An analysis of the portrayal of multicultural education in Zimbabwean primary school English textbooks

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ABSTRACT

Due to the pluralistic nature of the Zimbabwean culture, English language teaching has become

an instrument for effective cultural interaction between different ethnic minority groups.

Therefore, content in text books should be representative of all cultures. This paper analyses the

extent to which the ethnic minority groups' cultures are represented in primary school English

textbooks. The study posits that ethnic minority groups' cultures are left out. Through a Context

Analysis, the study established that ethnic minority groups' cultures are left out and only

dominant groups' cultures take a central stage. The study recommends that various ethnic

minority groups should be included in the texts to cater for multicultural education.

Key words: Culture, ethnicity, language policy, mother language, multiculturalism



1.0 Introduction

Most societies throughout the world have become heterogeneous as a result of various social, economic and political developments (Lemmer, Meier and Van Wyk, 2006). The Zimbabwean society has not been spared as it has been described as a society which has more than one racially defined group (Murphree, 1985). This therefore renders Zimbabwe a multi-cultural society. The Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MOESC) drafted a cultural policy in September 2004 which was revised in 2009 in a move that illustrated and recognizes Zimbabwe as a multicultural and multi-racial society. This was possible because of the respect and dignity given to various ethnic groups (MOESC, 2004). It was also possible to live peacefully in multiculturalism as various cultures are accorded equal status. Ellert (2000) described the composition of ethnic groups in Zimbabwe as follows: the majority are Shonas, who constitute about 77%, the Ndebele constitute about 14% and minority groups like the Tonga, Kalanga, Venda and Shangani comprise 9% of the total population. Against this background, there is no doubt that Zimbabwe is a multicultural country.

2.0 Research question

The study sought to answer the following research question:

To what extent are ethnic minority groups' cultures represented in primary school English textbooks in use in Zimbabwe?

3.0 Conceptual framework: Multicultural Education

The conceptual framework of this study is multicultural education. There is need to define the term culture before discussing the concept of multicultural education. According to Pai and



ISSN: 2456-2971

Adler (1997:23) "culture is that pattern of knowledge, skills behavior and attitudes and beliefs as well as material artifacts produced by the human society from one generation to another." Culture is therefore a way of life a people that differs from society to society. Culture is not homogenous even for members of the same society, as subculture are found in all societies. It consists of differences in values norms and behavior among societal sub groups. Persse (1990), cited in Pai and Adler (1997) defines subcultures of distinguishable smaller groups within a culture, although with certain unique cultural features which makes it different from the dominant culture. In Zimbabwe, for instance, the following ethnic groups have their own distinct subcultures: Shona, Ndebele, Tonga, Shangani, Kalanga and others. Besides the ethnic groups or subcultures in Zimbabwe, there are subcultural groups based on race, gender, class, age, and ethnicity and among others. The differences do not signify superiority and inferiority but that Zimbabwe is a multicultural society. Therefore culture provides the blueprint that determines the way an individual thinks, feels and behaves in society. Consequently, the classroom is made up of students from diverse cultural backgrounds and this diversity has to be accommodated in the education system. This study, therefore, sought to establish the extent to which Grade 7 textbooks portray the various cultures to show multiculturalism in education.

Multicultural education has been derived from multiculturalism, which refers to the presence of many cultures or to cultural pluralism. In multiculturalism, various cultures are accorded equal status. According to Lynch (1981) subcultural and ethnic minority groups live in the same society and usually understand sympathetically each other's folkways, styles, literature, customs and aspirations. According to Hazard and Stent (1987) in Pai and Adler (1997:108) "cultural pluralism is a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries or frameworks of one nation of people of diverse cultures." Therefore within a plural



society there exists a positive commitment to differences and to the preservation of group cultures, traditions and history. Thus, this research intended to find out to what extend the understanding and commitment to differences is portrayed in Grade 7 English textbooks.

