CHAPTER ONE

"CAN VIRTUE BE TAUGHT?" (Aristotle)

1 An introduction to the study

The purpose of this study was to determine how teachers make sense of values education in the curriculum. The study specifically investigates how teachers understand, respond to, and implement values in the basic Kenyan education curriculum. The focus was limited to the proclaimed curriculum policy goal of "Sound Moral and Religious Values".

Values education in Kenya, as in other countries, has been riddled with controversy, and in successive education review processes the subject has come under intense scrutiny by the public and education experts. The main bone of contention has been that the purported results of values education do not seem to have borne any significant results since society continues to experience escalating moral challenges. What this has meant for values education is that the strategy of implementation has continued to change.

However, it is important to recognise that underlying these controversies is a shared conviction across the board that schools have, and should, play an important role in the character formation of students. This conviction is grounded on what scholars like DeVries and Zan (1994) have clearly asserted; schools are not value-free or value-neutral and non-academic inputs such as discipline techniques, expectations, and classroom control mechanisms strongly affect children's development. Otiende *et al.* (1992) makes the case that all educational systems, purposefully or not, transmit certain values.

This research was problematic due to the widespread policy assumptions that teachers would naturally accept the new values-based curriculum introduced in 2002, make sense of this complex concept in theory and practice, and thus mainstream such values in all school subjects. Such policy expectations, as explained in more detail in later chapters, is the backdrop for the fact that values education has not been clearly defined and has always been a contentious issue.

I therefore postulate that challenges facing the teacher are formidable in an environment where the factors of a pluralist society, as manifested in ethnicity, religion, social class, and global influences, are rife.

My study was an inquiry into teachers' interpretive frameworks. I sought firstly to investigate how a teacher's beliefs and perceptions determined meanings that they attached to the values education curriculum; and secondly, whether there was a correlation between the meanings they themselves hold and the teaching practice as expected by the SMRV policy.

I decided to focus on the last two years of the eight years' of primary and the first two years in secondary schooling. This stage of schooling was selected based on the findings from the theories of moral growth as promulgated by Piaget and Kohlberg (1976), who claim that at this stage, i.e. between the ages of 7 and 11 years, learners start to use logic in their moral reasoning. It was therefore important to observe how teachers at this level are able to accommodate the changes in the growth of learners into their practice.

In this first chapter I will give a description of the context within which this study unfolds, i.e., profiling the challenging policy and political context in Kenya as the country sought to introduce values into the national curriculum. A description of the context will enable a clearer appreciation of the analysis and unfolding results that the study elaborates on in later chapters. Additionally, I will present the intellectual argument, the key research question that guided this study, and the scholarly rationale for the study; i.e. the basis for this inquiry, drawing on what is already known and from the research literature on values education. I will then provide a brief outline of the theoretical assumptions within which this study is embedded, followed by a brief description of the methodological plan for the study, identifying the limitations I encountered during my study period. I conclude the chapter by drawing attention to the theoretical, methodological, research and practical significance of the study.

1.1   Context of the study

The current education system in Kenya consists of eight years of primary schooling, four years of secondary schooling, and four years of University education; an arrangement known in local parlance as the 8-4-4 system. Kenya is a diverse society, both in terms of religious beliefs and ethnic orientation.

The country comprises approximately 42 different ethnic communities, with pockets of some ethnic groups still holding onto their traditional values and others rapidly adapting to modernity. This multiethnic and multicultural context has meant that values education has always been a contentious issue. Added to this has been the fact that the values curriculum has changed with each successive political administration. In wave after wave of education reform pursued through the instruments of commissions into the education system in Kenya, there have been numerous changes in the country's education system. The alterations in the values education curriculum has largely been tilted towards the dominant culture, beliefs and ideology of the ruling elite, rather than reflecting the diversity and educational goals needed to address prevailing issues in the country.

Reports of the major commissions have progressively treated values education as a second class subject. Academic and technological excellence aimed at attaining industrial development has formed the cornerstone of decisions regarding the direction the education system should take. It is important to note that all the commissions have had their key mandate to review and recommend a system that is most relevant to the country at that particular period. The major commissions that have been carried out over the years include immediately after Independence the Ominde Commission (1964); the Gachathi Report (1976); the Sagini Report (1981); the Mackay Report (1981); the Wanjigi Report (1983); the Kamunge Report (1988); the Ndegwa Report (1991); the Mungai Report (1995) and the Koech Report (1999). I will proceed by profiling a summary of different political periods in recent Kenyan history, and the impact they have had on values education.

1.1.1 Phase one - The Jomo Kenyatta era (1963-1976)

In the period 1963-85 the teaching of ethics, i.e. Moral Education (ME), was part of Religious Education (RE) - a system inherited from the colonial government. In this period, the independent government was more inclined to a system of character development geared towards developing a sense of national unity as outlined in the Omide report of 1965.

This lasted until 1986, when Social Education and Ethics (SSE) was launched as a separate course. Religious Education was firmly established as the vehicle for the moral guidance of the learner and was offered either in Christian Religious Education (CRE) or Islamic Religious Education (IRE). Churches, as major contributors to the development of education

during this period, had great influence on what was taught in schools. As is well documented in the history of Africa, missionaries were the first to build schools in Africa, and they were sponsored by their respective churches from abroad. Thus the churches determined the curriculum which automatically had a bias towards a faith based approach to learning. After independence, the new government could not fully take over the schooling system, and to date continues to rely heavily on churches to run schools. Thus the respective churches have a major say in the orientation of the values education curriculum.

Despite this being the prevailing situation in schools, teacher training colleges, on the other hand, did not consciously prepare teachers to be moral role models and translators of the curriculum. This omission has largely been blamed on the traditional African belief where the adult is assumed to be in a leadership position and thus able to determine right from wrong. This omission in teacher preparation is evident from the limited time in the teachers' curriculum dedicated to subjects like psychology and values analysis. The training materials on teacher preparation reviewed in this study also do not reflect much time dedicated to the promotion of values education.

As was soon realised by the independent government, CRE taught Christian principles, but not *national* values. The difference between the two largely lies in the emphasis. National values focus on values aimed at nation building, whilst Christianity focuses on building a people based on a certain belief system as prescribed by Jesus Christ. This is not to say that Christian values are not useful as a moral foundation for a nation, since Christianity teaches the virtues of love, forgiveness, sharing, truth and justice. However, Christianity represents a story of people's lives – mainly that of Jesus Christ. As one of the education experts interviewed in this study retorted, "The danger of teaching values based on a single religion is that people, not necessarily only those from other religions, but also some Christians, will not own these values, and thus will not take them seriously as a way of life - that is how *they* lived".

To a large number of people, the values remain at story level, not meant to be emulated. Thus religion is taught as just another subject. Teachers do not have to believe in what they are teaching. Inevitably, the final step of translating values into daily life was not achieved in many schools, especially those that did not have a Christian background. From my analysis of the learning material, even though they were of good quality, the style of presentation

could have been one of the major obstacles to ensuring that teachers were translating policy to achieve the expectations of national goals.

The learning materials in this phase were limited to stating and translating what it meant to be a good Kenyan citizen, and defining the national responsibility of each individual Kenyan. For example, learners were expected to memorise and recite a loyalty pledge: "I pledge my loyalty to the president and the government of Kenya…".

The recitation of the pledge was an end in itself; no other activity was planned or expected thereafter. This demonstrates the high level of assumption in the whole policy strategy. The Ministry of Education provided the pledge to schools and assumed that the teachers would understand the intentions and find the most appropriate means of transmitting the same. The practical/activity steps in the learning process were missing and at no time were learners held directly accountable for the pledge they recited. The class textbooks/teachers guides were similar in approach; the guide only requests the teacher to make time, especially on Friday for the recitation of the pledge, and the final evaluation or examination of performance was a clear demonstration that values remained at subject level instead of becoming a way of life (Kenya, 1976).

In this period the role of the teacher in values education seemed clear in the minds of society. There was a strong belief that the teacher was a role model not only for learners, but the community at large. Thus there was an unwritten agreement that each teacher had to participate in promoting moral values. Due to this general assumption, the policy did not spell out the role of the teacher in values education. The head teacher and the teachers had autonomy to create the environment that they considered most suitable.

1.1.2   Second phase - The Daniel Arap Moi era (1979-2002)

Social challenges related to ill-discipline, a high crime rate, increased number of school drop-outs, drug abuse among the youth, and the growing multi religious society. This led to the questioning of the role of RE as the sole moral foundation of the nation at school level. A cross section of society, especially the Muslim community, as well as leading educationalists, began to highlight gaps in the values curriculum.

The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP) report of (1976:59), expressed the view that: "…the teaching of ethics should go into the details of the social norms underlying all aspects of human behaviour irrespective of whether one is religious, atheistic, agnostic or adheres to any other belief....".

The recommendation was based on the assumption that Kenyan citizens, irrespective of their various religious beliefs, could formulate a common system of values through consensus as set down in the constitution and the laws of the land. The idea was to disentangle the teaching of moral education from the teaching of religious education, as these had hitherto been entwined. A requirement was to "…institute specifically the teaching of basic social ethics as a course on its own just as equally, RE was to continue being taught…" (NCEOP 1976:59).

In 1986, the curriculum was changed to accommodate different concerns and Social Ethics and Education (SEE) became a separate subject. Scholarly comments during the interview discussions for this study attest to the fact that the learning materials were well researched and attempted to incorporate as many concerns as possible. For example, the daily challenges that young people face were given prominence. Issues related to drug abuse, family relations, school teenage pregnancy and sex education all gained visibility in the curriculum. For the first time the materials reflected values that Kenyans aspired to as a nation and spelt out the responsibilities of individuals, e.g. the need to vote, and issues of democracy and good governance. Different interview sessions with the key informants of this study and an examination of the Koech Commission Report of 1999 indicated that the material on SEE was well received by the school authorities.

Another strategy adopted in this period was the Friday devotion sessions. Time was set aside every Friday as a spiritual period in which students would reflect on their different religious beliefs. In some instances, an authority from one of the different religions was called upon to share experiences with students. As noted during the interview sessions, the commitment towards this time was dependent on whether or not the school was a religious sponsored school. In some government schools this period was utilised as an extra study lesson.

Due to the nature of the subject of SEE, the majority of students opted for this instead of CRE. Students claimed that they could relate more with the issues discussed in SEE. In the

ten years that SEE was part of the curriculum, it was opposed by churches who claimed that the subject was not grounded on any faith beliefs, a fundamental gap for religious groups who are governed by an allegiance to faith beliefs. These controversies made it very difficult for the Ministry of Education to fully implement the subject. Key areas of contention were teacher preparation and sex education, since some churches did not agree with the stance and methodology of transmission as prescribed by the Ministry. As a result, SEE was phased out in stages, with the last phase completed in the year 2005.

The style of writing has a great influence on whether implementation of policy will take place or not. As emerged during the key informant interviews, the concern with the style in which the material was written was claimed to give room for learners, and therefore teachers, not to have to practice what was written. For example, the material asks; "What do you think should be done?" and not "What will you do?". The informant claimed that the material did not call for deep reflection and understanding to result in the goal of trying to develop the whole person. It remained an academic subject and not a way of life. A brief analysis of the material shows that though it was claimed to be well researched, scholars warned that the way in which the teaching material was presented did not ensure compliance in practice.

