Citizenship Education in the Social Science Subjects: An Analysis of the Teacher Education Curriculum for secondary schools

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Abstract: Citizenship education is widely acknowledged as a necessary part of the school curriculum for various reasons. For young people, it is assumed that citizenship can best be learnt through the school curriculum. This means that teachers need to thoroughly understand what citizenship means and how to pass this knowledge on to students.
This paper examines the nature of civics and citizenship education offered in the social sciences teacher education program at a teacher education institution in Australia. It analyses ten social science subject syllabuses to find out how pre-service teachers are trained about teaching citizenship education in schools when they graduate. Findings show that a multiple conception of citizenship and a cross-curriculum integration model are adopted in the ten subjects. The study recommends a stand-alone offering of citizenship education at the teacher education level.

Introduction

In Australia and world-wide citizenship education is widely acknowledged as a necessary part of the school curriculum for various reasons, including the perception that it can be a useful cure for the 'social ills' often associated with young people: that is, tendencies for anti-social behaviour and political apathy among young people (Potter, 2002), or, what Osler & Starkey (2006. p.437) describe as 'youth deficit'. At the local community level, it is assumed that social and environmental problems can best be resolved through an understanding of what it means to be a citizen. Beyond the local community, global events such as the World Trade Centre attack of September 2001, the January 2010 earthquake in Haiti or the tsunami that devastated parts of Japan in March 2011 have made it necessary for both old and young people to be aware of what is happening in other parts of the world and take action where and when they can. For young people, depending on teaching and learning styles, it is assumed that learning about citizenship responsibilities can best be accomplished through citizenship education in the school curriculum, since they spend much of their time in the school institution (Sigauke, 2012; Crick, 1998). Thus teachers also need to have a thorough understanding of citizenship issues and how to teach these in their classes. It can therefore be argued that citizenship education needs to start at the teacher education level if teachers are to successfully implement citizenship education programs at the school level.

In this paper the author examines the nature of and the extent to which citizenship ideas and citizenship education are covered in the social science subjects of the teacher education curriculum program offered to pre-service teachers at one Australian university. It interrogates documents of subjects of the program in order to find out ideological discourses, conceptualisation, aims and teaching approaches in the program. Generally, contents of educational documents such as teacher education programs and schools syllabuses are mainly products of government policies on education that may, as Scott (2000) observes, operate to

influence public opinion on the agendas of powerful groups in society. They are formulated by people in positions of power and as such may be ideological. They use various language devices to conceal their own interests. Thus even where there is little need to ask, readers are advised to ask themselves questions about intentions of documents; their ideological underpinnings and the relevance of policy agendas to learners, practitioners and society in general (Scott, 2000). As they pass through the bureaucratic chain, down to the school level, educational policies are sometimes misinterpreted or completely changed as they are implemented as school, college or university syllabuses. These views are important for the present study that seeks to understand the nature of civics and citizenship education in the social science program at the teacher education level; to have some insight about who develops policy in teacher education programs; and the level of control teacher institutions have on programs they develop and teach.

A number of ideological discourses are helpful in understanding the nature of education in general and, in particular, civics and citizenship education programs offered at both the teacher education and school levels. Two of these discourses are identified and discussed here.

Ideological Discourses on Education

Grundy & Hatton (1995. p.8) define discourse as "a particular language or communicative pattern...underpinned by assumptions...what is meant is contained as much in what is not said as what is said". These authors also quote from Ball's (1993. p.4) argument that "discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority...". Ideology, on the other hand, is conceptualised as "a set of ideas, thoughts, judgments, belief systems and values that relate to group interests and important as a basis for evaluating situations" (Bee Bee, 2001. p.2). These conceptions of discourse and ideology are important in understanding the nature of, and teaching/learning processes in, civics and citizenship education.

Research has shown that the nature of ideological discourses at the teacher education level is important in determining what education (including civics and citizenship education) can do to change the status quo. A study in Australia (Grundy & Hatton, 1995) identified two ideological discourses in teacher education: social transformation and social conservatism.