Multicultural education has been understood to be a different phenomenon by different people. Banks and Banks (1995:157) definemulticultural education as "a field of study and an emerging discipline whose major aim is to create opportunities for students from diverse racial, ethnic social class and cultural groups." According to Manning and Baruth (2003) multicultural education is both a concept and deliberate process designed to teach learners to recognize, accept and appreciate differences in culture, ethnicity, socialclass, religion ability or disability and gender. Banks (2000:13) offer a broader definition when they say that "multicultural education is at least three things, an idea or a concept, an educational reform or a process." As a concept, it seeks to accommodate all students despite their differences. As a reform movement it aims to change schools to accommodate diverse students. As a process it incorporates the idea that its goals may never be fully realized (Muchenje, 2008). From these definitions, it can be noted that multicultural education can be viewed as a concept, a field of study, a process or a reform movement. All the views on multicultural education are correct and help in understanding of what multicultural education is. However, it is the view that multicultural education is a concept or an idea and it seeks to accommodate all students despite their differences that has informed this research study. From the definitions of multicultural education, it can be argued that multicultural education seeks to accommodate students' cultural diversity in the classroom as well as in the school environment. This is important, considering that modern industrial societies are inherently multicultural, with multiple social, ethnic and language groups (Lynch, 1986).



It is therefore, the essence of this study to determine whether English textbooks at Grade 7 portray the concept of multicultural education.

The major assumption of multicultural education is not simply a matter of accumulating knowledge and skills, it involves acquiring conceptual schemes, forming links and understandingideas. This shows that education goes beyond just the collection of disjoined facts; it entails raising one's knowledge and "characterizes the way one looks at the world" (Martin, 1985:72 cited in Ghosh 1989). To be educated is to have a voice, which implies knowledge as well as power (McDonald, 1988 in Ghosh, 1988). Thus, to be educated is to have the ability to influence one's personal and social environment and this entails empowerment. Empowerment is legitimizing the multiple voices of students, that is, legitimating multiple voices of learners through the imparting of knowledge. To that effect, it is the whether Grade 7 English textbooks portray multicultural education in order to legitimate the multiple voices of the learners.

According to Freire (1980:13) "besides being an act of knowing, education is also a political act. That is why no pedagogy is neutral." Freire (1980) argues that schools mirror the real, the power play, the hierarchy in society and education should illuminate that reality. In this way, different world views and some are more powerful than others. Connell (1989) in Ghosh (1998) says traditional knowledge involves the experience and perspectives of historically dominant groups. Powerless groups have either been generally excluded or portrayed negatively in the curriculum. However, Dewey and Freire cited in Ghosh (1998) stressed the need for children to have opportunities to value their own experience to be part of the curriculum of their education. This shows that curriculum content to be reconstructed to meet the needs of the traditionally marginalized groups and this can be done through multicultural education.



Multicultural education seeks to achieve a number of goals. According to Lynch (1996) multicultural education is concerned with all minorities and their educational needs of majority students of both sexes and all linguistic, creedal and racial groups to learn how to live in creative harmony with multicultural society. This view seeks to illustrate that multicultural education has to cater for all learners in the classroom, within a multicultural society. This view seeks to illustrate that multicultural education has cater for all learners in the classroom, without discrimination of any form. According to Banks and Banks (1989:18) multicultural education seeks to "transform schools to ensure that culturally diverse students experience an equal opportunity to learn as well as helping students to develop positive attitudes towards different cultural, racial, ethnic and religious groups." Squelch (1989:66) states that "multicultural education is committed to an education that is free from discrimination and prejudice which members of different groups experience in schools and society." Multiculturalism education is, thus, a form of student empowerment means that students can develop the ability and confidence and motivation to succeed academically (Cummings, 1986 in Ghosh, 1998). The concept of empowerment dictates that a number of changes have to be effected in the education system (Muchenje, 2008).

3.1 Language in education

Given that Zimbabwe is a multicultural country, it follows that it is also multilingual country with about 17 languages including sign language (The Zimbabwe Constitution, 2013). In Zimbabwe, the Doke Report of the 1930s set the stage for a colonial language policy in education where English was declared the official language and medium of instruction in the education system. Shona and Ndebele became the only indigenous languages to be taught in the education system. Other indigenous languages such as Tonga, Kalanga, Venda, Tshangaan and



suffered a calculated neglect. Consequently, the content of colonial education failed to accommodate and reflect cultural diversity and hence the calculated move to alienate some of the minority cultural languages. The education system in the colonial era was influenced by the modernization theory which advocates for change in values, institutions and outlook that move traditional societies towards industrialization (Webster, 1990). The school was viewed as a vehicle of economic and political control, which was incomplete without cultural control (Odora, 1993). Therefore even the content of English textbooks reflected that the colonizer intended to maintain the modernization mentality at the expense of multicultural education. Gundlanga and Makaudze (2005) argue that marginalization and down-grading of African languages are a result of colonial language policies. It is the intention of this paper to find out whether this down grading and marginalization has also impacted to the selection of content to be included in English textbooks.

