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The Impact of Competency-Based Curriculum on Teaching Resources and Cultural Heritage Content in Social Studies: Fostering Diversity, Empowerment, and Citizenship Education

A qualitative case study of how the Kenyan Competency-Based Curriculum has influenced cultural heritage content and teaching resources in social studies.

Master's thesis in Political Science with Teacher Education

Supervisor: Kathleen M. Jennings

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“The child himself also has a resource, his own experience” (Teacher Kiprono).

Abstract

The Competency-Based Curriculum (CBC) continues Kenya's history of emphasizing cultural diversity and cultural heritage in its curricula. The new curriculum suggests a different pedagogy, shifting from a teacher-centered approach to a learner-centered approach and is underpinned by theories such as constructivism. In this thesis, I explore the influence of CBC on teaching resources and cultural heritage content in social studies in junior school. I have conducted a qualitative case study, where I interview six social studies teachers in private junior schools in Nairobi.

I argue that the constructivist approach, introduced in CBC, allows for diversity of perspectives in the teaching of cultural heritage by acknowledging and valuing students' experiences and cultures. Encouraging student expression and allowing them to see themselves reflected in the educational content, facilitates empowerment. Furthermore, I argue that fostering an environment for diverse perspectives in cultural heritage education will enhance citizenship education by recognizing each student, allowing them to be themselves within the broader community of the nation, thus promoting a sense of belonging.

The thesis provides insights into how CBC has influenced the topic of cultural heritage in social studies, illustrating its potential to promote inclusive education and democratic citizenship. The findings contribute to the ongoing discussion about the impact and implementation of CBC in Kenya, and about empowering citizenship education in multicultural contexts.

Sammendrag

Den kompetansebaserte læreplanen (CBC) viderefører Kenyas historie av å vektlegge kulturelt mangfold og kulturarv i læreplanene. Den nye læreplanen innfører en elev-sentrert pedagogikk og er forankret i teorier som konstruktivisme. I denne oppgaven utforsker jeg hvilken innflytelse CBC har hatt på utvalg av lærestoff innen kulturarv i samfunnsfag. Jeg har gjort en kvalitativ casestudie, der jeg har intervjuet seks samfunnsfaglærere på privatskoler (på ungdomstrinnet) i Nairobi.

Jeg argumenterer for at den konstruktivistiske tilnærmingen, introdusert av CBC, legger til rette for perspektivmangfold i undervisningen av kulturell arv ved å anerkjenne og verdsette elevenes erfaringer og kulturer. Å inkludere elevenes erfaringer og meninger ved å ta utgangspunkt i deres livsverden, legger til rette for myndiggjøring. Videre argumenterer jeg for at medborgerskapsundervisning styrkes ved å legge til rette for perspektivmangfold slik at hver elev og deres kulturelle bakgrunn får plass og kan føle tilhørighet i det nasjonale fellesskapet.

Oppgaven viser hvordan CBC har påvirket utvalg av lærestoff innen kulturarv i samfunnsfag, og illustrerer fagets potensial til å fremme inkluderende utdanning og demokratisk medborgerskap. Funnene bidrar til den pågående diskusjonen om iverksettingen av CBC i Kenya, og om medborgerskapsundervisning i flerkulturelle kontekster.

Preface and Acknowledgements

Guceera nĩ kuhĩga

This project has both been a personally and academically challenging journey but equally rewarding. I started the journey with a desire to explore my own cultural heritage due to my growing curiosity towards my Gikuyu heritage and to learn more about my history. I have learned so much, about Kenya and its history, education, teaching and culture and I have been challenged to see the world differently. The research project offered me an excuse to leave Norway's cold winter to visit my family in sunny Kenya, where we would explore culture and heritage together.

This interdisciplinary thesis is relevant for my profession as a teacher in a few ways and both in terms of political science and didactics. Cultural heritage is a central theme in the national curriculum in Norway as well. Researching how this topic can be taught to include all students is therefore valuable. Additionally, it is valuable to get insights into how a new curriculum is received and operationalized by teachers.

I would like to begin thanking my informants, the headteachers and schools for the warm welcome and for participating in my project. I am grateful that you took the time out of a busy teacher's schedule to share your teaching practices. The project would not have been possible without your valuable and interesting reflections. Asante sana.

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me and for joining the adventure of exploring our cultural heritage. Special thanks to my mum for going out of her way to help me make this project a reality.

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Kristin Motho Høgetveit

Trondheim, June 2024

I believe that my writing in Gĩkũyũ language, a Kenyan language, an African language, is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggles of Kenyan and African peoples. In schools and universities our Kenyan languages that is the languages of the many nationalities which make up Kenya were associated with negative qualities of backwardness, under- development, humiliation and punishment. We who went through that school system were meant to graduate with a hatred of the people and the culture and the values of the language of our daily humiliation and punishment. I do not want to see Kenyan children growing up in that imperialist-imposed tradition of contempt for the tools of communication developed by their communities and their history. I want them to transcend colonial alienation.

Colonial alienation takes two interlinked forms: an active (or passive) distancing of oneself from the reality around; and an active (or passive) identification with that which is most external to one's environment. It starts with a deliberate disassociation of the language of conceptualisation, of thinking, of formal education, of mental development, from the language of daily interaction in the home and in the community. It is like separating the mind from the body so that they are occupying two unrelated linguistic spheres in the same person. On a larger social scale it is like producing a society of bodiless heads and headless bodies.

So I would like to contribute towards the restoration of the harmony between all the aspects and divisions of language so as to restore the Kenyan child to his environment, understand it fully so as to be in a position to change it for his collective good. I would like to see Kenya peoples' mother-tongues (our national languages!) carry a literature reflecting not only the rhythms of a child's spoken expression, but also his struggle with nature and his social nature. With that harmony between himself, his language and his environment as his starting point, he can learn other languages and even enjoy the positive humanistic, democratic and revolutionary elements in other people's literatures and cultures without any complexes about his own language, his own self, his environment.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986), *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*.

Kara kamwe gatingĩyuragĩra ndaa

(Gikuyu proverb)

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1.Introduction

The introduction of the Competency-Based Curriculum (CBC) in various educational systems has signified a transformative approach to teaching and learning. Kenya aims to align itself with this global paradigm shift. CBC was unveiled in 2017 and has been gradually implemented since, reaching grade 8 in 2024. The system is replacing the 8-4-4 system that served Kenya for 32 years. Teaching cultural heritage has been emphasized throughout Kenya's history for the purpose of preserving and appreciating its cultures and uniting them within one nation.¹

The Basic Education Curriculum Framework (BECF) guides CBC. According to BECF, the vision of CBC is to enable every student to become an engaged, empowered and ethical citizen and all aspects of education shall aim at contributing to this outcome. The curriculum urges a constructivist and learner-centered approach to teaching. This has had profound implications for how cultural heritage content is presented and engaged with by students. The lessons are now based on the students' own cultural backgrounds rather than primarily content from the textbooks. I argue that the constructivist approach, introduced in CBC, allows for diversity of perspectives in the teaching of cultural heritage by acknowledging and valuing students' experiences and cultures. Encouraging student expression and allowing them to see themselves reflected in the educational content, facilitates empowerment. Moreover, I argue that fostering an environment for diverse perspectives in cultural heritage education will enhance citizenship education by recognizing and valuing each student, allowing them to be themselves within the broader community of the nation, thus fostering a sense of belonging.

The paper is divided into eight chapters. In chapter two I present the context in which the study is conducted, the historical background of education in Kenya and the aims of CBC. In chapter three, I present the theoretical framework of the study, including curriculum theory and didactics, followed by chapter four, where I present the study design and methodological choices. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews and is analyzed by a thematic analysis presented in chapter five. The following chapter (6) presents a discussion of the findings. Finally, chapter seven concludes the study and chapter eight includes the bibliography.

¹ Nation is understood as a community of citizens (Stugu, 2013, p. 47).

1.1 Problem statement and research questions

CBC continues the legacy of emphasizing cultural diversity and heritage through the social studies curriculum. Social studies carries a special responsibility in this task as the subject centers around human's relationship with each other, their world and themselves (Ruto, 2022, p. 312). Considering the new approach to education, the study seeks to explore how cultural heritage is constructed in social studies through teachers' choices of content and how this has been influenced by CBC. My research question is the following: how has the Competency-Based Curriculum influenced teaching resources and the content of cultural heritage in social studies? In order to answer this, the study was guided by the following three sub-questions: 1) what are the teachers' intentions of teaching cultural heritage? 2) how do the teachers construct cultural heritage?, 3) how has CBC influenced the construction of cultural heritage in social studies?

1.2 Contribution and significance

Previous studies on CBC have explored issues such as implementation challenges and teacher preparedness and have raised concerns about the effectiveness of the implementation in its initial stage. For instance, M'mboga Akala (2021) considered some of the curriculum's initial challenges related to human and material resources and argues that the implementation of CBC was done haphazardly. Heto et al. (2021) point out its controversies, some of them being the curriculum's feasibility, unsuitability for Kenya and possible negative impacts on teachers (p. 193). There is limited empirical evidence on how CBC specifically affects the selection of content in different subjects. This study fills a gap in the existing literature by focusing specifically on the influence of the CBC on the selection of cultural heritage content in social studies and contributes to the ongoing discussion about the new curriculum.

The study was conducted in Nairobi, Kenya where I interviewed six social studies teachers in private junior schools (in addition to an upper-primary school teacher). The qualitative study provides in-depth insights into the experiences and perspectives of teachers directly involved in the curriculum implementation. It contributes to the literature on how CBC is

operationalized in school and provides a better understanding of how the major transition from 8-4-4 to CBC is currently working. I aim to contribute to discussions and reflections around the teacher profession and efforts to preserve cultural heritage through education.

2.Context

2.1 Historical background of formal education in Kenya

2.1.1 The political purpose of education across time

An education system is not developed in a vacuum. It is influenced by a range of factors, such as economic, political, technological, socio-cultural, etc. Mackatiani et al. (2016) argues that Kenya's educational system is heavily influenced by the political factor. Kenya's national character and educational system is a product of British influence (Mackatiani et al., 2016, p. 56). Even decades after Kenya gained independence, the British people in Kenya exercised considerable power in the politics of education as inspectors and curriculum developers in the ministry (Merryfield & Tlou, 1995, p. 264). The history of formal education in colonial Kenya started with missionaries before the colonial government eventually also got involved. Education was a tool used by the colonial government to strengthen their political and economic power over the majority. The school curriculum was designed to condition the mind to look down on African cultures and to appreciate the cultural and religious values of the colonizer (Mwiria, 1991, pp. 261, 268). According to Mwiria (1991), religious instruction was one of the most powerful strategies of imposing British colonial values on African communities but other aspects of the curriculum, such as geography, history, and civics, music, sports and literature contributed to this by emphasizing knowledge about Europe and the European heritage and neglecting African experiences and cultural heritage (p. 270).

By the 1940s and 1950s, the demand for formal education in Kenyan societies was much greater than what the missionaries and colonial government were capable of offering. Kenyans demanded better and more academic education that aided preservation rather than destruction of their cultures (Mwira, 1991, 271). An independent school's movement eventually developed (Mwiria, 1991, p. 271). The independent schools were established by local communities that supported their own educational institutions and got the name Harambee schools meaning "let us pull together". After independence, this movement became prominent. By the mid-1970s, more than half of the students in secondary school went to Harambee schools or other unaided institutions such as private schools² (Mwiria, 1990, p.

² Unaided schools were schools that did not receive government support in terms of money or other resources (Mwiria, 1990, p. 350).

357). The constitution, which was established in 1964, made the government responsible for all sectors of education. By 1969, the government took over some of the Harambee schools (Inyega et al., 2021, p. 5).

Kenyan post-independence governments have viewed the main purpose of education to be twofold, serving the individual and the society. Firstly, education is an arena where individuals acquire knowledge and skills for the benefit of their own lives. Secondly, education is an arena where individuals are socialized into society and is a tool to achieve political goals, such as equality, economic development, and national unity. These goals have been on the Kenyan governments' agenda since independence and are clearly stated in various government reports and national curricula over time (Mwiria, 1990, p. 357). Shortly after gaining independence, the first commission in Kenya was assembled (the Ominde Commission) whose objective was to create a single educational system to promote national unity. They recommended a 'Kenyan curriculum' and six broad educational goals which still stand today: 1) national unity, 2) national development, 3) individual development and self-fulfillment, 4) social equality, 5) respect and development of cultural heritage, and 6) international consciousness (Inyega et al., 2021, p. 4). These goals have later been revised.

The post-independence era was characterized by the Africanizing of national curricula. From reflecting the world views and goals of the colonial powers, the curriculum was transformed to reflect the needs for African unity and pride and appreciation for African history, cultures and environment (Merryfield & Tlou, 1995, p. 260). Merryfield & Tlou (1995) describe Africanization as the process of centering education around African people's experiences, thoughts, and environments. In Kenya, one of the major ways Africanization has been realized is by the appreciation of the country's diversity of perspectives and identities (p. 260). After the Kenya Institute of Education (today Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD)) was established, a common syllabus and examination were introduced (Inyega et al., 2021, p. 4-5). This syllabus from 1967 marks the start of Africanization of social studies courses in Kenyan education (Merryfield & Tlou, 1995, p. 264). Content changes were made, especially in history and geography (Inyega et al., 2021, p. 5). In the late 1980s these subjects were integrated into one subject called "GHC", short for Geography, History and Civics. The aim of the GHC content was to be relevant to the lives of Kenyans and the development needs of the nation. Merryfield and Tlou (1995) argue that "[t]he content fosters the children's knowledge and appreciation of their local community and then of their

nation [and] history focuses on Kenya [and] the story of its peoples” (p. 266). Teachers were instructed to use examples from the students' local environment and cultural heritage. Moreover, values like that of African socialism and the Harambee philosophy were emphasized (Merryfield & Tlou, 1995, p. 266).

2.1.2 The politics of curriculum reforms: 8-4-4 and CBC

The main goal of the 8-4-4 system was to align education with the economic development needs of the country. The system was guided by the main principle of self-reliance and self-discipline, offering a more functional and practical education to cater to the needs of students who completed their education at primary level, but also for those who pursued secondary school (Riechi, 2021, p. 215). Cultural undertakings got more attention from the 1980s and in the 1990s and 2000s, educational policies and reports focused on areas such as quality, relevance, and cultural-related issues (Imana, 2020, p. 18). Secondary school education was supposed to facilitate the acquisition of “knowledge, skills and attitudes for the development of the self and the nation and enhance understanding and respect for one’s own and other people’s cultures and their place in contemporary society” (Riechi, 2021, p. 215).

Previous literature on the 8-4-4 reform has judged it to be too theoretical and the pedagogical practices to be too teacher-centered, authoritarian and rigid (Inyega et al., 2021, p. 2). According to the national curriculum policy document, the rationale for the policy on reform (CBC) is to follow the global trend of focusing on programs that encourage optimal development of human capital (Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 3). CBC tries to respond to a changing national and global society and seeks to empower and skill young Kenyans in a competitive labor-market and networked globalized world (Ministry of Education, 2018). The prime objective of the curriculum is to enable students to acquire seven key cross-curricular competencies and become productive citizens (Nyaboke et al., 2021, p. 158). There is a renewed emphasis on cultural heritage as indigenous languages are introduced in the curriculum and cultural heritage is more explicitly mentioned in the social studies curriculum designs.

2.2 Cultural Heritage

Abdi and Osanyo (2022) describe cultural heritage as a shared link between and a sense of belonging to a group and “symbolizes our history and identity, as well as our ties to the past, present and future” (p. 145). The “our” is presented as contested and indisputable, yet cultural heritage can overlap between groups and the definition of “our” may vary.

Cultural heritage is also what informs the current society and operates at many levels, as expressed by Kiriana et al. (2010):

there is that level of the people (elders) whose duty is not only to keep these traditions and pass them on, but also to interpret them whenever there is a dispute; a second level is of those who have to keep and uphold these traditions (the community members); and then there is another level for the visitors to this landscape who may have to know how to adhere to the traditions (heritage) of the area (p. 2).