Social Conservative Education

Social conservatism, viewed as the dominant ideological discourse at most levels of education, is a major contributor to conservative outcomes that benefit powerful groups in society. It does so through the reproduction of the social order (social reproduction) that works against the development of "both social conscience and social consciousness" (Grundy & Hatton, 1995. p.22) thus leading to the "perpetuation of unequal and unjust social relationships" (Grundy & Hatton, 1995. p.9). Commentators, such as Shor (1987) and Thomas (2009) observe that education as a whole, including civics and citizenship education at all levels, can be both a liberating and an oppressive tool depending on who is using it and how it is used. It becomes an oppressive force when, in the teaching/learning process, educators use 'banking pedagogy' (Freire, 2000) or what Shor (1990. p.348) refers to as 'frontal pedagogy'. 'Banking' or 'frontal pedagogy' is socially conservative and characterised by passive, hierarchical and teacher-centred schooling, memorisation and subordination on the part of students, breeding conformity and passivity in learners. At the school level, social conservatism (domination and oppression) is often evidenced by classroom drills and an emphasis on testing learners. The school's administrative system is

often authoritative while the state is in charge of resource materials, including syllabuses that are often of little benefit to learners from poor backgrounds (Shor, 1990).

Social Transformative Education

Social transformation in teacher education offers possibilities for social change since the system would be able to "promote a situation where future teachers would deal critically with what exists *in society,* (italics added) in order to improve it" (Beyer and Zeichner, 1987 cited in Grundy & Hatton, 1995. p.9). Thomas (2009. p.253) is of the view that education needs to adopt the Freirean socially transformative "dialogical, liberatory or critical/constructivist pedagogy"; a knowledge creating, learning and collaborative process between teachers and learners that illuminates and acts on the realities of everyday problems. Social transformative pedagogy stimulates and raises consciousness in learners, allowing them to be active and responsible participants; and for them to recognize oppressive, violent and exploitative conditions. Kincheloe (2008) calls this 'education from below': that is, collaborative work with oppressed groups in society, and formulating educational policies in consultation with and for people who are directly affected by the system. This is similar to what Connell (1993) refers to as "social justice in the curriculum" (p.43), a counter-hegemonic curriculum that takes into account interests of the socially disadvantaged. It is an approach that leads to social justice during which students and teachers jointly contribute in decision-making to resolve community problems. Critical or constructivist pedagogy is not just the "deposition of knowledge" (*banking process*) from elsewhere into learners (Hinchey, 2004. p.122). It is a liberating process that empowers students to build a just and equal society: that is, equality between races, sexes and cultures; involving parents, teachers and students in school governance and policy making (Shor, 1990). A democratic teacher using a social transformative approach teaches for equality and critical knowledge; s/he adopts student-centred, participatory and problem-solving approaches. Classroom teacher-student interactions in socially transformative environments are based on democratic discourse approaches where students bring in their everyday experiences for discussions and research on conditions of everyday life in communities.

Teacher educators in programs characterised by transformative approaches act as change agents: that is, changing teaching from an elitist, top-down teacher-talk-centredness to a critical and democratic process. Professional teacher training would, among others, focus on how to change institutions, combine classroom with community studies, and involve working on community problems and negotiating curriculum content with pre-service teachers. "Human beings are made and re-made socially, not privately in isolated corners" (Shor, 1990. p.351); teachers should therefore join and work together in groups. A teacher who uses critical pedagogy is not authoritarian, permissive, silent nor passive but is a facilitator of democratic processes who encourages students to challenge teachers and to speak freely as partners in a democratic project; what Kemmis, Cole and Suggett (1983, p.9) refer to as "socially-critical schooling". The school is regarded as a learning community within the community and is characterised by collaborative action, negotiation and self reflection (Kemmis et al., 1983. p.17).

Critical pedagogy or constructivism is a contextualising approach to knowledge production. Knowledge, according to Kincheloe (2008), is not neutral or objective; it is socially constructed for political and other purposes. Learning should therefore not be separated from the individual's identity: socially, historically and politically. Knowledge production needs to serve the interest of democracy – insights and experiences of the oppressed. It should not be treated as a tool for oppression, colonisation or subjugation; but a tool for "de-hegemonisation" (Malott, 2010. p.387). This can best be achieved through critical self-reflection and action leading to universal self-actualisation (or self-realisation)

and social justice. The teachers' loyalties should therefore be towards communities that they serve.

