For example, it emerged that lecturers use their agency, as they are able to review their own college syllabi, pending approval by the DTE at the UZ. On such occasions, lecturers made independent decisions to include and recommend what they perceived as issues of national importance, other than partisan discourses on what constitute citizenship and patriotism. The same applied when they undertook their teaching in their respective colleges, where they varied teaching methods as far as they could to include debate and discussion. In their undertakings as external examiners in other colleges, the lecturers also recommended critical approaches in the teaching of NASS to their colleagues. Students also navigated their limited democratic space by experimenting with critical sources and discourses they came across from the internet and independent media, including non-state-controlled newspapers not readily available at their respective colleges. This suggested the importance of individual agency in advancing critical citizenship attributes, despite the absence of opportunities or freedoms. In this regard, evaluating the usefulness of curriculum and pedagogical practices for the advancement of critical citizenship based on the outcome, ignoring the role of agency, does not provide a full understanding of how other factors advance or inhibit critical citizenship. The findings thus speak to the role agency can play in understanding critical citizenship formation, even in restricted democratic spaces.

What emerges from the students' perspectives is that democratic and critical engagement is significant for the formation of democratic citizens who are HD- and justice-oriented. Nonetheless, the thesis argues that besides availability of good syllabi in the two teachers' colleges and a rich understanding of citizenship by students at the two colleges, more democratic practices are still needed to advance critical citizenship. Following McCowan and Unterhalter (2009, p.2), I observe that 'the realisation of full citizen capabilities' depends on the 'fostering of democratic abilities and dispositions'. Democratic abilities and dispositions such as public deliberation, inclusivity, critical thinking and many others need to be embedded

in policy processes, syllabus content, and pedagogical and institutional structural arrangements for the formation of citizen graduates who are willing to advance a critical and democratic form of citizenship that is participatory and action-oriented.

9.4.3 Institutional arrangements

Institutional arrangements were significant in understanding practices that the colleges developed around their handling of students and lecturers, resulting in the formation of the type of citizenship inclined towards docility. The core values in the two teachers colleges (including Christianity (at GTC), patriotism, creativity, integrity, entrepreneurship, professionalism and Ubuntu) influenced how students and lecturers viewed each other and themselves. It was evident from the values in the two teachers' colleges that the graduates formed were patriotic, enterprising and creative professional citizens endowed with Ubuntu values, as well as Christianity in the case of GTC. Although these values are useful for forming a desirable type of citizen, the values do not necessarily speak to critical citizenship in a thick way. The institutional culture was perpetuated in NASS lectures where students complained about insensitivity to student questioning and divergent thinking by NASS lecturers, some of whom are members of decision-making bodies within the colleges. From both the lecturers, and students' voices in chapters six and 7 respectively, it was not surprising that the emphasis was on forming teacher citizens endowed with Ubuntu, who were supposed to comply with tradition, rather than question it. Drawing from the broader context discussed in chapter five and the college structural arrangements, it became obvious that, in as much as having good curriculum intentions or content is important, to facilitate the formation of critical democratic citizens, more needs to be done in its implementation.

At GTC, a church-run college, advancing the church ethos, though not inherently contrary to critical citizenship, was perceived as discriminatory and often marginalised those of different religious beliefs. From the outset, recruitment and admission policies and processes discriminated against non-church members, making it difficult for the few non-members who are accepted to negotiate their own religious space. Preference for members of the religious organisation in the students' representative council, while side-lining non-members, is against the spirit of civic republicanism, which emphasises that individuals can best realise their essential capacities in a democratic society characterized by active participation of all in inclusive political life. Ideally, every student should have an equal opportunity to lead, as much as they should be prepared to be led, whatever their religious affiliation. However, in extracurricular activities, all students had an opportunity to participate in programmes of their

choice, despite the fact that some of the lecturers tended to focus more on students belonging to their extracurricular club in activities such as group work, discussion and debates. It was not surprising that most student participants in this study belonged to the college debating society in both colleges.

At CTC, a state-run college, concerns about religious liberties emerged, but from a different angle. A case in question involved students who were forced to participate in traditional dances against their will on account of their own religious beliefs. The use of threats to expel the students from the course was evidence of a culture that stifles dissent and resorts to use of force whenever traditional authority is challenged.

In chapter eight, it emerged that due to hierarchies of power (and in the absence of freedom of expression within the colleges), it is a challenge to teach citizenship for the formation of critical citizens. Foregrounding instrumental freedoms in such a context was justified for three reasons. Firstly, instrumental freedoms advocate constant cultivation of a capability-enabling environment, which in turn enriches agency and therefore positively impacts on the formation of citizenship attributes (Magsino, 2010). Secondly, instrumental freedoms were a better basis for evaluating the space available for critical citizenship formation in the NASS curriculum than just focusing on its aims, objectives or content in isolation. The third significance of instrumental freedoms was linked to agency, which cannot be perceived in isolation from social, political and economic factors. This implies that critical citizenship could be accomplished through the agency of individuals, but will do better in an enabling environment provided by the harmonious blend of the five instrumental freedoms, rather than in a culture of subservience. The instrumental freedoms, which also relate to different kinds of rights, opportunities and entitlements, are empirically linked with one another, such that forms of freedom of different types may connect with each other (Flores-Crespo, 2002; Magsino, 2010). This interconnectedness and reinforcing nature of the instrumental freedoms found expression in the interconnectedness of HD, Ubuntu values and the capabilities selected for this study.