Cultural heritage is those elements of a culture that is of value to a community (Kirima et al., 2010, p. 2). Okumu (2016) points out that there is an issue in Kenyan communities of not valuing the heritage and therefore urges a political environment that values and respects minority cultures and encourages these communities to preserve their cultural treasures (p. 56). According to Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019), society today consists of many conflicting values and ideas and the role of the educator is to help students navigate these and not let them be too influenced by ‘popular culture’ (shaped by modernization, industrialization, science, and technology) which is threatening traditional values (p. 12). Asoka (2007) argues that cultural identity needs to be seen as one of the critical elements for nation-building and claims that Kenyans have unstable identities and that the past needs to be demystified through cultural heritage in order to craft a new national consciousness founded on the requisite identities (Asoka, 2007; in Okumu, 2016, p. 48).

2.2.1 CBC and cultural heritage

In this part I outline the aspects of CBC that are of most relevance to the issue of interest. “The vision of the basic education curriculum reforms is to enable every Kenyan to become an engaged, empowered and ethical citizen” reads the Basic Education Curriculum

Framework (KICD, 2017, p. 10). These goals shall direct education in all its facets and is essentially the overall purpose of education. The curriculum framework stresses that education shall cater to each students' individual needs, interests and talents and shall be made contextually relevant for each learner to promote holistic growth and development, aiming to produce independent, confident, co-operative, and inspired learners who are able to make constructive contributions in society and in the world at large. One of the ways in which they seek to achieve these goals is to involve other stakeholders in education such as parents and the community of the child (KICD, 2017, p. 10).

There are three national goals of education that are of special relevance in this paper (see figure 1)³. Among the curriculum's values, is the goal of enabling students to value diversity and demonstrate respect towards all people. Furthermore, students shall be encouraged to contribute fully to the world around them, that being the economic, social, cultural, and political aspects of society. The BECF outlines a theoretical framework in which the curriculum is based upon, and which shall influence Kenyan education. Among these are the theories of constructivism, which I will elaborate on later. Ultimately, "the reformed curriculum seeks to ensure that the next and future generations of Kenyan citizens shall be both patriotic and global, equipped with the skills, knowledge, attitudes and values to thrive in the modern world, confident about their proud and rich cultural heritage and contributing this heritage to make the world a better place for everyone" (KICD, 2017, p. 10).

³ See appendix 4 for elaboration on each goal.

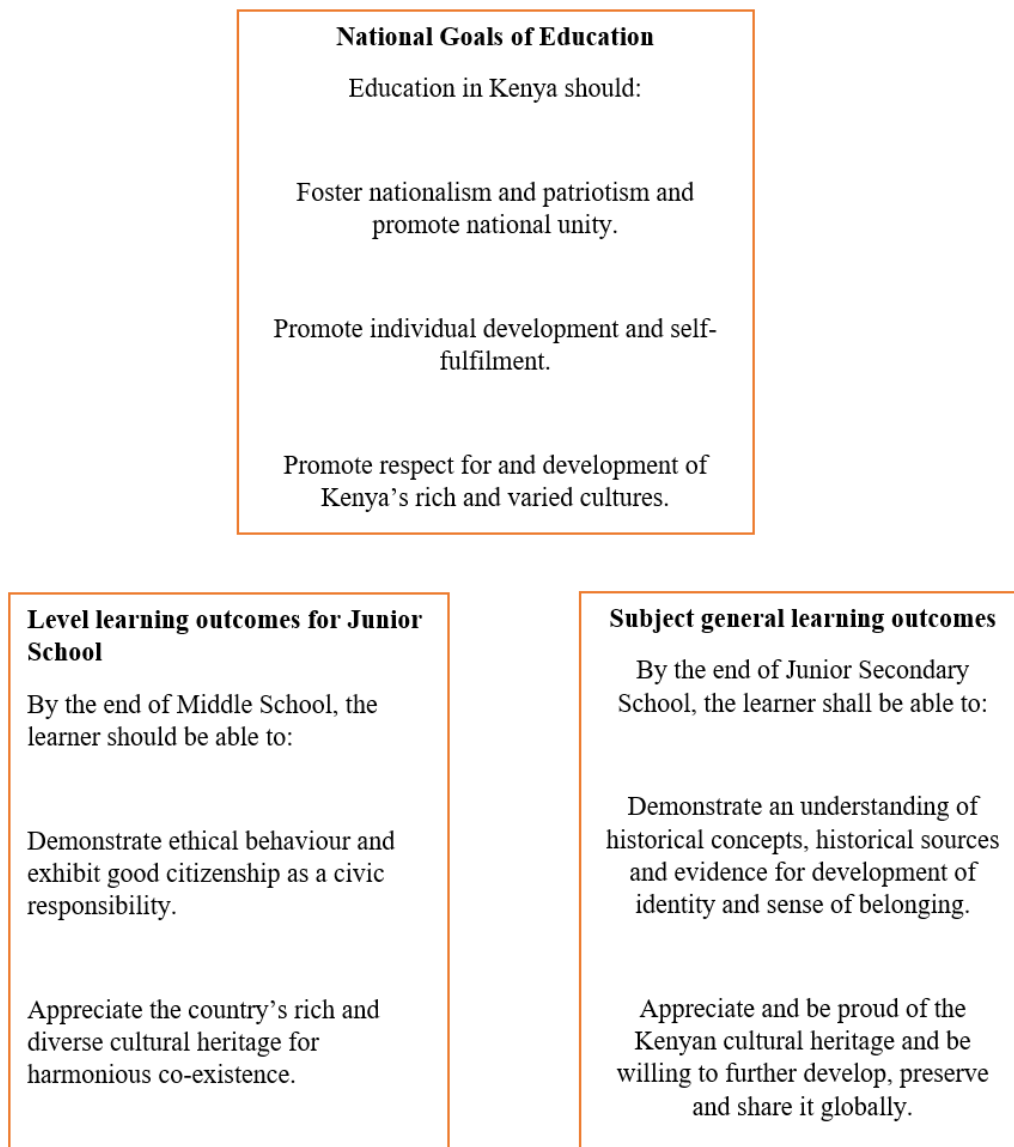


Figure 1. Relevant goals in CBC (KICD, 2024).

Cultural heritage is mentioned in 8 grade, but not in grade 7. Cultural heritage is mentioned in relation to the following sub-strands: Early civilization and Historical sites and monuments in Africa. In grade 7, the students shall engage with terms such as multicultural society, cultural awareness, social cultural groups, and social cultural issues.

3.Theory

Since this research project is about a curriculum reform's influence on teaching practices, I lean on theories about curriculum implementation and education theory (didactics). The main emphasis is on what significance this influence has had on what cultural heritage *is* and what it is *for* in social studies. I refer to Ohman Nilsen's (2004) definition of history didactics (also applicable to social studies in general): "history didactics is considerations of what history *is*, in school, the society, academia and [teacher education], in relation to what it *could* or *should* be" (p. 213). The curriculum reform urges teachers to shift the way they understand and practice the teaching/learning process and is asking them to reflect upon what social studies *should* be.

3.1 The curriculum as a political instructional document and a guiding document

The national curriculum is the sole most important document that directs the content of education and is an important tool in terms of governing the school (Imsen, 2016, pp. 281-282). Imsen (2016) emphasizes the role of the curriculum as a tool of communication and that it needs to be perceived as feasible in the eyes of the teachers as they are the main implementers of the curriculum (Imsen, 2016, pp. 267, 285). Stenhouse (1975) argues that a school or a teacher has not failed if the educational reality does not align with the educational intentions. Educational policies are not easily put into practice as education is unpredictable (pp. 2-3). However, while it is not impossible to plan education and teaching, it must be understood that there is a difference between intention and reality (Imsen, 2016, p. 267).

In addition to controlling education, the curriculum is also guiding teachers in their profession and is the sole most important document to the teacher's work and is the foundation of which lessons are constructed (Imsen, 2016, p. 284). The curriculum inevitably has to go through the teachers' continuous interpretations during its day-to-day implementation (Imsen, 2016, p. 277). The teacher does not have an objective role while interpreting and doing what the curriculum suggests. They will be influenced by factors such as their education and location. Other factors at play in the implementation of the curriculum are the material framework and

local cultural factors (Imsen, 2016, p. 277). The shift from 8-4-4 to CBC has charged teachers with more responsibility and freedom in terms of content and teaching resources.

In this paper, the term curriculum will refer to the intentions and instructions in the documents of The Basic Education Curriculum Framework (2017), Junior School Curriculum Design - Social Studies (grade 7 and 8) (KICD, 2024).

3.2 Goodlad's conceptual framework for curriculum inquiry

Goodlad (1979) describes curriculum inquiry as the study of the work of curriculum practice in all its aspects, that is, context, conduct, problems, and outcomes. The inquiry involves three phenomena: 1) the substantive, 2) the political-social and 3) the technical-professional, in which all are intertwined. The first phenomenon is related to the content of the curriculum: goals, subject matter, materials etc. The second has to do with the socio-political context that the curriculum is developed in, where the interests of multiple actors in society influence the curriculum. Lastly, the technical-professional phenomenon is about the training of individuals or groups that evaluate and seek to improve the curriculum and resources available to implementers (Goodlad, 1979, p. 17). While it is the substantive phenomenon that is subject to inquiry in this paper, it is not possible to completely separate the three when examining curriculum practice. The substantive aspect of the curriculum cannot be performed or studied objectively (Goodlad, 1979, p. 30). Goodlad (1979) writes that “there are many curricula perceived simultaneously by different individuals and groups [and] disparities in the perception are part of the data in seeking to understand the curriculum” (p. 30). Goodlad (1979) has developed a conceptual apparatus that describes the substantive curriculum from the point of developing ideas of what the curriculum should be to the actualization of the curriculum. This framework of study is meant to reveal the phenomenon related to the practice of a curriculum and understand the conditions under which the curriculum is realized.

The substantive curriculum is divided into five domains: 1) Ideological Curricula 2) Formal Curricula 3) Perceived Curricula 4) Operational Curricula 5) Experimental Curricula. The first refers to an idealistic planning process where goals are outlined. Next is the formal curriculum which is the officially approved ideas put down on paper, such as a curriculum

guide, syllabi, etc. (Goodlad, 1979, pp. 60-61). Perceived curricula “are the curricula of the mind” (Goodlad, 1979, p. 61). By that he means that the users of the curriculum interpret it differently; “[teachers’] disposition [...] toward these perceptions should provide the researcher with significant insights into “school” as seen through the eyes of this group of primary participants” (Goodlad, 1979, p. 61).

Then, what the teachers perceive the curriculum to instruct and what they actually teach can be quite different. The operational curricula refers to what is going on in the classroom from day to day. It is also a perceived curriculum because it exists in the eyes of the beholder. Lastly, the experiential curricula are those that the students experience (Goodlad, 1979, p. 63-64). In this paper, it is the perceived and the operational curriculum that will be the focus. I am interested in exploring the teachers’ interpretations of the curriculum guide, and how the teachers actualize their interpretations.

3.3 Constructivism

Constructivism is one of the theoretical frameworks that underpins BECF and marks a major shift in the understanding of knowledge acquisition, or rather knowledge construction. The BECF says that: “[i]n constructivism, the learner builds a personal interpretation of the world based on experiences and interactions and learning is a process of constructing knowledge rather than acquiring or communicating it” (KICD, 2017, p. 15).

Klafki argued that the selection of content plays a significant role in educating for the purpose of *bildung*. *Bildung* is defined in multiple ways; it is a holistic form of education encompassing the different elements of developing as a human being (Biesta, 2002, p. 343). Klafki’s understanding of *bildung* is rooted in democracy. He views it as a process that happens within the child and cannot be forced upon them. However, the process begins by introducing the child to cultural content that initially is not theirs. It creates tension between the objective, which is “outside” of the child and the subjective, which is the meaning construction that happens while the child is interacting with the content. In order for the student to develop democratic abilities, he argued that the content of education has to be related to contemporary issues that affect society. The process of choosing educational

content starts by considering what issues may prevent the development of these abilities, such as threats to democracy, increasing inequality, conflicts, etc. It is these issues that the students must be confronted with in order to position themselves when they meet them in the ‘real world’ (Ryen et al., 2021, p. 62). It is the educator’s job to help the students connect the content to their context-bound everyday knowledge (Blanck, 2021, p. 72), meaning that educators must select content that has the potential to become meaningful to the students.

According to Klafki, the way to achieve *bildung* can be described as a double-sided opening, where the student “open up to the world” and “the world opens up to the student”, meaning that the student sees themselves as part of the world, and also understands that they have the opportunity to critically evaluate and influence the society they become a part of. Klafki argues that society is continuously created by humans or groups of people and can therefore be transformed (Ryen et al., 2021, p. 22).

3.4 Education as the practice of freedom

Biesta (2021) argues that the goal of teaching is to open up the existential possibilities to explore what it means to exist as a subject in and together with the world and defines the pedagogical mission to be to provoke a desire to exist as a ‘grown-up’ subject. Being a subject is as a continuous state of dialogue with what or whom may be different to you. It is about how you act when interacting with what or who is different (pp. 20, 39). Grownupness means that one is able to reflect upon one’s desires, considering whether they are desirable to your own life and the life you live together with others (the rest of the world) (Biesta, 2021, pp. 41-42, 44).

According to Biesta (2021), education for freedom, or subjectification, is one of the three functions of education. He argues that pedagogy functions in relation to the three domains: qualification, socialization, and subjectification (pp. 58-59). Qualification refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills. Transmitting knowledge and skills is not a neutral process and provides a certain way of (re)presenting the world and what is valuable, which leads to socialization. He defines this as “the (re)presentation of cultures, traditions, and practices, either explicitly but often also implicitly” (Biesta, 2020, p. 92). Lastly,

subjectification is the function of education that affects the individual either by enhancing or restricting their capacities and capabilities. It is about our freedom as human beings, our freedom to act or refrain from acting. In this context freedom is an existential matter and refers to the existence as a subject of one's own life, in contrast to being an object of what others want. However, it is not about existing with and for ourselves, but in and with the world (Biesta, 2020, p. 92-93, 95).

According to Biesta (2020), being a teacher involves risks. Educators have intentions, such as transmitting knowledge, values or attitudes, and they want their students to “get it” and get it “right”. This is an open process that happens in interaction with everyone in the classroom. The risk is that they do not get it or get it sufficiently right. However, if we significantly reduce the chances of students getting it wrong, we are no longer educating, but indoctrinating and taking away the student's opportunity to exist as a subject and constructing their own meanings. Educating with the purpose of subjectification involves the risk that students take their freedom and neglect our intentions. Biesta (2020) calls this "beautiful risks" because “the reason for “allowing” these risks in education has everything to do with the possibility for the student to appear and appear as subject (p. 103).

Similarly, hooks (1994) advocates for an educational practice directed at freedom, in which she calls an ‘engaged pedagogy’. According to hooks (1994) the purpose of education is to liberate the individual and the collective by encouraging self-actualization and transformation. It is about becoming your best self and challenging the oppressive structures in society. At the core of an engaged pedagogy is the goal of guiding students towards well-being and *empowerment*. In order to do so, the teacher must aim to achieve this for themselves (p. 15). The engaged pedagogy is a holistic approach to learning as it recognizes both the teacher and students as ‘whole human beings’ with complex lives and experiences. The recognition of wholeness is impaired whenever the teacher is objectified as this supports a dualistic separation of the public and the private, “encouraging teachers and students to see no connection between life practices, habits of being, and the role of the [teacher]” (p. 16). The assumption is that the teacher has an objective mind in the classroom and is free from biases and experiences. An engaged pedagogy strives to break down the wall between the public and the private and strives for meaningful knowledge of how to live in the world. Furthermore, it values student expression and participation in the teaching/learning process (hooks, 1994, pp. 15-16, 19-20). In encouraging student involvement underlies the expectation that students

must show vulnerability. hooks (1994) explains that an engaged pedagogy involves risks, both for the students and the teacher. Students are not the only ones to be empowered through the act of sharing, or even confessing, but teachers too. “That empowerment cannot happen if we refuse to be vulnerable while we encourage students to take risks. [Teachers] who expect students to share confessional narratives but are themselves unwilling to share are exercising power in a manner that could be coercive” (hooks, 1994, p. 21). Another risk in educating for freedom is that students will not always accept our guidance as teachers, even if they have demanded knowledge that is meaningful: “this is one of the joys of education as the practice of freedom, for it allows students to assume responsibility for their choices” (hooks, 1994, p. 19).