Despite the gap between the first and second phases, not much has been achieved as in both phases as the issues related to values education continued to be treated as just another academic subject. Implementation still presents a challenge to the Kenyan government and schools alike. The government grapples with the challenge of maintaining harmony among the potentially volatile, diverse cultural and religious communities in the country, as "values" have a highly religious tone. The educational system is alert and sensitive to any issues that might cause tension, especially between the major religious groups of Christians (Catholics and Protestants), and the Muslim community. It is important to note that SEE was a compromise, and not fully accepted by the conservative Christian sects.

1.1.3   Phase three - The Mwai Kibaki era (2002 onwards)

The third phase, beginning from 2002, essentially encapsulates elements of the debate that have been taking place in the country. The goal of values education remains the same with the major difference being in the strategy of delivery. Values education has now been "mainstreamed" into the social sciences; it is no longer a separate subject. The learning

material has incorporated national, human and religious values into day-to-day teaching practice. Some scholars, commenting on the current values curriculum, had the following to say, "The current curriculum resonates with high ideas of values and holistic development. It encompasses life skills, national development and identity, universal ideas, with equal opportunity, cultural heritage, social justice, human dignity and multiculturalism a strong laundry list of solid foundational principles" (Cunningham 2005:75).

Cunningham went further to argue that "The curriculum looks excellent on paper. All problems appear to be addressed by these abstract conceptions of educational philosophy. How the Kenyan government plans to actually implement this nobly worded curriculum still remains to be seen" (2005:75).

The above sentiments are founded on the fact that the curriculum on values education has undergone various changes in the hope of getting a system that can lead to the internalisation of values as opposed to the academic focus prevailing in previous strategies. This goal has eluded the education system, as expressed by Omulando (1995:30) who described the subjects that have been mainstreamed with values as being "…integrated and comprehensive, and aim to teach critical thinking, excite curiosity and improve communication...". He expressed the hope that the curriculum would help students internalise the values that underlie the country's constitution and laws.

From contributions gathered from the various scholars, the challenge in the curriculum seems to lie in its implementation. In the period just after independence, the challenge was to ensure that the curriculum was relevant to Kenyan needs. Thereafter, as demonstrated in the metamorphosis that has taken place in the sector, values education has grappled more with the pedagogical style that would be most appropriate. Secondly, and still related to pedagogy, has been the clear definition of the teacher's role. Questions have been raised as to whether the teacher should lead by example, whether it should only be the RE teachers taking on the subject, or whether what is being promoted now is the role of each and every teacher.

The Kenyan context shows consistency in its definition as can be seen in the government policy documents, learning materials, and the syllabi of *Sound Moral and Religious Values (SMRV)*. The changes that have occurred over time have generally been an expansion of the

details in an effort to incorporate changing circumstances in society, and thus remain relevant. In the period 1963-1980, the goal of SMRV, then referred to as Social Mutual Responsibility (SMR), was defined as, "The free ability and willingness of the people to discharge their moral obligations for the benefit of all members of society (that is the common good)". In the period 1986-2002, SMRV was defined in the same way, though the strategy of implementation changed, and it was taught in subject form – Social Education and Ethics (SEE). The definition since 2002 remains "…the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes that will enhance acquisition of sound moral values and help children to grow up into self-disciplined, self-reliant and integrated citizens" (Kenya 2002 c:iv).

A review of the three phases demonstrates the ambiguity or blindness to the emotional, social and personal dynamics that are faced by teachers in their efforts to grapple with the changing values curriculum. Their role is not defined and their perceptions are not taken into consideration. Consequently, issues related to teacher preparedness and definite strategies of promoting values education are either often omitted or left to the jurisdiction of schools and individual teachers to make sense of them.

A pertinent question in the education sector which is closely connected to this study is the debate by parents on the cost of education versus the benefit derived. Average middle class parents in Kenya spend over 60% of their income on their children's education. Education is considered a major investment that should accrue benefits: firstly, an educated child is expected to have acquired the skills to enable him/her to participate productively in the economy; and secondly, an educated child is expected to have the right moral attitude in order to become a respected member of society. Despite parents recognising the twofold nature of the goals of educating children, it would be a great omission if this study did not underline the fact that in the current environment, more emphasis is placed on the economic benefits that are derived from education.

It is pertinent, in concluding this section, to underscore that values education will remain dynamic and controversial, and questions remain as to its relevance in the system, particularly with regard to its implementation. For example, when CRE was removed from the compulsory curriculum, the same teachers were expected to take on SEE, along with a number of other teachers taking social science subjects. Now that the subject is mainstreamed, all teachers are expected to participate.

The issues and questions that arise out of these policy directives relate to the elasticity and capacity of teachers. How prepared are the teachers to take on the new value based curriculum, when they have not had any previous exposure? Further analytical scrutiny questions the style and skill of presentation, and whether appropriate time has been allocated in the curriculum to allow for the internalisation of the content through practice and demonstration. Answers to the above issues should be teased out from the focus group interviews and observation sessions with teachers.

1.2   The research puzzle

To reflect on values is a formidable task, since words like "values", "virtues" and "good character" are often interchangeably used. Their meanings are assumed rather than clarified, and their interpretation, in concept and practice, varies widely. Values may be social, religious, moral, spiritual, aesthetic, political, economic, technological, or material.

Veugeles (2000:38) comments on the fluidity of such concepts by observing that "...even meaning ascribed by a single person may vary over time and circumstance". Recognising the variable meanings of "values" within and across cultures and contexts, this study seeks to explain how and why Kenyan teachers chose their respective practices. Thus the following question guided the study:

How do teachers understand, interpret and implement the goal of "Sound Moral and Religious Values" as embedded in the Kenyan national curriculum?

This guiding question provides the genesis of my enquiry into the interpretation of values education from the perspective of Kenyan teachers. I derived teachers' perspectives by observing their practice. The focus on the teacher as the source of information on values was a key departure from the various interpretations and attempted definitions as ascribed by a number of policy documents and scholarly contributions, among them Lickona (1991) and the widely quoted Josephson Institute of Ethics.

The Institute has developed the following list as representative of moral values: respect, responsibility, trustworthiness, caring, justice and fairness, civic virtue and citizenship (The Character Education Partnership, Inc., 1996). The listed values have been referred to as universal, and are recognised in hierarchical form as values ascending from the "lower"

material order to "higher" spiritual values. The "higher" values transcend the diversity of humanity's various cultural, philosophical, and social heritages, forming the bedrock on which are built not only cordial international relations but also the mutual benefit within interpersonal interactions. On the other hand, the Institute treats the lower values as preferences and claims that they are related to taste that can be very individual and culture specific. The Institute seems not to attach as much value to this level of values since they do not have an impact on interpersonal relationships.

Values education in Kenya's multicultural society is often acknowledged in national educational plans (Kenya, 1994, 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; 2002d; 2002e).

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

Different interest groups concerned with "building persons of good character" have become very concerned with values education, and teachers are sometimes subjected to intense scrutiny and pressure. While such interest groups have the best intentions, the teacher in the classroom has to be very clear about how he or she reacts to inputs from such groups. Interest groups tend to apportion blame on teachers rather than recognise the important role they play in values education.

Jansen (2002), in a Critique of South African values education, states, "Can white teachers in a former white school in a conservative community be trusted with conveying the kind of values that signify the new demands of a changing democracy?" In the Kenyan context the question raised by Jansen might read, "Can teachers, who come from various backgrounds, with different value systems and are ill-prepared by the education system, living in a society inundated with the influences transmitted by the global media, be entrusted with the task of teaching values as prescribed in the new mainstreamed curriculum of 2002?".

As far back as 1976, the Kenyan state, in its role as the custodian of education, and in recognition of the decline in social and moral values in schools as was manifested in strikes, drug abuse and violence, initiated a process aimed at addressing the concerns of different

pressure groups. In that year, the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP) was instituted. This committee was charged with delivering possible solutions to the challenges posed by the various social problems. The committee recommended the introduction of the teaching of Social Education and Ethics (SEE) in Kenyan Secondary Schools. SEE was an attempt to go beyond "…the continually ineffective public condemnation of social problems such as corruption, nepotism, tribalism and idleness due to lack of the necessary supporting moral and civic education" (NCEOP, 1976:5).

Though different recommendations have been implemented, based on the findings of various education commissions, they have continuously raised concerns about the limited impact that values education strategies have had. The goal of values education has been to raise children to become morally responsible and self-disciplined citizens. From the outcry from society this does not seem to be happening. In this study, I hypothesise that this could be an indication of key omissions in the policy. One such omission is that of teacher training. There is no evidence to demonstrate changes in the teaching profession as regards values education, and the values mainstreaming policy has essentially been engulfed in the old system as teachers have continued to use their known pedagogical practices, which have relied more on the transmission of knowledge and less on student participation to attain transformation.

Additionally, it is interesting to note that none of the committee reports have specifically targeted teachers as key to the whole process.

The problem, as identified by this study, is that there is both a conceptual and operational gap in the education policy document that is expected to ensure the goal of achieving Sound Moral Religious Values. As stated above, the main strategy identified by the Kenyan education system is the mainstreaming of values in the curriculum. Unfortunately, due to the controversy that has surrounded the subject, not much attention has been placed on explicitly developing the necessary implementation strategies. This has resulted in pertinent issues related to the teacher being superficially addressed. There is no evidence to demonstrate that time has been devoted to rigorous identification of the social, cultural, and political environment that influences the way teachers conduct their duties in respect of values education. This therefore means that values education is assumed with the potential of remaining vague and open to varied interpretation by different implementers. Teachers are to

a large extent being left to make sense of what to teach in regard to values, despite the much-proclaimed importance of this in the government policy documents.

This assumption in the values education curriculum is not unique to Kenya. Newell (2003:7) demonstrates the assumptions and contradictions in the apparent consensus on universal values by giving an example of an American secondary school science teacher who remarked, "Just about everyday we seem to be regaled with a new headline to do with genetic advances. What am I to think and what values am I to teach in talking about these new developments, especially when I am struggling to understand the science myself?".

In acknowledging and contributing to the confusion that exists in the values arena, Bacchus (1989:24) recommends that, "…every society needs its members to have core shared or common values and beliefs along with the facility of communicating with each other".

Having explored the context and content of the research enquiry, the study now seeks to investigate the intriguing intellectual context of the study.

1.3   The intellectual basis for the study

Values are a complex, changing and contested subject. The meanings, as stated earlier, are defined by context and vary across time and space. Thus my attempt to get to grips with the practice of the concept, meant that I was entering a complex and contested terrain. The terrain tries to appreciate the *personal* inner tensions between the emotive and the professional self of teachers; acknowledging that teachers, like everyone else, are prone to influences of prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes.