In the table below, I sketch out a rough representation of policy stakeholders, lecturers and students' thick or thin understanding of citizenship based on valued functionings derived from their voices.

Table14. Participants' understanding of citizenship based on valued functionings

Stakeholder	Valued functionings	Thick or thin citizenship
Policy	Compliance Narrow patriotism Ubuntu	Thin
Lecturers	Compliance Criticism Ubuntu	Both thick and thin
Students	Active participation in society Participation in class discussions Occupy leadership positions Learning about history Critical thinking Self-reliance Fitting into society Religious liberties Being respected by peers and lecturers Having a secure job	Mostly thick, but there are also thin forms of citizenship

From the table above, and as explained in this and previous chapters, participants' understanding of citizenship is both thick and thin. Whilst policy participants have (broadly) a thin understanding, lecturers have a thin understanding with isolated thick understandings of citizenship. Unlike the other two groups of participants, students have mostly a thick understanding of citizenship. In the next section, I focus on how the research questions have been addressed through the study.

9.5 Answers to the research questions and reflections

The study was motivated by the need for change in the theoretical underpinnings of CE. On this basis, the aim of the study was to explore the role of NASS in forming citizenship capabilities, and to reflect on the empirical, theoretical and methodological aspects, providing a response to each research question.

Since my focus started from a commitment to advancing human capabilities formation through CE, a process of fostering social justice, qualitative and interpretivist research was deemed suitable to collect and analyse data on the operationalisation of NASS. These empirical findings were analysed in chapters five, six, seven and eight. I focused on policy and processes, curriculum and pedagogical arrangements as well as institutional arrangements, among other values through which opportunities for critical citizenship formation were created. Table 11 (see chapter 4), is useful for understanding the themes that emerged from the data and the type of data related to the themes.

All research questions were thus answered through a critical analysis of voices of participants in relation to the themes derived from coded data summarised below.

Codes and data on the theme

- Conception of citizenship: Participants' definition and understanding of citizenship

- Perspectives and experiences of NASS: Indications of various perspectives e.g. it's a history course, its partisan and reasons given to support such a perceived perspective using their experiences

- Citizenship dimensions advanced: Critical thinking, deliberation and active participation or submissive citizens etc.

- Values advanced through NASS: Other values like HD, democratic or Ubuntu values e.g. religious liberties, inclusiveness, compassion, empowerment etc.

- Curriculum and pedagogical experiences: Any experience alluding to pedagogical practices e.g. teaching methods used, text books used, assignments given and how they are assessed etc.

- Instrumental Freedoms: Political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security

- Institutional Culture: Institutional values, hierarchies of power etc.

All research questions were thus answered through a critical analysis of voices of participants in relation to the above themes. Some of the questions were answered throughout the empirical chapters but some were specifically addressed by a specific chapter.

9.5.1 Research question one

How does the NASS curriculum contribute to the development of critical citizenship among future teachers?

Research question one was addressed by data from all themes running across strands on policy and processes, curriculum and pedagogical practices and institutional culture. From chapter five in which policy and processes were discussed, it emerged that there is limited evidence to support the positive contribution of NASS in forming critical democratic citizens. Using four HD values (empowerment, participation, equity and sustainability), chapter five explains the limitations of the top-down approach on account of the coercive nature of the practices and processes in fostering critical citizenship. In chapter six, where lecturers' voices were used, it also emerged that the conceptualisation of citizenship by lecturers and the values embedded in their curriculum and pedagogical practices are limited for the advancement of genuine critical citizenship. However, moments of critical citizenship were experienced, which were attributed to lecturers' individual agency in articulating NASS critically. This means that the degree to which NASS contributes to the formation of critical citizenship is limited by the restrictive democratic space as well as pedagogical practices. The use of students' voices in chapter seven complaining about teaching methods as non-critical and seeking to advance partisan interests further reduces the usefulness of NASS in forming critical democratic citizens. In chapter eight, where I use Sen's five instrumental freedoms to interrogate the level of freedom in the process of teaching NASS, it also emerged that there are a number of unfreedoms to be addressed for the role of NASS in advancing critical citizenship to be realised. Unless a HD and CA framework is foregrounded so as to enable instrumental freedoms, it may be difficult to teach NASS for critical citizenship, given the present restricted democratic conditions in Zimbabwe.

9.5.2 Research question two

From the perspective of policy stakeholders in the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development and the Department of Teacher Education (University of Zimbabwe), how is citizenship understood? How does NASS promote such citizenship? Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing a critical citizenship among future teachers?

This question was addressed by voices from mid-level policy stakeholders' perspectives and experiences in the operationalisation of NASS. Their understanding of the notion of citizenship was understood in how they described their experiences in policy. However, the two mid-level policy stakeholders' experiences and understanding were not quite the same (see chapter five). From Simboti's (head office) experiences, in which he openly admits using a top-down approach and coercive methods to ensure the operationalisation of NASS, it emerges that he did not place much value on the four HD principles in this study. To him, citizens must obey instructions without question and the only way this could be achieved is by using punitive measures. His understanding of citizenship is thus minimalist and to him, conforming to tradition and authority is a sign of 'good citizenship'. For Madamombe (UZ), NASS should be taught in a critical way, using approaches that enable critical analysis of issues so as to form critical citizens. However, he considers attending workshops, regardless of the level and meaningfulness of the attendees' participation, to be important. The fact that he is satisfied with an appearance of participation (without questioning how power inhibits participants' voices in the workshops) reveals a lack of a critical approach to issues of citizenship. Therefore, despite different levels of understanding of citizenship values, both mid-level stakeholders lack a grounded understanding of critical citizenship. They both view NASS as advancing critical citizenship and the only obstacle they point out is the attitude of the lecturers and students, which they are now happy with as they viewed it as improving.