While these views focus on education in general they are equally relevant to studies of civics and citizenship education at both the teacher and school education levels.

The Current Study

This paper focusses on a study that analysed syllabus documents of the social science subjects offered to pre-service teachers in the teacher education program at an Australian university in 2012. The School of Education at that university offers six areas of study each with a number of programs: Early Childhood, Contextual Studies, Learning and Teaching, Humanities Education, Science Education, and Professional Experience. Social science education is one among three programs in the Humanities Education area. It offers studies for both primary and secondary school pre-service teachers at under-graduate and post-graduate levels. The research reported in this paper focused on ten subjects for the secondary school level. The majority of pre-service teachers on the program study online. In addition to online notes some e-reading materials are posted and others recommended on the university's online teaching site. Assessment is by assignments and online quizzes.

While a number of issues relating to civics and citizenship education are incorporated across all subjects only in three (3) of these are specific sections set aside for the discussion of civics and citizenship education. Table 1 identifies subjects where civics and citizenship education sections are offered.

Subject Name	Any section on Civics & Citizenship Education? [Yes/No]
Aboriginal Studies	No
Business Studies & Commerce	No
Economics and Commerce	No
Geography	Yes, (p15 – 16; p37)
History	No
Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE: 1)	Yes, (p131- 138)
Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE: 2)	Yes, (section 11)
Legal Studies	No
Society & Culture	No
Studies of Religion	No

Table 1: Social science education subjects, 2012

Research Question

This study aimed at answering the following question: what are the ideological discourses, conceptualisations, aims and suggested teaching approaches in civics and citizenship education in the social science education program at this teacher education institution? An understanding of these issues is significant for teacher educators to improve the program in terms of content, teaching methods and relevance to learners and communities where pre-service teachers will be employed.

Method of Analysis

The study involved a qualitative analysis of the social science syllabus documents especially sections on civics and citizenship education in the three subjects identified on Table 1. The analysis was modeled along principles of qualitative document analysis which direct the analyst to "soak him/herself into, and poke and extract distinct themes" from contents of documents (Wesley, 2009. p.6). Document content analysis is a systematic procedure involving a thorough examination, interpretation and evaluation of evidence in the written text (Bowen, 2009). The analysis attempts to bring out the meanings, motives and purposes that are latent and embedded in the text. In the process, as Wesley (2010) points out, the analyst should, as much as possible, try to avoid personal biases, partiality or prejudice; otherwise these have to be reported whenever they are identified. In addition to triangulation, member validation and other means of reducing possibilities for bias, document analysts are advised to be self-reflective: "to look into the mirror of our findings and reflect on what we see" (Mills, 2011. p.122).

In the current study the analysis focused on three areas: aims, content and suggested teaching approaches with the intention to discover the conceptualisation of, and underlying ideological discourses informing civics and citizenship education in the social sciences teacher education curriculum at the selected institution. Following suggestions from researchers elsewhere, (for instance George (2006) and Platt (2006)), document texts were, firstly, subjected to some thorough but uncritical reading. This was later followed by a critical evaluation of the same document contents with the intention of examining the extent to which civics and citizenship education is conceptualized and modeled around social transformative or social conservative views (Grundy & Hatton, 1995) taking into account the above advice to avoid bias.

Findings

A number of civics and citizenship issues identified in the subjects listed in Table 1 reflect those in the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) draft secondary school civics and citizenship education syllabus to be implemented in 2014 (ACARA, 2012) and other policy documents on this subject, for instance, Tudball & Forsyth (2009) and Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA, 2008). For the current paper the subjects are divided into two groups: those subjects with sections covering civics and citizenship education and those without these sections (See Table 1).

Tables 2-4 present findings from sections of the three subjects that focus on civics and citizenship education.

Geography Subject

Findings from the analysis of the Geography syllabus are presented in Table 2. Geography is mentioned in a number of official policy documents as an area for teaching, learning and training young people in citizenship skills, understanding citizenship concepts and developing positive attitudes and other dispositions relevant to citizenship education (ACARA, 2012.p.10; Tudball & Forsyth, 2009. p.3, p.11 & p.17). In addition, Mclnerney, Berg, Hutchinson, Maude & Sorenson (2009) recognise the contribution of geography to the education of young Australians so that they can become "active and informed citizens" (p.11 & p.15).