The intriguing intellectual question of this study is the move from the outward analysis of the professional life of the teacher to exploring the way the professional interacts with the personal life of the teacher. I do this believing that the inner being of the teacher plays a key role in determining the fundamental question of how choices on values education are made. For example, the teacher's beliefs may determine the methodology that they chose to use to transmit a particular value topic. This study, among others, begins to shed light on the implicit values that teachers portray, knowingly or unknowingly, by the choices they make in pedagogy and the amount of emphasis that they make in a subject. For example, if an English teacher, when talking about "honesty", decides to emphasise the meaning of the term

and not the value attached to the concept of honesty, then one is able to postulate on the implicit values that that teacher holds. In the words of Connelly and Clandinin (1990:184), teaching is a "narrative in action", that is, an "expression of biography and history…in a particular situation".

This study also begins to illustrate how the lacuna in values education has been created, where the rational side of teaching and the teacher has received more attention than the emotive side. As previously mentioned, teacher training programmes have emphasised and strive to enhance the knowledge base of the teacher in the hope that the teacher can also transfer this knowledge to the students. It is only recently that scholars like Hargreaves (1998), Goldman (1995), and Gardener (1983) have started highlighting the importance of understanding teachers' emotive aspects as this plays a key role in how they construct their world. These scholars have brought to the fore the fact that if a teacher was once abused when they were young, the chances of them abusing students are high, and that these teachers find it very difficult to make objective judgements on matters pertaining to abuse.

In emphasising the importance of understanding the interaction of the person of the teacher with their professional life in values, I would like to remind scholars of the power and unique position that teachers hold in the classroom. It is a fact that teachers, like any other working group, come to school in the morning carrying the baggage of their various ethnic, class and gender identities. Brooks and Khan (1992:24), state that, "Teachers not only have values, they smuggle them into their classrooms every day". Thus teachers have individual ways of making sense of values, which, I argue, are far removed from those defined in policy documents.

In the study by Day (2000), a school principal, she says that her emotive and professional self are intrinsically linked, and the former is her driving force. This teacher's statement illustrates that in most instances teachers are dominated by professional concerns, but driven by personal values which are mediated by external forces. Other studies, like that of Clandinin (1986) show that teachers have found that they improve at thinking reflectively across the interrelated emotive, moral, personal, private and professional dimensions of their work as the number of years' practice increase. This argument is supported by Bullough (1989), Tabachnik and Zeichner (1984), and Feiman-Nemser (1990), who add that a teacher's

thinking is further enhanced when they receive support and encouragement from one or more critical and trusted colleagues.

Datta (1992) states that the way the teacher's role is enacted in any particular situation depends on a number of factors including age, sex, marital status, socio-economic background, personality structure, experience and the institution in which the teacher works. Bourdieu (1997) adds to this argument by claiming that to some degree, many of us possess values that are relatively typical of our gender, class, epoch, age group, life trajectory, and so on, and we certainly acquire these from features of our social environment. The studies by Datta (1992) and Bourdieu (1997) have highlighted the critical elements that influence the teacher. What is lacking, however, is an analysis of how these factors play themselves out in the day-to-day professional life of the teacher. A close analysis of the identified factors will show that these are implicit, and therefore "hidden systems", "messy beliefs" that most researchers, among them Calderhead (1996) and Richardson *et al.* (1991), acknowledge but have found difficulty in making the connection to teacher practice. Finding the connection between the different variables and practice is central to this study.

Having highlighted the above studies, it is imperative that we look below the "waterline," as there is something more taking place in the classroom that education policy has yet to grasp. As the study by Day (2000:414) states, **"**What all the stories demonstrate is that 'watersheds' or critical incidents are only the tip of the iceberg of teachers' lives. Beneath the waterline is a continuing inner debate between the personal and the professional, the emotive and the cognitive, which has its moments of resolution… ".

This view illustrates that the person in the teacher cannot be separated from their profession. A number of scholars have also argued that teachers, by necessity, should live up to the standards that they are expected to promote. For example, Gore (1998) says that the old adage that teachers need to be themselves what they want their children to be is as true today as it has ever been in education. Modelling remains a powerful strategy for teaching values and for moral education. The above stance becomes even more important, since the science of behaviour has proved that most behaviour is habitual, with persons in authority leading the process (Piaget 1977).

This study joins the intellectual debate on trying to find a place for values education and specifically attempts to contribute to the debate on the role of the teacher in values education. I will now present the conceptual framework that guided the study.

1.4 Conceptual framework of the study

The quandary of values education is an ancient one, as shown in the theme of Plato's famous Meno. Contradictions and varied explanations as to what values education entails, and how it should be promoted, are found in most of the literature on values (Lickona 1991). Scholars, practitioners and teachers have remarked on the diversity of definitions and disagreed over the proper methods of teaching values. The arguments have sought to provide philosophical (Huitt 2004; DeVries and Zan 1994), spiritual (Aparicio 1998; McGettrick 1995), and practical explanations (Lickona 1991) of what the profession of teaching is and how it relates to values.

In an effort to get to grips with the fluidity of the concept of values, these scholars, unlike Socrates who called for definition to be as precise as a mathematical equation, followed the Aristotelian tradition of not paying too much attention to precision and have tried to describe values and therefore education based on its varied characteristics and nature. Given the nature of the concept, especially if viewed from the religious perspective, authors, including McGettrick (1995), have referred to values as an aspect of spiritual development and defined values as having to do with the individual's stance in life; the inner world where feeling, imagination, mind, and heart combine.

From a religious perspective, as in Aparicio (1998), values have been defined as the science of morality, understanding morality as the combined judgments that people make with regard to what is correct or incorrect, good or bad in relation to individuals or the collective centres of intelligence and will. These varied definitions of the concept of values have meant that the strategies proposed for transmission have equally been varied. Below is a summary that attempts to bring together the different methods that have been used.

Table 1-1 Overview of typology of values education approaches

Approach	Purpose	Methods
Inculcation	To instil or internalise certain values in students; To change the values of students so they closely reflect certain desired values	Modelling; Positive and negative reinforcement; Manipulating alternatives; Games and simulations; Role playing
Moral Development	To help students develop more complex moral reasoning patterns based on a higher set of values; To urge students to discuss the reasons for their value choices and positions, not merely to share with others, but to foster change in the stages of reasoning of students	Moral dilemma episodes with small-group discussion; Relatively structured and argumentative without necessarily coming to a "right" answer
Analysis	To help students use logical thinking and scientific investigation to decide value issues and questions To help students use rational, analytical processes in interrelating and conceptualizing their values	Structured rational discussion that demands application of reasons as well as evidence; Testing principles; Analysing analogous cases; Research and debate
Values Clarification	To help students become aware of and identify their own values and those of others; To help students communicate openly and honestly with others about their values; To help students use both rational thinking and emotional awareness to examine their personal feelings, values, and behaviour patterns	Role-playing games; Simulations; Contrived or real value-laden situations; In-depth self-analysis exercises; Sensitivity activities; Out-of-class activities; Small group discussions
Action Learning	Those purposes listed for analysis and values clarification; To provide students with opportunities for personal and social action based on their values; To encourage students to view themselves as personal-social interactive beings, not fully autonomous, but members of a community or social system	Methods listed for analysis and values clarification; Projects within school and community practice; Skill practice in group organising and interpersonal relations

Source: Huitt (2004)

The first strategy, promoted by Veugelers (2000), Lipman and Sharp (1985) is the values clarification method. In this method the teacher either tries not to express his/her own values or is explicit about which values he/she finds important. The teacher may stress differences in values without expressing the values he/she finds important, or the teacher indicates differences in values, but also expresses the values he/she finds important. The aim is not to

teach children certain particular values. It is rather an open-ended, sustained consideration of the values, standards and practices by which we live, discussed openly and publicly so as to take all points of view and all factors into account.

The practicability of the above strategy raises a number of questions, the foremost being related to the power relations that exists between learner and teacher. The teacher in the classroom takes the leading role and is a value neutral position possible from the teacher? Secondly, what about the hidden curriculum? The above strategy seems to downplay this concept, whilst numerous studies have proven the influence of the hidden curriculum on values education. The model borrows heavily from the theory of Piaget (1932) which asserts that we construct our cognitive abilities through self-motivated action in the world. Thus the teacher only needs to facilitate, and leave the learners to explore and develop from their own interaction with others. This approach has been accused of promoting relativism, where anything seems to go.

The second approach is closely related to a rationalist approach and has been promoted by the likes of Ennis (1969) and Metcalf (1971). This approach teaches students a specific process that has to be followed when making decisions and putting these into action, and is commonly known as the analysis approach. Wambari (1998:5) appears to concur with this approach, when making his contribution to the education review process in Kenya, by stating "…to be effective, social and moral education needs to engage students in ethical inquiry not aimed at indoctrinating them, but helping them to make informed decisions".

The cognitive oriented approach is the third dimension. It seeks to engage students in discussions of relevant moral issues with the expectation that students who hear their peers discuss the issue from a higher level will gravitate to that position. This is expounded in the moral development approach of Kohlberg (1976, 1984) whose theory was based on the cognitive development theory of Piaget (1932, 1962), and Hersh, Paolitto and Reimer (1977). According to Piaget, all development emerges from action. This is to say, individuals construct and reconstruct their knowledge of the world as a result of interactions with the environment. Based on his observations of the way children apply rules when playing, Piaget (1962) determined that morality too, can be considered a developmental process. This approach unfortunately leaves us in the same position, where the knowledge base of the

teacher is unknown. This means that the teacher is free to determine the emphasis and the direction. The moral discussion is based on his/her preferences.

The fourth approach is to teach students a given set of values and accompanying appropriate actions. This is the position taken by the inculcation approach to values clarification taken by the Georgia Department of Education (1997), Wynne (1989), Wynne and Ryan (1992), and Wynne and Walberg (1984). This approach, as stated by Huitt (1995), assumes a set of absolute values, agreed upon by society, that are unchanging and that can be applied equally and appropriately in all situations. This approach has been criticised for being close to an indoctrination strategy.

The final approach combines the approaches discussed above and allows the students to put their thoughts into action in a variety of social actions – a form of action learning as presented by Cotton (1996), Gauld (1993), and Solomon *et al. (*1992), or the service learning approach (Champion 1999) in more detail. Although this approach has been more palatable in a number of quarters, there is however the danger that it is vague and pluralistic in nature, with anything passing as good.

The strategies identified above betray a simplistic and vague approach to values education, one which has led Gore (2003) to term existing programmes as "a process of indoctrination," as they fail to engage the student in deep, critical reflection about ways of living. An extract from the California study illustrates this point:

> A visitor is led to a fifth grade classroom to observe an exemplary lesson on the character education topic. The teacher is telling students to write down the name of the person they regard as the "toughest worker" in school. The teacher then asks them, "How many of you are going to be tough workers?" (Hands go up). "Can you be tough workers at home, too?" (Yes). The lesson ends (Gore 2003:12).