9.5.3 Research question three

From the perspective of lecturers at two selected teachers' colleges, how is citizenship understood? What form of citizenship is promoted by NASS and how is this achieved? Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing critical citizenship among future teachers?

Lecturers' understanding of citizenship is mostly minimalist as they focus on conceptualising citizenship in legal status terms, with limited emphasis on the evaluative form based on the effectiveness and quality of citizenship. Their claim that NASS seeks to form critical citizens is contradicted by evidence, which suggests otherwise. For those lecturers who seek to improve the nature of NASS and the manner in which it is taught, it appears they experience moments

of critical teaching in which they endeavour to advance a critical form of citizenship. They complain about the context in which they teach NASS, which most of them say inhibits critical thinking. Even though they make an effort at teaching for critical citizenship, there are limiting factors to their teaching: lack of resources, limited time allocated to NASS lectures (once a week), and big classes. They also claim that at times the administration has not been cooperative when it came to adjusting their teaching time so that it could align with other subject areas.

9.5.4 Research question four
How do selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship? What are their perspectives on and experiences of NASS in the TE curriculum? To what extent does NASS foster their critical citizenship?

The students' responses were somewhat different. At a conceptual level, the students seemed to understand citizenship in the minimalist form, but some also had a richer understanding of citizenship based on their own experiences, as they also suggested a more critical take. Moreover, drawing on Nussbaum's three capabilities as the basis of establishing the level of criticality of students' experiences in NASS, it emerged that most of the students view NASS promoting uncritical views and seeking to form patriotic citizens who subscribe to ZANU PF's ideologies. They based this on how NASS is taught, as explained under question one. There was consensus about the need to improve NASS teaching by opening up spaces for deliberation, increasing transparency on what NASS seeks to achieve, and how it is assessed. Drawing on instrumental freedoms in chapter eight, nonetheless it is evident that some forms of unfreedoms in the learning of NASS limit the degree to which it could foster critical citizenship. Lack of transparency in assessment processes and denial of religious freedoms also limits student agency in doing and being what they value. For example, some of the students aspired to become members of the representative council, but because of their religious affiliation, they were denied the opportunity. Suppression of students' voices emerged in various forms, as at times the institutional culture would not support students who are outspoken or criticise authority

9.5.5 Research question five
How is Ubuntu significant in the formation of desired citizens?

I approached this question from a theoretical perspective since Ubuntu is used as a framework guiding the design of the NASS curriculum and the values advanced for citizenship formation.

I preferred an empirical analysis of voices from the three groups of participants as a significant way of teasing out gaps and opportunities available in foregrounding Ubuntu in a CE curriculum. From the literature reviewed, a broad understanding of Ubuntu as a rich African philosophy was built. Nonetheless, at a practical level, it appears Ubuntu does not work well in the formation of critical citizenship. The need to respect authority and elders has been used strategically for the advancement of a form of citizenship that is subservient to authority, making students prefer to conform to (rather than differ from) the norms and values of society. It thus becomes clear that Ubuntu on its own does not provide a good grounding for critical citizenship.

9.5.6 Research question six

How can a study of the NASS curriculum contribute to theorizing critical CE in a Zimbabwean context and more widely?

Although this question is addressed in several ways throughout the empirical chapters, it is specifically addressed in chapter 8. The preceding chapters mostly offered an empirical and conceptual understanding of how key capability concepts carry forward the debate on conceptualising critical citizenship in HD terms. Chapter eight systematically drew on instrumental freedoms to enrich understanding of how the CA provides a multidimensional approach to theorising citizenship. From chapter eight, it is possible to apply the CA to CE at various levels of operation, starting from policy and processes, curriculum and pedagogical arrangements as well as the institutional culture. Identifying what Sen's instrumental freedoms offer to TE was the first step before drawing on empirical data to exemplify the complementary nature of instrumental freedoms in the quest for critical citizenship. Adding this dimension to the study of CE is envisaged as the key contribution of this research. Using a HD and CA in which instrumental freedoms are applied, a study of the NASS curriculum can contribute to theorizing critical CE in a Zimbabwean context and more widely.

9.6 Limitations of the study

The limitation of this research design is the lack of generalizability beyond the specific research subjects and the setting involved. Providing numerical data in my research could have allowed a contribution to what Maxwell (1992; 2010) calls the internal generalisability of qualitative researchers' claims, and let me put into context and lessen the limitations involved in a single case study. I do not consider this to significantly compromise my study because I am more interested in deriving case-specific and situated statements of experiences of participants in the process of creating critical democratic citizens than statements of commonality among a large

number of settings. The study is qualitative and therefore does not work with large data-sets. However, it may resonate more widely with other colleges and other cases of CE. The design is useful for understanding the dynamics surrounding the formation of citizens' capabilities in similar contexts or more widely, as explained in chapter four, where a detailed analysis of the usefulness of a qualitative research has been made.

Although Nussbaum's three capabilities used to evaluate the degree to which NASS forms and fosters citizenship capabilities were useful in achieving the aim of the study, valued capabilities and functionings derived from students and lecturers voices could be used as the basis of an analysis and evaluation of the curriculum. The capabilities derived could also be used to inform policy and pedagogical practices in the NASS curriculum.