Aims	Content/conceptualization	Suggested teaching approaches
1. Pre-service teachers to be aware of key competencies outlined in the Years 7 – 10 & Stage 6 syllabuses 2. Pre-service teachers to be aware of the aims of social and citizenship education in schools *Social education aims to: - heighten student awareness of social issues - encourage strategies to improve social conditions *Citizenship education aims to: -enable students understand how decisions are made - heighten student awareness of role of citizens - development of citizenship understanding & skills - giving students opportunities to contribute to reducing social and environmental problems (active citizenship)	Topics on civic/citizenship education: 1. Social Education: - questions about quality of life & social justice 2. Citizenship education: – roles of citizens, citizenship understanding & skills 3.Civics education as about: - roles of different levels of government in decision making (often a conservative view) - informing people about their rights and responsibilities - systems that regulate rights & responsibilities (teaching methods are sterile & have little meaning for students) 4. Political literacy: - patterns of interaction between people & environment as a result of decisions of individuals & organizations with different value positions & power - knowledge of main disputes; beliefs of contestants & effects on ordinary people 5. Civics & citizenship education in Years 7 – 10 (mandatory in NSW), teaching materials (e.g. Discovery Democracy) & main themes: - Australian identity; - rights & responsibilities; - decision making; - work related education - literacy (developing & communicating ideas & understanding through a diversity of activities that can be undertaken in class-rooms)	1. Investigative approaches on civics & citizenship education issues (NSW: Stages 4-6: Study of contemporary issues; civics & citizenship education - mandatory) 2. Teachers to use student-centred inquiry learning approaches 3. Need for careful choice, by teachers, of appropriate content & student- centred inquiry learning approaches e.g. fieldwork on gathering, processing, developing & communicating data on views & decision making processes of community groups concerning local contemporary issues

Table 2: Civics and citizenship education in the Geography subject: Aims, content and suggested teaching approaches

The above Geography section however, acknowledges some often cited weaknesses regarding the teaching of citizenship education in general, for instance, the conservative view

that citizenship education is about informing young people about their rights and responsibilities; and the sterile teaching methods associated with this view (Geography syllabus, 2012. p.1). Regarding political literacy the same syllabus quotes from Huckle (1983. p.83) that "A political literate person will develop a disposition to do something which is effective and respectful of the rest of others". Though this links well with suggested teaching approaches, it is however, not clear how pre-service teachers who are online learners put this into practice.

Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE: 1)

This is a pre-requisite subject for pre-service teachers who want to study the HSIE (2). Findings from the analysis of the civics and citizenship education sections of this subject are presented on Table 3. As with geography, this subject recognises that conservative values in policy documents guiding the development of civics and citizenship education may in fact derail the implementation of the proposed 'active citizenship' program (see teaching approaches). If that is the case, the question then is: how far can both teacher educators and pre-service teachers challenge or go outside the prescribed content and suggested teaching approaches to include activities that challenge existing policies? This is perhaps why Prior (1999. p.14) points out that while "a good citizen is often viewed as one who was active and participated in decision making of their community it is not clear that these principles are practiced in the classroom or in the school context generally by more actively engaging students in the decision making and governance practiced in the school". This comment may very well apply to teacher educators and pre-service teachers in universities and other teacher education institutions. The HSIE (1) syllabus recommends investigative approaches such as fieldwork on contemporary community issues. Pre-service teachers at this institution, who are largely online learners, need such opportunities to undertake fieldwork so that they put into practice what they learn. Currently there are no means of checking on whether or not they go out on fieldwork.