The above extract shows that teachers tend to emphasise those values which are necessary in order to operate successfully as members of a class or school. It does not, however, tell us

why teachers select certain methods instead of others. Information on teachers' choices is critical, not only for values education, but also education in general. Eisner (as cited in Cole and Knowles, 2000:28) argues that by not fully engaging the mind and seeking out the questions that need to be answered we fail to understand who we are as individuals, and as teachers we fail to understand what is controlling what we do and to what effect; we remain fragmented, shadows of what we could be. Education planners and trainers need to understand the gaps between theory and practice and the gaps in the current training programmes. This research attempts to source such information from teachers.

The difference in values education has largely depended on the ideological background or the environment in which one finds oneself. Dunne (1997) in his effort to clarify the concept says that "Moral Education" is an umbrella term, often used to describe any attempt to systematically improve the moral values of children or adults, regardless of how morality is specifically defined. He continues to say that Character Education, or Social Education and Ethics, etc. are all variations of Moral Education. The inconsistency in the use of terminology is common in the values education arena.

Due to the fact that the definition remains contested, it therefore follows that scholarly contributions on the most effective means of transmission will remain scattered. A key concept that the studies seek to convey is the fact that teaching values is a personal art and it is the practise of a relationship between the teacher and the learner.

Scholars' are calling for research to pay attention to the general atmosphere and tone of the school and to the demeanour and methods that teachers use. Authors like Tom (1984), Noddings (1984, 1992), Ayers (1993), Jackson, Boostrom, and Hansen (1993) and Sockett (1993) have discussed teaching as a moral activity. Teaching, they claim, is founded upon the relationship between two or more individuals and thus has to be guided by a morality of relationship. This follows that the relationship has to be grounded in respect and truth. The teacher by profession has to uphold the fact that they will expose the learner to the best knowledge. I believe these authors raise the issue of teaching being a moral art upon the realisation that teachers are engaged in changing the behaviour of others to attain prescribed ends. Thus the whole process of teaching is value-laden, based on the personal relationship. This teacher/learner relationship determines the outcome of the learner and it is therefore critical that the values education curriculum is able to mediate this relationship.

In the same breath, scholars like Day (1998), Fineman (1993) and Hargraves (1998) have also described teaching as a highly emotive process that involves personal reflection and individual reaction/response to different circumstances. Statements from teachers in the Day (1998) study demonstrate the delicate interaction between the rational and emotive, and in particular, the powerful influence emotion has on the former. Wright (1990) says that a teacher's understanding is largely implicit and unexplained.

Complicating the concept further is the argument by some scholars like Bacchus (1989) who claim that values are community specific and that these community values influence individual values. The values selected can be experienced and learnt and, in a multiple cultural society like Kenya, it therefore becomes the responsibility of the school, policy makers and curriculum planners to find common values and teach/transmit them to the youth. Dune (2004) throws in a cautionary statement on the issue of community values by stating that: "…community acceptance proves cultural congruency, not moral excellence. This is the greatest flaw of the character education programs as a whole. Morality is assumed to be consistent, even identical, to traits necessary for successful in-group perpetuation. Hard work, patriotism and obedience to authority may allow the society to continue its current activities in an efficient manner, but provide no guarantee that these activities are themselves moral".

In following the debate of values being community specific, Wambari (1998) builds the argument by stating that the whole community has to espouse the same agreed values. He highlights the Kenyan context of values education, and says that it has to be viewed from three existing systems of education – the formal, non-formal and informal schooling, which may well be at cross purposes. He says that a school will find it hard to transmit the values of honesty, hard work and love of a neighbour when the society of which it is part (informally) teaches people corruption, idling at work and the ethics of "every man for himself."

Therefore, instead of asking questions about the value of our formal educational system, we should really be asking questions about the values of our society and about the values which we ourselves are teaching our children by example. Wambari (1998) claims that in the final analysis, whether we wish it or not, these are largely the values that our children will acquire. Wambari's contribution continues to illustrate the confusion and diverse opinions as to the strategy that values education should take (1998).

The overview of the literature presents a lively debate that has no clear conclusions. Scholars, practitioners, parents and policymakers are all making an effort to participate and influence the debate. But final implementation seems to present a challenge, with a "hands off" attitude demonstrated by a good number.

As stated above, values education has elicited a wide range of participation from stakeholders, largely due to the fact that it touches on core/deep rooted personal beliefs. It was in this intriguing and almost messy intellectual environment that I carried out the above study. I will now proceed to give a brief methodological plan of the study. The aim of this brief is to give the reader a sense of the strategies I employed as they read through the initial chapters. A more elaborate and detailed study plan is provided in Chapter 3 of this study.

1.5   Methodological plan of study

In an effort to capture the different dynamics of teacher practice in relation to values education, I deliberately chose the use of qualitative methods. I believe, and rightly so, as was proven in this study, that qualitative methods would enable me to uncover the role of the personal inner debate and the professional life of teachers, and to reveal their most deep-rooted beliefs and assumptions about a concept like values.

Whilst a number of studies note that qualitative research methods are too subjective, based on the alternatives, and has been proven by other scholars like Hargreaves (2000), I feel that qualitative methods are the only way to gain an understanding of a situation through the eyes of the respondent. The method allows for interrogation into the "why" "what" and "where" questions. The responses to these questions require the respondent to share their thoughts and beliefs. These would then enable me to link their personal and professional lives. I will now proceed to briefly describe my data collection strategies.

I examined government, school and expert writing/research documents related to SMRV. The analysis was aimed at identifying the explicit and underlying goals, pedagogy and content of the teaching and learning of SMRV in Kenyan classrooms. The data I collected formed the basis for analysis on different fronts, and answered questions related to the gap between policy and practice, as I made comparisons of the stated policy and practice of teachers. The documents made available to me included government policy documents on education, syllabi, both old and new, school handouts, teachers guides, the Constitution,

government sessional papers, government education review documents, and teacher preparation syllabus.

My second strategy was that of key informant interviews. The interviews involved persons who have been central to the development of the Kenyan curriculum, both old and new. The interviews were encouraging, compared to the questionnaires that were initially administered in the pilot phase. There was one that was very informative, with an interviewee who, on becoming aware of the "empty rhetoric" of the government and other stakeholders regarding values education, had actually started a school, where she was implementing key theories of values education.

The key informant interviews afforded me the opportunity to get first hand information of the contestation and emotions that transpired during the policy formulation process. One would be unlikely to get these insights from the neatly packaged policy document.

My third strategy was the use of focus group interviews in place of the self-administered questionnaires. This method, though difficult to arrange, proved to be a source of vital information. I gathered information from several people in a single session, and had the opportunity to clarify issues, observe expressions, and get participants to mobilise each other to participate. A total of 136 teachers were involved in the above interviews.

Lastly, I conducted structured observations of three teachers, two at primary school level and one at secondary school level. The initial intention had been to observe four teachers, but one left her school and it proved difficult to get a substitute. I observed teachers over a three-month period, one month every two terms. The purpose of observing teachers in action was to obtain first hand experience of actual classroom practice and get a feel of the classroom's intricate relationships, connections and influences. After each observation session a brief discussion was held with the respective teachers to clarify issues that might have arisen, and also to give them an opportunity to highlight any of their concerns. In the initial sessions, the briefings were very short and the respective teachers were somewhat defensive. But as we grew more familiar with each other, the teachers relaxed, called in other colleagues, and were able to identify some of their own weaknesses. I will proceed by sharing the challenges and limitations of my study.

1.6 Limitations of the study

In this section, I will start by sharing my field experiences, followed by the limitations that these experiences could have had on my research findings.

My neat research plan was put to the test when I came face to face with government bureaucracy whilst trying to get permission to conduct the research. On successfully presenting my personal details and research documents to the Ministry, I waited for the documents to be reviewed by a mysterious team. This was very stressful and emotionally draining. The approximate one month wait resulted in time loss and slowed the process as I had to present myself to different levels in the Ministry to obtain permission. Unfortunately, the different levels of authority did not seem to be in touch with each other and I found myself moving from pillar to post.

Once consent was obtained from the Ministry of Education, I had to approach the City Council of Nairobi, where the research was to take place. I again went through a similar experience, as had been the case with the Ministry, although this time the process was completed in two weeks. The whole process and scrutiny that I was subjected to left me feeling guilty for being a scholar and escalated my research costs.

After the approximately two months' wait for legal clearance, I was excited that I could finally begin my research. The documentary search and random selection of schools was the first step. The documentary search was a nightmare, not so much due to the fact that nobody was ready to share information; on the contrary, they were ready to share but had nothing to share. The hangover of the previous regime's policy of secrecy or non-documentation still bedevils the different ministerial departments. I had to change tactics. Documents are in the custody of individuals instead of being in the Ministry libraries. Thus my key informants were also my sources of government policy documents.

My patience was further tested when I had to face the reality of being the one in need, and at the mercy of teachers, as I continuously had confirmed appointments postponed. In some schools, I only secured the interview discussion after five or more trips, a process that voraciously ate away at my time and monetary resources. What I could not understand then and to date is why, despite leaving my contact number, nobody had the courtesy to call me to

inform me of the postponement of an interview. I will now move to discuss the limitations on my study findings.

While the logistics presented a challenge as highlighted above, on an intellectual basis, I came to realise that my key informants lived in the African tradition of being an oral people. They had all the information I was looking for, but had not taken the time to document their experiences. This was very unfortunate, as the information remains the property of very few people. Due to the fact that the experiences of the process of values curriculum development were not documented, I cannot rule out the fact that I did not capture some vital information due to its non availability or due to the respondents having forgotten facts. This situation continues to perpetuate the fact that western experiences and analysis continue to dominate the discourse on values education.

Secondly, I selected Nairobi as the study area, believing that it would be representative of most of the communities in the country. I also chose to observe four teachers so as to get a wider perspective of teacher practice. I only managed to observe three. As I proceeded with the study and realised the contextual nature of values and thus values education, I feel that I missed useful insights to rural experiences. The absence of rural data, and the fact that I could only accommodate a handful of key informants, has made me continuously question how much more information exists that I was unable to capture. I am forced to conclude that my study is not a national representation of values education as I had previously expected. In spite of this limitation, I believe that the findings of my study mirror what is taking place amongst Kenyan teachers with regard to values education.

Lastly, I would like to share the changes that I recorded among the teachers that I was observing. Though not significant, the discussion sessions after classroom observation turned into a kind of capacity building/reflection process for teachers. It made them more aware of, and conscious of, their teaching methods as was the case, for example, when I asked the English teacher about the added value to sentence construction of the concept of "honesty". In the next session, she made every effort to take the lesson beyond merely explaining the meanings of concepts to examining their worthiness. I thus cannot rule out the fact that teachers practices changed due to my presence. However, the length of time I spent with each teacher compensated for this fact, since most soon reverted to their old practices.

Despite the above identified limitations, I believe that my study findings make a significant contribution to the field of values education. In the following section, I explain the significance of my study at various fronts; i.e. at the theoretical, policy and future research.

1.7 The significance of the study

This study on teacher understanding and implementation of the values based curriculum in the Kenyan context carries implications for theory, policy research, and practice. Before I delve into the implications it has for theory, policy research, and practice, I would like to mention that this study joins the few, but a growing number of research studies carried out in an African setting, by an African. This fact is significant as much of the scholarly work on values education, as will be proved by the literature reviewed for this study, have a western background.