On attainment of independence in 1980, the country adopted a colonial language policy that regarded English as an official language to be used in informal settings including education, while Shona and Ndebele were to be used as national languages to be used in informal settings (Gotosa, Rwodzi and Mhlanga, 2013). It should be borne in mind that that language plays an important role in people's lives as it is not only a medium of communication but also a reservoir of culture. Goduka (1998) argues that language is inextricably linked to culture. It is a primary means by which people express their cultural values and the lens through which they view their world. It is therefore part and parcel of an individual's identity. It is therefore important for educators and policy makers to make sustained serious efforts to address students' cultural needs in their cultural diversity.it is therefore the essence of this paper to seek to find ways to make



English textbook content multicultural so as to cater for all leaners from their diverse backgrounds.

To date, English continues to enjoy the central role in education although the Zimbabwe constitution has declared that all the 17 languages in Zimbabwe be regarded as official languages. English has continued to dominate as a language for instruction in our education system in Zimbabwe as it is chosen for its operational efficiency and its nationalistic goals. One would think that because this language (English) being at the center of Zimbabwean its content would try to be multicultural in order not to make all learners feel included and being part of the society. Therefore, this research intended to find out if the multicultural nature of the society is reflected by this universal language.

3.2 Ethnicity and the issue of curriculum content

In Zimbabwe, it has been found out that the education system can be described as Eurocentric in its curriculum content and orientation (Report of the Presidential Commission into Education and Training, 1999). In this light, Zimbabwe faces the challenge to reform the curriculum to meet the needs of a multicultural and multi-ethnic student population (Muchenje, 2008). From this observation, it follows that the content of the school curriculum should be biased towards indigenous cultures as well as the achievements and accomplishments of all ethnic groups .to that end the study intends to establish the extent to which curriculum content in Grade 7 English textbooks portrays multicultural education in regards to minority ethnic groups.`

Skutnab-Kangas (1998) cites article 25 of the Draft Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights handed over to UNESCO in June 1996, which states that all language communities are entitled to have at their disposal all human and material resources necessary to ensure that their territory,



properly trained teachers, appropriate teaching methods, textbooks, finances and equipment, traditional and innovative technology (Skutnab-Kangas, 1998). This implies that learners and all social groups have a right to access without prejudice, the instructional materials such as textbooks and equipment that benefit them in their catchments.

This research, therefore, is about assessment of textbooks to find out if they are suitable to the catchment area where they are being used. Still on the issue of curriculum content, Jeffcoate cited in Cohen and Manion (1998) sets criteria for selecting experiences for multicultural and multi-ethnic learners who should have access to accurate information about racial, cultural and ethnic differences and similarities. Accurate information has to be free of biases since they help a learner to develop a world view. In the same line of thinking; James and Jeffcoate (1985:163) articulate that "people's mental images of the world arise partly out of socialization, partly from the way in which media portrays other cultures and world events and partly from the nature of the school curricular and from teaching materials themselves". They add that textbooks reveal factual inaccuracies and omissions, uneven selection of data, anachronisms, and excessive stress on conflict and on the exotic and picturesque as well as heterogeneity reminiscent of one group. In this light, instructional materials such as curriculum content in textbooks shape the learner's view of himself and of the world. It has to be established through this research whether textbook writers have taken into consideration the incorporation of multi-ethnic experiences in writing of English Grade 7 textbooks. On the issue of classroom materials, assessment instruments such as tests and testing procedures are crucial. Berry et al (1996) argue that assessment instruments are psychometrically biased against minority groups in the sense that item content can reflect typical experiences of dominant groups that is, tests carry devastating biases.