3.5 Empowerment through historical consciousness and citizenship education

The vision to create engaged, empowered and ethical citizens suggests that an important role of education is to guide every young person into the community and teaching them how to participate and function in society, both for their own good and the good of the society. Citizenship is defined by Isin & Nyers (2014) as “an ‘institution’ mediating rights between the subjects of politics and the polity to which these subjects belong” (p. 1). In Norwegian, the term is divided in two: ‘*statsborgerskap*’ and ‘*medborgerskap*’, whereby the former refers to the judicial aspect of being a citizen and the latter refers to the role each person takes in being part of a community. It refers to the social and political sides to life, such as “identity, trust, belonging, participation and relationship to the other citizens” (Brochmann, 2002, p. 57; in Solhaug, 2021, p. 49). In this paper, the term citizenship will be based on this aspect of the term citizenship (*medborgerskap*).

According to Solhaug (2012), becoming a member of society and acting as a citizen means that one has to relate to other people and their perspectives (p. 62). He argues that to understand other people’s opinions and eventually understand their perspectives are crucial in a society and is also essential in understanding conflicts in society. Learning about conflicts and allowing opposing perspectives to challenge each other in the classroom is part of citizenship education (pp. 62-63). Learning how to live in a society with conflicting ideas and

values is a part of becoming a subject. Subjectification will prevent the child from uncritically following values or ideas they encounter in society and becoming a ‘grown-up’ subject also means that the student will be able to act responsibly when encountering different perspectives.

Teaching with the intention of encouraging ‘medborgerskap’, subjectivity/empowerment and the teaching of history meets when educators aim at convincing students that they can be, and are, meaning creators and co-creators of a society in constant change (Kvande & Naastad, 2020, p. 81). Kvande & Naastad (2020) argue that the teaching of history can support the educational project of encouraging each individual’s moral and critical responsibility in the society in the form of *empowering* the students. This is a similar concept to Biesta’s subjectivity and hooks’ empowerment. It means that the students understand that they have a responsibility and choose to act on this responsibility. Achieving this in the history class can be done through promoting historical consciousness as expressed by Nielsen (2004); she argues that the purpose of history teaching is to enable students to understand and function in the society they live in, in a way that allows them to be *subjects* in their own lives. She says that they shall be able to see that they are both products of history and also constructing it (p. 216).

Historical consciousness is developed when the students are given the opportunity to see themselves in the teaching content (Kvande & Naastad, 2020). A diverse classroom is resourceful because it consists of students that might have different approaches to understanding and interpreting history. If the teacher is able to facilitate class discussions where these interpretations are revealed and the students get the opportunity to reflect on the differences of understanding, and why they have different approaches, the students may understand the connection between background of experiences and interpretations. Consequently, it opens up the possibility for developing both historical consciousness and intercultural competence (both for students and teachers) (pp. 172-173, 175).

3.6 History as identity

The Kenyan government has ordered the school system to take into consideration both the diversity and unification of the nation. Social studies has a special responsibility to work on this. In the social studies curriculum (see figure 1), identity and cultural heritage are depicted as dynamic, something that is developed and shaped. They suggest that identity is something each individual develops and something that the individual develops together with others, as the word *belonging* indicates. Stugu (2013) writes about history's role in developing a person's identity. He says that the term identity is about understanding and interpreting yourself. Additionally, it is a process of finding one's place in the community. It is a social process and is a part of the process of socialization, where the "I" becomes a part of an "us". This implies that the process includes selection. In the development of a community identity, the definition of the "us" is somewhat based on a difference from others, or "them" (pp. 36-37). According to Kvande & Naastad (2020), identity is a narrative that is upheld by retelling the common stories and then making meaning out of them (p. 114).

Basing history teaching in the local area is a way of teaching history with consideration of the students' lifeworld. The students' lived experiences are strongly tied to where they live, have friends and family and live their lives (Kvande & Naastad, 2020, pp. 223-224). Teaching from the basis of the local can start discussions about how their surroundings used to look in the past, why things have changed and who may have changed it. The geography of the place may say a lot about human society and its development (Kvande & Naastad, 2020, pp. 223-225). Kvande & Naastad (2020) therefore argue that historical consciousness should be developed in alignment with geography. They say that basing history teaching in the local area may also promote constructivism because the teacher acts as a guide rather than presenting the textbooks' "truths" (pp. 225-226).

4. Methodology

In this part of the paper, I will present the process behind the project. That includes preparation before data collection, data collection and data analysis. The chapter also presents the study design and my methodological choices.

The research design of this project is a qualitative design and a case study with the goal of exploring how cultural heritage is constructed in social studies and how teachers have adapted their selection of content and teaching resources to the guidelines of the new curriculum. Qualitative research is often concerned with the informants' experiences and perceptions and how they make sense of these (Tjora, 2021, p. 128). I chose to do semi-structured interviews with teachers to get insights into how cultural heritage content is engaged with in school and get access to teachers' own interpretations of the curriculum and what didactical choices they make to facilitate learning about cultural heritage. Semi-structure allows the interview to follow pathways that appear to be interesting in each interview. After traveling back, I realized that it would have been beneficial to conduct participatory observation as well. In that way I could have gotten insight into the interactions between students and students and teachers and how the transformed practice unfolds in the classroom. However, this was not going to be possible due to time constraints and the scope of the project.

I operate within the philosophical paradigm of constructivism. This perspective suggests that knowledge is a human creation. In research settings it means that the researcher and participant construct understandings in mutual engagements. It is both impossible and undesirable for researchers to remain objective (Hatch, 2023, p. 15). Researching is intervening with the world; hence knowledge is constructed in these encounters. I follow a feminist research practice by approaching the project with a reflexive inquiry to the issue of research. Reflexive research is especially concerned with the power relations between the researcher and the research participant and the power dynamics between the two in the context of the research (van Schalkwyk & Gobodo-Madikizela, 2015).

Initially I had planned for three ways of collecting data: in-depth semi-structured interviews, a survey with both close- and open-ended questions and document analysis. I sent out a pilot-survey, but realized that I would not be able to reach the desired number of participants within the time frame. The document analysis was not possible to include due to the scope of the

research project. The main data is derived from six semi-structured interviews with 7 and 8 grade teachers in social studies. Additional data is an off-recording interview with an upper-primary social studies teacher.

4.1 Location

Kenya consists of over 40 communities and over 60 languages, as well as other ethnicities from Europe, Asia, and Africa. The country is divided into 47 counties and the study was carried out in the cosmopolitan county Nairobi, where the capital city Nairobi is located. Nairobi City is the biggest population center in all of Kenya and is home to all Kenyan communities, Africans, Europeans, and Asians.

Schools in Nairobi are very diverse both in communities, ethnicity, religion, and language as students come from all these different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Students in Nairobi typically use English or Kiswahili among their peers due to the diversity of languages among them. This study can therefore only speak on the multicultural and urban experience of teaching cultural heritage in junior school.

4.2 Recruitment of informants and conducting the interviews

The inclusion criteria for the study were that the informants had to be social studies teachers currently teaching grade 7 or 8 in a public or private school in Nairobi County and having taught social studies both during 8-4-4 and CBC in grade 7 or 8.

Recruiting informants was a challenging process within the limited time frame. The sample size was planned to be between 7-10. I had sent out a number of emails to various schools in Nairobi before traveling to Kenya but with little luck. I was able to start the recruitment process through my own acquaintances and their acquaintances who spoke to different schools. The informants were contacted through the snowball method, meaning that informants recruit other informants among their acquaintances (Tjora, 2021, p. 150).

After three weeks, six informants from four different schools were interviewed. In addition, I had an off-recording short interview with an upper-primary social studies teacher. All the informants are teachers in private schools. I had tried to recruit from public schools, but it was more challenging within the time frame. I have given the informants cover names. Table 1 illustrates an overview of the informants. I also conducted a pilot-interview which purpose was to test the quality of the interview guide in terms of how the questions were understood and whether they brought forward information about the issue of interest. I was able to adjust my interview guide and remove irrelevant questions. By reading the CBC textbooks, I also understood that cultural diversity is an important term in cultural heritage education and included this in the guide.

The interviews lasted between 40-70 minutes and were conducted in the informants' workplace. The workplace was preferable because the research is about their work, and it was beneficial for me to interact with the school environment. This was also a comfortable place for the informants to be interviewed. I was invited to visit all the schools (including others that did not accept being interviewed) before interviewing so that the headteachers and teachers got to know me and my project beforehand. Some schools were more skeptical towards my project, and it was essential to explain the purpose of my research and what I intended to find out. This was important for the reason of creating trust in advance and so the informants could feel more comfortable with the project and being interviewed (Tjora, 2021, p. 130). Schools that had no connections to me, either did not reply or did not accept to be interviewed. This shows the importance of creating trust and letting the informants get to know the researcher beforehand. That being said, I had no relationship with the schools that participated in this project before visiting.

During the interviews, I tried to refrain from asking leading questions and to avoid misunderstandings, I asked follow-up questions when I felt it was needed. As I learned new information each time, the interview guide slightly changed. For instance, I was advised to use teaching resources instead of teaching materials.

Informant cover names	
Mr. Brian	Social studies teacher junior school.
Mr. Mutuku	Social studies teacher junior school.
Mr. Obina	Social studies teacher junior school.
Mr. Kiprono	Social studies teacher junior school.
Mr. Kimani	Social studies teacher junior school.
Mr. Kioko	Social studies teacher junior school.
(Mrs. Mwikali)	(Social studies teacher upper-primary).

Table 1. Overview of informants.

4.3 Limitations

This study faces a few limitations that must be acknowledged. The limited sample size may not capture the full diversity of perspectives among educators and potentially limit the understanding of how CBC influences content selection. Time constraints restricted the depth and breadth of data collection, potentially omitting more nuanced perspectives and it influenced the method of recruitment as I did not have time to visit a vast variety of schools in Nairobi. The informants fit the sample criteria except Mrs. Mwikali as she is not teaching in junior school. Mrs. Mwikali was recruited through Mr. Kimani as they work in the same school. I chose to include her interview (as additional data) because she has added valuable insights about cultural heritage education under the CBC, enriching my original data.

These limitations highlight the importance of further research with larger, more diverse samples and extended timelines.

4.4 Data analysis

In this sub-chapter, I present the process of analyzing the data. I conducted a thematic analysis of the interviews in accordance with the six-step process outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006): 1) familiarizing yourself with your data, 2) generating initial codes, 3) searching for themes, 4) reviewing themes, 5) defining and naming themes, and 6) producing the report.

Thematic analysis can be used within a range of theoretical and epistemological frameworks and works with a constructivist philosophy (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 80). “A theme captures

something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). I identified themes by considering its relevance and prevalence across the interviews.

There are two main ways of identifying themes, either through an inductive or deductive approach. In the inductive approach the themes are strongly linked to the data, whilst in the latter approach they tend to be driven by the researchers theoretical or analytical interest in the area (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83-84). Brinkmann (2014) suggests a third alternative, an abductive approach whereby the researcher is concerned with the relationship between a situation and inquiry. He calls it a break-down driven approach because it occurs in situations of breakdowns of one’s understanding (p. 722). I analyzed the data in alignment with this approach as I coded the interviews in relation to my research question but was open to becoming ‘surprised’ by the data.

The process of analysis according to the six-steps went as follows. First, I got familiarized with the data by listening to all the audio recordings and reading the transcriptions (recordings were automatically transcribed). I listen again for uncovering any mistakes and corrected these. While reading the transcriptions over again, I also considered any patterns and meanings that I then wrote down. Then, I started coding by coloring the data into seven categories. Some (but not all) of these categories were directly linked to my three research questions.

Second, the process of generating initial codes began by coding the data in relation to these categories, for example the category ‘intentions of teaching cultural heritage’. The data was reviewed carefully in order to make codes that matched the empirical data. It was reviewed several times to make sure that all interesting aspects were covered.

The next step was identifying themes. All the codes in each interview were placed under one of the seven categories. By using this overview and getting a picture of the interesting statements and prevalence of similar statements, I defined the themes.

In the next steps (reviewing and naming themes), I merged some themes together and eliminated others and eventually, I had three main themes: intentions, construction and transformation. Goodlad’s (1979) conceptual framework was then used to place these within

either the perceived or the operational curriculum, which became the two overarching categories. Figure 2 and 3 illustrate the themes under each category. Analyzing the data was a recursive process. The transcriptions were continuously read to make sure that no statements were taken out of context. The included extracts have been interpreted in relation to the context of the whole interview and the particular question they were asked. The last step was to write the report where I present the data through my analytical narrative. The extracts were modified by removing pauses and filler words.

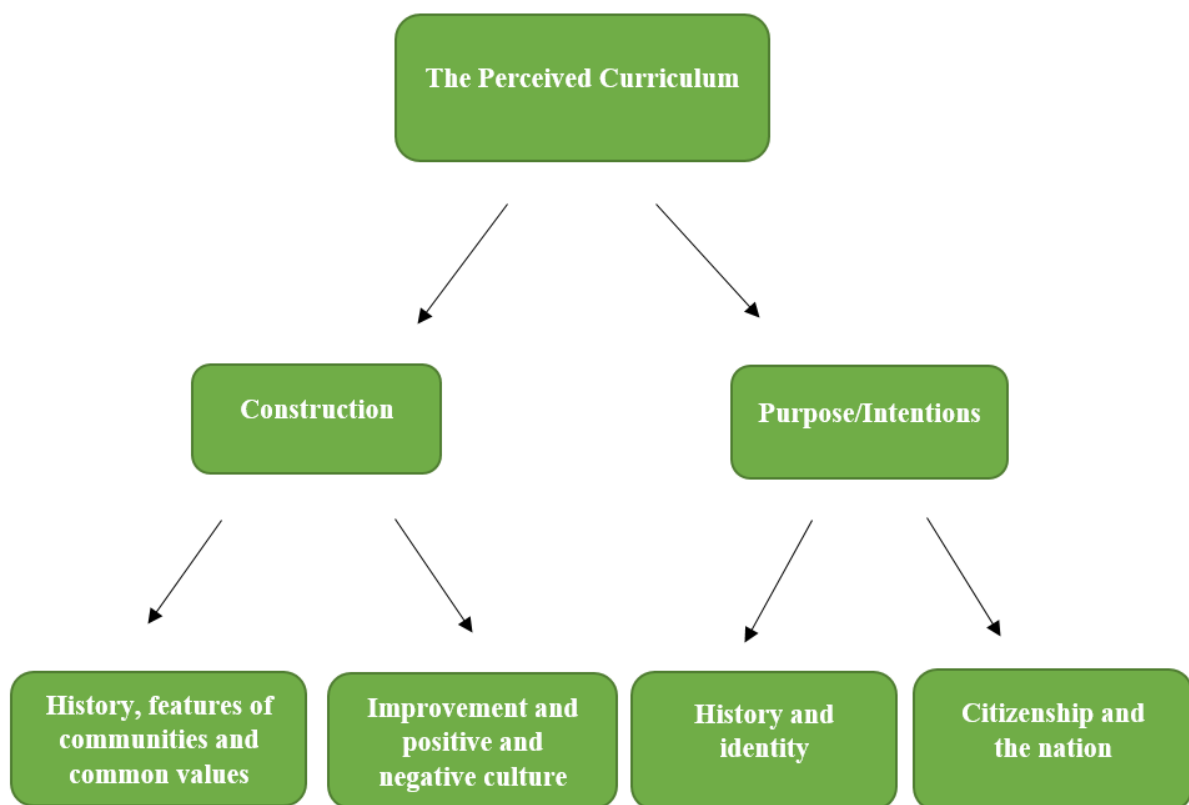


Figure 2. Themes within the perceived curriculum.