Although participants where possible were chosen on the basis of equal gender representation, this dimension was not pursued in the study and did not emerge. This could have been useful in configuring findings along the gender dimension.

9.7 Recommendations

Having woven together the different components of this study, beginning with its aim and contribution, the conceptual constructs informing it, and the results of the textual analysis from the four empirical chapters, I now focus on recommendations to enrich critical citizenship formation in the Zimbabwean context and elsewhere.

The recommendations are drawn from three levels in the operationalisation of NASS; policy, institutional level targeting administrators, lecturers and students. In order to enhance the operationalisation of the NASS curriculum, which could significantly contribute to the formation of human capabilities, a framework that places citizens' instrumental freedoms at the centre, while simultaneously reinforcing HD and Ubuntu values, could be adopted. Figure 2 illustrates how this could work when embedded in HE policy and processes. These instrumental freedoms are also essential in assessing the degree to which a curriculum contributes to the formation of human capabilities. The feasibility of these recommendations depends on opening up democratic space at policy level, while exercising agency at college level may be important. It is important to acknowledge that opening space for discussion in HE, the questioning of authority and engagement with political content present problems and tensions in most cases. Nevertheless, just as political freedoms should not be postponed until economic security is in place, so complex civic questions should not be deferred in the light of the pressing task of ensuring an open democratic space or other issues.

9.7.1 Policy stakeholders

From Sen's (1999) argument on the significance of freedom and the complementary nature of instrumental freedoms, there exists a strong relationship between individual agency and forces of political, economic and social arrangements. These should be considered carefully in designing or evaluating CE programmes. When policy stakeholders, lecturers or students are provided substantive freedoms by removing any forms of unfreedoms, they become allies in the formation of critical citizens, rather than being merely passive recipients of a curriculum thrust upon them from above. Meaningful stakeholder consultation meetings that encourage deliberation ensure participation by interested parties, instead of using a top-down approach. Through deliberations, which could include lecturers, members from government departments, civic organisations, college principals, university staff, lecturing staff and students to widen the level of participation of stakeholders, genuine participatory methods could be useful in enabling equitable distribution of voice and power. The inclusion of youth enables continuity, which in HD terms fosters sustainability. Consultative meeting may also take the form of

conferences, which all lecturers said are lacking (see chapter six). Conferences, properly undertaken, provide an opportunity for interaction with a wider circle of academics in the area of CE. In addition they empower stakeholders with knowledge of international debates on citizenship formation. Conferences also encourage research and publications, which help enrich the area with useful literature in the teaching of NASS.

9.7.2 Teachers' colleges

At college level, administrators should also take the same approach as above, ensuring that at their institutions public deliberations are encouraged, not only as a requirement of CE but as part of their institutional culture. Institutional arrangements should empower stakeholders to participate in the evaluation of NASS curriculum so as to ensure a sustainable learning environment by removing forms of unfreedoms obstructing agency. Since students complain about lack of diversity in literature and newspapers bought at colleges, it could be helpful to consult widely before procurement of such learning material.

Pedagogy should be well developed and practiced so as to sustain forms of freedom required for the advancement of critical citizenship. Pedagogical practices can be enriching if they are carefully framed within the HD and capability framework. Nussbaum (2006) encourages debate as a way of engaging with controversial issues. Critical pedagogy ideas based on the assumption that teaching is about questioning power and its networks in curriculum arrangements (Freire, 1972) could inform practice. The role of the lecturer should be that of ensuring empowering pedagogy that allows students' voices to be heard. A research component for the course could be useful in encouraging the quest for knowledge among both lecturers and students.

On the students' side, it is important that students research widely and use literature from other institutions instead of relying on recommended texts within their colleges. The spirit of questioning tradition should be the motivation behind their learning.

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter concludes my study, which has been an insightful research journey with both exciting moments and challenges. Although the research questions and theoretical framework guided the study, the iterative process involved represents a complex process of foregrounding people's perspectives derived from their daily experiences in the learning of NASS under difficult circumstances. The findings in a context of restricted democratic space have been both inspiring and challenging. On the basis of the findings, the significance of taking a normative stance in questioning practices, processes and institutional arrangements at various levels of the operationalisation of a CE curriculum guarantees a broad understanding of what it means to educate citizens in critical citizenship.

The perspectives and experiences of mid-level stakeholders, lecturers and students raised salient issues that I never expected. The findings thus provide the basis for advancing a CA-driven model for analysing, evaluating, theorising and operationalising CE. This framework blends capability core concepts, HD and Ubuntu values to accommodate context-specific challenges in operationalising CE.

Apart from answering my six research questions, a number of questions have emerged. The next steps in my research journey will include, amongst others, the generation of a capability list for CE in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges and a comparative study of the role of CE in two different countries operating under different circumstances. A list of capabilities for CE education in Zimbabwean teachers' colleges will help inform policy and pedagogical practices based on what stakeholders value. A comparative study, on the other hand, helps establish how a capability-based CE curriculum may work in a more open democratic context.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Introductory letter

Appendix 2: Information sheet

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Appendix 5: Interview Schedule – Lecturers

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Appendix 8: NASS syllabus

Appendix 9: Extract from Nussbaum on critical thinking

Centre for Research on Higher Education and Development (CRHED)

University of the Free State

Bloemfontein

South Africa

Email: marovaht@gmail.com

22 August 2013

The Permanent Secretary

Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education

Harare

Zimbabwe

REF: RESEARCH STUDY: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPABILITIES FORMATION: A CASE STUDY IN TWO ZIMBABWEAN TEACHERS' COLLEGES

Dear Sir,

The above underlined subject refers.