Aims	Content/conceptualisation	Suggested teaching approaches
1. For pre-service teachers to distinguish between different types of & approaches to citizenship education & being critical of suggested approaches & materials

2. To conscientise pre-service teachers on the need to select & develop teaching & learning strategies that implement requirements of civics & citizenship education in different subjects

3. For pre-service teachers to be able to use resources for their knowledge development & how HSIE subjects contribute to civics & citizenship education. | 1. Nature of civics & citizenship education: – conservative values about the subject lead to passive teaching & concern about knowledge acquisition
- active & informed citizenship is about taking an active role in society
- elements of citizenship for young Australians: rights & duties, identity, public practice, participation & decision making in all aspects of life

2. Current emphasis on citizenship education: – a response to policy recommendations based on the findings of the:
- Hobart Declaration (Senate Standards Committee, 1989)
- Civics Expert Group (1994)
- Adelaide Declaration (1999)
- Melbourne Declaration (2008)
- Discovery Democracy Resource Project (1997)

3. Civics in the Society and Environment syllabus:
- Civics & citizenship education in NSW curriculum: mandatory & integrated in Geography & History at junior level & at Stages 4 & 5; about Australian identity, rights and responsibilities, decision-making process, democratic processes, Australian democracy, Australia in global community, role of values in citizenship education.
- An analysis of citizenship education syllabus at the senior level

4. Discovery Democracy Project:
- why it was developed
- how it was developed
- what it is all about
- targets

5. Parliamentary Education Office:
- conducting school visits to Parliament House
- developing teaching learning resources

6. Linking Discovery Democracy Project materials with school syllabuses | 1. Action Learning & Problem Solving Methodologies to develop:
- decision making processes & awareness of consequences of those decisions;
- implications of decisions for social justice;
- individual & group action on issues

2. Inquiry into contemporary issues in Australian environments (active citizenship; values education)

3. Using teaching approach suggestions from Discovery Democracy Project:
- inquiry based & practical oriented learning activities;
- simulation activities to enhance concept development

4. Visits (fieldwork) to Parliamentary Office |

Table 3: Civics and Citizenship education in HISE (1): Aims, content and suggested teaching approaches

Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE: 2)

Aims	Content/conceptualisation	Suggested teaching approaches
To familiarise pre-service teachers with the position of civics & citizenship education in school syllabuses by focusing on syllabus aims, rationale, content & suggested teaching approaches	1. Assessment of civics and citizenship education outcomes. - In NSW: issues embedded in all subjects therefore assessed in these subjects - Questions about: how best to assess understandings & dispositions 2. Linking civics & citizenship education to other aspects of HSIE: Globalisation & global education - What is globalization - Issues on globalization - Teaching for national or global citizenship? - Citizenship education as about historical roots or new world order? 3. Environmental education & sustainability - Sustainability as social, political & economic decision making at the personal & institutional levels in society - Need for different approaches towards resource exploitation	Students to be actively involved in civics & citizenship learning activities through - simulations - role plays - videos - guest speakers - action in communities to learn, first hand, how to participate and value their contributions

Table 4: Civics and Citizenship education in HSIE (2): Aims, content and suggested teaching approaches

Much of the material on HSIE (2) is a repeat of what is covered on the pre-requisite subject HSIE (1). The syllabus points out that there is a broad range of conceptions of civics and citizenship; that teachers need to be clear about "strong" ideological underpinnings expressed by commentators about what should and what should not be taught (HSIE (2): 2012, p.1). The syllabus does not, however, point out which controversial ideological underpinnings these are. It lists, throughout the pages, reading resources, websites and video materials linked to government policies for use by pre-service teachers in schools. Marsh and Hart (2011) acknowledge the teaching overload that secondary school teachers often have and warns of the challenge of teaching citizenship education by teachers who are already "coping with an overcrowded curriculum" (p.352). Three topics are listed as content for this subject: assessment, globalisation and sustainability; suggested practical teaching approaches are all meant to familiarise pre-service teachers with how topics are to be taught. The syllabus, however, raises an important question concerning assessment in civics and citizenship education to which it does not provide an answer: "how can civics and citizenship understandings and dispositions be assessed?" (HSIE (2), 2012. p.32). Is it the grade that a student gets or the student disposition that is assessed (see also Sigauke, 2012)?