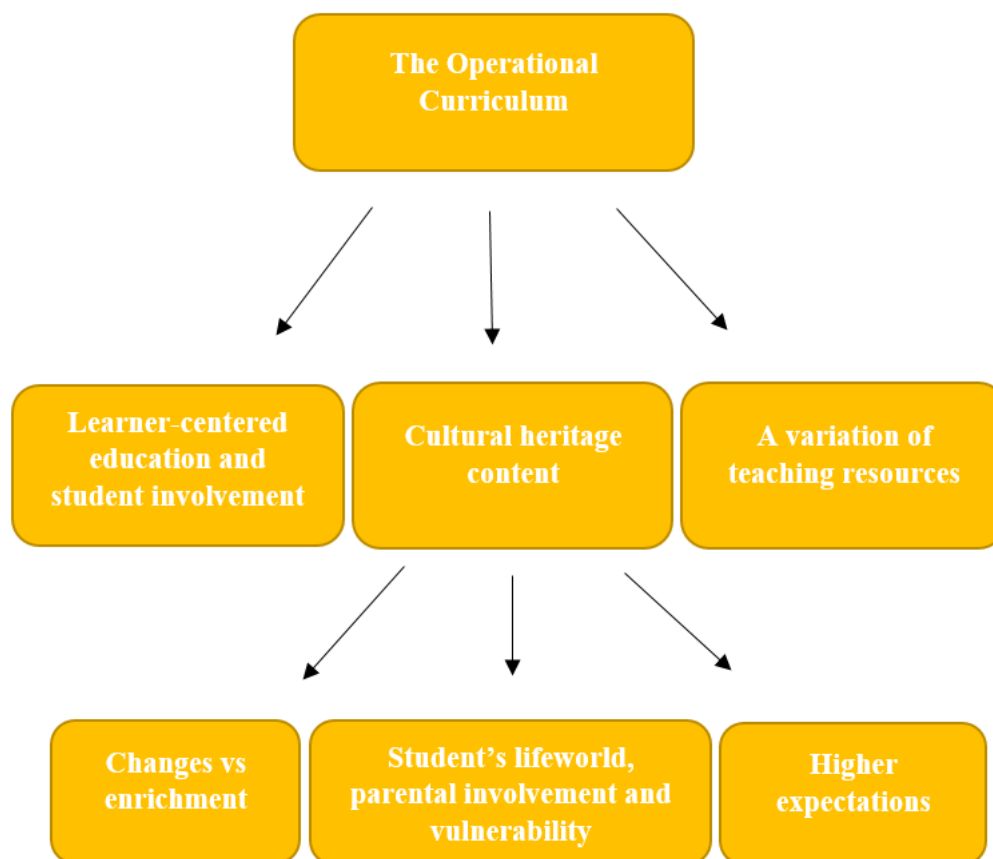


Figure 3. Themes within the operational curriculum.

4.5 Quality of the research

4.5.1 Reliability, validity and generalizability

Reliability refers to the credibility of the findings (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 276). Being transparent about one's choices enhances reliability (Tjora, 2021, p. 264). I have aimed at describing the steps of the research project, the process leading up to the findings and providing insights in the data through extracts from the interviews, allowing the reader to judge the reliability of the findings.

Validity refers to how well the method of research captures what was intended to be researched (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 276). In this study, it means to what degree the findings reflect the six teachers' perceptions and operationalization of the curriculum. By the method of interviewing, I got insights into the teachers own experiences and perceptions. The

data only reflects what the teachers convey about their practice. Therefore, I realized that it would be beneficial to accompany the interviews with participatory observation, but this would also reflect my interpretations of what 'really' happens in the classroom. One issue that occurred during the interviews were a language barrier, potentially causing misunderstandings. At times I felt like I could not get across what I meant. However, to minimize this issue I made sure to elaborate when I saw necessary and ask if I misunderstood. Before the interviews, we also spent time discussing the purpose and aims of the research. I had the curriculum design and CBC textbooks available so that they could be referred to and used during the interviews to base my questions and terminology in their work material. My biggest concern was that we did not have the same understanding of the term content. In the aftermaths of my trip (and I had carefully gone through the data), I realized that there were fewer misunderstandings than I initially thought, which I think is due to my inexperience in research.

Generalizability refers to whether the findings are representative in other contexts or situations as well. A constructivist perspective considers knowledge to be contextually bound to social and historical ways of understanding and acting (Kvande & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 289-290). The findings in this project cannot be generalized but I believe it can provide insights into tendencies in a broader sample of teachers in private schools in Nairobi in the initial stage of implementation.

4.5.2 Ethical considerations

Kvale & Brinkmann (2015) outline four ethical considerations for research: 1) informed consent, 2) confidentiality, 3) consequences and 4) the researchers role. Here I present how these considerations have influenced the research project.

Informed consent means that the informant is informed about the purpose of the research, the research design and potential consequences or benefits of participating before they agree to participate. The informants shall also be informed that participation is voluntarily and can be withdrawn at any time (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 104). The informants were informed of this in several instances. In my first visit to the schools, the teachers or the headteachers received the consent letter (see attachment 3). The headteachers at the schools gave their consent first (that I was allowed to do interviews in their school). The consent letter was

written in alignment with Sikt's requirements⁴. To make sure that the information was understood, I also gave this information verbally before the interviews. The informants gave their consent both verbally and by signing the consent letter. After the interviews, the informants were encouraged to contact me if they had any questions.

Confidentiality refers to the agreement between the researcher and participant about what can be done with the data. This typically means that identifiable information is concealed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 106). The personal data has been continuously anonymized in the project and was deleted after the project's end. The recordings were only accessible to me, and the transcriptions were anonymized momentarily. The informants have been given cover names.

Because of the closeness to the informants, qualitative research involves consequences. The researcher is obliged to consider what and how the information given by their informants is presented in the report (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 107). During the project I have considered the consequences my research may have on the informants and the profession they represent by carefully considering the questions asked, seeking to not misunderstand anything, and presenting their statements truthfully. I have also considered that informants recruited by others, might feel less free to express themselves as they are less anonymous. Therefore, I have decided to provide minimal information about the informants.

Lastly, the researcher's role is about the integrity of the researcher and the scientific quality of the research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 108). I have sought to be transparent about the process of researching, how I have reached the conclusions and to reflect upon my own preconceptions and interpretations, which I continue in the next sub-chapter.

⁴ The research has been conducted in accordance with Kenyan and Norwegian ethical guidelines for research involving human subjects. In accordance with Norwegian law, I have received ethical approval from the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research (Sikt). Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Teaching and Referral Hospital (JOOTRH-IRB) has also approved an ethical assessment of the project. I have a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) and authorization from Nairobi County to conduct my research.

4.5.3 Reflexivity

In qualitative research, the researcher is an instrument of data collection, meaning that the researcher's background or positionality (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity) affect the research process (Bayeck, 2022, p. 1). Njeri (2020, p. 386) writes that “positionality refers to how researchers explore situatedness and their multiple and shifting identities and how these identities inform research processes” (p. 386). It includes the way in which the researcher views themselves and how they are viewed by others, one aspect of this being either an insider or an outsider. Because humans have multiple identities, and because identities are fluid and situational, the researcher might shift between the two positions during data collection (Njeri, 2020, p. 386). The initial stage of reflexivity is to recognize these positions between oneself and the research participant. Gobodo-Madikizela & van Schalkwyk (2015) argue that the aim of reflexivity should not be to focus on our own identities as researchers, but rather “focus on the rich dynamics of the context and a reflexive engagement of what went wrong (or right) during [our] engagements with the participants”.

Although most of my encounters with teachers and headteachers did not explicitly display their view on my positionality, it came across implicitly during some of the interviews and conversations. For instance, some assumed I did not know about any cultural matters. To different degrees of discretion, they signified my outsideness. I tried to use my heritage as justification for why I was researching in Kenya in an attempt to mitigate the distance, yet I also acknowledged my position as an ‘outsider’. The most explicit instance was when I was told by an informant that teachers might be intimidated by me (by his interpretation of me) as a White European. The impression I got was that it was uncomfortable being researched by someone affiliated with the West, who has the reputation of considering themselves developed and advanced. The assumption was that I was there to evaluate the state of development in Kenyan education. I understood that I do not only represent myself but also a European university that holds power and is part of the hierarchical system of knowledge production, deciding how ‘legitimate’ knowledge is constructed. Being a researcher from the outside trying to interpret and analyze the narratives of teachers in a country and a culture I have limited experience from and that has historically been a subject of scrutiny and judgement from Europe, can therefore be problematic, depending on my intentions and degree of reflexivity. It is a big responsibility to write from another context than your own considering that you have power as the mediator and co-creator of a story, and these roles can

never be neutral. It means that a great deal of the work is to reflect upon the power dynamics in knowledge construction. So, how did the power dynamics influence the shared construction of knowledge between me and my informants? My contribution in the creation of knowledge is based in my preconceptions that are shaped in a European context and meets the world view of my informants. That being said, I believe it is a strength being multicultural because your world experience is challenged more often, forcing one to reflect, potentially becoming more reflexive in one's perspectives. I believe this has allowed me to approach the research with an open mindedness and caution towards continuing a discourse created in an oppressive system of knowledge construction. After the interview, the informant that made the comment about intimidation was happy with the interview and said I had asked 'great questions, no wonder I was becoming a teacher', which I interpret as gained mutual confidence.

5. Analysis

5.1 The perceived curricula:

The perceived curriculum is the curriculum ‘of the mind’ and part of the foundation for how the teachers implement the curriculum. This chapter aims to answer the two first research questions, “what are the teachers’ intentions of teaching cultural heritage?” and “how do the teachers construct cultural heritage?”. The chapter provides the context for the next chapter which aims to answer the thesis question: “how has CBC influenced teaching resources and the content of cultural heritage in social studies?”. I consider it relevant to understand what the teachers consider cultural heritage to be and the intentions or purpose of teaching it, in order to understand what has changed with the CBC (if anything at all) and what implications these changes have had on realizing these intentions. The teachers were asked both how they define cultural heritage and also questions about what content they include when teaching it. The content and teaching resources used in cultural heritage education are essentially the construction of what cultural heritage is in social studies. For analytical purposes, I have separated construction and intention although the two cannot be separated in real life. For those extracts that overlap both categories, I have carefully considered their most appropriate placement for the purpose of analysis. There is one topic that came forth in the interviews (cultural heritage in Africa and the world) but will not be discussed because of the scope of the project.

5.1.1 The teachers’ constructions of cultural heritage in social studies

The teachers’ understanding of cultural heritage centered history and identity as important elements of the term. The term cultural heritage itself indicates that it is connected to history, as *heritage* refers to something that has been inherited and must have existed in the past.

However, the term can refer to something existing in the present tense as well, as the heritage is kept alive through the generations living today. Several of the teachers made the point that cultural heritage is “something that is passed from one generation to another”, as Mr. Brian stated, but also something that is created today. The teachers’ understanding of history in the context of cultural heritage referred to the history of the various communities within Kenya’s borders, shared values, and positive and negative culture and improvement.

5.1.1.1 History, the features of communities and common values

A common description of cultural heritage across the interviews was that it is related to human relation, interaction, and way of life. The teachers explain that they teach about the features that identify the different communities, such as the mode of dressing, foods, tools, ways of communication, ways of movement, where they come from and their migration patterns, language, belief system and theories and myths about their origin, what kind of homestead they made and lived in, dance, songs, ceremonies, social rights, values, medicine, and life skills. Additionally, the economic, social, and political domains are seen as a part of the culture and history of these various communities. For instance, Mr Kiprono explains:

We find there are those characteristics or features which people are using to identify different communities. For example, we have their mode of dressing. We have the mode of food they take. We have the tools they were using. For example, if they were hunters and gatherers.

Some teachers pointed out that cultural heritage does not only refer to the past, as indicated by the statements below.

When you are at Kikuyu, now you can be able to know how the Masai used to live and how they are living nowadays (Mr. Kioko).

To me, it means our way of life. Let us say as Africans, as Kenyans, as a people, our way of life [...] That is in the past and also today. Today, we also have a culture. Culture does not only refer to the old. [...] For example, in Kenya, one culture is that there is care. People should live harmoniously. We don't want to fight. We want to live harmoniously so that we can support business because in such an environment, businesses thrive. Kenyans are supposed to be hardworking. So, culture incorporates even our lifestyle and everything. Yeah, that is what I understand by the word cultural heritage (Mr. Obina).

The two teachers view culture as something dynamic that changes over time. Mr. Obina also makes the point that children have different experiences today:

And remember that the child today has changed. The children we were when we were in school are not the kind of children that we have today. They have eaten different foods. They are brought up in a different way. [...] So their experiences are different.

Mr. Obina's point displays the idea that the teaching content must be relevant to the learner and their lived experiences. The importance of this is that it allows the student to engage with the content and understand how it applies to their own life.

Further, the values that Mr. Obina is describing to be Kenyan culture, do not belong to a specific community, but rather the culture of Kenya as a whole. None of the informants explicitly defines what the 'Kenyan culture' is. When they mention what is common to all Kenyans, they typically refer to values such as being hard working. Mr. Kimani mentioned that the spirit from the struggle for independence should be transmitted and carried through in all areas of society. What they define to be 'Kenyan' seems to be rooted in a common history and a common mission to create a shared community. Not all the teachers emphasized this common heritage and rather implied that cultural heritage is something you inherently have (tied to your community) and not something that is created in new contexts. This view on cultural heritage might be related to the fact that Kenya is a country of many (former) nations or communities and community background is connected to culture. Mr. Mutuku expresses that:

You know, the children are based in an urban setup, right? So, what happens is that they barely access their homeland or the countryside. So, some have been born here in Nairobi, whereby the culture is almost zero. Because many tribes happen to meet together. [...] So, there is a mix-up of culture. And so, parents prefer that the kids grow in a very modernized way, whereby they don't really focus much on their culture, on the countryside, or where they hail from, their origin, and all that. They barely know anything. They barely know anything about their real cultures at all. Actually, in Kenya, we base our second names depending on the community you come from. But the kids have no idea how they are named. But they are named after their grandfathers and their grandmothers [...]. But in Nairobi, they have no grief about it. They have no idea about, or [...] a brief idea about where they came from, what they do as a community, what they have as maybe taboos and all that.

Mr. Mutuku describes that the children belong to a place, culture, and language that they do not actually possess themselves. They live "away" from their culture. He makes the distinction between the urban setup that has "zero" culture and the rural areas that live more authentically and in touch with their culture. Cultural heritage is tied to place and geography. Those who live in the area that their community originally "comes from" are more in touch with their culture. Viewing Nairobi as culturally compromised, perhaps symbolizes a struggle to teach both a common heritage and about the diversity of heritages. Nairobi is a place with a

lot of shared history and historical sites that could be seen as common to all, but is perhaps seen as belonging to distinct communities?

As mentioned earlier, cultural heritage includes things such as economic activity, which is related to geography. The cosmopolitan city of Nairobi is then “the place of no culture” and perhaps represents the place of “modernity”. Some parents do not focus on their culture or where they come from, which distances the children from their inherited culture. For instance, Mr. Kioko said that people living in the urban areas that are educated and “enlightened” have “left their cultures” and are “living this modern lifestyle”, and their cultural heritage has changed. This perspective regards education and mobility as abandoning cultural heritage. On one hand, it negatively judges those who have “left” their culture; on the other hand, indicates a sense that cultural heritage is outdated and not fit to the modern world. The attitude from the parents, which influences that of the child, seems to be that they will benefit from striving for modern ways of being and this is considered to be in conflict with traditional ways of being.

I asked Mr. Mutuku if he believes that cultural heritage education is different in Nairobi compared to the rural areas. To that he responded:

That must be the case because when you mention a community, let's say [...], back in my home area in [...], culture there is very diverse, and the kids there experience it firsthand. On the other hand, the Nairobians [...] the parent may be a Nairobiian too or something, and so there's a loss of culture. The touch, the cultural touch is lost in between. So, the kids in the rural areas have a better grip, a better understanding of how culture operates in most cases. If you compare them to the Nairobians or the urban kids, they are way ahead of cultural heritage matters. Nairobians learn it from a theoretical point of view.