The implication for theory is found in the confirmation that meanings of values are highly contingent upon and mediated by social context. What is important then is to develop theories of curriculum change, in the context of values that take account of the background of the teacher, whilst at the same time meeting the demands of the immediate community, among them parents, and further linking the same to national aspirations.

The implication for policy is that a value based initiative cannot assume that teachers, even within the same context, share the same understandings of, or commitment to, national values.

The implication for practice is the recognition that policy reforms may be necessary for change, but they are not sufficient. This means that school based research is important to determine teacher practice, and teachers will adopt policies to enable them to survive in their teaching profession whether the strategy is right or wrong. It is a game of survival.

The implications for further research are clear. This study sheds light on how teachers, in a multicultural environment that lacks the paternalistic consensus of the shared values of home, church and school, craft their way and translate values education to their practice. However, much still needs to be understood about how teachers in a multicultural society can strategically be prepared to enable them to discharge their duties effectively to meet national goals of values education.

1.8   Summary

This chapter has laid the foundation of the study by sharing the motivation and intriguing intellectual questions I set out to explore. The summary shows the confusing, turbulent and yet critical position that values education holds in the education system.

This study notes that although the government of Kenya seems to downplay the differences in the various stakeholders and purports to promote universal values, the conclusion by some of the policy makers that the problem is found in the definition and limited capacity among teachers is misleading. This study differs by stating that the contestation around values education resides in the fact that at both policy and implementation levels, interpretations are very different and they are embedded in deep rooted cultural, religious, social, economic, and political settings. The purported homogeneity of universal values is simplistic, and overlooks the real political and epistemological complexities ignited by values and values education.

Having developed the above foundation for the study, in the next chapter, I explore what scholars before me have identified as factors that influence teacher understanding and practice of values education. In the literature reviewed, one could not help but notice that most of the scholarly works have a western background. This is because the area of values education has not been widely researched in Africa, and more specifically in Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT VALUES EDUCATION?

A CRITICAL SYNTHESIS OF THE CONCEPTUAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

2 Introduction

In this chapter I seek to establish and evaluate the knowledge base on values education through a critical synthesis of the relevant literature. In the process, I will identify limitations in the field which my study seeks to address. I will especially endeavour to bring to the fore the policy gap in values education, i.e. the mismatch that exists between policy intentions and classroom practice from the perspective of the teacher.

A review of the literature locates this study among other related scholarly works. It serves as a launching pad for the study and finally shows the contribution this research makes in building the blocks towards further understanding of values education. I will conclude the chapter by demonstrating how values education has not received sufficient policy attention to facilitate effective implementation.

I also undertake, in this chapter, to show how research on teaching values education has only recently begun exploring the tenuous connection between policy and practice, an area that had hitherto been considered non-scientific. As Taylor (2002) asserts, while some attention has been given to teaching methods, very little information on why and how teachers choose certain curricula approaches is available. This research oversight, I argue, has meant that values education has downplayed the complex, diverse and interconnectedness entrapped in the person of the teacher and her/his professional practice. Ruth, a teacher in the Day study (2000:413) argues that, "My whole credo in teaching right from the beginning (21 years) is that the most effective way of teaching, guiding or counselling others would be through my own personal development or self-awareness".

In this chapter I will demonstrate that most of the scholarly works on values education have largely been presented from a "reactionary" perspective as opposed to a proactive position. This fact further emphasises how research has tended to overlook what it considers the subjective theories of educators, in favour of more commonly accepted objective research

theories. Pajares (1992) suggests that the avoidance of explicit studies on teacher theories and experiences is due to the difficulty of clearly defining teacher beliefs, calling them "messy" - an inappropriate subject for empirical investigation. This omission might be a key reason as to why the implementation of values oriented policies and programmes have enjoyed limited success in education practice.

This chapter begins by acknowledging the previous scholarship on the implementation of values-oriented education. These works, though largely unsystematic, have been critical in elucidating key concepts related to values, and a growing consensus on the importance and need for values education. Three major questions have, however, rendered the actualisation of values education problematic. Which and whose values should be promoted? How should values be promoted? Whose responsibility is it to transmit values? These are some of the questions demanding answers.

These unrequited questions have meant that the field of values education remains rife with uncertainty and controversy. The disputes are not limited to psychological accounts of the nature of moral development or character formation, but extend to the very definition of educational aims. Malen and Knapp (1997) assert that arguments surrounding the aims of values education are centred on its attempts to capture the essential quandary for any pluralist democracy attempting to construct a shared civil society, without privileging the particular values of any one group.

As indicated earlier, the concept of values education is complex and controversial. The complexity and controversy around values education clearly stem from the fact that the concept is not only highly contextual but hinges on deep-rooted personal and community beliefs. Ideas around values education are not only context and community bound, their meanings are constantly shifting. What was appropriate yesterday may not be so tomorrow. These notions of values and values based education seem to have heavily influenced scholarly work and might explain the somewhat superficial attention the concept has received.

I will now proceed to illustrate these points by organising the literature review under major thematic areas identified in the relevant literature.

2.1   Theories on moral development

Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, psychologists by profession, have been central to the development of theories on moral development. Jean Piaget (1932/65) focused specifically on the moral development of children. According to him all development emerges from action; that is to say, individuals construct and reconstruct their knowledge of the world as a result of interactions with the environment, and thus morality is a developmental process. Applied to values education, Piaget's (1932) theory suggests that a classroom teacher should provide students with opportunities for personal discovery through problem solving, rather than indoctrinating students with norms. This thinking has largely influenced the cognitive approach, which has as its central tenet problem solving.

Lawrence Kohlberg (1984), building on the work of Piaget, advanced the notion that humans developed morals based on a series of stages - meaning that the factor of age is critical in the moral development circle. The six stages identified by Kohlberg (1984) are shown below:

Table 2-1 Kohlberg's classification (1984)

LEVEL	STAGE	SOCIAL ORIENTATION
Pre-conventional	1	Obedience and Punishment
	2	Individualism, Instrumentalism and Exchange
Conventional	3	"Good boy/girl"
	4	Law and Order
Post-conventional	5	Social Contract
	6	Principled Conscience

The first level of moral thinking is that generally found at the elementary school level. In the first stage of this level, people behave according to socially acceptable norms because they are told to do so by some authority figure (e.g. parent or teacher). This obedience is compelled by the threat or application of punishment. The second stage of this level is characterised by a view that right behaviour means acting in one's own best interests.

The second level of moral thinking is that generally found in society, hence the name "conventional". The first stage of this level (stage 3) is characterised by an attitude which seeks to do what will gain the approval of others. The second stage is one oriented to abiding by the law and responding to the obligations of duty.

The third level of moral thinking is one that Kohlberg (1984) felt is not reached by the majority of adults. Its first stage (stage 5) is an understanding of social mutuality and a genuine interest in the welfare of others. The last stage (stage 6) is based on respect for universal principle and the demands of individual conscience. While Kohlberg (1984) always believed in the existence of stage 6 and had some nominees for it, he could never get enough subjects to define it; much less observe their longitudinal movement to it.

During the same period as Piaget (1932), Hartshorne and May, in the early 1920s, advanced the notion that decision making is based on the specific situation that one finds one's self, thus it is highly variable and determined by the potential degree of risk that may accrue from the decision.

It is worth noting that the above theories have provoked much criticism, with scholars like Simpson (1974) claiming that Kohlberg's (1984) theory is culturally biased. Carol Gilligan (1982) brings in the gender angle by observing that Kohlberg's stages were derived exclusively from interviews with males, and thus she claims that the stages reflect a male orientation. Further, Gilligan (1982) argues that for women, morality does not centre on rights and rules but on interpersonal relationships and the ethics of compassion and care. She claims that woman's morality is more contextualised; it is tied to real, ongoing relationships rather than abstract solutions to hypothetical dilemmas.

Despite the diverse criticism that these theories have elicited, they continue to form the foundation on which other theorists and scholars have built in their continued investigations into moral development. Gilligan's theory (1982) on gender difference in moral development calls on scholars to reflect on whether a male teacher or female teacher will implement the curriculum differently, because the grounding and reflection on issues is based on different premises. This study will shed some light on the gender claims on moral judgments.

The moral stage approach, as promulgated by Kohlberg (1984) is vivid in the current values education curriculum in Kenya. A review of the text in use, as will be explained in chapter 4, is a testimony to how curriculum developers have used the stage theory in developing the text. This can be noted in the advice given to teachers: "…this means that activities chosen to explain religious truths and values should be selected and organised according to children's' age and level of mental development…" (Kenya 2002:116).

Piaget's (1932/65) self motivated learning theory has also found space in the same values education curriculum, as the syllabus calls on teachers to promote cooperative learning, a key feature of Piaget's theory. Unfortunately not much of the literature has been able to investigate these theories and link them to practice of teachers. For example, the stages do not offer any ideas of the levels at which a teacher should be in order to enable them to spearhead the process of moral development.

The second theme discussed below demonstrates the gap in the linkage of the theories and teacher practice.

2.2 Limited literature on policy and practice in values education

There is a paucity of empirical literature on the relationship between policy and practice in values based curricula. However, it is important to note that while researchers acknowledge the fact that there is some distance between policy intentions and actual practice, they fall short of explaining the reasons for the gap between values driven policy and values-oriented practice. For example, Sockett (1993:5) observed that, "…much of what we read in the literature of education and much of what we are told is 'good' in the process of schooling, is morally totally unexamined …".

Hargreaves (1998:559), in his major volume on education change, was amongst the first to draw attention to the fact that "…teaching is an emotive process", and that education policy has done itself a disservice by not acknowledging this fact. Fink and Stoll (1998) state that schools are human institutions, and therefore strategies that ignore the disposition, practice and culture of individual schools are doomed to fail. From Sockett's (1993) study, the question that remains unanswered is the identification of the moral issues that are critical in the process of schooling. The same can be asked of the claims made in Hargreaves (1998) and Fink and Stoll (1998). What exactly are the emotions and cultural practices that policy needs to take into consideration so as to begin addressing the gap between policy and practice? The answers to such questions will be important in determining whether, and to what extent, values education is a relevant subject for policy inquiry.

Secondly, the trend in the values literature has been to identify symptoms of the problem, with authors avoiding closer description or analysis of the complex terrain of identifying the underlying causes of the gap experienced between policy and practice. In research carried

out in Australia (2003:33), the committee concluded that values education is a subject over "…which much has been written about, but little is known". Malen and Knapp (1997:419-445) try to explain the gap between policy and practice by saying that "…there is a disparity between policy stated aims and actual effects that seems to defy explanation. Different social conditions of the implementors may give rise to problems whose symptoms, sources, and solutions are neither readily apparent nor reliably addressed by policy provisions…".

The literature consistently seems to remain at the descriptive level. Roger and Louzencky (2003) say everything teachers do in the classroom reflects their personal beliefs. Gudmundsdottir (1990) argues that the values a teacher wishes to develop in his/her students are expressed in his/her interpretation of the curriculum and pedagogical choice. Mortimer (1998), in his study, acknowledges that schools from the same environment, having the same curriculum, nevertheless produce different outputs. The question that arises from these studies is; what and how do the personal beliefs of the teacher play themselves out in the classroom, and what reasons can account for the difference found in schools in similar environments that depict very different phenomena?