Subject Syllabuses that do not have Sections on Civics and Citizenship Education: Aims, Content/Conceptualisation and Teaching Approaches

Seven of the ten subjects in the social science education program do not have sections specifically on civics and citizenship education (Table 1). In five of these subjects (Studies of Religion, Aboriginal Studies, Legal Studies, Business Studies and Economics) the stated aims are closely linked to those in the civics and citizenship education, for instance, the need for pre-service teachers to adopt ethical practices at all levels from the local to global level. In recognition of possibilities for indoctrination the documents remind pre-service teachers to be autonomous and to be critically analytic of what and how they teach. This is more so in disciplines such as Religious Education and Aboriginal Studies where some schools in Australia are administered by different religious authorities and where teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds and therefore the need to respect cultural diversity. In Legal Studies, it is a requirement that pre-service teachers be prepared for duties in society where they are to use their knowledge of rights and responsibilities for the benefit of communities. However, much of this resembles what Biesta (2008. p.43) refers to as "soft citizenship" or "a broad conception of the domain of citizenship" that does not challenge the status quo or policies.

As would be expected, the content in syllabuses closely follows a number of issues listed in the ACARA (2012) syllabus. In almost every one of the subjects, the focus is on culture and multiculturalism, community, controversial issues, values and attitudes, literacy and numeracy and civics and citizenship. In the Studies of Religion, Aboriginal Studies and Society and Culture pre-service teachers are urged to be familiar with, and to take unbiased approaches to teaching these issues, bearing in mind the cultural diversity of the Australian society in which they work.

'Community' is mentioned several times in the documents as a source of and resource for teaching/learning experiences, an area where pre-service teachers are expected to help in resolving social problems. Discussions on community-school relations are closely linked to sections on "values and attitudes" in Economics (2012. p.49) and Business Studies (2012. p.82). In Aboriginal Studies, teachers are urged to be positive toward indigenous communities if education is to be seen as addressing issues of social injustice, difference, reconciliation, assimilation and discrimination. "Participation in, consultation and negotiation with communities can only be successful if teachers adopt positive attitudes toward them" (Aboriginal Studies, 2012. p.21). This has to start at the initial teacher education level.

Literacy and numeracy, mentioned in these documents, are not just about reading, writing and mathematical skills. Literacy is also about being analytic, being critical and reading beyond the surface: that is, using 'multi-literacies' (Legal Studies, 2012. p.8; Economics, 2012. p.3; Business Studies, 2012. p.120). For pre-service teachers, it is important that they be capable of 'reading between lines' of official documents (including school syllabuses) in school settings and communities. These skills have to be passed on to their students when they go into schools. The last area, also discussed in civics and citizenship education, is about controversial issues (Society and Culture, 2012. p.18). Controversies and conflicts often arise when people differ on issues such as politics and may lead to tensions between individuals and communities. Pre-service teachers are expected to be knowledgeable about these issues: to be sensitive, critical and analytic, and to avoid advancing their own political interests or those of powerful groups in society.

Following the teaching approaches listed on Tables 2-4 pre-service teachers are expected to deliver lessons on these issues through student-centred, inquiry-based approaches in line with policy recommendations (Tudbal & Forsyth, 2009). An inquiry-based approach "encourages students to be analytic, evaluative and critical" (Studies of Religion, 2012. p.1) including a discourse analysis of documents to expose hidden messages and asymmetric power relations in society. These skills have to be passed on to their students. In History, for

example, pre-service teachers are encouraged to focus on the history of ordinary people in society or "history from below" (p.19); and to use practical approaches such as role-playing, drama, debates, discussions and simulations. Pre-service teachers are to research specific community problems which, at the same time, develop their research skills.

Discussion

The analysis of subject syllabuses in the social science education intended to find out the aims, content and suggested teaching approaches in civics and citizenship education; and underlying ideological discourses informing this area. The analysis shows that social science subjects in teacher education at the institution recognise the three categories of citizenship rights identified by Marshall: civic, political and social rights (Marshall & Bottomore, 1992). There is also, in the documents, an emphasis on the need for teachers to adopt both the communitarian and individualistic models of citizenship: the "personally responsible citizenship" (Biesta, 2008. p.47). For instance, both pre-service teachers and students in schools are expected to obey laws, to be honest, self-disciplined and hard working. Regarding participatory (communitarian) citizenship pre-service teachers are expected to be active in communities, for example, caring for people in need. The more radical transformative and justice-oriented citizenship however, goes beyond this as it also expects pre-service teachers to be critical in their analysis of issues and to be involved in addressing social injustices in communities; to question the social structure, challenge existing political systems and making demands for social change (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004): that is, to learn skills associated with the Freirean social transformative pedagogy (Thomas, 2009; Kincheloe, 2008; Hinchey, 2004). Little of this is said in the subject syllabuses analysed in this study.