This perspective implies that urban children must be instructed about their culture. This approach risks making students passive recipients of their culture, potentially diminishing their agency over their own culture. The view displays the complex situation Kenya is in, trying to balance between taking care of those heritages that historically have been disrupted and adapting to the cultural changes that emerge from changing needs in society.

Mrs. Mwikali and Mr. Kioko express the same view. Mrs. Mwikali said that she finds it difficult to teach about communities that she is not from herself. From the off-recording interview, I wrote down that:

The urban children have little connection with their heritage, and they are brought up in a multicultural space speaking Kiswahili but not their mother tongue [...] Teachers are struggling to make students understand because they can't see or experience these cultural activities or objects. What teachers can do is to use digital gadgets to show, or they print out pictures.

This implies that there is a mismatch between teaching based on the students' life experiences and the perception of cultural heritage in Nairobi. It is a distinction between inherited culture and an urban or multicultural context, where the latter is not seen as heritage. Because cultural activities are not practiced in the city, they rely on resources that can show them, such as digital resources. Mr. Kioko expressed that this “lack” of cultural touch poses some challenges in the classroom:

some learners don't know their identity, they don't know their culture, they only know where they live. So, when you start explaining to them that this culture belongs to you, they become somehow excited. Others now deny that they are from this culture. So, they don't accept themselves. [...]. So, when we are teaching about cultural heritage of these communities, others may feel like we are intimidating them. Yeah, maybe if you say that the Maasai used to put on the shukas alone, they feel somehow bad. Now here, they dress well. So, when you say that you are a Maasai, they feel like they are intimidated. [...]. Yeah, they are ashamed.

That the children only know ‘where they live’ and have ‘no idea about their culture’ portray a view of the urban context as existing of many community backgrounds but no cultures, meaning that the cultures are represented through the students because they belong to different communities, but they are not in touch with their communities’ culture. When Mr. Kioko says that children see educated people from their community having “left” their culture, it signifies an attitude towards cultural heritage in the broader society. The students do not see these cultural aspects in their immediate environment. The teachers are then put in a situation where they have to teach them about who they are or where they belong to. It is a challenge because, teachers must teach students about their cultural heritage while allowing them the freedom to develop their own identities in a multicultural context. This involves balancing the students’ understanding and experience of their inherited culture with the contemporary cultures they encounter in their daily lives and finding ways to accommodate both.

5.1.1.2 Improvement and positive and negative culture

Some of the teachers spoke about cultural heritage in the context of development or improvement, arguing that we can learn from both what was good before and our mistakes, while one teacher approached culture with a value laden assessment, considering some elements of culture to be negative and some to be positive. Mr. Brian says the following about cultural heritage:

cultural heritage traces back from the beginning of life, then whatever used to happen there in the past in terms of their economic activity, their social, their political status trickles into the modern man and then from there, generation upon generation gets to learn, to compare, to see how it was and how better it has become, their challenges and the current challenges, whether there is a point they are meeting at a point of equilibrium, then from there, decisions that are made going forward are databased and therefore they become more viable even in our day to day life going forward.

Mr. Brian expresses that teaching the history of the different communities is important in order to understand society today and if one understands the past, one will be able to use it to create a better future. By suggesting that society is or can be improved lies the expectation that society can be changed, which is important in order to develop historical consciousness. To develop historical consciousness the students must also understand that their lives are shaped by historical events in the place they live, and also understand that they themselves can be drivers of change (Kvande & Naastad, 2020, p. 81). Mr. Brian suggests that learning history and comparing the past and its challenges with today's society and today's challenges will make the students more equipped to understand today's society and make informed decisions in life. It is a way of understanding oneself in the world and understanding what agency you have to influence the future.

Mr. Brian also points out that the students shall learn to learn from others to improve:

social studies is an area or a discipline that seeks to impact into young ones or students that sense of accommodating diverse culture, accommodating individuals, having restraint and understanding that as much as we take pride in what is our culture, we need also to realize that elsewhere and outside the precincts of where we operate, there is also something else that might be different from us and it is therefore our responsibility to see where they blend, they come together and we adapt what is good and

also work on what we feel needs to be improved and therefore it is all about bringing together everybody as a society, as a community and live harmoniously.

This aligns with what Biesta (2020) says about needing to encounter what is different to you in order to develop into a ‘grown-up’ subject. Further, it refers to what Solhaug (2012) says about learning to live in a society of different perspectives. The students shall learn that there are other ways of thinking. This can help students to understand that ways of thinking and cultural/historical background are interconnected. The ways of thinking then become debatable and understanding this contributes to developing both historical consciousness and intercultural competence (Kvande & Naastad, 2020, p. 175).

Mr. Kimani emphasized that there is both positive and negative culture, in which the positive must be preserved and the negative must be discouraged. For instance, he spoke about how cultural education is important to teach about healthy living and that cultural songs have important teachings in them. I asked Mr. Kimani how he identifies the positive and the negative aspects of culture. One of his examples was:

we reject and we tell the learners, this culture, for example, early marriage, we can't be proud of it, because it denies the right of the girl child to achieve her dreams. [...] Earlier marriages are negative because it has denied a girl child her right to education. [...]. Some communities in Kenya [...] they don't believe in girls getting education culturally. But because of education now [...] the mindset has changed.

Mr. Kimani defines negative culture as human rights violations. He also said that “culture does not listen”, implying that culture and human rights do not always align, and that culture does not always reason. Initially, Mr. Kimani had told me that he is a social studies teacher because he is passionate about human rights. This may explain his emphasis on positive and negative culture and that the negative must be discouraged. I interpret Mr. Kimani’s approach to cultural education as an attempt to socialize⁵ the students into society, but also to encourage change where it is considered needed.

5.1.2 Perceptions of the purpose and intentions of cultural heritage education

⁵ Refers to the three domains of education (Biesta, 2020).

During the interviews, the teachers' perceptions of the role of cultural heritage in education came across several times. There are some common discourses of what the intentions of teaching cultural heritage are in Kenyan education. The discourses appearing in the interviews were that history and culture must be taught in order to promote a sense of belonging and for the students to know their identity, enable the society to take informed decisions based on former experiences and preserve the positive aspects of its cultures, promote responsible citizenship and respect towards each other to prevent conflict, and that cultural education holds the country together and shall promote unity.

5.1.2.1 History and identity

“It is very important to teach history because a person who forgets where he has come from, it is very difficult to know where he is going” (Mr. Kimani). This view promotes historical consciousness as it ties the future and one's current agency to the past.

According to Mr. Kiprono, “when you teach social studies, a learner may know his or her identity, where he or she belongs to”. To belong is not just related to the community of the nation, but also the community and culture that each individual comes from. Mr. Kiprono said that one of the purposes of social studies is to enable students to “fight for my space in the current community”. This relates to what Stugu (2013) writes about identity, that it is developed by understanding oneself in relation to others. For urban children this might mean that they have to face the tension between their urban culture and their community's traditional culture. It implies a notion of culture as a site of struggle, something that must be defended and fought for. Furthermore, Mr. Brian says that:

cultural heritage to me simply means whatever we own dearly, whatever we consider great and good which has built us, which identifies us, which sets us apart and make us unique in our own respect. We have to preserve it and guard it jealously because that is what defines us.

I interpret this statement in the context of the Africanization of the Kenyan curriculum. The mission to preserve African culture, knowledge and diversity has been a goal from the time of independence. In education, this goal has manifested in the curriculum designs. In Kenya, this has meant that education shall embrace the diversity of culture instead of forcing a set of

values on everyone. This has been necessary to find back to and preserve the cultures that were disrupted by colonialism. Today, some cultural heritage is also at risk because of not being valued (Okumu, 2016, p. 56), hence the importance of guarding it against indifference. It is both an issue of not valuing your own cultural heritage, but also others'. For instance, Mr. Kimani says that:

There is a perception when I say for example the Maasai culture they are wearing shuka [...] that cloth they can wear it anywhere they live [...] So the children see that one as barbaric, as uncivilized people [...] so when I tell them that is their culture, let us embrace them, they say no, they should be told to start wearing coats.

Mr. Brian points out that the new curriculum has changed in order to embrace cultural heritage more. He says that the new curriculum tackles the issue of belonging in a different way:

You realize this in the past 8-4-4 the approach was somehow different in terms of understanding that sense of belonging. It was not included there to some extent [...] there is that aspect of not seeing yourself competent enough to be placed on a global space because one would think probably, they are inferior in terms of what they know and what they don't know. So, that was one thing that had to be addressed accordingly in this new curriculum and that is what informed the introduction of the key competencies that we intend to handle which falls under the self-efficacy.

Furthermore, he says that:

[learning outcomes] influence our pedagogy, our teaching approach now because initially we would demonize things like first language teaching in schools [...]. The heritage, the language that we handle in school as additives, we now introduce what was lacking in the past and what was good in the past [...] and therefore learners are able to appreciate all of these developments and get to know that [...] we can still bring the previous culture from person A, B, C.

Mr. Brian is speaking of a change of attitude towards Kenya's own cultures which has influenced the new curriculum. Taking these cultures into account is not just an effort to preserve Kenyan culture but it also supports the attitude of appreciation towards oneself and others.

Another point that was made in terms of identity, is that the students appreciate knowing the teacher's identity. Mr. Kioko says:

The learner may feel very, very comfortable with the teacher when teaching, knowing that the teacher knows her identity, where I belong, and where the teacher belongs to. Now the learner becomes very comfortable with the teacher.

This points to bell hooks (1994) theory of an engaged pedagogy where the teacher must not be objectified. To promote the attitude of self-appreciation and appreciation of others, the teacher must also believe and practice it. In a society where community background is not completely openly spoken about, it can be uncomfortable to open up about one's background. This can be vulnerable both for the teacher and the student, which makes it even more important that teachers are open.

5.1.2.2 Citizenship and the nation

According to the informants, the teaching of cultural heritage aims at creating responsible citizens, promoting respect for diversity, and promoting unity. It addresses issues of violence and conflict by promoting conflict resolution and respect.

we are close to around 50 communities in our country and in those dark years communities would want to assume that that they are superior to this one and there was a lot of disconnect, and that one goes on into our political organization and system [...]. People want to balkanize themselves in terms of community, [...] So, through social studies, we are bringing on board from the curriculum design [...] the challenges that communities face [...]. If we come together and I help him address for challenge A, he can come and help me address challenge B and by so doing we get to realize we are incomplete without one another. [...]. We also have other units or substance that talk about conflict resolutions so that we realize if there's a difference between group A and group B we can always come and find ways that can amicably handle our challenges in a more decent and acceptable way. [...]. We get to realize that we are a building block of another unit that exists, we cannot exist as individuals (Mr. Brian).

Furthermore, Mr. Obina points out that cultural heritage education seeks to socialize students to become responsible citizens:

the topics that were brought in the curriculum design, particularly that one of cultural heritage, are key to our development as a country, particularly the social development. You see, I need to be well socialized to appreciate you [...] That topic [...] is very key in shaping the general behavior of our people in the country [...]. The more you are united, the more you are able to achieve your personal goals and also the goals of the country.

Learning about conflict resolution, respect and behavior is learning about citizenship. The teachers speak in alignment with what Solhaug (2012) considers to be citizenship education; to take part in a society and act as a citizen means that you have to coexist with other people and their perspectives, which will enable students to better understand conflicts in society (Solhaug, 2012, pp. 62-63). According to Klafki, it is also necessary for students to engage with real life issues and conflicts in school in order to position themselves when encountering them outside of school. It is this type of content that Klafki argues will open the world to the student and enable them to adapt democratic abilities (Ryen et al., 2021, pp. 22, 62). Opening the student to the world is allowing them to critically engage with these issues, enabling them to engage with the world as a subject and in a grown-up way.

Respecting someone's culture is respecting the individual because culture is tied to identity. According to the teachers, cultural heritage education aims at showing students all the sides to each community to promote understanding for one another and prevent stereotypes and it is foundational that they are knowledgeable about each other and are able to exist in the diversity of cultures in order for them to respect each other. This relates to Biesta's idea of subjectification which aims at fostering people who relate to others and the world around them in a 'grow-up' way.

Furthermore, Mr. Kimani makes the point that feeling a sense of belonging to a community is essential in order for people to respect each other. Being a part of a community and acting as a responsible and ethical citizen are connected:

You know, when you have a sense of belonging, you'll be able to respect yourself, you'll be able to respect your country, you will not even be able to abuse other people or violate their rights because you are enjoying yours.

Cultural education is also supposed to promote unity by removing the focus on what community their peers come from and rather see each other as one. This duality between valuing diversity and creating oneness characterizes the cultural heritage education. On the one side, they are supposed to teach that communities have different ways of doing things,

and on the other side, they are supposed to promote a common sense of belonging as Kenyans. The teachers make the point that although they are supposed to know and respect each others' differences, it shall not prevent them from seeing each other as part of a common community (or nation).

5.2 The operational curricula: The teachers' transformed teaching practices and the influence on cultural heritage content

The operational curriculum refers to what implementers actually do to actualize the perceived curriculum. The operational curriculum is also a perceived one because I as the researcher interpret the teachers' narrations about their practice.

The teachers all describe a major and radical shift in teaching and pedagogical practices. While there was not consensus among the teachers about how the introduction of CBC has influenced the content of cultural heritage education, they all agreed that they use a broader variety of teaching resources now than before. I have divided the data into three topics: 1) learner-centered education and student involvement, 2) content and 3) teaching resources. Content and teaching resources cannot realistically be separated, especially since I use the terms interchangeably, but it is a way of systemizing the data for the purpose of analysis since some of the informants separate the two. These informants saw content as the topics or elements that are included in teaching cultural heritage, for example features of communities, whilst teaching resources referred to the material used to convey the content.

5.2.1 Learner-centered education and student involvement

Across the interviews, all the teachers mentioned the major change from teacher-centered education to learner-centered education. Mr. Obina, for instance, said that if you are prescribing to the requirements of CBC, you "have to accept to be guided even by your students". Mr. Brian elaborates on that point:

the changes that have happened, we even trace back from how we used to prepare, [...] we intend now not to generalize knowledge but address it with individual needs of our students. So that is change number one. Then change number two, initially we would talk of the objectives and that also is very broad. Currently we talk of learning outcome because we are basing it on our students, we go beyond the knowledge-based system and we want to ensure that we bring together all these faculties, be it cognitive, be it psychomotor [...]. Then we introduced learning experiences, previously we would talk about teaching and learning activities, so it talks of activities which again when you talk about activity, it's binding us into some sort of cocoon that we are unable to address other items or things that would be beyond the activities, and that is why we now talk of experience.

Mr. Brian is describing a change from a heavily qualification-focused school system to a school system that facilitates subjectification. In 8-4-4, the primary goal was for students to be able to memorize knowledge and do well on exams. It shows that education has gone from being authoritative to opening up to spontaneity. Mr. Brian says that with learning experiences they are able to tackle things that are outside of what they are “supposed” to teach about. Moreover, Mr. Kiprono points out that this shift has led to longer lessons. In 8-4-4, the lessons ended whenever the teacher was done presenting the content:

You go to class, you've just been used to going to class, you give notes, and then you give questions, and you mark, you go. 8-4-4 was not putting a teacher to be interested in those students who are scoring low. No, I was just only interested in students who are high pickers. [...] But CBC has changed our perspective. In a way, the teaching of it needs you to move with every student. It has reduced us from brushing and brushing and finishing. Now, a strand, maybe I'm teaching about cultural diversity. In 8-4-4, you will find maybe you've taken only taking 40 minutes and you're done. But this one strand, you'll have to go to different strands, sub-strands, in order to achieve this. Maybe you are supposed to teach it for one week.

The change of perspective refers to this shift of emphasis on qualification to subjectification. Before, the most important function was to recite knowledge. Becoming an engaged, ethical, and empowered citizen requires that teachers enable students to engage critically with content. Using more time on a topic will allow for students to engage with the content and reflect upon it. Moving with every student means that the way of engaging with content must vary. It is not up to the students alone to “get it” just by listening or reading. The way of teaching has therefore changed in order to facilitate growth in every student, not just some and not just in terms of acquiring knowledge but promoting meaningful knowledge.