The McLaughlin (1999) study illustrated that policy does not necessarily determine how implementation finally takes place. Implementers, he says, do not always do as instructed, or act to maximise policy objectives, but instead respond in what often seems quite idiosyncratic, unpredictable, and even resistant ways; as is commonly known in other quarters as "street level bureaucracy" – where persons who are not officials make decisions about the practices of teaching and learning.

These studies bring to the fore the critical, individualistic and contextual nature of value based policy and practice. However they do not make clear the reasons underpinning the difference we encounter in values education classroom practice. According to a head teacher in Baltimore, Saterlie (1988:45): "If you want to know what your school values are, look at what you give awards for in your June assembly". The values education debate would benefit from knowing the implicit and explicit reasons for the choices teachers make. In the above scenario, the reasons for selecting the said awards would expose the teachers' values.

The available literature, including that of Leming (1993:70), bemoans how values education research is disjointed; "…disparate bits and pieces of sociology, philosophy, child

development research, socio-political analysis and a variety of different programme evaluations…". The literature describes the disjointed initiatives and alludes to the fact that this contributes to the limited all-important dialogue between policy and practice. In an attempt to unravel the mysteries of classroom practices, my study builds on the existing literature, hoping that, at a particular period, the various pieces of scholarly work will complete the jigsaw puzzle that is teachers and values education. I will now move to investigating the vacuum in research on values and classroom practice.

2.3   A vacuum in research on values and classroom practice

There is very little research-based literature in Africa and other developing countries on values in the classroom. Authors such as Lickona (1991), Nucci (1989) and Jansen (2001) assert that additional emphasis must be placed on the philosophical "why" of education, in addition to the technical "how". Jansen (2005), in sharing his experience of being the first black dean in a previously white dominated University, laments the limited research on the emotional aspects of deanship in institutions of higher learning; more so where the issue of "race" is a major factor. Halstead and Taylor (2000:190) observe that some areas of school practice were "notably under-researched".

The limited research on values in the classroom is not unique to the African situation. Nucci (1987) observes that since the 1960s, teacher education has downplayed the teacher's role as a transmitter of social and personal values and emphasised other areas such as teaching techniques, strategies, models, and skills. Wells (1992) reinforces this point by saying that teacher-child discourse is a central aspect of classroom life where moral implications have been ignored. Buzzelli (1996:14-15) bemoans the fact that few studies have examined the moral implications of the teaching/learning activities that occur in classrooms, "Our conversation is dominated by mechanistic language: strategies, skills, time on task, and so forth.... But technique in teaching itself implies a view about what a human being is, what a person is, and that is at the very least evaluative and certainly moral".

A number of reasons as possible explanations for the above assumptions have been put forward, amongst them, the non scientific nature of the concept and tendency to measure the concrete and tangible. There is also the untested assumption that teachers as moral beings are likely to act uniformly in the class.

Fullinwider (1993) is one such scholar, who claims that moral values are a messy area and that many would like to avoid the messiness by turning moral and political arguments into scientific or technical arguments, where they would be more at ease. He contends that such a strategy merely hides rather than resolves the problem. For a long time, the authority and knowledge base of the teacher was not questioned; what Goble (1977:118) termed the "knowledge-giver". These explanations contribute little to the knowledge base on teacher classroom practice, which the very studies have predominantly acknowledged to be value laden. The studies argue that classroom practice is grounded in teachers' backgrounds, their hopes, dreams, opportunities, aspirations and frustrations, which are very far removed from the obvious teaching skills, techniques and content that policy has continued to focus on.

Scholars, among them Kirshenbaum (1994), have tried to explain the fragmented attempts in values education by apportioning blame to the weak philosophical grounding that characterises the policy formulation process. The weakness, they claim, has automatically led to continued fragmented attempts manifested in the separation of the rational, intuitive and the spiritual/experiential learning of an individual. In most cases, the rationale, which is the factual curriculum, has been given more weight than the intuitive or spiritual/experiential.

According to Ryan (1988:27), " educational psychology, rather than philosophy and religion, has become the basis of teacher training. In most cases, educational psychology focuses on the individual, separated from the social context. Additionally, modern education has been heavily influenced by the behavioural approach, which has proved adept at developing instructional methods that impact achievement as measured by standardised tests".

Regardless of the limitations mentioned, it is prudent that I mention the fact that some research has, however, sought to explore classroom practice. Allard and Cooper (2001) and Manke (1997) conclude that uneven power relations and negotiations between teacher and students in the classroom largely determine the methods that teachers use in promoting values. Gore (1998) and Buzzeli (1996) on the other hand, raise the important issue of the role of relationships between teacher and learners. Buzzeli (1996:14-15) holds that, "The ways teachers engage children in discourse during teaching-learning activities have profound moral implications for children's learning and development…".

Despite the small but growing literature on values education practices, questions related to the determination of actions are yet to be clearly presented. For example, in the Buzzeli (1996) study, obvious questions of how the power relations that exist in the classroom between teacher and learner influence and impact in moderating the values that are espoused in the classroom, remain unanswered. It would have been beneficial to the whole discourse on values education if the studies had taken the discussion further by specifically identifying moral elements of the classroom relationship. While the third theme emphasises a similar gap to the first and second, the accent is, however, more on practice.

2.4   Too much theory and advocacy; too little original research

There is too much advocacy or normative literature on what values should be and far too little original research on how values should be structured. The literature I reviewed displayed a relatively weak philosophical grounding which may explain the limited empirical data they have to offer practice. For example, on explaining the challenges on pedagogy, Hydon (1997) says that despite recent attention given to the development of virtues as an educational aim, it is by no means clear how the aim is to be pursued or how it can be achieved.

A similar assertion is identified by Korthagen and Kessels (1999) who argue that one of the central problems with teacher education is that the theoretical body of knowledge taught in schools of education is not the kind of knowledge that teachers actually draw upon while teaching. Similar sentiments are expressed by Cochran-Smith (1998) who said that educational theory needed to move from only providing knowledge to providing knowledge and interpretive frameworks.

Whilst these studies raise key challenges in values education, they fall short of providing information on the practical structure that values education should take. This is common in the literature. The identification of the problem and a normative prescription are provided, but the next step of collecting relevant data that will facilitate the development of strategies of action, is either weak or, in some instances, completely lacking.

The literature, in a somewhat romantic style, seems to have collected a number of stories of educators' experiences. For example, Carlin (1996: 7-26) says, "...but if schools rise to this challenge and decide to tackle the sex question, they are right back in their original quandary. Should they take an abstinence approach or a safe sex approach; in the latter, they'll outrage

moral and religious conservatives while in the former, they'll outrage moral liberals and secularists".

Carlin's (1996) study, though it brings out the dilemma that teachers find themselves in when in the classroom, does not proceed to suggest which route the teacher should take and why. That information would have been extremely useful in our understanding of teacher choices. The above study, among others, illustrates the superficial nature that the values education arena has been inundated with. Most studies examine emotional issues that are not grounded in a substantive base of information and supported by teachers' day-to-day practice. In my study I have listened to and conversed with the teacher. In the case of the above example, my approach would have been to probe the teacher further on the choice taken and why. I believe that it is when policy starts listening to the lone voice of the end user that the gap between policy and practice will begin to be addressed in values education.

On the other hand, some studies have attempted to provide insights into the structure that values education should consider. Sommers (1993), a critic of the conventional means of transmitting values, presents Japan as one model that has successfully mastered the art of using the public school system to transmit values. She claims that, unlike the method of having values taught in a separate philosophical class, the Japanese system has inculcated values in everyday activities. Students practice acts of sharing, neatness and orderliness, respect for others, and loyalty. This approach has allowed the Japanese to instil the basic values of their society within the school system.

However, in response to Sommers, Holt (1997), a critic of the conventional method of character education, makes a different assertion by stating that the methods used today are designed to drill students in specific behaviour rather than engage them in deep, critical reflection, adding that these methods are tantamount to indoctrination. The issue of indoctrination is also supported by Piaget (1962) who suggested that a classroom teacher must provide students with opportunities for personal discovery through problem solving, rather than indoctrinating students with norms. While the identified ideas are powerful in the sense that they state what the ideal/basic principles of operation should be, they, however, need to shed light on the interpretive framework of the teachers and the environments in which they are working so as to have concrete suggestions as to how values education should be structured.

Another theory that attempted to contribute to the structure of values education is that of reflective thinking - a position taken by advocates of the values clarification movement (Simon and Kirschenbaum 1973; Raths, Harmin and Simon, 1978; Simon, Howe and Kirschenbaum 1972). The key challenge of the proposals of the above authors is the fact that though they recognise basic principles of learning, they fall short of focusing on teachers interpretative frameworks which, due to the power relations in a classroom, can point the thoughts of students in a particular direction. Beller (1986), in his contribution on education for character, advocates that values clarification and cognitive programmes have failed to equip students with the moral character that society wants. This finding goes further to confirm my argument on the need to focus on teacher interpretive frameworks.

Another common thread in the literature is the fact that while most people want values included in the curriculum, they don't want children tested in the conventional way, i.e. through exams, to assess student achievement of values. This fact has provoked a major debate in academic circles in Kenya. The argument has centred on the diversity that exists in the current schooling system with stakeholders wondering how a fair or uniform kind of criteria can be developed to evaluate the development of learners on a continuous basis.

Again, the same issues of stating the desired, but not providing a basis for implementation, is common. Kohlberg (1984), in taking cognisance of this gap suggests that there is need to identify a continuum of moral development and apply it to any moral situation and to individuals. The levels on the continuum, if established, would form a framework for assessment and provide a common standard and language for reporting. Kohlberg's study (1984) is among the few that has highlighted the fact that the framework should also include the teacher. If Kohlberg's (1984) suggestion was to be taken seriously, then the policy environment would have to reorient itself from a boardroom kind of policy development, to one that seeks to explore and develop policy from the experience of teachers.

As I was reviewing the literature, I kept questioning the seriousness in which values education is held, especially when policy documents, including research works, confirmed that values are social constructs; thus the teacher's involvement in the whole process was critical. The limited attention therefore given to teachers' values is puzzling. Hargreaves (1998), in his study on the emotive aspects of teaching also, clearly highlights challenges that

are encountered by present day educational reform programmes. He claims that if the emotive side of teaching is not taken seriously, reforms cannot be effective.

Jansen (2001), in emphasising the same point, calls for an exploration of the "personal identities" of teachers, while Cochran-Smith (1997) is of the opinion that a theory should be formulated that will understand not only knowledge, but also the "interpretive frameworks." These scholarly works have left the debate at the level of identifying the problem. There is therefore room and need to take the debate further by really getting to grips with how teachers are currently making sense of values education. Only when we appreciate how teachers are managing, will education policy be in a position to formulate appropriate action on values education.

The next theme focuses on what has been written specifically on teacher understanding and practice in values education.