It is also observed that civics and citizenship education issues are integrated in the different social science subjects offered to pre-service teachers. Only in three areas are specific sections set aside for civics and citizenship education. Integrating civics and citizenship issues and setting aside sections in only three areas make it difficult to deal with specific citizenship issues at some depth, that is, to realise the "deep citizenship" (Machon and Walkington in Kent, 2000. p.184), as would have been the case in a stand-alone subject. While the repetition of civics and citizenship topics in different subject areas may be viewed as a constant reminder to pre-service teachers about these issues, the breadth and depth at which these issues are dealt with are still compromised.

The majority of pre-service teachers on the program study civics and citizenship education online. This makes it difficult for teacher educators to monitor the extent to which suggested out of school activities are practised. In addition, civics and citizenship education in general, demand that learners, including pre-service teachers, be critically analytic of official documents, that is, reading documents beyond the surface in order to expose hidden intentions (Sigauke, 2011). Yet statements in some subjects indicate that school syllabuses, "represent unquestionable outcomes of lengthy negotiations between various interest groups" (Business Studies, 2012. p.5), implying that teachers would not be expected to deviate from what is in school syllabuses without very good reason because they have the status of grounded documents. This is a constraint on transformative civics and citizenship education that is to address social injustices. Policy documents such as school syllabuses need to be critically analysed if social conservatism is to be challenged.

In some countries a school-wide approach is adopted in the implementation of civics and citizenship education at the school level (Teaching and Learning Scotland, 2002) involving the recognition of citizenship values in all aspects of the school life: everyday activities, from the classroom to the community level. It is a cross-curriculum implementation of civics and citizenship education that addresses both formal and informal (extra) curriculum activities and provides both theoretical and practical civics and citizenship

education experiences to all learners, inside and outside the classroom and beyond the school environment following the Freirean transformative pedagogy (Thomas, 2009). This could, similarly, be adopted at the teacher education level: pre-service teachers need to be properly equipped with skills for the implementation of citizenship values so that they are confident to do so when they go into schools. School teachers can only practise what they have learnt and practised at the training stage. At the moment pre-service teachers have little opportunity to put these ideas into practice due to the limited coverage of issues on civics and citizenship education; and the constant policy reminders to follow directives stated in the official documents, including school syllabuses. In order to be seen as having succeeded in their duties teacher education institutions have to follow expectations of policy documents including school syllabuses that pre-service teachers will use when they graduate. This, it appears, provides little room for education institutions and pre-service teachers to divert from policy directives, to introduce other pedagogies that challenge these policies.

This paper recommends a separate civics and citizenship education subject in the social science education program at the teacher education level in order to realise deep citizenship among pre-service teachers. This way, civics and citizenship education would cover as much content as other subjects do and would realise its liberating role in society that goes beyond individualistic tendencies. It has to incorporate participatory activities at the local, regional and global community levels. In addition, an institution-wide approach could be adopted, involving students from other areas who are not in the social science education program; and adopting an assessed participatory approach at either the local, regional or global community levels. This is because when they graduate it is not only the social science teachers who are to model good citizenship to students in schools and the community but also teachers from other disciplines should be able to do so as well..

Conclusions

Civics and citizenship education in the social science teacher education program at the selected institution is integrated in the different subjects of the program. Only in three of these are there sections that deal specifically with civics and citizenship issues. However, as in other areas, there is little coverage of these issues in terms of depth and breadth in the sections. While pre-service teachers are encouraged to be familiar with, and practise civil, political and social rights that are central to civics and citizenship education it is however, noted that little opportunity is available for them to practically do so in the communities partly because of the limited time and coverage of these issues on the online program.

Literature has also shown that citizenship education programs can deliberately be either socially transformative or conservative depending on the policies in place. Documents on civics and citizenship education analysed in this study advocate a mixture of both social transformative and conservative discourses; in some places the emphasis is on personal (civil) rights while in others it is about the socially-critical discourse which prescribes involvement in communities.

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