Moreover, Mr. Obina explains that in 8-4-4 the teacher would just narrate the content of the textbook:

the way we used to teach was that we just used to narrate what was in the textbooks. [...] The assumption was that, the children are like an empty mug and the teacher is a jug full of knowledge. So, you're just transferring the content. [...] If you are teaching about the people of Kenya, the assumption was that the students or the learners know nothing. So, you are supposed to just give the content, spoon-feed. But with the coming of CBC, the approach is very different because, number one, you have to ensure that the lesson is learner-centered. The teacher only plays the role of moderation or is just a facilitator. [...] So, they are actively involved. You as a teacher, your work is just to provide the tools [...] and you moderate, you clarify where they are not understanding.

The change that is described here aligns with the constructivist view that knowledge construction happens in a meaning making process that students must engage in themselves. The teacher and student are both involved in constructing knowledge and the narrative is created with and by the students. This opens up for risks in education because the teacher does not have full control over what the lesson brings forth because the meaning making process is happening in present time and the teacher does not have full control over whether the students “get it” or “get it right”.

Mr. Mutuku adds that:

teachers used to annotate, or rather just repeating the same thing the book said, whether it was erroneous, whether it had an error, or didn't have an error. [...]. The teacher also repeated the error without asking for more information. But CBC encourages curiosity, [...], research [...] That's what makes CBC quite beautiful [...]. The other system was purely give or take. You know, I give you a question, give me an answer. Very static. [...] So, in a class of 50 learners, or 40 learners, you have 40 different answers, you can imagine. But in 8-4-4, you had only one answer. [...]. Now for CBC, they have a different way of coming around a question or answering a question.

The way of delivering content under 8-4-4, in the form of narration, was not just making the students passive in interacting with the content but could also make the teacher passive as well. Both the teacher and the student were distanced from the content and had less freedom to judge if the content was meaningful or not. The content simply functioned as a medium towards the goal of passing a test, rather than having meaning in itself. This way of teaching prevents empowerment for both the teacher and the students because they are both objectified in relation to the content. However, with the introduction of CBC, lessons have become less

'predictable' because they are less oriented around "right" and "wrong" answers, which opens up for diversity of perspectives and critical engagement with the content. Mr. Kioko illustrates the change when he says:

when you follow the curriculum, it gets you on what to teach and what not to teach. But when you are teaching in class, it is more of a discussion than a lecture. So, you just have to talk to them as they talk to you, unlike back then. It is very interesting for them, particularly in social studies.

Changing from the teacher-centered to learner-centered approach has changed both the student's and the teacher's role in the classroom. The teachers report that the students are now contributing to creating the content of the lesson:

CBC tries to make it more interesting by giving more work to students to go and do research on their own, maybe their projects. They are given a project to maybe, for example, to go practice a song in their culture, in their own language, native language, and then they come, they present in class. So, there is that aspect of presentation. So, it is different because CBC now goes beyond and also involves students in it completely. [...]. Another way CBC has also changed the structure, is through discussion [...]. So, unlike 8-4-4, where even if you are found making noise, it was a problem. But nowadays we consider that as a form of interaction and discussion (Mr. Kiprono).

This way of teaching is actively involving students in the teaching/learning process, hence expecting them to take responsibility in process (hooks, 1994). What Mr. Kiprono says about noise symbolizes this paradigm shift where the student has gone from passively to actively engaging with content, which allows for the social process of meaning making. Furthermore, the teachers explain that they use their students in class to teach cultural heritage. It is a way of teaching that encourages student expression (hooks, 1994) and is an example of making the content relevant to the student's lived experiences because the content is directly involving them and something familiar to them (Blanck, 2021, p. 72). Knowledge are then constructed with basis in the student's culture and lived reality. It is also putting the student in a position where they are expected to share about themselves or where they "belong":

But the good thing is that our classes, as I said, we are in a cosmopolitan environment in Nairobi. And so, in a class we have at least 10 cultures represented. See, not just one culture. Unlike the rural set up whereby you may find just one predominant culture. [...]. But for me, this is quite easy. Because in a class there is a tribe X, a tribe Y [...]. And so, I would rather use the learners themselves. Let's say Angela will stand and tell us about your Maasai culture. Brian, stand and tell us about your Luya culture. Edward, stand and tell us about your Kamba culture. And by and by we appreciate each other's

culture. We do this in our community, this is a type of housing, this is a type of language, this is how we appreciate God [...]. My teaching would be quite, what can I call it, vivid. [...]. Because CBC is centered more on the learner than the teacher, I would like the learners to dominate the lesson more than I do and tell us about their way of life, and what they do, what others may not do, what are the surprising facts about them? [...]. And we learn from each other. Rather than me being the sole source of information myself (Mr. Mutuku).

have you ever gone to the rural area and seen the kind of houses where your grandmother lives, yes, how does the hut look like? I give him a piece of chalk, he or she draws [...] very different. I tell them that's how different we are, we are still Kenyans (Mr. Kimani).

This example from Mr. Kimani also illustrates that part of one's cultural heritage is found in the rural areas (where you 'originally' come from) and visiting family that lives more traditionally. It shows how cultural heritage education is operating between the past and the present.

5.2.2 Cultural heritage content

5.2.2.1 Changes vs enrichment

While some teachers said that the content has changed significantly, others said that it has not changed but been enriched. For instance, Mr. Kiprono says:

I just look at something that is relatable to them. [...]. When I am teaching about culture, the curriculum will not give you, or not direct you to use the students in class that you have to teach. It is upon you to be knowledgeable and also to be creative in using your own examples [...] I don't think it's changing the curriculum or the way of teaching, but going beyond or using the environment and the realias that I have to make sure that these people understand what I'm teaching.

Mr. Kiprono is explaining that these resources, such as the student's own experiences, the environment, and realia⁶, help them to understand what is being taught. It is a way of making the students relate to what is being taught. As Mr. Kiprono spoke on this topic, he eventually changed his mind to say that "So yes, would I call it changing? Yes, I've used different ways in order to teach the cultural diversity in social studies". Similarly, Mr. Kimani first said that "the content has not really changed, it has been enriched. [...] it has been supported" and later on spoke about how they utilize different sources that result in different content:

⁶ Refers to material from everyday life used as teaching aids.

8-4-4 was just... theory. [...] The 8-4-4 system just gave notes. In the past, people used to eat foods which are nutritious, they just leave you hanging there [...] but in the CBC system, now you are supposed to even go to the museum. You are supposed to go to the field. In fact, there is a topic here about data, about research. [...]. You are supposed to go and find out. Are you seeing that shift? That in 8-4-4, it is a teacher telling you, this is what used to be done and this is what is done today. Just like that, you wait for the exam (Mr. Kimani).

The shift he is speaking about is a shift from heavy qualification-focused education to a form of teaching that allows for subjectification and joint meaning making by allowing students to engage with the content. Consequently, the student is given the opportunity to have more ownership over how they understand the content. The statement from Mr. Kimani highlights what Kvande & Naastad (2020) say about teaching in places. They argue that when students find out, assemble and understand information by interacting with a place, the teaching is in line with constructivism because it lets the students see and figure things out as opposed to being told the textbooks “truths”. Teaching in and about a place therefore relies on the students' own production of knowledge (p. 226).

When some of the teachers initially said that the content has not changed, I interpret this to be because they still teach the same elements of cultural heritage. Like for example, foods or economic activity. The change of teaching resources is then seen as a method change. However, changing methods and changing the sources of content will inevitably change the content of what is being taught, as they describe in our interviews.

The teachers say that they are covering more content under CBC, for instance, Mr. Mutuku says “the content may have [...] increased”. As a result of the learner-centered approach, they teach about more communities. From the off-recording interview with Mrs. Mwikali, I wrote this down:

The content has not changed but is covering more, teaching things in depth rather than superficial. What has changed is that students are in the center, and they are going to research for themselves about their heritage. For example, they shall ask their parents about food, language, other cultural activities [...]. Well content has changed a bit... it is including more communities now than before because it puts the student in center. Before it was the teacher who gave all the information, just taught what culture is and about a few communities.

5.2.2.2 Student's lifeworld, parental involvement, and vulnerability

A change that all the teachers mention is the emphasis on parental involvement in education. The parents are not only expected to help their children academically but actually provide information and content that they shall bring back to class. It encourages parents to reflect upon their culture together with their child. This connects the home and the school and may increase the relevance of educational content. This kind of cooperation may help to break down the wall between the public and the private, explained by hooks (1994) to be a wall that prevents meaningful knowledge that is applicable to real life. The risk is that it expects the students to share and perhaps be vulnerable. For instance, Mr. Kimani explains:

These people who came up with the CBC system [...] they can even tell you, go and ask your parents what they used to eat [...]. Or the kind of foods their grandparents used to eat. So, you see, it becomes very exciting to the learner to even be told, to be given that information about their parents. [...]. Can you go and ask your mother, how she got married? In the past, people could even be forced. I asked this, I gave this question to one of my grade 7. And she went and asked her mother. So, the mother started crying. That's what the girl was telling us, because when I asked my mother about that, she started crying. Why? Later on, the mother told her that she was forced. That was the will of the parents. So, you see, it has really brought into perspective many facilitators. So, I'm not just teaching alone. I also have other people who are giving the enforcement today [...], it involves a lot of people (Mr. Kimani).

Being open and vulnerable is inviting others into your lifeworld. Allowing for these moments of sharing personal experiences and stories are important because they represent real life in its most exposed way. If the teacher is able to facilitate respectful conversation or discussion it may allow students to better understand each other and their cultural backgrounds as well as promote meaningful education (hooks, 1994). Moreover, several of the teachers point out that teaching about cultural heritage based on the students' own cultural backgrounds can be very sensitive.

Because when I am teaching about cultural diversity, you see it is a very sensitive topic. Because it requires a lot of knowledge in teaching. Because you might say something and then it becomes offensive to a child. [...]. I am supposed to use an example that will not portray that this [...] is better than this one. Or I speak in a way I am condemning [...]. So, I have to go an extra in looking for an example that will embrace all these people or students as one (Mr. Kiprono).

Additionally, there are a lot of stereotypes and assumptions about different communities. For example, Mr. Kimani said it is difficult to teach the attitude of accepting each other when adults are not practicing that acceptance. He elaborates:

There are so many challenges because of the perception that a given community is a bad community and I teach them that one is, [looking in the book], [...] yeah stereotypes, bad generalization [...]. It is quite unfortunate that they are rooted even in these young children because of what they hear what their parents are talking about other communities, so to get them out of that is a big challenge and that's why education is very important.

Cultural heritage is sensitive for reasons related to history and politics and is why the teachers stress the importance of preventing stereotypes and promoting respect and appreciation. Because of these tensions, the identity of the teacher may also influence how cultural heritage education is received. Mr. Kiprono is expressing a concern that children may take offence if he misrepresents their culture. Following hooks (1994) argument about teaching in multicultural classrooms, this is a risk that educators face, where the teacher is confronted with their limited knowledge about other cultures (p. 30). It is then important that students are invited to take part in sharing their own cultural experiences and perspectives, thereby enriching the classroom with diverse viewpoints, and fostering a more inclusive and respectful engagement with the topic. But the issue is also that some students are ashamed of their community's cultural heritage. Some aspects are (by some) viewed as old-fashioned, uncivilized, or even barbaric and is associated with being uneducated. The teacher can play a significant role here by reciprocate vulnerability and promote self-acceptance.

5.2.2.3 Higher expectations

The teachers explained that another major shift from 8-4-4 to CBC was that there are higher expectations of them now. For example, during our interview, Mr. Kiprono showed me a painting he had made with a student that was hanging in the principal's office. He said that in order for him to help students create things like that he had to practice it himself. Mr. Kioko and Mr. Mutuku expresses that:

As a teacher, when you are now implementing this curriculum, first of all, you need to be very steady. All the information is not found in the book. So, you need to do more research for you to have the right

information. Unlike 8-4-4 information was just there. But CBC, you need to do a lot of research (Mr. Kioko).

Learning resources have changed a lot. In the past, our textbooks were the sole or the primary source of information. Today, we find ourselves in a world or in a system whereby we are forced to improvise and go out of our ways to satisfy the demands set by the curriculum. [...]. If you go to the CBC textbooks right now, [...] the books just [...] offers a brainstorm of activities and what to do. [...]. There is purely no content on the books. [...] The teacher should now be a very enlightened person, a very curious person to know what really happens, because the books don't provide that, as of this moment. But in the 8-4-4, the books have everything. [...]. That's what was our A to Z of learning. Today, it is just one aspect (Mr. Mutuku).

The introduction of CBC and the learner-centered and constructivist approach also puts the teacher in the risk of not “getting it” and “getting it right” because lessons have shifted from being lectures to being an arena for collective meaning making where student expression and participation is encouraged (hooks, 1994). As Mr. Brian said earlier, learning experiences are unpredictable because unplanned things may suddenly become relevant to discuss. Mr. Obina says: “the choice of the materials that you use, or rather the content, is based on your knowledge or the availability of the materials around you”. Consequently, the teachers are going through a process of letting go of control and power in order to facilitate subjectification and meaning construction.

5.2.3 A variation of teaching/learning resources - “The child himself also has a resource, his own experience”

The teachers report that the textbook had a more central role during 8-4-4 than with CBC. The textbook itself has also changed from primarily consisting of text and information to mostly consisting of activities. For students to experience that the content is relevant, it is essential to utilize different resources that may awaken interest or appeal to something that is familiar to them. Above we have seen that a major shift from 8-4-4 to CBC has been to utilize students as a teaching resource. Mr. Kiprono says, “the child himself also has a resource, his own experience, yes, he has had”. Earlier I presented a statement from Mr. Obina saying that during 8-4-4 the student was seen as an empty mug. Now the student is seen to have their own knowledge and experiences that must be included in the lessons. These experiences are what

the teacher needs to build the content on in order to make it relevant to their lived experiences (Ryen et al., 2021, p. 22). It is perhaps especially important to include this in the teaching of cultural heritage because it is a personal (as well as a collective) matter. And in such a diverse classroom, there will undoubtedly be multiple different experiences.

The teachers also emphasize some other resources that have become important, such as realia. Not all of the resources are necessarily new with CBC, such as going on trips and inviting resource persons, but resource variation has become more important. For instance, the teachers explain that resource variation are necessary to help learners understand the content.

Nowadays, when we are talking about cultural heritage, you must get realia. Let us say, for example, you are teaching about the tools, the traditional tools that were used in the past. If they are [...] color brushes, ways of storing water those days [or] you are talking about the human dwellings, you must come up with one or you make a model of the same and you bring to class, let the learners touch, and see, and that way they are able to comprehend. So, initially, it was the textbook and the syllabus (Mr. Obina).

Mr. Obina is explaining that seeing and touching creates a relation to the content because they get a firsthand experience with it. It is a way of connecting the content to the real world. The teachers also mention that they use resource persons and parents too, which have the same intentions:

We can invite a resource person from across the county who is quite an aged person to come and maybe demonstrate how some cultural aspects are handled here and there. Marriage ceremonies, funerals, and many, many other aspects (Mr. Brian).

Then the parents themselves. [...] they are co-educators now in the CBC. [...]. So even the textbooks have, for every strand, there is a home activity whereby a learner is supposed to go home and with their parent, converse on a certain aspect, let's say the national anthem. They're supposed to sing together and internalize and maybe do something with the parent. So, parents are also learning resources, human learning resources for that (Mr. Brian).

Digital resources have become an important teaching/learning resource in the teaching of cultural heritage. The teachers explain that it has allowed them to travel across the country and the continent. Being able to see through pictures and videos is another way of creating a

relation to the content and allow students to see and experience culture outside of their immediate environment. Digital resources therefore provide an opportunity to diversify cultural heritage education, making it more inclusive of different cultural backgrounds.

Digital resources are a lifesaver. [...]. And of course, on culture, I must mention that the digital media sources, digital sources like the Internet of course, YouTube has come in handy. And of course, many other websites. So, on cultural heritage, we are able to travel across the world, or across Africa, and learn about many different cultures through YouTube. YouTube has been a lifesaver, to be honest, on CBC. So, there has been heavy investment (Mr. Mutuku).