All the above ideas on curriculum content show that in the Zimbabwe context, curriculum content should include the experiences of ethnic minority groups as well as those whose histories were traditionally left out, especially women. Muchenje (2008) asserts that in the Zimbabwean context, it can be argued that ethnic minority groups such as the Nambiya, Tonga, Venda and others constitute those left out groups whose experiences, achievements and contributions have not been adequately represented in the school curriculum. Gollnick and Chinn (1994:297) observed that "if students seldom see presentations of themselves, their families or their communities it becomes difficult to believe that the subject matter has been written and deliver for a different group of students." This leads to alienation on the part of the students who are not empowered to succeed. Lynch (1981) states that proper multicultural education takes account of the needs of the working class, the minority group pupils, women, and the disabled as well as some religious groups who have been traditionally left out. Thus, the focus of this research study is to find out the extent of which Grade 7 textbook authors embrace the concept of multicultural education.

4.0 Research design

The methodological orientation employed the analysis of selected Grade 7 English textbooks was both qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data was collected in the exploration of portrayal of multicultural education in terms of ethnic minority groups in texts, which was then used to generate quantitative data a view to extending and validating the qualitative findings. The actual technique used was content analysis, which enabled the examination of portrayal of ethnic minority cultures in Grade 7 primary school English textbooks. Content analysis was employed because it allowed the systematic analysis of the selected textbooks. The content analysis refers



to a more sophisticated level of investigation, concerned with the identification of the more significant dimensions into which a given phenomenon can be analyzed (Mouly 1978:213).

Content analysis operates from the premise that reducing a text to its smaller components and systematically analyzing it enables one to understand inter-relationships within the text and their underlying implications. As Kabira and Masinjila (1997) point out, the aim of systematic analysis is to bring out as objectively as possible the multicultural dynamics in a textbook so as to draw conclusions. Content analysis was quantitation used in analyzing ethnic minority representation through counting the number of illustrations/pictures, words, authorship of poems/letters/passages, known personalities according to their cultural origins and their folktales, poems, dances etc. Content analysis was also qualitatively used in identifying and discussing the negative or positive portrayal of ethnic minority group cultures is qualified in different analytical categories. Quantitative data is used alongside qualitative analysis that seeks to explain the phenomenon under discussion. Data collected was initially categorized into its constituents sections mostly in tabular form before any analysis of facts and figures was made.

The selection procedures employed considered all the grade seven English textbooks recommended for use in schools by the Curriculum Development Unit in Zimbabwe. English textbooks were selected because of the potential of English as a language of instruction to carry and portray the multicultural nature of society. Only grade seven textbooks were selected, as this is the level at which all pupils will be doing the same subjects before going to secondary school level where they may make different choices on what subjects to do. At this stage even those who would have done English as their second or third language would have mastered what the language is all about. From this population, only six textbooks were purposive in the sense that only current textbooks were considered. The texts were chosen with the understanding that these



English textbooks may exhibit multicultural sensitivity as English is considered a unifying language in African education systems that use it as a second language. In that way, the subject is supposed to show sensitivity to the cultural pluralistic nature of Zimbabwe.

The main questions asked were whether titles of passages in the passages in the textbooks were portraying that minority group cultures were included, whether pictures, illustrations, stories, heroines/heroes folkways, whether extracts of passages and poems were taken from only of the ethnic minority groups found in Zimbabwe.

Data collected were coded and categorized into themes. A qualitative data analysis method, typology, which is a classification system using patterns, themes or groups of data was used. Categories of data were presented in tabular form making use of descriptive means.

5.0 Results

Table 1. Cultural representation in texts analyzed

	Number of to	Total				
Textbook analyzed	Minority group culture	Shona culture	Ndebele culture	Any other	Eurocentric culture	Number of texts
Ventures new Syllabus English	0	4	3	2	21	30
New Syllabus in English	0	8	5	4	12	30
Ventures Test Papers	0	1	0	4	15	20
Step in New primary English	6	6	6	2	16	30
Ventures	0	2	1	4	18	25



English Revision						
Ventures		3	3	8	16	30
English	0					
English Alive						

The table above shows results from six textbooks that were analyzed to find out cultures portrayed in these texts.