2.5   Teacher understanding and practice in values education

I encountered some literature on teacher understandings of values education in practice, and how teachers make sense of values oriented curricula at two levels. On one level, the literature reflected incompleteness, whilst at the second level a more detailed account of teacher understanding was provided.

At the first level, for instance, I came in contact with experiences of the likes of Jane Elliot, a third grade teacher in Iowa (USA) who, in order to demonstrate discrimination divided her class according to eye colour. The children, through the activity, felt what it really means to be either superior or inferior. This classroom activity was a face-to-face confrontation with discrimination and demonstrated a high level of understanding by the teacher. The exercise drew on inner reflection that seems to be lacking in most of the superficial examples of values education (Nyberg 1990).

The literature also brings to the fore scholars who have made great strides in identifying key fundamental issues that relate to teacher understanding, but stops short of making the connection with practice. Veugeles (2002), in his study, shows that teacher understanding of values is narrow since they understood it to be a special project of sessions, which takes place in the morning assembly, lasting 20 minutes at most.

Kohn (2003) further points out that not all teachers thought it was their responsibility to foster values. They believed that this domain was the responsibility of the teacher who taught the subject. This narrow understanding is again recorded in a study carried out by Powney and Schlap (1996), where it was realised that behaviour was central to primary teachers' understanding of values that some teachers listed certain types of behaviour as "values". Holt (2003), in analysing the same situation, boldly states that teachers mistake good behaviour for good character. The above studies have taken the research on teachers and values a step further, by attempting to identify and make judgments on teacher understanding. However, they do not identify the interpretive frameworks which are critical for a full understanding of teacher practice in values.

I came across studies that have attempted to identify elements that influence teachers' interpretive frameworks in values education, but are weak in making the final linkages of the understanding, interpretation and practice of teachers. Datta (1992) has attempted to address the issue of interpretive frameworks of teachers when he says that the difference in understanding is based on teachers' beliefs and the multiplicity of roles they have to play, including confidant, counsellor and disciplinarian. While Datta's study comes close to answering the questions on teacher practice, he however falls short of highlighting which beliefs teachers hold that determine their interpretation of values.

Pintrich *et al.* (1993) cautioned against ignoring the powerful effect of the emotive aspects of teachers' beliefs. He also does not expand on the said emotions. It is for the above reason that I have termed the studies incomplete. My study set out to identify and shed some light on the nature and genesis of teachers' beliefs, and how they affect the interpretation and final implementation of values education. I believe the study will go a long way in capturing the data for the missing link.

On the second level of analysis, I came across literature that has made strides in the area of understanding teacher interpretive frameworks. A case in point is the research conducted in Israel, by Schwarzwald *et al.* (1978), which showed that teachers' attitudes and teaching values were based on a combination of variables, including interaction with people and inherent personality traits, especially dogmatism. The Israeli study is one of the very few that went on to make a connection between personality traits and understanding, by stating that less dogmatic teachers were more open and were found to base their decision making on

relevant information, whereas highly dogmatic teachers tended to be more encumbered by irrelevant factors, mostly stereotyping.

Besides the above study, I also found a body of literature that has tried to analyse teacher understanding by making reference to the rational and emotive nature of the teacher. Day (2000) asserts that teachers make decisions using two minds, the rational and the emotive. The rational is deductive, careful, analytical, reflective and frequently deliberate. The other side of the coin is the emotive mind, which is powerful, impulsive, intuitive, holistic, fast, and most often, illogical.

The literature continues to assert that the rational side of teaching has received more attention than the emotive. It is only recently that scholars like Hargreaves (1998), Goldman (1995), and Gardener (1983) have confirmed the importance of understanding the teachers' emotive aspect, as this plays a key role in how they construct their world. Even though the above studies do not mention in detail the factors that influence emotions, they have been critical in bringing to the fore important issues about the emotive nature of the teacher. The challenge remains to identify the genesis of these emotions and how they translate themselves in the values education class.

Testimonies that show the linkage of the personal and the professional practice of the teacher are common in the literature. In the Day (2000) study, a school principal says that her emotive and professional self are intrinsically linked, and the former is her driving force. This teacher's statement illustrates that in most instances, while teachers are dominated by professional concerns, they are also driven by personal values mediated by external forces.

The study by Clandinin (1986) illustrates that teachers have found that they get better at thinking reflectively across the interrelated emotive, moral, personal, private, and professional dimensions of their work as their experience in teaching grows. And Bullough (1989), Tabachnik and Zeichner (1984), and Feiman-Nemser and Bachmann (1986) add that enhanced reflective thinking is recorded when teachers receive support and encouragement from one or more critical and trusted colleagues. These studies bring out the earlier point I raised, the fact that values education research on teachers has been conducted unsystematically, meaning that there are bits and pieces of initiatives that need to be consolidated for a more holistic picture.

Contributing to the puzzle of the teacher interpretive framework, Datta (1992) says that the way the teacher's role is enacted in any particular situation depends on a number of factors including age, sex, marital status, socio-economic background, personality structure, experience and the institution in which the teacher works. Bourdieu (1997) argues that to some degree, many of us possess values which are relatively typical of our gender, class, epoch, age group, life trajectory, and so on, adding that we certainly acquire these from features of our social environment meaning that they determine how we make decisions.

The studies by Datta (1992) and Bourdieu (1997) have highlighted the critical elements that influence the teacher. What is lacking, however, is an analysis of how these factors play themselves out in the day-to-day professional life of the teacher. A close analysis of the identified factors shows that these are implicit, and therefore "hidden systems" and "messy", and most researchers, e.g. Calderhead (1996), and Richardson *et al.* (1991) acknowledge, but have found difficulty in making the connection. Finding the connection between the different variables is central to values education and key to this study. It is in this regard that this study seeks to understand how teachers make sense and implement the values curriculum, by establishing teacher understanding, interpretation and practice of values education.

Contributing to the construction of the puzzle on teacher interpretive frameworks, Caspe (2003) identifies three reference points from which teachers give meaning to values, namely: other families they have interacted with in the past, their experience within their individual families, and familiarity with the particular family or child concerned. By comparing information with one or more of these points of reference, teachers begin to construct meaning, whether accurately or inaccurately. Bauman (1992) refers to post modernism, where the lack of a "centre" is something to be celebrated and everyone is a producer of knowledge, leading to values education becoming more neutral. Everything is right depending on the context. The post modern era, in my thinking, has contributed greatly in creating a challenging environment for teachers. Levels of sensitivity to values education have increased and the policy documents have generally remained vague in a number of areas so as not to offend any particular interest group. The vague nature has meant that values are open to different interpretations. The key question is, what are these interpretations?

On his part, Newell (2003) claims that communication and media are major influences in shaping current thought. Baudrillard (1988) speaks of a revolution that has engulfed people

with information. The extent of this information, according to Saul (2002), is such that the distinction between reality and the word/image that portrays it breaks down into a condition of hyper reality. The question I will seek to resolve is the extent to which teachers' value judgments are influenced by the media, especially when we find ourselves in Africa.

A key reference point identified in the literature is that of the head teacher. Powney and Schlapp (1996) noted that head teachers generally see it as their role to set the tone for values education in the school, and ensure a policy of transmitting these. Anderson (1991) also showed how school principals manipulate teachers.

Wendy (2004), commenting on the importance of school leadership, argues that:

> In many ways the school principal is the most important and influential individual in any school…It is his/her leadership that sets the tone of the school, the climate for learning, the level of professionalism and morale of the teachers and degree of concern for what students may not become…If a school is a vibrant, innovative, child centred place, it has a reputation for excellence … If students are performing to the best of their ability, one can always point to the principal's leadership as the key to that success.

These studies have revealed important elements regarding teacher reference points by identifying a key person who sets the tone of values education. They fall short, however, of exploring the basis upon which the head teachers formulate their conception of values. The challenge then is whether the manner in which the values are interpreted and implemented are in accordance with expectations of parents and the curriculum.

This study sets out to investigate the premises that are used when determining values education. This will offer an explanation as to what teachers consider when making their final decision on practice, following from the hypothesis of this study, which claims that government policy alone does not seem to be the premise on which teachers consider in value education. The next theme is centred on the controversy that surrounds the role of the teacher in values education. This theme is of interest to this study as a comparison with the Kenya

system demonstrates how the concept of values education continues to be a challenge for different education systems.

2.6   The controversy surrounding teacher roles in values education

The literature in values education reveals high levels of uncertainty, with conflicting ideas on the role of the teacher. For example, some authors on values education have continued to question whether the teacher has a role to play in values education. Nyberg (2003) holds the view that it is a blunder to leave the role of the transmission of values to the teacher, as the teacher is an educational partner with parents. Others, such as Carlin (1996), have questioned the role of the school in promoting values, both on content and on issues related to the teacher as an individual.

The Australian study (2003) concluded that teachers should reflect more on the values that govern their own teaching and be aware of the values that they want to develop in students. Beyond this, there is a need for more understanding of values and its development. The studies are non committal, and it is for this reason that I state that the literature reveals high levels of uncertainty which may explain the slow pace witnessed in the crystallisation process of teachers' practice on values education.

As a counter argument and second dimension to the place of the teacher and values, we are confronted with strong advocacy for the role of the school in teaching values. Otiende (1992) subscribes to the ideal that one of the roles of education is to transmit cultural values from one generation to another, and also within a generation. Otiende *et al*. (1992) makes the case that all educational systems, whether purposefully or not, transmit certain values. Bachus (1989) contends that the role of the education system is to develop an awareness and sensitivity among all students to particular elements in the society that are revealed in the cultures of the various ethnic groups who are also members of the nation state.

This line of thought is supported by Mncwabe (1987:1) who believes that,

> Education is an institutionalised way of formally transmitting the culture of a society. Schools and other acculturation agencies employ the curriculum as their main strategy for ordering the selection of knowledge for

which they are responsible. Here, in a sense education acts as a vehicle for integrating individuals into their social group, community and society. The curriculum planners determine which knowledge is made accessible to the children.

But one may ask, whose culture will be transmitted in a plural society? The argument questioning the place for values brings in the third dimension advocated by the likes of Dillion and Maguire (1997) who expand the notions of values education. But their argument, though ideal, could easily diffuse the central role of the teacher. Dillion and Maguire (1997) advocated for a lifelong learning system, meaning that education must extend beyond classrooms and schoolyards into the community and society. They called for "a partnership of school, home and community in which each partner would be responsible for a specific aspect of the educational task…education must serve the needs of humans." While this may be the ideal, the reality of current day society will hardly allow for the above paternalistic kind of society as noted by Musgrove (2004), who bemoaned the unpredictability of society, arguing that it is critical for a more defined order to ensure that schools are able to deliver on their mandate:

> All societies need their members to behave reasonably, consistently, predictably and honestly. This is what social order is… but in less close-knit communities like modern industrial countries, families themselves may vary considerably. In these circumstances schools come to the fore; they help to cut down variations in behaviour that is important to the society and the economy.