The teachers also mention that they travel outside the classroom and use the immediate environment, or sometimes travel out of Nairobi, to teach cultural heritage.

now in CBC, we interact a lot with the learners. [...], we take them out maybe for other activities. They get to learn about the environmental features which are found within the school and also, we take them out for some trips where they can learn about historical events that happened a long time ago and also the historical beautiful environments (Mr. Kioko).

Because a place demonstrates the connection between past, present and future, it is a resource that can contribute to the student's historical consciousness. A place changes over time and these changes have been made by someone. Using the place as a resource can raise questions like why people live where they do and who made the changes that we see (Kvande & Naastad, 2020, 224-225). For instance, Mr. Obina says "initially, there was what we call a geographical location of our people. [...]. They used to geographically live in their area, but now due to urbanization, we are living together here in town". Discussing Nairobi's cultural heritage focusing on the urban landscape may open up for discussions about how the multicultural environment came to be and what Nairobi culture is.

6. Discussion

This research project has sought to explore how social studies teachers perceive and actualize the topic of cultural heritage after the introduction of CBC, the thesis question being: “how has CBC influenced teaching resources and the content of cultural heritage in social studies?”. In order to do so, I asked the following sub-questions: 1) what are the teachers’ intentions of teaching cultural heritage? 2) how do the teachers construct cultural heritage? and 3) how has CBC influenced the construction of cultural heritage in social studies? In the analysis, the two first questions were placed under “the perceived curriculum” while the last was placed under “the operational curriculum”. Inquiring about how teachers interpret the curriculum, what they perceive to be cultural heritage and the purpose of teaching it, is the context in which I inquire how cultural heritage education has been influenced by CBC. In this chapter, the findings related to the three sub-questions will be discussed together as I consider this to be the most appropriate way to answer the thesis question. The discussion is structured according to the theoretical concepts of empowerment and citizenship education. I discuss what implications the changes in cultural heritage education have for the overall educational goal of enabling every Kenyan to become an engaged, empowered and ethical citizen (with specific emphasis on empowerment).

Cultural heritage encompasses both the personal and the collective. That is because the creation and continuation of culture is a social process. It is personal because the individual develops an identity within an already existing group. Developing an identity is a social process where the individual finds their place in a community (Stugu, 2013, p. 36). As we have seen in the chapter “the perceived curriculum”, cultural heritage in social studies is an interdisciplinary topic cutting across three disciplines - geography, civics and history – and, according to the teachers, the purpose of teaching cultural heritage is to know where you come from and consequently also who you are, to appreciate yourself but also those who are different from you, and to recognize each other as part of one national community consisting of a variety of smaller communities. In the following sub-chapter, I will primarily focus on how cultural heritage education affects the personal (the subject), while the final sub-chapter will discuss how it affects the collective (citizenship).

6.1 Empowerment through cultural heritage education

A constructivist approach is a prerequisite for empowerment because empowerment (or subjectification) cannot sufficiently happen if the child is not challenged to critically reflect upon what is presented to them. Klafki's concept of the double-sided opening relates to Biesta's (2020) theory of the three domains of education. Opening the world to the students involves presenting content and experiences to them that is not necessarily known to them from before, to enable them to navigate the complexities of the world. 'Opening the world to the students' is then both qualification and socialization, because the educator is making knowledge and skills available to the students which socializes them into what is seen as valuable within a culture. This is where subjectification separates from socialization and qualification. In one way, the teachers are supposed to guide the students into the norms and values of society, and on the other side, they shall facilitate the child's freedom to reject or accept these. Opening the student to the world is to empower students to make use of the knowledge and skills they acquire and then utilize them in engaging with the world, transforming it into something meaningful in their lives. Excluding students from participating in knowledge construction during teaching is to encourage the student to relate to the content as an object.

According to Klafki, Biesta (2020) and hooks (1994), the purpose of education is to facilitate transformation and liberation, guiding students to become subjects that act responsibly towards themselves and in the world around them and challenging the status quo. The paradigm shift from 8-4-4 to CBC has gone from 1) viewing knowledge as objective, something that comes from the outside and is acquired by the student and 2) focusing on transmitting these 'truths', to viewing knowledge as 1) constructed as a result of experiences in the world, meaning that information from the 'outside' encounters the child's existing experiences and knowledge and 2) focusing on the development of the whole human being and facilitating empowerment. So, what implications has this shift had on cultural heritage in social studies? I argue that the constructivist approach, introduced in CBC, allows for diversity of perspectives in the teaching of cultural heritage by acknowledging and valuing students' experiences and cultures. Encouraging student expression and allowing them to see themselves reflected in the educational content, facilitates empowerment. This will, in turn, create an environment where they are exposed to what is different from them, learning how to exist in a diverse society.

If education is a meaning-making process where students learn to understand themselves and the world around them, the topic of cultural heritage is inevitably an important topic to engage with because culture in itself is the result of collective meaning-making. Taking the different cultural heritages into account when teaching about the Kenyan cultural heritage is vital in order to make social studies relevant and meaningful to all students (Kvande & Naastad, 2020).

The teachers consider cultural heritage to be essential in order for students to develop their identity and emphasize the role of history in this process. History is seen as the foundation for who you are and where you are today. Some of the teachers viewed cultural heritage as something dynamic and changing, arguing that the child today has different experiences and that the curriculum must take those into account. This supports the idea that the content must be based in the student's lifeworld in order for them to engage with it in a meaningful way. However, some of the teachers viewed cultural heritage (and identity) as something you have and must discover if you are not in touch with it) as opposed to something you create or develop. For instance, Mr. Mutuku distinguishes between the rural children who live 'in touch' with their culture and the urban children who live 'away' from their culture. This displays that cultural heritage and geography are interconnected. Cultures are partly based on the environment in which they exist, but this also means that urban areas such as Nairobi also have a culture (which Mr. Mutuku does acknowledge).

However, because the word heritage denotes that something has been passed from one generation to the other, it is not unreasonable (at least not in the Kenyan context) to refer to the different communities' ways of living before urbanization. This view also makes sense in the political context whereby governments have aimed to Africanize the curriculum and preserve the diversity of African cultures. With the introduction of CBC this goal has been stressed even more by introducing indigenous languages and having a stronger focus on appreciating oneself and promoting a sense of belonging. Furthermore, several of the teachers mentioned the issue that some parents and students perceive traditional cultures as outdated or are ashamed of them. This raises questions like to what degree urban Kenyans should be expected to identify with inherited culture? And is cultural heritage education in alignment with the students' lifeworld if they do not identify and perhaps even distance themselves from these? How will the teachers then promote appreciation for African cultures and the diversity

of African cultures in the country? In terms of preservation and development of culture, considering the division between inherited culture and urban culture, how does one define what shall be preserved and developed? I think that this issue shows the complexities of Kenyan identities and the dilemma Kenya as a country is facing, connecting past identities with the present changes in society and the aspirations for the future. Said in another way, Kenya is a young country and is in a collective cultural- and identity forming process, influenced by the tension between past, present and future and influences from the global world. Cultural heritage develops in alignment with cultural changes. Defining what a community's cultural heritage is and what shall be preserved is then a mixture of the past and the present.

Although it may seem like the view on cultural heritage presented above objectifies the student and prevents them from having ownership and agency over their own culture and identity, I believe that it can also be promoting subjectification and liberation. According to hooks (1994) education as the practice of freedom aspires to empower students (and teachers) to make collective change such as challenging oppressive systems in society. In a world where Western values have been enforced upon cultures and where the effects are still felt to this day, learning, and embracing one's own cultural heritage can be a form of resistance. For instance, Mr. Kioko voiced that those who are ashamed may be so because they see people in the city dressing "modern" and having "left" their culture after becoming educated. According to the teachers, it is essential to "know where you have come from in order to know where you are going". In this context, historical consciousness can be developed by understanding how the urban and diverse context came to be and that they have the power to change and create history by bringing back and appreciating what has been lost. It does not, however, mean that they need to "go back" to "how things were", but rather find an element of their identity that they have been disconnected from. Rather than distancing yourself from where you came from, you appreciate your background, and that will put you in a better position to decide what defines you and how you want to contribute to your society and community.

In order to achieve the liberatory ambitions it is however necessary to somehow balance and recognize both the traditional or inherited cultures of each community and the urban cultures in cultural heritage education. The teachers seem to balance between teaching the students about their cultures but also incorporating their own experiences into the teaching. This

practice differs from the practice under 8-4-4 where the student was seen to be “an empty mug” that knew nothing about the Kenyan people while the teacher was a “jug full of knowledge” transferring the content to the child. With the introduction of CBC, the perspective changed, and the student is seen to have experiences that is resourceful in lessons. For instance, Mr. Mutuku said that teaching cultural heritage is easy in Nairobi because he can draw on each of the students' cultural background. Giving the students the space to express themselves will open up for more perspectives in the classroom. Additionally, the inclusion of the parents as co-educators is an attempt to make the content relate to the lived experience of the students. The benefit of this is that the home and the school become less disconnected. Getting information from a variety of resources, such as parents, resource persons, the environment/place etc., will help the students to understand that knowledge is constructed and is constructed by someone. Hearing or seeing information from a person, a video or the environment also help the students relate to the content that is being taught.

The "beautiful" risks (Biesta, 2020) of inviting students to collectively negotiate meaning and take part in knowledge construction are key to a meaningful educational process. In the former chapter, there were some examples of the different risks that can occur with teaching cultural heritage for empowerment. We can separate the risks as “not getting it (right)”, “not accepting it”, “being vulnerable” and “the teacher’s risks”.

Adapting to a radical paradigm shift where the teacher loses some control of the content is a risk for the teachers themselves in “getting it right”. They are no longer in the position of full authority over the content and what is “right” and “wrong”. Several of the teachers indicate this by saying that the expectations of CBC have required them to seek more knowledge and skills. I argue this empowers the teacher because they have more freedom and responsibility over the content and the process of meaning- and knowledge construction happens as a combined effort between the teacher and the students.

The six teachers stress that they teach cultural heritage to promote an attitude of appreciation for one’s own and other’s cultures. As we have seen, cultural diversity is a sensitive topic and students might relate to different degree to their own community background and might be more familiar with the urban culture. Learning more about the different cultures but also

battling the attitude that these cultures are “uncivilized” or have nothing to offer in today's society, is a difficult task. For instance, Mr. Kimani explained that because the children learn these negative stereotypes and perceptions from their parents and the society at large, it is a challenge to get them out of that mindset. Hence, this is an issue of both “not getting it” and “not accepting it”.

That brings me to the next point, being that educators themselves must be proud of and appreciate their own cultural heritage and not perpetuating stereotypes. The teacher cannot be empowered if they are objectified (hence not seen as a whole human being) but the teacher will also not be well equipped to promote empowerment in the students if they have separated the public from the private (their own culture from the teaching of cultural heritage) (hooks, 1994). For instance, Mr. Kioko had said that the students get very comfortable when they know their teacher's identity and that the teacher knows theirs. Opening up about yourself, something that is deeply connected to your identity, can be vulnerable for both the student and the teacher. Mr. Kimani gave an example where a student had shared about how her mother got married. The mother had started crying because it was an upsetting memory of being forced to marry. In such a situation the student has shared something very personal, something that the teacher also could not foresee coming. Such situations must be handled with care but must not be avoided. They facilitate opportunities for students to connect on a deeper level and get better understanding for each other. Mr. Kiprono expressed that when he teaches cultural heritage, he must be careful in order not to offend anyone (as a result of lack of knowledge). He continued to say that being careful is necessary in order to embrace everyone and not promote the idea that one culture is better than the other. Bringing in a diversity of cultures will confront the teachers' limitations of knowledge and possibly challenge their authority. Exposing this limitation or these assumptions is a sense of risk (hooks, 1994, p. 30). According to hooks (1994), however, the classroom should not be expected to always be ‘safe’ or ‘harmonious’ (p. 30). This would uphold the notion that one “truth” exists. So, in order to develop understanding for each other it might be necessary to create an environment that allows both student and teacher to express their thoughts (in a respectful manner). Such an environment allows for misunderstandings to come forth but just as important, for corrections to be made. If these misunderstandings or assumptions come forth in the classroom, I believe students will be better equipped to live in a ‘grownup’ way in a diverse society. Because if no risks are taken, then there is no room to confront each other,

correct, learn, and develop. However, the space must also allow students to refrain from sharing their experiences and engaging with the content based on the personal.

“The teacher’s risk” is also about vulnerability. It would be unfair to expect students to be vulnerable if the teacher refrains from it himself (hooks, 1994, p. 21). hooks (1994) argues that when teachers bring narratives of their experiences into classroom discussions it gives the students an example of how lived experiences can illuminate and enhance the teaching/learning content (hooks, 1994, p. 21). By including oneself in the teaching and promoting meaningful learning, the teacher is put in a situation where their authority and intentions are put “at risk”. That is because students can reject these intentions. On the opposite side, students might see the value of the knowledge and guidance, transforming power into mutual authority over the teaching/learning process (Biesta, 2020, p. 104).

6.2 Citizenship education through cultural heritage education

Creating engaged, empowered and ethical citizens means that the students shall be encouraged to want and know how to engage with the world and know how to relate to others. In Biesta’s (2021) words, this means to act as a ‘grown-up’ subject who is not only able to make responsible decisions for themselves but also the community. Education for subjectification is essential in a society with opposing views and perspectives and a variety of communities where the goal is unity. The essence of grownupness is to be able to consider one’s own needs and others' needs when engaging in the world, and understanding what consequences one’s actions have in the world. It is about learning to live with what is different to you and accepting that the world consists of these differences (pp. 37-42)

Empowering the individual is to empower the collective and vice versa. The teachers stressed the importance of unity and building on each other's strengths in order to develop society. For instance, Mr. Obina said: “the more you are united, the more you are able to achieve your personal goals and also the goals of the country”. They also mentioned that students have to learn how to take the strengths of each other and improve where necessary in a process of coming together. The parallel between this point and harambee is clear; the school’s role in the nation-building process is a continuation of what was initiated at independence. The question then becomes how does a diverse community judge what is positive and negative in

each culture when there is no (or a thin) base of a common culture? Education can play an important role here by facilitating discussions in the classroom and training students in engaging in these difficult questions. The teacher and students can apply a comparative approach to such discussions to see where they understand things differently and why, which can help the students understand their own perspectives and that of others (Kvande & Naastad, 2020, p. 175). According to Ezeanya-Esiobu (2019), the educator must guide students through the many conflicting values and ideas in society. When guiding them to preserve positive culture and discourage negative culture and promoting subjectivity, it is important to include the students in judging what is moral and what is not, especially since questions of morality may vary from one culture to the other.

The individual must feel a sense of belonging and see themselves as a part of the community in order to want to act in a responsible way and contribute to the community. As citizenship (*medborgerskap*) is about identity, belonging, and participation (Solhaug, 2021, p. 49), the school ought to make sure that all students get opportunities to feel a part of this common community, the nation. However, in order to take care of and allow each community to develop themselves, the school shall also make sure that education is of benefit to each community, that it contributes to the development and preservation of each community and culture in the nation. So, there is a tension here between identifying with the nation and identifying with one's community background. I argue that fostering an environment for diverse perspectives in cultural heritage education will enhance citizenship education by recognizing and valuing each student, allowing them to be themselves within the broader community of the nation. By the same logic, the introduction of indigenous languages contributes to promote this attitude of appreciation and sense of belonging.

As we have seen in the previous chapter (analysis), CBC has changed the teachers' practice from narrating content from the textbooks to centering the students and using their experiences in the teaching of cultural heritage. When the teacher is the only participant in the learning/teaching process, it will be difficult to lecture about 40+ communities. So, the change has allowed for more communities to be represented in cultural heritage education. But what does it mean to include all communities in education? Firstly, it allows each student and their cultural identity to be seen and heard, which is a prerequisite to feel a part of something and feel a sense of belonging. Secondly, the teachers stress that in order to foster appreciation for

oneself and each other, it is necessary to have knowledge about oneself and each other. According to Asoka (2007), a national consciousness cannot exist without cultural identities. These identities must be developed by getting knowledge about the cultural heritages (p. 48). Hence, developing a national identity must happen in correspondence with developing cultural identities. Moreover, the teachers argued that students must know what challenges the different communities have faced and are facing and the strengths each community have. The aim is to achieve understanding and respect for each other, and also prevent stereotypes from affecting relationships across communities. However, like Mr. Kimani pointed out, these attitudes need to be promoted in other areas in society as well in order for students to embrace them.