I am a Zimbabwean civil servant within the Ministry of higher and tertiary education on manpower development leave since January 2013 to December 2015. My EC number is 0859359 K. I am a full time, PhD fellow studying Citizenship Education and the formation of human capabilities at the Centre for Research on Higher Education and Development (CRHED), University of the Free State in Bloemfontein. In fulfilment of the requirement of the degree, I am expected to submit a research study.

My study explores how and in what ways the operationalisation of the National and Strategic Studies (NASS) curriculum in selected Zimbabwean teachers' colleges contributes to the development of democratic citizenship among future teachers, from the perspectives of policy stakeholders, lecturers and students.

The study uses qualitative methods. It will utilise document analysis, interviews and observation from three teachers' colleges. In-depth, semi structured interviews and focus group discussions will be held with thirty-two participants: (i) two policy stakeholders (Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education and the Department of Teacher Education (UZ)), (ii) six lecturers (three from each institution) and (iii) twenty-four students (twelve from each institution).

I am proposing to conduct a pilot study in October this year (2013) and then hope to collect further data in the first half of 2014 at two more colleges. The colleges which I hope to collect data are Madziwa Teachers' College and Bondolfi Teachers' college.

I undertake to follow all laid down internal laws and procedures and to use the data gathered solely for academic purposes. Participation will be completely voluntary and participants' as well as institutional names will remain anonymous in publication of any academic material.

Permission and time to access the proposed institutions as well as individual participants is humbly requested. It is hoped that findings of this study will produce a detailed description of the policy stakeholders', lecturers' and students' perspectives which can contribute more broadly to literature in citizenship education studies in Higher Education as well as theorizing citizenship education both in a Zimbabwean context and also more widely.

Yours faithfully,   Approved By:

..   …   ……   …

Tendayi Marovah   Professor Melanie Walker

PhD Fellow   Study Leader

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INFORMATION SHEET FOR RESEARCH PROJECT

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPABILITIES FORMATION: A CASE STUDY IN TWO ZIMBABWEAN TEACHERS' COLLEGES

TENDAYI MAROVAH, PHD FELLOW (2013-2015)

THE RESEARCH

The study examines how National and Strategic Studies (NASS) in the teacher education curriculum contributes to developing citizenship capabilities among future teachers. There has been little empirical research on the role of NASS in the promotion of citizenship capabilities and social development in and through teacher education. The research will also contribute more broadly to a research literature in citizenship education studies in Higher Education (HE). How a study of the NASS curriculum can contribute to theorizing citizenship education both in a Zimbabwean context but also more widely will therefore be considered.

My research questions explore how and in what ways the NASS curriculum contributes to the development of critical citizenship among future teachers, from the perspectives of policy stakeholders, lecturers and students?

My study uses qualitative methods. It will utilise documents, interviews and observation from three teachers' colleges. In- depth semi structured interviews and focus group discussions will be held with thirty-two participants: (i) two policy stakeholders (Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education and the department of teacher education (UZ)),(ii) six lecturers (three from each institution) and (iii) twenty-four students (twelve from each institution). Furthermore relevant documents will be analysed e.g. NASS syllabi, policy documents and students records (course work files) to establish how curriculum teaching creates a platform for the cultivation of citizenship.

The Colleges and the interviewees will be anonymised. The findings of the study will be shared with the participants before publication, and they will be invited to comment on the analysis. This study may be helpful in reflecting on the teaching of NASS in participating colleges.

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CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND HUMAN CAPABILITES FORMATION: A CASE STUDY IN TWO ZIMBABWEAN TEACHERS' COLLEGES

Description of the research and your participation
You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Tendayi Marovah, a PhD student at the University of the Free State, South Africa. The study examines how National and Strategic Studies (NASS) in the teacher education curriculum contribute to developing citizenship capabilities among future teachers. (See information sheet).

Your participation will involve either responding to interview questions (lecturers) for about 1 hour or participating in a focus group discussion (students) with your peers which will last for about two hours.

Potential benefits
There are no direct financial or material benefits to you that would result from your participation in this research. However this research will help to enrich our understanding of how NASS in teacher education contributes to the formation of democratic citizens.

Confidentiality
All participants will be anonymised and given pseudonyms to maintain anonymity. Both the institutions involved and the individual participants will be anonymised.

Voluntary participation
Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You will not be penalised in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

Contact information
If you have questions or concerns about this study or if any problem arises please contact Tendayi Marovah at the University of the Free State +27744772745

Consent
I have read this consent form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Participant's signature_____Date:_____

A copy of this consent form should be given to you.

Observation Form

Type (e.g.) __classroom_____ Date of Observation_____

Time_____ Name of participant being observed

This form provides 10 areas for observation. Each area includes prompts regarding what should be observed.

1. **Development of learning objectives:**
   2 Are objectives for the class given verbally, written, or not at all?
   3 Are specific instructional outcomes used?
   4 Are objectives discussed at the end of class?

2. **Selection and use of instructional materials:**
   1.0 Do films, websites, and other audio-visual materials have a clear purpose?
   2.0 Are handouts appropriate in number and subject?
   3.0 Since the text may be pre-selected, does lecturer give help with reading or using the text, if necessary?