Musgrove's argument is further enhanced by Powney and Schlapp (1996) who state that the unpredictability of society is so confusing that in instances where teachers think they know, and where there is consensus about key values, they lack the confidence to take action when confronted with real life situations in the classroom. Halstead (1995) on his part says that it is not difficult for schools to identify appropriate values. There is no shortage - the challenge is that there is often little agreement.

The non committal nature of the literature on values education made me consider the Japanese option. The Japanese system, not that it is absolutely beyond question, has clearly defined what it understands values to mean and how it wants these transmitted. This means that the teachers and the curriculum are prepared to rise to the challenge, unlike most communities where issues of definition and responsibility are still clouded. The latter means that adequate preparation and monitoring can hardly be expected; thus rendering the debate as to whether teachers are well prepared for their role as values transmitters.

Then there is a whole body of literature that represents those scholars who try to highlight how values should be taught. But again these studies display a relatively high level of hesitation due to the highly personal nature of the issues and how they hinge on the teacher's individual rights. For example, scholars question whether the teacher by necessity has to practise the values they are expected to teach by society, or can they distance themselves from these, and if so, with what impact? Jokhoo (1998) is one of the bold scholars who in his contribution claims that values are more often "caught" than "taught". Thus, teachers have to practice what they teach as they are role models. This kind of slippery ground has meant that research into teachers' practice and values education has to tread carefully as there is potential controversy.

The above discussion has dramatised the contested and seemingly confusing concept of values education. However, authors have made attempts at prescribing ways of promoting values education. The next theme will endeavour to highlight some of the proposed methods that have been used to promote values education. This information is important for this study as it shows the attempted practice of values education. This is a key element for this study.

2.7 Proposals for implementing values education

Despite the literature, when showing how values education lacks coherence and consensus expected of scholarly works is witnessed in other subject areas regarding pedagogy, it is important to mention that scholars have made strides in not only debating on pedagogy, but identifying, and in some instances, testing a number of strategies that could be used at school level for values education. I will briefly share the different thoughts, ideas and cautionary statements that other scholars have contributed to the pedagogical debate. The comments

from different scholars will not only serve to show that this is a concept still in the making, but also demonstrate that this is an area that nobody can yet claim expertise in.

Silcock and Duncan (2001) provide a general overview of the values education arena, when they say that though schools are not value free environments, teaching methods have tended to focus on issues of definition, classification and the extent to which anyone can, or should impose their moral precepts on others. This narrow and disjointed approach has been a consistent trend in the literature leading scholars like Checkoway (2001) to state that moral education should be integrated within the curriculum and not take the form of a "special" programme or unit. A programme that is simply inserted into the curriculum carries with it an inherent artificiality and discontinuity that renders such interventions incompatible with the more general aims of teachers and students. Nucci (1987:3), in support of an all-round approach to values education, says that, "If we have learned anything over the past 30 years, it is that moral education cannot be isolated to one part of the school day, or to one context, but must be integrated within the total school experience…".

Then there has been the argument of the role of the teacher. The literature shows that there is no consensus as to how schools might approach values education. Aristotle (as cited in Kizlik, 2002) has questioned whether virtues can be taught at all, and if so, whether it should be the role of schools to teach them. Newell and Rimes (2002) state that teachers are inevitably involved in values education, but their exact role is still the centre of debate. In response to this debate, we have scholars like Milson (2002) and Checkoway (2001) affirmatively stating that good character is not formed automatically. It is developed over time through a sustained process of teaching, example, learning and practice. Checkoway's (2001) study is one of the few studies that refer to some of the underlying factors that determine good character.

Kirschenbaum (1983) begins on a cautionary note by suggesting that it would be prudent to take the best elements of each of the different strategies, synthesise them, and improve from there. Mncwabe (1987) follows the same argument by stating that, "…the aim of education should not be to impose moral standards on the youth, but to teach them a process through which they can set standards and make moral decisions for themselves within the context and demand of their relevant culture".

It is indoctrinators who regard social and moral education as a matter of "instilling" or "implanting" or "passing on" values. Proper teaching should be a matter of cultivating and exercising moral and social discernment that is already in the children at an early age so that they can function on their own now as children, and later in life as adults (Huitt, 2004:10).

Ryan (1995:428) observes, "…what goes by the name of character education nowadays is for the most part, a collection of exhortations and extrinsic inducements designed to make children work harder and do what they are told…". The diversity of opinion on the subject makes one aware of the conspicuous gap that exists between the stated policy and the practice. The literature shows that due to the indistinct and non affirmed approach of values education pedagogy, implementation continues to be haphazard. One is tempted to agree with the school of thought which stated that, instead of developing policy and trying to implement it, rather focus on what people are doing and put this into the policy (i.e. backward mapping).

It is noteworthy that though scholars like Hydon (1997) have stated that generally values education has been implemented inconsistently by means of trial and error, exceptions exist, i.e. the De La Salle University programme in the Philippines, the international "Living Values Educational Programme," which began in 1995 and found its way into Kenya in the same year. The Virtues project, common in North America and some schools in Australia, has been considered by scholars as a progressive initiative. These projects aim at raising moral and spiritually responsible children and teachers. A set of virtues (values) have been distilled from the world's religions, and these virtues form the point of reference in all discussions and are the object of teaching and learning in the classroom. Important to note is that, despite having all these programmes that have successfully integrated values into all sections of the curriculum, with participants practicing "values" in their day-to-day lives, implementation of the process has only taken place in isolated instances.

Allard and Cooper (2001) and Manke (1997) conclude that the methods that teachers use in promoting values are largely determined by uneven power relations and negotiations between teacher and students in the classroom. This suggests that it is next to impossible to impose a single method of implementation as students are all different. The challenge for education policy is to move away from an open-ended definition of values education to a level where

parameters can be determined for teachers and students to use in the classroom. This research is intended as a contribution to the development of such a framework.

Another consideration under implementation has been that of the "hidden curriculum". It has featured prominently in the research on values education, with Hydon (1997) saying that the climate and ethos of the school as a whole are the most significant influence on the determination of values education. Davies (1991:18) states that "…if teacher's professional conduct does not underscore the written content of the curriculum, then we have no alternative other than to admit that even the most relevant curriculum can become totally irrelevant…".

Teachers demonstrate different levels of understanding and use of the hidden curriculum as a strategy for inculcating values. It was interesting to note that in some of the studies, teachers did not consider the hidden curriculum – it was assumed or taken for granted.

A survey conducted by the Boston University Centre for the Advancement of Ethics and Character in 1999 demonstrated that over 90% of the deans and directors of teacher education across the country supported the teaching of core values in schools. Yet over 81% reported being unable to adequately address Character Education in their own teacher preparation programmes. Another study by Nhivu (1999) showed that while teachers were generally prepared to teach values, their incapacity prevented them from complying with the requirement.

Marshall (2003), having recognised the inability of teachers to teach values education, proposes that all teachers, no matter what their grade level, discipline, or years of experience, need information and guidance on how to demonstrate and implement positive character traits in the classroom. However, the question still remains. What will the training focus on, especially since the connection between teachers' knowledge and their practice in values education has not yet been determined? Such a fundamental question will have to be addressed before the proposed initiative can be implemented.

In a study conducted by Powney and Schlapp (2003), they recorded suggestions from teachers regarding how values education should be taught; the suggestions favour a system that enables students to think for themselves. But Hydon (1997) advises that students'

thinking has to be guided in a particular direction. Thus, there is need for a process that enables consensus on values and the enhancement of the teacher's skills.

2.8   Summary

In conclusion, the literature review has confirmed that the controversy taking place, both at the philosophical and practical level regarding values education, reveals a glaring (and unspoken) gap between policy, theory, and practice. A substantial body of literature has attributed this distance to the limited or incomplete data that exists in the sector regarding teachers' interpretive frameworks. The literature seems to conclude that while the general meaning of values is established, the specifics remain a challenge. My study is poised to contribute to the debate by identifying some specifics, especially those related to the teacher. These specifics will go towards enhancing our understanding of the extent to which policy can expect to influence practice.

A number of issues ranging from the conceptual definition, the question of whose values and that of pedagogy, still remain unanswered. This study extends the scope of existing research by exploring the disparity from a teacher's perspective, believing that this information is critical in completing the jigsaw puzzle that is values education. This is an area that has partly been explored by some studies, such as Jansen (2001). But there is need for further investigation in order to determine teachers' attitudes towards values education.

The literature has demonstrated the vital position that values education holds in the debate in education. This position, though fraught with difficulties, continues to preoccupy the minds of many educators and policy makers. The task of getting to grips with values education has been described as "enormous" by Halstead (1995) and difficult for schools, not so much due to limited knowledge, but due to little agreement. Thus any scholarly work that sets out to contribute to shedding light on this concept is welcome. My study aims to identify teachers' interpretive frameworks. Knowledge on teacher interpretive frameworks in Kenya is critical for the newly introduced values education curriculum. As mentioned earlier, the values education arena has experienced several changes, but there has been limited attention given to teachers and their coping strategies. A focus on how teachers negotiate their way will contribute critical information for policy on teacher preparation. The information generated will highlight the gap that has continued to elude the goals of values education.

The literature has been elaborate in its presentation of the growth that has taken place in values education. It seems to call for dynamism and creativity, as society is changing. Values are a contextual concept and thus creative frameworks need to be developed to ensure that the dynamism of the concept is maintained, whilst keeping the ideals. It is important to note that in the initial periods, the studies were generally theoretical and had not been tested, but research that is currently being done in this sector is based on tested initiatives. This fact should bring hope to scholars interested in values education, in that one day, the concept will be much more understood and thus easier to implement.

While it may not be overt in the literature, there are implications and questions raised by this review on the seeming silence on values and teachers. Values education seems to have made heroes out of the teaching profession, with the literature alluding to the fact that teachers need to take a lead in values education. Teachers are expected to be aware of the values they want to develop in students, and teachers are expected to take on different roles demanded by their profession with ease. Yet teacher interpretive frameworks are not discussed in the credible body of research. This study is an attempt towards addressing teachers' interpretive frameworks in values education. The study attempts to measure with integrity, the sensitivity of teachers' classroom practices and to gain a deeper understanding of the essence of this knowledge for the success of the general values education goal.

As I move to the chapter that enumerates the design of this study, I need to mention that the methodologies I chose for this study are based on the fact that I would like to measure teacher perceptions of the values curriculum. Secondly, I will measure understanding not only by their stated responses, but also as verified by their action in practice. The observation session will play a major role in determining the sensitivity of the teachers to the mainstreamed values curriculum. In this regard, I identified tenets of the values education curriculum as per the curriculum policy documents. I used this information firstly at the interview level, where I investigated the stated responses of teachers of the various concepts. I then derived behaviour partners of the concepts for further observation in classroom practice. For example, for the concept of "national unity", I discussed with teachers their understanding and possible ways of promoting the same. This is then followed by an observation of how the concept is practiced in the classroom; e.g. giving every person in the class an opportunity to share their thoughts on diversity.

I will now present a detailed explanation of the design this study adopted. It will be noted that due to the fact that the study seeks to investigate subjective issues related to teacher perceptions and practice, multiple qualitative methods were used to compile the data.