In *New Syllabus English in Action*, 3 out of 30 (10%) of the texts were based on the Ndebele culture, 21(70%) were based on any other culture, 3 (10%) represented the Shona culture and 2 (6%) were based on any other culture not mentioned above, for example, Indian or Asian cultures. No (0%) text was based on the Zimbabwean minority group cultures. This showed that most of the texts have a bias towards Eurocentric forms of knowledge. In this way minority group cultures were neglected by the author of this book. *New Ventures Test Papers* had 20 texts analyzed. No (0%) texts were on minority or Ndebele culture and 15 (75%) a Eurocentric culture. Thus most of the texts were written from a Eurocentric view point with a few others based on other cultures that are found out of Zimbabwe, for instance, the Asian or Indian cultures.

New Syllabus English in Action had 30 texts analyzed and out of 30 (26, 6%) carried aspects of Shona culture, while 12 were on Eurocentric culture, 5 (16, 6%) based on Ndebele culture and 4(13, 3%) on any other culture while 12 were on Eurocentric culture. This was the textbook that contained the highest number of locally based cultures. No text was on any of minority groups while Shona is well represented in the textbooks.

Another textbook *Step in New Primary English* had 30 texts that were analyzed to find out the cultural bias in the textbook. Both Ndebele and Shona cultures had a coverage of 6 (20%) texts



each. Eurocentric culture had 16 (53, 3%) and other cultures had 2 (6, 6%). The European culture had the highest number of coverage while minority groups' culture has no coverage in the textbook. This pattern is similar to the other books analyzed by the researcher.

English Alive had the highest number of texts that are about cultures from other parts of the world that is, 8 out of 30 (26, 6%). 16 out of 30 (53, 3%) were found to be Eurocentric and no minority group cultures (0%) are covered while Shona and Ndebele cultures are represented in 3 (10%) of the texts each. In this way, the only local cultures represented are Ndebele and Shona. These seem to be regarded as the only worthwhile cultures to be covered in the textbooks that are used by the nation.

All the findings from the documents analyzed indicated that the content in Grade 7 E English textbooks was based on the Ndebele, Shona and European cultures as well as cultures from other parts of the world such as Asia. The ethnic minority group cultures are sidelined in these books. The reason may be the influence of the language policy of Zimbabwe in which MOESC (2002) declares the native language as a compulsory media of instruction at ECD level English becomes both the medium of instruction and official language. Shona and Ndebele are offered as subject up to higher level of learning. The prominence given to English, Shona or Ndebele.

The results further indicate that the three groups that have their culture covered in Grade 7 English textbooks are the dominated in groups in society as reflected in the language policy. In this way, the culture of the ethnic minorities is sidelined in favor of the dominant groups. These findings are in line with Ghosh's (1998) findings, who observed that what constitutes knowledge in schools is dominated by a Eurocentric view point which ignores the contemporary and historical contributions of most of the world's people. The findings are also in line with Leach (1994:218) who argues that theories of neo-colonialism and cultural imperialism point to



continuing domination of western educational norms and values which project that superiority of western "metropolitan" forms of knowledge forms and skills of the periphery." This argument by Leach (1994) is also in agreement with Carnoy (1974) who savers that knowledge is colonized.

The results obtained and arguments seem to indicate that the norms, values and attitudes imparted by Grade 7 English textbooks are not in line with multicultural education, which must represent all cultures.

The findings that 17 out of 155 texts (10,9%) were based on Shona and Ndebele cultures and 138 out of 155 (88%) were based on European culture indicates that in society, some groups dominate others as there was a 0% coverage of minority group cultures. This also shows that although attempts are being made in trying to reform curriculum content to do away with Eurocentric point of view from the books after independence, there were groups in society who dominated others in the reform process. Those that contributed the 10,9% of the total number of texts which is based on Ndebele and Shona culture in Grade 7 English textbooks are those that constitute the majority of the population as indicated by Ellert (2002) on ethnic composition of the Zimbabwean population, where 77% are the Shona, the constitute 14% and the minorities comprise 9%. Thus the Europeans dominate owing to the long history of colonialism that has led to acculturation of the society and the Shona and Ndebele domination stems from their numbers.