3. **Educational climate for learning:**
   - Are students AND lecturer interested and enthusiastic?
   - Does the lecturer use student names?
   - Is humor used appropriately?
   - Does lecturer not embarrass or belittle students in any way?
   - Is the atmosphere of the classroom participative?

4. **Variety of instructional activities:**
   - Does timing of classroom activities consider varied attention spans?
   - Does lecturer involve students in deciding what issues to discuss?

5. **Preparation for class session:**
   - Provide examples that show preparation by lecturer.
   - Do students know what preparation (reading or other assignments) they should have completed prior to class?

6. **Instructional methods:**
   - List *lecturer's* activities.
   - Did the introduction gain the class's attention? Did it establish rapport?

- Did the introduction outline the topic and purpose of the lecture?
- Is the delivery paced to students' needs?
- Does the lecturer introduce topic, state goals, present material or activity effectively, summarize, and give assignment or suggest an idea to consider before the next class?
- Could the lecturer be seen and heard?
- Were key points emphasized?
- Were explanations clear to students?
- Were examples, metaphors, and analogies appropriate?
- Was the lecture stimulating and thought provoking?

7.   **Opportunity for student participation:**
- List *students'* activities.
- Does lecturer encourage students to summarize and add to other' summaries?
- Does the lecturer or help quieter student interact with others?

8.   **Individualization of instruction:**
- Are the emotional, physical, and intellectual needs of students met?
- Does the lecturer prompt awareness of students' prior learning and experiences?
- Does the lecturer offer "real world" application?
- Is the lecturer available before or after class?
- Does the lecturer relate class to course goals, students' personal goals, or societal concerns?

9.   **Responsiveness to student feedback:**
- Is the lecturer paying attention to cues of boredom and confusion?
- Does the lecturer encourage or discourage questions (dissension)?
- Does the lecturer provide students opportunity to mention problems/concerns with the class, either verbally or in writing?

10.   **Learning difficulties:**
- Does a student need assistance for a temporary or permanent disability?
- Are one or more students not motivated or unable to follow the class?
- Does the lecturer show favouritism?
- Are students able to see visual aids?
- Does one group dominate discussion and hinder others' participation?

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule – Lecturers

Interview guide for lecturers

Introducing self, purpose of interview, addressing ethical issues and establishing rapport

Name of institution:

Full Name of participant: Age:

Qualification:

Position:

Experience in NASS issues: (explain various levels e.g. lecturer, HOD etc.)

Department:

Research Questions	Interviewer questions	Follow up questions	Probe	The issue
How and in what ways does the NASS curriculum contribute to the development of critical citizenship among future teachers? (Extract on the introduction of NASS)	1) Why was NAASS introduced? From a lecturer's perspective, what did you want NASS to achieve?	What about the rationale?	Will depend on the responses of the interviewee	Human capabilities, Human development principles,
	2) Can you tell me how the NASS curriculum was introduced in teachers' colleges?	To what extent did the process allow diverse voices to give input?		Democratic Values
	3) What were the challenges if any?			
	4) How are the syllabi reviewed?	How often?	By who?	
	5) How do you ensure the course is both "National and strategic" as suggested by its name let's start with "national"?	What about strategic?		Institutional arrangements, Democratic Values, Ubuntu
	6) Are there characteristics which NASS is not able to form?			
	Should citizenship be taught at all in TE and University?			
How is citizenship understood?	1) Briefly explain what you understand by the term citizenship?			Understanding of citizenship

	2) In your own opinion what constitutes a) good citizen b) bad citizen?			Capabilities e.g. creative imagination and critical thinking, democratic values
	3) Do you think it is necessary to teach citizenship education in teachers' colleges as a standalone course?	Can't the same be infused in various subjects across the curriculum?		Capabilities-critical thinking, creative imagination.
	4) Can you describe traits of the type of citizen NASS seek to form?			Capabilities, Ubuntu, Human development principles
	5) In what way are these characteristics important for the nation?			Capabilities, human development principles,
How does NASS promote such citizenship?	1) Please tell me how NASS promote the formation of the desired type of citizens? 2) How do you ensure this is achieved in all teachers' colleges?			Democratic values, capabilities eg critical thinking, creative imagination
	3) How important is Ubuntu in the formation of desired type of citizens?			Ubuntu values
Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing a critical citizenship among future teachers?	1) Can you tell me about any obstacles to the operationalisation of NASS in teachers' colleges?	1) How do you deal with these obstacles? 2) What has the government done to reduce the impact of these obstacles?		Democratic values, capabilities (conversion factors and agency)
	2) (If there are obstacles in 1) To what extent do the obstacles impact on your effort as a lecturer to ensure the successful operationalisation of NASS in teachers' colleges?			Capabilities-conversion factors, critical thinking

2

	3) In your opinion, what contributes to the smooth flow of the teaching of the course in colleges? (a)personal factors (b) institutional factors (c) national factors	3		Capabilities eg critical thinking, conversion factors, agency
Conclusion	Do you have any other suggestion, comment or question in line with this study?			

Interview guide for policy stakeholders

Introducing self, purpose of interview, addressing ethical issues and establishing rapport

Name of institution:

Full Name of participant: Age:

Qualification:

Position:

Experience in NASS issues: (explain various levels e.g. lecturer, HOD etc.)