According to Klafki, students must encounter real-world challenges in the classroom in order to develop democratic abilities (Ryen et al., 2021, p. 62). Conflict resolution, harmony and peace are words that were stressed when the teachers spoke about the intentions of teaching cultural heritage. To live in peace does not necessarily mean to live without conflict, but to be able to handle conflict in a responsible way. So, what is preventing unity in the 'real world'? The teachers pointed out that Kenya has had and still has some challenges regarding the relationships between communities. This affects both the social and political organization of the country. These issues are a threat to the goal of a united democracy and so they must be brought into the classroom and confronted. Because these issues exist in society and are present in the day to day lives of Kenyans, they exist in the student's lifeworld. The introduction of CBC, as a constructivist and learner-centered approach allows the teacher to facilitate such discussions where they get to exchange views about something meaningful. This can only happen if the teachers take the risk of bringing these sensitive issues into the classroom. To summarize, having knowledge about each others' past and present, each others' perspectives and engaging in discussions about these differences can build a sense of belonging to a broader community.

7. Conclusion

In this qualitative research project, I have explored the ways CBC has influenced content and teaching resources on the topic of cultural heritage. This is a matter of curriculum implementation and teachers' perceptions of the curriculum and their classroom practices. I have used Goodlad's (1975) conceptual framework of curriculum inquiry to explore what cultural heritage is, its purpose and how it is taught, according to six junior school teachers.

7.1 Significant findings

Some of the teachers said that the content has not changed but been enriched. According to the teachers, their understanding of cultural heritage has not changed with the new curriculum but their way of teaching it has. Cultural heritage education is about each community's history, their features of identification, their "positive" and "negative" sides, and values they all have in common as Kenyans. The purpose of teaching cultural heritage is for students to develop an identity, improve culture (where need be) in order to improve society, to foster ethical citizens that understand how to relate to each other and to contribute to the unification of the nation. The view on education as a whole has changed from valuing recitation of information from the teacher and textbooks to valuing holistic growth and student participation. The teaching/learning process is no longer seen as a process the teacher provides to the student but something they participate in together. This has affected how the teachers engage with and select content in cultural heritage education.

The teachers all agreed that the content has changed in the sense that it is more diverse now than before due to the shift from a teacher-centered to learner-centered approach. Cultural heritage education is now based on the students' own cultural backgrounds, meaning that the cultures that are included may vary from class to class. Since they are teaching for the holistic growth of the individual and not just for content memorization, they have had to utilize a variety of different teaching resources in order to promote understanding of the content and engagement with it as opposed to just being able to remember "truths". So, the elements that make up cultural heritage in social studies are still the same, but the content is richer than before, when the textbook was the primary source of information.

7.2 Do the teachers transformed practice comply with the reformed curriculum?

Teachers play a major role in curriculum implementation and are expected to transform intentions into realities. Their interpretations are therefore significant to investigate in order to understand what happens in the classroom. The introduction of CBC has caused a radical shift in how education is understood and what is expected of education to produce. It has ordered the education system to change its pedagogical approach, view on knowledge acquisition (or construction), and the role of the teacher and the student in the teaching/learning process. Adapting to these changes has not been easy, according to the teachers, but intentions and practice will never completely comply. This does not mean that teachers always fail at implementation, but we should not expect these to correspond perfectly.

In this research project I have explored what cultural heritage education is according to six social studies teachers, their perceptions of its purpose and their stories of how they have adapted to the curriculum reform. It is a project about the reflections around what cultural heritage in social studies *is*, *could* and *should* be after the paradigm shift and according to the new overall educational goal of fostering engaged, empowered and ethical citizens. What the teachers perceive, what they do, and what they would have liked to do may be different. I have not investigated how the material framework, such as available resources and local cultural factors influence curriculum implementation. These constitute the framework for what teachers *can* do. Without taking these issues into account, it is not possible to fully evaluate whether practice and intentions comply.

According to the teachers, the shift has influenced their practice from narrating content and primarily using the textbook as the teaching resource to inviting students to participate in knowledge construction and using a variety of resources to promote understanding and a meaningful relation to the content instead of repetition. When it comes to teaching cultural heritage, this has meant to include all the communities and cultures represented in the classroom. The variety of resources has allowed them to relate to the teaching content by engaging with different sources of information through seeing, hearing, drawing, interacting, etc. The curriculum stresses that the students shall appreciate their own cultural heritage and Kenya's rich cultural diversity. The teachers work to promote this attitude by providing

knowledge about the different communities, preventing stereotypes, and allowing the students to bring their own lived experiences to class. The teachers have explained that they have to counteract an attitude (that some parents and students have) of looking down on cultural heritages. The ambitions of the new curriculum may assist teachers in this mission by stressing the inclusion of students' lived experiences. The risk these teachers make in cultural heritage education is that students may not want or accept their intentions of promoting appreciation. But it is necessary to let them be free to accept or reject it, and consider what is meaningful to them. Without this freedom, we deprive students of taking ownership over these intentions.

CBC is still a new reform and in the beginning phase of its implementation and it is still early to judge its effectiveness. This study gives a glimpse of six junior school teachers' perception and implementation of CBC in this phase, and it might be interesting to review this inquiry in a few years. In addition, this study was only based on a small sample of informants in the capital city. The material framework was not discussed in this paper, but the teachers mentioned the importance of resource availability (especially digital) to operationalize CBC, saying that it is mostly private and urban schools that benefit from the reform. As the analysis demonstrate, having access to a variation of teaching resources is fundamental in order to meet the demands of CBC. For future research, I suggest researching how resources may influence schools' ability to achieve the goals set by BECF. Another interesting aspect that should be further explored is the parental involvement which was mentioned as both a resource and a challenge. Lastly, I recommend exploring cultural heritage education in rural areas and public schools.

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Appendix 1: Ethical Assessment (Sikt)

Assessment of processing of personal data

01.02.2024

Reference number

221954

Assessment type

Standard

Date

01.02.2024

Title

Teaching about cultural heritage in Kenya

Institution responsible for the project

Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for sosiologi og statsvitenskap

Project leader

Kathleen Marie Jennings

Student

Kristin Motho Høgetveit

Project period

01.01.2024 - 30.06.2024

Categories of personal data

- General

Legal basis

- Consent (General Data Protection Regulation art. 6 nr. 1 a)

The processing of personal data is lawful, so long as it is carried out as stated in the notification form. The legal basis is valid until 30.06.2024.

Notification Form

Comment

Data Protection Services has assessed the change registered in the Notification Form.

We find that the processing of personal data in this project is lawful and complies with data protection legislation, so long as it is carried out as described in the Notification Form with dialogue and attachments.

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

We will follow up the progress of the project underway (every other year) and at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded/is being carried out in accordance with what is documented.

Good luck with the project!

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Interview guide

Semi-structured interview:

I will conduct a semi-structural interview where every participant gets the same questions, but there is room for follow up questions based on what the individual participant brings up.

Introduction

I explain what the project is about, why we are doing the interview and approximately how long it will last, how I will record it and how I will use the data. I go through the consent form and inform them that they can withdraw from participating. I end the introduction by making sure that they are informed about what participation entails and that they still give consent to participate.

Background questions

Age – gender.

How long have you worked as a teacher?

How long did you teach 844 and how long have you taught CBC?

Did you teach the last 844 class last year that did exams in 2023? Did you teach grade 6 or 7 last year? / What grade did you teach last year?

Were you deployed from primary to junior secondary school as a result of the implementation of CBC?

Do you work in a private or public school?

What grades are you teaching?

What subjects are you teaching?

What motivated you to become a social study teacher?

Background school

Please tell me about the school's values and goals.

Opening Questions:

What is the purpose of education in your view?

What is social studies in Kenyan education in your view?

Section 1, 2 and 3:

Section 1: Adapting to the new learning outcomes and syllabus of social studies

What is your experience with teaching social studies?

What is your experience with teaching about cultural heritage?

What is your experience with teaching about cultural diversity?

Looking at the components of the new syllabus, what is the biggest change(s) from 844 to CBC?

How has the structure of the CBC social studies syllabus influenced your teaching?

How do you understand this first subject general learning outcome in social studies?

[The learner should be able to: Demonstrate an understanding of historical concepts, historical sources and evidence for development of identity and sense of belonging.]

Follow-up questions:

And how does this influence your teaching? / In what ways do you teach in order to include this learning outcome?

How do you understand this second learning outcome in social studies?

[The learner should be able to: Appreciate and be proud of the Kenyan cultural heritage and be willing to further develop, preserve and share it globally.]

Follow-up questions:

And how does this influence your teaching? In what ways do you teach in order to include this learning outcome?

How much autonomy do you as a teacher have in selecting the teaching materials used?

What teaching materials (e.g., textbooks) is it expected of teachers to use in social studies?

How do you choose or where do you collect content from? (Content for the students to engage with).

Have you changed what teaching materials/content you include from 8-4-4 to CBC? If so, what, and how?

What are some examples of teaching materials you include in cultural diversity and heritage teaching?

What teaching methods do you find most effective in cultural heritage education?

Please explain how you have approached the changes in social studies, particularly regarding cultural heritage.

Section 2: Implementation of CBC

How have you experienced the implementation of the new curriculum?

How have you experienced your part (as a teacher) in implementing the competency-based curriculum?

Did you receive any preparation or training before or during the implementation of CBC? If yes, please specify.

Section 3: Purpose of social studies education and future outlook

What is the purpose of social studies in Kenyan education?

Why do you think it is important to teach history?

What does cultural heritage mean to you?

What do you think is the most important thing students can learn from social studies and history?

Have you faced any challenges in teaching history and cultural heritage?

In your opinion, how do cultural diversity and heritage education contribute to students' overall education?

Looking ahead, what changes or improvements would you like to see in the ongoing development and implementation of the social studies syllabus, particularly in relation to cultural heritage?

Concluding:

To conclude this interview, I have one last question. The first national goal of education in CBC is to [Foster nationalism and patriotism and promote national unity. Kenya's people belong to different communities, races and religions, but these differences need not divide them. They must be able to live and interact as Kenyans. It is a paramount duty of education to help young people acquire this sense of nationhood by removing conflicts and promoting positive attitudes of mutual respect which enable them to live together in harmony and foster patriotism in order to make a positive contribution to the life of the nation]. Looking back on what we have talked about today; how would you say this educational goal is incorporated into your teaching in social studies? Has this goal changed from 844 to CBC?

Appendix 3: Information and Consent Letter

Are you interested in taking part in the research project “Teaching about Cultural Heritage in Kenya”?

Purpose of the project

You are invited to take part in a research project about the current implementation of the curriculum reform ‘Competency Based Curriculum’ (CBC). The purpose of the research is to investigate how social studies teachers in junior secondary school have approached the transition from 844 to CBC and how it has impacted their teaching since its implementation. Specifically, the research will investigate how CBC has impacted teachers’ selection of teaching resources in social studies and on the topic of culture. The project includes a survey and in-depth interviews with Kenyan junior secondary school teachers to better understand how they narrate their own teaching practice. This project is a master’s thesis for the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, Norway.

Which institution is responsible for the research project?

The Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Sociology and Political Science (data controller).

Why are you being asked to participate?

You have been asked to participate in this project because you are currently teaching social studies as a junior secondary school teacher (7 or 8 grade) and have taught both during the 8-4-4 curriculum and CBC. The sample size will depend on the success of the recruitment process but will range from 7 to 10 interviewees and 30 participants in the survey.

What does participation involve for you?

If you choose to participate in the project, you will take part in a personal interview with the researcher either virtually or in-person, lasting approx. 45-60 minutes, and/or take an online survey, lasting approximately 15 minutes. The survey will be completed electronically through Nettskjema (operated by University of Oslo). Your answers will be anonymous, and they will be safely stored in Nettskjema. The survey includes questions about how satisfied you are with the curriculum reform, its implementation, the new learning outcomes and how much it has affected your teaching. The interview will be recorded through the Nettskjema-

Diktafon app (operated by University of Oslo) and data is automatically encrypted. Additionally, we will use an external hard disk tape recorder. The data from the external recorder will be transferred and stored through NICE-1 (a secure storage area by NTNU). This applies both for the virtual and in-person interviews.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All your personal data will then immediately be deleted. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified here and we will process your personal data in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation of the European Union).

The project leader/supervisor for the project, the co-supervisor and the research candidate will have access to your personal data. Your name and contact information will be replaced with a code. The list of names, contact details and respective codes will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data. The data will be stored separately on an encrypted research server or under password protection. The data will be anonymized as soon as possible, and the original recordings will be deleted. The survey responses are stored in Nettskjema, where the information is encrypted.

You will remain anonymous in the final thesis.

We ask that you refrain from giving any information that could identify a third person who has not consented to be included in this project.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The planned end date of the project is June 2024. After this, the audio recordings will be deleted. The anonymized transcript of your interview and your survey answers may be stored for the purpose of future research or follow-up studies.

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, the Data Protection Services of Sikt – the Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research – has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project meets requirements in data protection legislation.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

Department of Sociology and Political Science and Department of Teacher Education, the Norwegian University of Science and Technology via

Kristin Motho Høgetveit, research candidate, krismho@stud.ntnu.no

Dr Kathleen Marie Jennings, supervisor, kathleen.m.jennings@ntnu.no

Prof. Christian Engen Skotnes, co-supervisor, christian.skotnes@ntnu.no

If you have questions about how data protection has been assessed in this project by Sikt, contact:

email: (personverntjenester@sikt.no) or by telephone: +47 73 98 40 40.

Yours sincerely,

Kristin Motho Høgetveit (research candidate)

Dr Kathleen Marie Jennings and Prof. Christian Engen Skotnes (Project supervisors)

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project “Teaching about cultural heritage in Kenya” and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in a virtual or in-person interview with research candidate
- for my personal data to be collected, stored and analysed by the research candidate and supervisors

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end of the project.

(Signed by participant, place, date)

Appendix 4: National Goals of Education

National Goals of Education (relevant in this thesis):

Education in Kenya should:

Foster nationalism and patriotism and promote national unity.

Kenya's people belong to different communities, races and religions, but these differences need not divide them. They must be able to live and interact as Kenyans. It is a paramount duty of education to help young people acquire this sense of nationhood by removing conflicts and promoting positive attitudes of mutual respect which enable them to live together in harmony and foster patriotism in order to make a positive contribution to the life of the nation.

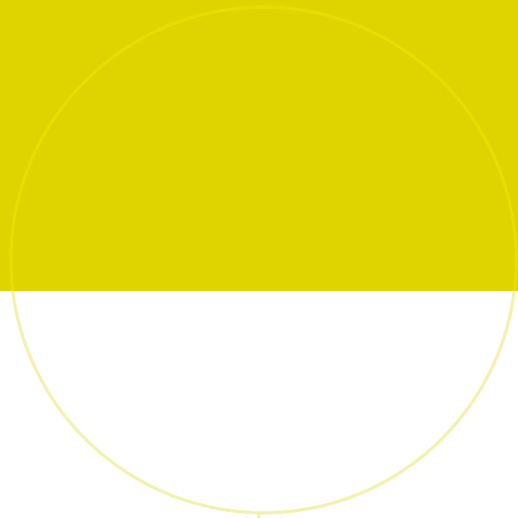
Promote individual development and self-fulfilment.

Education should provide opportunities for the fullest development of individual talents and personality. It should help children to develop their potential interests and abilities. A vital aspect of individual development is the building of character.

Promote respect for and development of Kenya's rich and varied cultures.

Education should instil in the youth of Kenya an understanding of past and present cultures and their valid place in contemporary society. Children should be able to blend the best of traditional values with the changing requirements that must follow rapid development in order to build a stable and modern society.

(KICD, Junior School Curriculum Design: Social Studies: Grade 8).



 **NTNU**

Norwegian University of
Science and Technology