Findings from the analyzed texts from the six documents that the six documents that were analyzed in this research indicated that out of the 155 texts 3 (1,93%) texts referred to the indigenous forms of knowledge and cultural activities. *Ventures English in Action* carried a story



on cures from trees as well as clearing snails using an herb. From *Ventures English Alive*, there is a text on the Muchongoyo dance. 1,93% is a very low percentage that indicates that attention by authors of the textbooks. This goes against the stipulations by MOESC (2004) that our, traditional performing and visual arts should be handed down from generation to generation through socialization in the home, country, schools, colleges and universities.

5.1 Discussion

The above results also show that the curriculum content in Grade 7 English textbooks does not reflect cultural diversity as multicultural education seeks to infuse curriculum with experiences relevant to all groups in society. The content analysis process unearthed that the bias was mainly towards European, Shona, and Ndebele cultures. This may be attributed to the colonial and even post-colonial language policies in education which favored English, Shona and Ndebele at the expense of other ethnic minority groups. Thus curriculum content selection is influenced by those in positions of power. These may be the ruling class or those that have the power owing to their numerical advantages that is, those from that form the ethnic majority of the population. Industrialists in a capitalist state also have influence on what is to be considered worthwhile knowledge so the content analysis found out that Eurocentric aspects of culture are also regarded as worthwhile knowledge. These findings are in line with Bowles and Gintis cited in Haralambos and Holborn's (2013) views that in the capitalist world of production, education is used as a tool by the capitalist to create desirable labor force for their work place.

The above findings on curriculum content indicated that there may be various factors in society that influence what is considered as worthwhile curriculum content. However, functionalists like Durkheim would want to consider curriculum content as selection from society. If this is



anything to go by then the cultural pluralistic nature should be reflected by the content that is selected for English language for instruction. From the analyzed content, only such phenomena as AIDS pandemic, floods and veld fires have necessitated the inclusion of such content. Even where these floods affect ethnic minority groups' examples of how they are affected are not portrayed in the textbooks in question. Consequently ruling class and industrialist are the ones who possess the power to influence decisions in society through the curriculum in that they are the ones who dominate with their ideas. Thus they influence curriculum content. These findings are in agreement with Young's (1971) arguments that knowledge is organized and controlled by those in positions of authority who select what to teach to whom. Thus the diversity of cultural coverage in Grade 7 English textbooks is compromised taking into consideration the fact that there are some groups in society that dominate the selection of curriculum content. As a result the content becomes biased towards the cultures of the dominant groups. Thus powerless groups

The new syllabus in *English in Action* textbook is the only textbook that points out that those positions of power are the ones who influence curriculum as it contains texts on land distribution which are found on pages 66 and 67. The texts are aboutwhy land distribution was necessary and also justifying the course it took. The findings are in line with claims by Karl Marx, cited in McNeill and Townley (1996) that, ideas of the ruling class are at the same time the dominant intellectual force.

have their knowledge either generally excluded or portrayed negatively in the curriculum.

Thus this book being the most recently published (2010) may be used to justify the rulingsclass stance on land distribution and the ideas in the textbooks are influenced by the ideology of the ruling class of the day. It is also in line with Freire (1980)'s view that being an act of knowing, education is a political act. Consequently, multicultural education is compromised because those



content are likely to consider their own priorities at the expense of the powerless groups' cultures, in this case the ethnic minority.

6.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

The data presented, analyzed and discussed points to the absence of portrayal of ethnic minority group cultures. They are excluded from the textbooks under study which could be reflective of all the textbooks used in the schools across the school levels and subject areas. There is a heavy bias towards Eurocentric culture despite the books being used by the indigenous peoples of Zimbabwe. These findings agree with those of other researchers on the subject whose studies focus on Zimbabwe and other African countries and the world. In light of the findings, the study makes the following recommendations:

- There is need to cover more aspects of the ethnic minority group cultures in national textbooks so as not to exclude other learners.
- > There is need for a more participative involvement of ethnic minority groups in the decisions of what is valuable knowledge to be included in curriculum content.
- There is need for recognition of all cultures to be considered as valuable knowledge in nation building and developing coherence in the society and community.
- English language textbooks writers should draw examples from all students' cultures.
- ➤ Use of the child's mother language in teaching all subjects is also recommended.



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