Department:

Research Questions	Interviewer questions	Follow up questions	Probe	The issue
How and in what ways does the NASS curriculum contribute to the development of critical citizenship among future teachers? (Extract on the introduction of NASS)	1) Why was NAASS introduced? From a policy stakeholder's perspective, what did you want NASS to achieve?	What about the rationale?	Will depend on the responses of the interviewee	Human capabilities, Human development principles,
	2) Can you tell me how the NASS curriculum was introduced in teachers' colleges?	To what extent did the process allow diverse voices to give input?		Democratic Values
	3) What were the challenges if any?			
	4) How are the syllabi reviewed?	How often?	By who?	
	5) How do you ensure the course is both "National and strategic" as suggested by its name let's start with "national"?	What about strategic?		Institutional arrangements, Democratic Values, Ubuntu
	6) Are there characteristics which NASS is not able to form?			
	Should citizenship be taught at all in TE and University?			
How is citizenship understood?	1) Briefly explain what you understand by the term citizenship?			Understanding of citizenship

	2) In your own opinion what constitutes a) good citizen b) bad citizen?			Capabilities e.g. creative imagination and critical thinking, democratic values
	3) Do you think it is necessary to teach citizenship education in teachers' colleges as a standalone course?	Can't the same be infused in various subjects across the curriculum?		Capabilities-critical thinking, creative imagination.
	4) Can you describe traits of the type of citizen NASS seek to form?			Capabilities, Ubuntu, Human development principles
	5) In what way are these characteristics important for the nation?			Capabilities, human development principles,
How does NASS promote such citizenship?	1) Please tell me how NASS promote the formation of the desired type of citizens? 2) How do you ensure this is achieved in all teachers' colleges?			Democratic values, capabilities eg critical thinking, creative imagination
	3) How important is Ubuntu in the formation of desired type of citizens?			Ubuntu values
Are there any obstacles to NASS advancing a critical citizenship among future teachers?	1) Can you tell me about any obstacles to the operationalisation of NASS in teachers' colleges?	1) How do you deal with these obstacles? 2) What has the government done to reduce the impact of these obstacles?		Democratic values, capabilities (conversion factors and agency)
	2) (If there are obstacles in 1) To what extent do the obstacles impact on your effort as a policy stakeholder to ensure the successful operationalisation of			Capabilities-conversion factors, critical thinking

	NASS in teachers' colleges?	3		
	3) In your opinion, what contributes to the smooth flow of the teaching of the course in colleges? (a)personal factors (b) institutional factors (c) national factors			Capabilities eg critical thinking, conversion factors, agency
Conclusion	Do you have any other suggestion, comment or question in line with this study?			

Appendix 7: Interview Schedule – Students
Interview guide for students

Introducing self, purpose of interview, addressing ethical issues and establishing rapport

Name of institution:

Full Name of participant:

Highest Qualification:

Position at college (if any):

Main Subject:

Research Questions	Interviewer questions	Follow up questions	Probe	The issue
How do selected students in the two colleges understand citizenship?	1) Briefly explain what you understand by the term citizenship?		Probing will be determined by the responses given drawing from the five types of probes I know	Type of citizenship,
	2) In your own opinion what constitutes a) good citizenship b) bad citizenship?	Explain why you say so?		Capabilities e.g. critical thinking, creative imagination, , Ubuntu, Democratic values
	3) Do you think it is important to have citizenship education taught in teachers' colleges?	Why or why not?		Capabilities - critical thinking
What are their perspectives on and experiences of NASS in the teacher education curriculum?	1) Would you consider NASS as a good course for citizenship education?	Why do you say so?		Capabilities- critical thinking, Ubuntu, human development principles
	2) In your opinion what type of citizen does NASS seek to form?	Why do you say so?		Capabilities- critical thinking,
	3) Do you think the learning of NASS has been useful in shaping you as a good citizen?	In what way has been useful?		Capabilities – critical thinking

	4) Drawing from your teaching practice experience, how useful was NASS to you?	How did it influence your influence your conduct or practice throughout the period of teaching practice?		Capabilities eg creative imagination, critical thinking, democratic values
	5) Explain to me how you would make use of your experiences from NASS in the community you are going to work.			Capabilities eg creative imagination,
	6) What things would you want to see improved in the teaching and learning of NASS?			Capabilities e.g. creative imagination
To what extent does NASS foster their critical citizenship?	1) How does the learning of NASS promote critical thinking?			Democratic values
	2) Would you consider a person who is critical of government policies a good citizen?	Why or why not?		Capabilities
	3) Tell me about the challenges which you faced in the process of studying NASS at (i) personal level (ii) college level (iii) national level	How did you, the college or the government try to meet these challenges		Capabilities approach- conversion factors, agency
	4) In your own opinion how 'national and strategic' is NASS			Democratic values, institutional arrangements, capabilities like critical thinking

UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE

DEPARTMENT OF TEACHER EDUCATION

MADZIWA TEACHERS' COLLEGE

DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION (PRIMARY)

PROFESSIONAL STUDIES SYLLABUS: NATIONAL AND STRATEGIC STUDIES.

4.0   PREAMBLE

This course is offered to all student teachers on the three year pre-service Diploma in Education Programme. This is a 2.5.2 Programme designed for post "O" Level students. It is structured as follows; 2 terms first residential, 5 terms teaching practice and 2 terms final residential phases. The focus and emphasis of this syllabus is the production of a patriotic, creative, professional, effective, resourceful and humane teacher.

5.0   AIMS

This course aims at:

2.1   reclaiming a true Zimbabwean identity and upholding sovereignty

2.2   instilling in the student teachers a sense of patriotism and positive attitudes towards their country

2.3   cultivating among the student teachers a desire and commitment towards the preservation of resources and total development of Zimbabwe;

4.4.1 Inculcating Unhu/Ubuntu in the student teachers
2.5   promote a sense of entrepreneurship and self reliance in the student teachers

6.0   OBJECTIVES

Students should be able to:

3.1.1 justify the role and rationale for NASS;

3.2   converse with confidence on the history of their country;

3.3   explain the impact of colonialism in political, geographical, social and cultural terms

3.4   name and explain the role, nature and significance of the various national symbols

3.5   discuss the role of national institutions and heritage

3.6   appreciate the significance of the relations with other countries as part of national development

3.7   participate in the total development of their communities as part of national development

3.8   articulate government initiatives towards equitable empowerment of citizens

3.9   demonstrate the ability to make effective use of relevant historical factual knowledge to show an understanding of a context in outline and particular topics in depth

3.10   illustrate the ability to present a clear, concise, logical and relevant argument

4.0 CONTENT

SECTION A

4.1 Introductory topics

- What is NASS? (Country, nation, state, strategic)
- The rationale for NASS (sovereignty)

4.2 Zimbabwe colonial history affecting national development.

- Traditional civilizations e.g. Gt. Zimbabwe, Mutapa state, Rozvi state and Ndebele state
- Creation of African servants; (colonial economy)
- Resistance of colonialism e.g. Chimurenga 1, Emergence of African Independent Churches
- Federation and the rise of Nationalism
- Chimurenga 2, Lancaster House Conference and Independence

SECTION B

4.3 Post-colonial developments in Zimbabwe

- Importance of independence
- National anthem, flag, shrines
- Zimbabwean culture, Languages, Zunde Ramambo, Social fabric
- Concept of democracy and party politics
- Human rights and governance (Constitution, Legislative, Judiciary, Executive).
- Land reform.
- Educational development.
- Gender equality and equity.
- Pandemics, Epidemics and Non communicable diseases
- Role of media in national development.
- NGOs and their role in national development.

SECTION C

4.4   Socio-economic issues in post independent era

- Scientific socialism –Education with production.
- Growth centre programme.
- Economy under ESAP
- Entrepreneurship (self reliance) in Zimbabwe.
- Economic empowerment e.g. SEDCO, AAG.
- Land reform.
- Millennium Development Goals.
- Peace and conflict resolutions (micro and macro perspectives)

4.5   Environmental Issues and resources utilisation for sustainable development

- Conservation and preservation of resources e.g. CAMPFIRE.
- Degradation e.g. panning, deforestation, vandalism.
- Tourism and Hospitality.
- Pollution.

DISTANCE EDUCATION COMPONENT

4.6   Regional and international relations

- Global power balance, international law
- Regional e.g. SADC, COMESA, ECOWAS
- Continental e.g. AU, NEPAD, EU.
- International e.g. UN, IMF, World Bank.

5.0   APPROACHES/ METHODOLOGY

Lectures blended with role playing, simulations and seminars/workshops Projects/fieldwork coupled with using resource persons for locally relevant issues and debates. Distance education Materials for students whilst on teaching practices.

6.0   DISTANCE EDUCATION COMPONENT

Under this section, students will have one written assignment. Modules and hand outs with relevant information will be given to students to assist them in assignment writing.

7.0   ASSESSMENT

By course work (conducted at College and whilst on Teaching Practice. At least 3 written assignments of which one is by Distance Education and 2 in the last residential phase) and final examinations (3 questions, one from each section) Students should score 50% or better on average in order to pass.

The coursework has thirty percent weighting while the examination has seventy percent in the final assessment.

Extract on critical thinking

The following is an extract from the book "The Clash within democracy, Religious violence and India's future", The Belknap Press of Havard University Press, Cambridge, 2007 by Martha. C. Nussbaum pages 290-292

What ought to be done?

What should a pluralistic democracy be trying to achieve through Education? Three capacities, all must be developed if a democracy is to have citizens who can function well in a pluralistic society that is part of an independent world. … First is the capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions, for living what, following Socrates, we may call "the examined life." This means a life that accept no belief as authoritative simply because it has been handed down by tradition or become familiar through habit, a life that questions all beliefs, statements, and arguments and accepts only those that survive reason's demands for consistency and for justification. Training this capacity requires developing the capacity to reason logically, to test what one reads or says for consistency of reasoning, correctness of fact, and accuracy of judgement. Testing of this sort frequently produces challenges to tradition, as Socrates knew well when he defended himself against the charge of "corrupting the young." But he defended his activity on the grounds that a polity needs citizens who can think for themselves rather than simply deferring to authority, who can reason together about their choices rather than just trading claims and counter claims….

Critical thinking is particularly crucial in a society that needs to come to grips with the presence of people who differ by ethnicity, caste, and religion…. When politicians bring simplistic propaganda their way, as politicians in every country have a way of doing, young people will have a hope of preserving independence only if the know how to think critically about what they hear, testing its logic and its concepts and imagining alternatives to it. Such learning also teaches a new attitude to people with whom one disagrees.

Questions

Refer to interview guides but should capture:

- **The students' understanding of the script.**
- **The students' or lecturers' views on this conceptualisation of critical thinking.**
- **Is there any difference between Nussbaum's conceptualisation of critical thinking and that which is experienced in NASS.**